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C O L L A T I O N   O F   D O C U M E N T S   A N D   C O M M E N T S

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ARCHIVES

prepared by

T H E   J E R U S A L E M   R A I N B O W   -   G R O U P



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P R E F A C E

The following documents and comments have been collected by the Jerusalem Rainbown Group. It was evident to us that Jewish-Christian relations were greatly effected by the reactions to the Six Day War and that an attempt should be made in Jerusalem to collate these reactions together.

Our main purpose is to allow these reactions to speak for themselves. However, it did seem right to add some tentative reflections from a group in Jerusalem which has in the last few years been concerned to work for a renewed and creative relationship between the Church and the Jewish People.

We are greatly indebted to the Revd. Willem van Dijk who kindly undertook the great part of the technical work involved in this collection as a labour of love.

We are aware that there are already other collections on this same topic and that our attempt is by no means exhaustive, it is, we trust, complementary.

We hope that the following pages considered carefully and critically may help to clarify the problems involved and stimulate effort towards mutual understanding.

Jerusalem, Israel  
25 April 1968

(Revd) Peter Schneider  
Secretary, the Jerusalem Rainbow Group





AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Documents from the Middle East

זכר אלהו יצקב וישראל אל

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הועד המאוחד למשיחיים בישראל

אנו, הועד המאוחד למשיחיים בישראל, באמצעות הנהלתו המחכמת בנצרת ביום  
כיוני 1967, מביעים בזאת את דאגתנו העמוקה לעמי המזרח התיכון במשבר הנוכחי.

זהו זמן בו חייבים כל האנשים והנסים בעלי ראון טוב להחפיל בעד כנון שלום  
מחור גדק.

אנו מצהירים ומאשרים כי לכל המדינות, הלאומים או העמים באזור זה זכות  
שוח לקיום בשלום.

אנו מאמינים כי כל שפוט נכח יהא חרה-אסון בלבד וידחה הסדר צודק ובר-קיימא.

לכן אנו מזנים בקול קורא לבני-אמונתנו לחקרים עצמם לחמילה מהמדה ולטרות  
מסור לטובה הכל.

(כל המביא ומצטט הצהרה זו מחבקש לחקמיר על דיוקה ולהביאה במלאה בלבד)

הועד המאוחד למשיחיים בישראל

الجمع المسيحي المتحد في اسرائيل

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ISRAEL

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL IN ISRAEL

We, the United Christian Council in Israel, through its Executive Committee, meeting in Nazareth on June 1st. 1967, express our deep concern for the peoples of the Middle East in the present crisis.

This is a time for all men and women of good-will to pray for the establishment of peace with justice.

We affirm that all states, nations or peoples of this area have an equal right to peaceful existence.

We believe that any resort to force will only lead to disaster and delay a just and lasting settlement.

We, therefore, call on our people to give themselves to continuing prayer and dedicated service, for the good of all.

הוועד הנוצרי המאוחד לתושבים בישראל  
الجمع المسيحي الموحد في اسرائيل

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL IN ISRAEL

( It is requested that this Statement be only quoted in full )

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TELEGRAM TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

GENE CARSON BLAKE OIKOUMENE GENEVE

MEMBER CHURCHES OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN SYRIA AND LEBANON AND THE RELATED CHURCHES ARE GREATLY CONCERNED BECAUSE OF THE RECENT ISRAELI AGGRESSION ON THE ARAB COUNTRIES STOP IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING A POLICY OF VIOLENCE TO LIQUIDATE THE PALESTINE ISSUE AND THE RECENT ISRAELI AGGRESSION IS THE THIRD SUCH ATTACK STOP RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE CANNOT BE ANNIHILATED BY MILITARY AGGRESSION NOR CAN THEY FAIRLY BE DISCUSSED WHILE ISRAELI TROOPS ARE OCCUPYING TERRITORIES OF JORDAN SYRIA AND UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC STOP WE STRONGLY URGE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO REITERATE IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT THEIR CONSTANT AND BASIC STAND AGAINST TERRITORIAL AGGRESSION AND USE OF VIOLENCE FOR SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES STOP KINDLY REPRESENT TO THE NATIONS AND TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC THE REPROVAL OF MILITARY AGGRESSION AND THE INJUSTICE OF PURSUING ANY DISCUSSION OF DISPUTE BEFORE OCCUPYING TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN FROM TERRITORIES OF THE THREE COUNTRIES STOP IF AGGRESSION IS ALLOWED TO BE PAYING PEACE WILL NOT BE FOUND IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR MANY YEARS TO COME STOP ADDRESSED BLAKE COPY NOLDE

THEODOSIUS VI PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH AND ALL THE EAST GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH  
MAR IGNATIUS YACOUB III PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH AND ALL THE EAST SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

KHOREN I CATHOLICOS OF CILICIA ARMENIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

DR. FARID AWDEH NATIONAL EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF BEIRUT

REV. HOVHANNES AHARONIAN UNION OF ARMENIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

REV. IBRAHIM DAGHER NATIONAL EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF SYRIA AND LEBANON

REV. SAMIR KAFITY EPISCOPAL VICAR DIOCESE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN JORDAN LEBANON AND SYRIA

Beirut, June 19, 1967

C O P Y

L E T T E R   A D D R E S S E D

To the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches  
By WCC Member and related Churches in Syria and Lebanon

---

Dr. Eugene C. Blake,  
General Secretary,  
World Council of Churches,  
150, Route de Ferney,  
1211, Geneva 20,  
Switzerland

Beirut, June 27, 1967

Dear Dr. Blake,

Warm greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ from the Member Churches of the World Council of Churches in this area and related Christian communities.

This letter is in continuation of our telegram of June 19th about the current conflict in the Middle East, and is intended to provide background for some of the points raised in that brief message.

We are very grateful for your personal interest in the Churches and the peoples of this area, and for the visit of Father Paul Verghese to whom we have explained in some detail our basic convictions and present thinking on the situation. We will be further indebted to you for interpreting our position to the Member Churches of the World Council of Churches, to the general public and to the governmental and international authorities concerned.

1. The facts accomplished of the last twenty years should not be allowed to become permanent reality, just because they have happened. At the time of the Balfour Declaration, in 1917, 56,000 Jews and 600,000 Arabs lived together in peace in Palestine. The Jews then owned 2% only of the lands of Palestine. During the British mandate over Palestine, Jews from all nations of Europe flooded into the country, inspite of the strong and violent opposition of the indigenous population, so that the Jewish population between 1917 and 1948 increased to 600,000 while the Arab population reached 1,300,000. Jewish land ownership in 1948 was less than 7% of the total area of Palestine.

On November 29, 1947, and against the wishes of the majority of the population, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution recommending the creation of Arab and Jewish States in Palestine, the latter to have about 40% of the area of the country. However the Jews disregarded their proposed limits and occupied in 1948 and 1949 by force 80% of the area of Palestine. This month, they occupied the whole of the Holy parts of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria. By deliberate acts of cruelty, terror and expulsion perpetrated by the Israelis, around one million Arabs (which have since increased to one million three hundred thousand) were driven out from Palestine in 1948. One hundred and fifty thousand were driven out in June 1967 and the expulsions continue at the date of this letter.

Thus the creation of the State of Israel for expatriates out of land that belonged to the Arabs is an act of grave injustice. The scar of this wound is still seen in the wide population of refugees, most of them settled in the totally inhuman conditions of the 54 UNRWA camps in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the United Arab Republic, not counting the new camps established to receive the victims of the last aggression during this month. The Arab nations find these facts difficult to overlook or forget.

2. The continuous economic, political and military support of Israel by Western powers has forced the Arab nations to divert their limited resources and energies from the urgent task of economic and social development to military purposes, and to seek military assistance from all possible sources to arm themselves against the Israeli military machine.

3. It is a fact often overlooked that on three occasions, in 1949, 1956 and in 1967, aggression was launched by Israel; and the allegation that such aggression was justified by acts of provocation is denied by the reports of the UN observers in the area and by the fact that during the last twenty years, Israel was condemned at least 18 times by the Security Council for violation of the armistice agreements.

4. The present act of aggressions has sought to liquidate the problem of Palestine by occupying the whole of it, devouring a major portion of Jordan as well as parts of Syria and the United Arab Republic. It is clear that the violation of Syrian territory took place after Israel had agreed to the cease-fire. If these acts are not roundly and clearly condemned, and if the occupying troops are not immediately withdrawn, the bitterness that is growing in our countries is sure to have disastrous consequences on the peace of the world.

5. It is now established beyond doubt that napalm bombs were used by Israel, even on hospitals including the Augusta Victoria at Jerusalem used by Palestine refugees. Many civilians with deep napalm burns are now in hospital in Jordan and Syria. This act should be condemned by the World Council of Churches as well as by Member Churches.

6. The problem of about a million and a half people who have been displaced from their homeland by the terrorism and aggressions of Israel Government during the past twenty years should be on the conscience of the Churches. This suffering and destitution are parallel to the experience of the Jewish people under the Third Reich, and the injustice of it is equally odious. Both Israel and the Western powers have to bear the whole responsibility for this immense affront to the dignity of man. The refugee camps have only erected permanent memorials to the indignity of what was done to more than a million human beings. These hovels of misery are the cry of man for dignity and justice.

7. The creation of Israel and its continuing support by Western powers can be understood by our peoples only as a supreme act of double hypocrisy. If Western nations were really prepared to make amends to the unfortunate Jewish people who suffered such inhuman cruelty at the hands of the Western people it would have been incumbent on the latter to find a homeland for the Jews in their own continent, and not at the expense of further cruelty and aggression inflicted by the same Western peoples on the Arab peoples who were not strong enough to resist the might of the Great Powers.

The West owes it to the Arab peoples to liberate Palestine from their hands of peoples brought in with the support of Western powers, mostly from their own countries. The continuing presence of Israel in the Middle East should be an affront to the conscience of the Christian West.

8. When Arab leaders speak about the elimination of Israel, this is often misunderstood in terms of a threat of genocide. We hope you can interpret to our Western brethren, that this way of thinking is totally foreign to our people. What our leaders mean is that the State of Israel was unjustly created and should cease to exist as a racial State. Born through aggression such a state intends to absorb the Jews of the world and is a constant threat of future aggression and further expansions. The Arab nations would welcome the continued stay of Palestinian Jews in Palestine with whom they have always lived and worked. Once the elimination of Israel as a State can be achieved ways can be found for a large number of expatriate Jews to be absorbed into the Palestine community. Our people do not want to kill Jews, but do want the cessation of the racial State of Israel.

9. It has caused us Christians deepfelt pain and bitter resentment to hear some of our Christian brethren in the West pronounce with such astounding ease of conscience unqualified support for Israeli aggression and such inhuman jubilation over the victories of the aggressor. The matter becomes, in our minds at any rate, definitely demoniacal, when the biblical promises to Abraham are politically exploited to lend support to the totally unbiblical zionist movement of which Israel is both the symbol and the reality.

10. We hope that you will sense from this letter the deep sense of outrage that the Christian and Muslim peoples of this area feel at the conduct of Israel and the Western powers. We feel that there is not much willingness in the West even to understand our thoughts and convictions or to listen to the rightness of our cause. We know that you yourself keep an open attitude to this question. We would request you, in the name of the Churches of this area, to convene, as soon as physically possible, though certainly before the summer meetings of the Central and Executive Committees this year, a small consultation of C.C.I.A. commissioners with some representatives of the Churches in this area. This will give all of us an opportunity to clear up mutual misunderstanding and for an open discussion of some of these issues. The tension that has arisen between us and our brethren in the West seems to us sufficiently serious to justify an immediate convening of such a consultation.

We would also appreciate any assistance you can give us in interpreting our position to the Western Christians and to the general public through your own personal correspondence and public addresses.

With the renewed affirmation of our basic loyalty to the Ecumenical Movement and especially to the World Council of Churches, and our sincere prayers that peace with justice and dignity may prevail in the land of Christ's birth, we remain,

Yours in the risen Lord,

THEODOSIUS VI  
PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH  
AND ALL THE EAST  
GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

MAR IGNATIUS YACQUB III  
PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH  
AND ALL THE EAST  
SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

KEHREN I  
CATHOLICOS OF CILICIA  
ARMENIAN ORTHODOX  
CHURCH

REV. HOVHANNES AHARONIAN  
UNION OF ARMENIAN  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

DR. FARID AWDEH  
NATIONAL EVANGELICAL  
CHURCH OF BEIRUT

REV. ISRAHIM DAGER  
NATIONAL EVANGELICAL  
SYNOD OF SYRIA AND  
LEBANON.

REV. SAMIR KAFITY  
EPISCOPAL VICAR DIOCESE  
OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
IN JORDAN LEBANON AND  
SYRIA

Comment on the letter of 27 June  
addressed to the Secretary General  
of the W.C.C.  
by the heads of Near Eastern Churches.

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The letter, though signed by heads of churches, is an essentially political document, the contents of which by far exceed the legitimate concern churches may show in political issues, in that it specifically calls for the "elimination" and "cessation" of a sovereign member state of the United Nations. As such, this letter, emanating from religious heads, is devoid of any moral basis. The theological view point expressed in paragraph 9 reflects this political parti-pris, whilst most of the statements made in the rest of the letter are not borne out by the facts.

Thus it is an established fact that the Jews in 1948 did not "disregard the proposed limits", but that the territory assigned to them was invaded by Arab armies in flagrant disregard of a decision adopted by the United Nations' General Assembly. This invasion, was described by the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, as "the first armed aggression ever to have taken place in the history of the United Nations". The 1948-frontiers resulting from the war initiated by the invasion of the Arab armies were fixed by armistice agreements signed by the Arab governments concerned. The wholesale charge of "deliberate acts of cruelty, terror and expulsion" is unsubstantiated and has been disproved by international bodies. The, to a considerable extent, avoidable misery of the refugees has been carefully perpetuated by the Arab governments who, for political reasons of their own, refused to take or to permit constructive steps for their rehabilitation. The "permanence" of the "human indignity" to which the refugees are exposed and to which reference is made in paragraph 6 of the letter is the result of the declared policy of the Arab governments in preventing any attempt of resettlement of the refugees. It is for UNRWA to rebut the charge that conditions in the refugee camps were "inhuman".

Israel has repeatedly demanded a cessation of the armaments race in the Middle East in order to free the resources of all the countries in the area for economic and social development, but these demands were constantly disregarded.

The war of June 1967 was the result of the publicly and repeatedly announced intention of the Arab governments to "liquidate" Israel, and of the steps taken by them towards the realization of this aim. Certainly, Israel cannot be called an aggressor by nations who have, in defiance of a resolution adopted by the Security Council, claimed the rights of belligerence towards Israel and who have openly declared that the future "will be war with Israel. It is we who will dictate the time; it is we who will dictate the place." (Nasser's speech, February 1964.) "We want total war with no limits." (President Al-Atasi, on 22 May 1966.) In fact Israel's right to peace, to security, to sovereignty and its very right to exist have been and are still being forcibly denied.

Whilst there is much to be said for an international ban on the use of napalm, the fact is that, unlike gas, napalm is not prohibited under international law and has the same status as other conventional means of warfare. Israel was saved from sharing the fate of the unfortunate Yemenites only by the timely occupation of the Egyptian installations in Sinai.

The comparison between the unfortunate effects of war, including flight of part of the civilian population and the resultant refugee problem on the one hand, and the deliberate and systematic extermination of six million Jews in Europe on the other, is too obscene to merit consideration.

The "misunderstanding" of the Arab call for an "elimination" of Israel as a threat of genocide is due to the form in which this call was voiced. It would be tedious to list all the articles and statements on the subject in the Arab Press, the speeches and declarations made by Arab leaders, the inflammatory broadcasts heard from all Arab stations, and the very specific orders given by the Arab High Command and found by the Israeli forces; even the qualified call by the signatories of the letter for a "cessation for the racial state of Israel" is to all practical intents and purposes tantamount to a demand for the physical extermination of the Jews of Israel. The Arab intentions, in this respect, have been made abundantly clear by the Secretary General of the Arab League, Aszam Pasha, on 14 May 1948. "The Arab states will conduct a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades." # An example of the projected implementation of this programme can be found in the operational orders of the Jordanian H.Q., dated 15 April 1967.

There is no need here to enlarge on the position in which the Christian churches in many Arab countries would find themselves after the "elimination" of the Israel problem. There is evidence to show that many Christian leaders are anxiously aware of these prospects.

Whilst Arab church leaders may have some difficulty in appreciating both historically and theologically the nature of the unique bond linking the Jewish people to the promised land, the statement contained in paragraph 9

# On June 2nd, 1967, Ahmed Hanein declared at Amman: "I cannot imagine that even a single Israeli is going to be left alive in the battle beyond".

is inspired by <sup>political</sup> hatred and is theologically immature; it presumes to pronounce - in a political context - on questions that require prolonged and careful theological clarification.

Finally, the fact should be mentioned that the attitude expressed by the signatories of the letter is not shared by church leaders in Israel who, as experience shows, have never hesitated, now as well as in the past, to express themselves in the strongest terms on any subject affecting their interests and rights, both to the Government of Israel and to outside bodies. They certainly have never acted as the mouthpiece of the Israel Government.



Documents from outside the Middle East





# CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • AREA CODE 202 737-7474

## C O P Y

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- Sr. M. Thomasine, O.P.
- Most Rev. John J. Wright
- Alba Zizomina

Telegram of May 23, 1967 to President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk

In view of the present crisis in the Middle East, I strongly urge the United States to remain faithful to its commitments under the U. N. Charter, international law, and its own policy statements with respect to that area. Specifically, I urge that the United States:

(1) take every possible measure, both within and outside of the U. N., to discourage and prevent the threat or use of force by any state against the independence and territorial integrity of any other state in the Middle East;

(2) support in every way possible the position, well-grounded in international law, that the Gulf of Aqaba is an international waterway which ought not to be arbitrarily blocked by any state;

(3) support the efforts of U Thant to resolve the present crisis and strongly urge the other members of the U. N. not to permit one of the few successful examples of effective U. N. peace-keeping to be erased by reversion to irresponsible recourse to force.

William V. O'Brien, President,  
Catholic Association for  
International Peace  
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest,  
Washington, D.C. 20005

May 28 - Extract from Address at Opening Session of 'Pacem in Terris'  
by Dr Eugene C. Blake.

.... 3. The international community, threatened as it is by military conflict and many political tensions, needs to strengthen existing international organizations. I refer to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. An important part of the ecumenical witness of our churches to the world of nations has been to urge support of these institutions. In the present stage of rapid transition and change, the United Nations and its agencies fulfil an indispensable task; and we in the churches continue to work for inclusion in it of all nations which are ready to accept the obligations of membership, and thus help it to become a truly universal body.

You could not be expected, in your original programme planning, to have foreseen today's tension and crisis in the Middle East which adds one more war cloud to those that overhang us. I can only re-iterate what I have said about the indispensability of the United Nations and add that it should be a United Nations with enlarged peace-keeping powers which should override national sovereignties and conflicting interests to the end that peace may be patiently but finally established.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 31, 1967

CLERGYMEN ENDORSE POSITION OF ISRAEL

Eleven Protestant and Catholic clergymen this afternoon endorsed the position of Israel in the current Near East crisis.

The clergymen called for the United States "to continue to exert every effort toward the negotiation of differences and to pursue every means necessary to guarantee freedom of the seas for all nations in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba. To do less is to compromise the independence of Israel and to invite a major world conflagration."

The full text of the statement follows:

As men of faith we are concerned when the peace of the world is in danger.

Egypt's blockade of the Straits of Tiran constitutes a violation of international law and runs counter to an American policy which has been repeatedly affirmed since 1957. These restrictions of freedom of the seas jeopardize peace throughout the world.

We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States, our Ambassador to the United Nations, our Secretary of State and our Congress to continue to exert every effort toward the negotiation of differences and to pursue every means necessary to guarantee freedom of the seas for all nations in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba. To do less is to compromise the independence of Israel and to invite a major world conflagration.

The Reverend Professor Edmund Perry, Northwestern University  
The Reverend Dr. Orville H. McKay, President, Garrett Theological Seminary  
The Reverend Professor Ernest Saunders, Dean, Garrett Theological Seminary  
The Reverend Dr. Robert Emery, Scholar-in-Residence, Northwestern University  
Thomas M. Pryor, Bishop of the Methodist Church  
The Rt. Reverend G.F. Burrill, Episcopal Bishop of Chicago  
Dr. Stewart W. Herman, President, Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago  
The Reverend Gerard G. Grant, S.J., Loyola University  
The Reverend E. Spencer Parsons, Dean, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel  
The Reverend Dr. Edgar H.S. Chandler, Executive Director,  
The Church Federation of Greater Chicago  
The Very Reverend Monsignor John J. Egan, Pastor, Presentation Parish

For information: Contact Dr. Edmund Perry -- UN.4-2236 or 492-7079

June 1 - National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

This Resolution is based upon the Policy Statement, 'Toward a Family of Nations Under God', adopted by the General Board on June 2, 1960.

The General Board of the NCCCUSA

1. Recognizes that the present heightened and potentially dangerous tension in the Middle East arises from deep animosities of long duration. Whatever the technical state of war may be, deep conflict, never far from high emotional pitch, is a fact of the life of the peoples of this area. Moreover, the direct interests of large and small powers, drawn by economic, political, military, historical, religious and cultural factors, are heavily involved in the Middle East. The long, uneasy armistice should well before now have been converted to peace. The confrontation between Israel and the Arab states cannot be divorced from this context.
2. Asserts that in this acute, profound and complex situation, there is the most urgent need to secure impartial judgement and action, to the end that the international issues and the domestic factors may be seen in perspective and peace and justice be established. The immediate objective should be a breathing space to enable political agreement to be reached, thus preventing the outbreak of fighting. Long-range objectives should be the recognition of rights, the guarantees of freedom, and the establishment of accepted means of securing those objectives, thus providing for continuing peace.
3. Affirms that such impartial judgement and action is best achieved by the United Nations. This is not the time to acquiesce in unilateral action. It is the time for our government to reassert and give its full support to prior UN declarations and previously proclaimed US policies, and thus to continue to insist, for the sake of peace in the Middle East and everywhere, upon strong collective judgement and action by the United Nations. We therefore welcome every effort by the Great Powers, the Arab States and Israel to avoid unilateral action and to permit and strengthen UN action at this time, and appeal to them to continue their efforts to this end.
4. Suggests that among the issues upon which impartial judgement and action are urgently needed are the following:
  - a. the disengagement of forces now directly confronting each other on the borders;
  - b. the establishment of national and international rights in the Gulf of Aqaba, to the end that both may be protected and free access to the Gulf be assured;
  - c. the elimination of border violence, or threat of violence, from whatever side or whatever season;
  - d. the establishment of agreement between the Arab States and Israel concerning the rights of Arab refugees and the recognition of the State of Israel.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

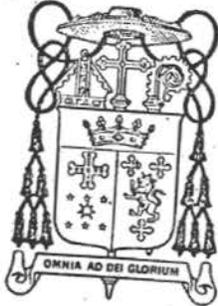
June 5 - Alliance Réformée Mondiale

La déclaration suivante a été publiée aujourd'hui par le professeur Wilhelm Niesel, président de l'Alliance réformée mondiale, et le pasteur Marcel Pradervand, secrétaire général:

Au moment où les hostilités viennent d'éclater au Moyen-Orient entre les Etats arabes et Israël, le président et le secrétaire général de l'Alliance réformée mondiale expriment leur profonde inquiétude devant la tournure prise par les événements. Ils croient que la guerre n'est jamais la solution des conflits politiques, si graves soient-ils.

Ils demandent aux Eglises membres de l'Alliance réformée mondiale, ainsi qu'à tous les chrétiens, de s'unir dans l'intercession pour la paix, une paix qui doit assurer à chaque peuple le droit de vivre.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)



THE MOST REVEREND  
**Frederick Charles King**

D.D., LL.D.

TITULAR BISHOP OF CAESAREA

AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA

THE OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

(F)

6 June 1967

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is \$5.00 in cash  
 for the Israel Emergency Fund.  
 As far as Israel's survival is con-  
 cerned — have no fear for God's  
 Word assures it. Fear only for your  
 souls' salvation if you have rejected  
 your Messiah, our Lord and Saviour  
 Jesus Christ.

I pray for Israel and for every  
 Jew.

In His Precious Name,  
 ✠ Frederick Charles King

Most Rev. F. C. KING, D.D.  
 AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA  
 OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH  
 1043 HYPERION AVE  
 HOLLYWOOD 29, CALIFORNIA

June 5 - Aufruf des Ratsvorsitzenden der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland

Der offene Ausbruch von Hass und Verbitterung zwischen den Israelis und den arabischen Völkern ist für alle Menschen Anlass zu einem grossen Erschrecken und muss uns alle demütigen. Ausserdem berührt uns als Christen die Tatsache tief, dass die Stätten der biblischen Geschichte, an denen Jesus Christus den Menschen den Frieden Gottes offenbar gemacht hat, erneu in Kriegsgeschehen hineingezogen werden.

Lasst uns in diesen Tagen ernsthafter als bisher zu Gott um die Gabe und Kraft seines Friedens Flehen, Im Gedenken an die Völker, die nun von einem Kriege bedroht sind, bitten wir die Politiker dringend, in der Verantwortung vor Gott und den Menschen alles zu tun, eine grosse Katastrophe von der Welt abzuwenden.

Der Rat der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland ruft für Donnerstagabend die Gemeinden in Berlin zu einem Fürbitte-Gottesdienst auf. Er empfiehlt den Gliedkirchen, in ähnlicher Weise an allen Orten Buss- und Gebetsgottesdienste zu halten.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 7 - Statement by the Officers of the World Council of Churches

As officers of the World Council of Churches we express our anxiety and deep concern at the new outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East.

We urge support of the United Nations action in order that a prompt and equitable cease-fire under international supervision may be effective. The role of the four Great Powers as mediators and proponents of restraint should at this moment be used to the maximum, whether within or outside the Security Council.

The human hardship and suffering resulting from the present conflict and from the long unresolved tensions in the Middle East, and particularly the fate of refugees of various nationalities in the area are ever in our mind and prayers.

We therefore urge our member churches to make the strongest representation to their governments to do all in their power to bring about a cessation of hostilities and to lay the foundations of a just and durable peace. We also ask that they should especially remember in their prayers churches in the area of conflict and all those who are suffering as a result of hostilities.

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, New York, USA; Chairman, Central Committee  
 Dr. J.R. Chandran, Bangalore, India; Vice Chairman, Central Committee  
 Dr. Ernest A. Payne, London, England; Vice Chairman, Central Committee  
 Dr. Eugene C. Blake, Geneva, Switzerland; General Secretary, WCC

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 7 - Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, Canada

The following resolution moved by Rev. Roland de Corneille, seconded by the Provost of Trinity College, the Rev. D.R.G. Cwen, was passed unanimously by the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto (Anglican):

- WHEREAS, our country has played an important role in seeking peace in the Middle East, and in maintaining that peace by Canadian participation in the United Nations truce keeping teams; and
- WHEREAS, these United Nations peace keeping teams were required to withdraw at the demand of the United Arab Republic; and
- WHEREAS, hostilities have now begun in the Middle East, threatening the peace of the world and resulting in inestimable waste, suffering and grief,
- RESOLVED, that this Synod expresses its gratitude that, in the past, our nation has made so great a contribution to peace; and be it further
- RESOLVED, that this Synod deplores that the United Nations presence in the Middle East was required to be withdrawn, and prays that this presence may soon be restored and strengthened; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that this Synod lends its wholehearted assent to the joint statement of May 31st made by our Primate, the President of the Canadian Catholic Conference and the Moderator of the United Church, calling upon all Christians to work and pray for a just, honourable and enduring peace in the Middle East; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that this Synod calls upon all Christians to seek immediate, practical ways of alleviating suffering and achieving reconciliation

The following resolution was also passed by the Synod, moved by the Rev. J. Adam and seconded by the Rev. C.J. de Catanzaro:

**RESOLVED**, that this Synod of the Diocese of Toronto requests the Government of Canada to work with other governments, the United Nations, and interested organizations to help solve the Arab refugee problem.

Of specific interest with regard to the relationship of dialogue, the following resolution was initiated by the clericus of the Deanery of Eglinton, passed unanimously by the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto on June 8, 1967:

**WHEREAS**, lack of communication between Christians and Jews and the resulting ignorance and suspicion of each other has been a barrier to Christian obedience to the Law of Love;

**RESOLVED**, that this Synod, (in view of the experience of its programme of Christian-Jewish Dialogue) memorialize General Synod to call upon the Church to seek positive dialogue with appropriate representative bodies of Jewish faith; and to refer the matter to the Committee on Ecumenical Affairs of General Synod for continuing study and suggested implementations.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

#### June 8 - Christian Peace Conference, Prague.

On the place where the words of prophets sounded, whence the message of Gospel of Peace has descended, where the first Christian community arose, the fights between Israel and its Arab neighbours have flared up now. This has created a dangerous situation in this area. The antagonism which has dragged for a long time, ceased to be solved by negotiation and by a peaceful way.

Instead of war that a war conflict has flared up. Therefore we are deeply disquieted by this newly created situation. We presume henceforth that all issues all over the world can and must be solved only by way of negotiation. Otherwise a danger is threatening that every so called local conflict can spread into a destructive world war catastrophe.

The force and war are not suitable instruments for solving litigious problems.

Therefore we welcome and support the decision of the Security Council of the UNO of June 6 and 7, 1967, appealing to take all measures for an immediate cease-fire and stopping of all military actions in this area.

We are of the opinion that an immediate step after the cease-fire would be to bring the things into the state before the conflict (June 4, 1967). We are challenging all ~~responsible~~ responsible parties when negotiating this conflict to strive for a definite peaceful solution in the Near East by which all justified requirements of the parties concerned would be taken into consideration.

We are aware of the fact and we want to stress it in this connection that any appeal to cease-fire wherever in the world such a situation may arise, is weakened essentially by the fact of the war in Vietnam. The reality that the USA can lead such a war in Vietnam is provoking the attempts in other parts of the world to solve the conflicts in a similar way. We are aware of the fact that all centres of crisis in the world cohere. The events in the Near East are connected with the events in the Far East. We are calling attention to these connections and challenging all governments and powers in the world, all the churches and individual Christians to use their influence and to strive both for a peaceful solution of the dangerous conflict in the Near East and the ending of the American aggression in Vietnam.

(signed by J.L. Hromádka, President and J.N. Ondra, General Secretary)

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 9 - Message sent by Pope Paul to the Governments of Israel, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and the United Arab Republic.

Moved by the duty of Our Ministry, prompted by an equal love and solicitude for all peoples, deeply saddened at the thought of the sufferings, the deaths and destruction which war brings to individuals, families and nations, We address Ourselves to Your Excellency as also to the Heads of the other countries in conflict, and in the name of God We beg you to adhere to the request of the UN for an immediate cessation of hostilities, in order that hopeful, reasonable and honourable negotiations may replace the violence of arms and that peace, so greatly desired, may be re-established. We assure Your Excellency that we beseech Almighty God to assist you in your grave decisions and lead you to choose that way which will merit for you the gratitude of all who possess sentiments of humanity. (L'Osservatore Romano)

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 14 - The Executive Committee of the British Council of Churches

Christians, together with all men of good will, are concerned for a just settlement in the Middle East not only because the present conflict constitutes a threat to the peace of the world, not only because the Holy Land has a special place in the hearts of Christian people as well as of Jews and Moslems, but primarily because the insecurity and the suffering of the people in these lands must be brought to an end.

We are thankful that the fighting has ceased. If, however, there is to be no violent sequel, the nations - not least our own nation which bears some historic responsibility for the present situation - must now work together to establish and guarantee a stable and just settlement.

Three things are important for any stable peace:

1. the Arab nations must recognize Israel as a sovereign state;
2. Israel must be prepared both to subject its frontiers to international negotiation and to contribute to a resettlement within Israel or elsewhere of all Arab refugees;
3. an international recognition and guarantee of a settlement along the above lines, if possible through the United Nations.

For the fulfilment of these aims it must be hoped that a United Nations peace-keeping force, effectively supported by all parties to the recent conflict and by the great powers, will return to the Middle East, operating on both sides of the Israeli-Arab frontiers. With regard to the refugee problem. Britain and other nations should be prepared to bear a considerable share of the cost which, if it is to be realistic, must embrace the economic development of the whole area.

The arms race in the Middle East, which could become a nuclear arms race, must be brought to an end. An international agreement controlling the supply of arms to the whole area should ~~become~~ again become the main objective of policy. It would be wrong to allow commercial considerations or the desire for political influence to dictate the sale of arms. The stability of the area must be an over-riding consideration.

The Executive Committee of the British Council of Churches fully supports Her Majesty's Government in all efforts to secure a permanent peaceful settlement, if possible within the framework of the United Nations, and urges Her Majesty's Government:

1. to commit Britain to share fully in the cost of any permanent solution;
2. to work for an international agreement on the supply of arms to the Middle East and to review the controls Britain at present exercises on such arms sales.

The Executive Committee warmly approves of the action of its Christian Aid Department in allocating £ 20,000 to the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service of the World Council of Churches for the relief of all who have suffered in the entire area during the conflict. It calls on Christian people to identify themselves with this action by continued generous giving.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

Memorandum sur les exigences de la foi chrétienne devant

## LE PROBLEME PALESTINIEN

Les événements récents de Palestine appellent avec urgence les fidèles de toutes les Eglises à éveiller leur conscience aux exigences chrétiennes posées par le problème palestinien. Les propagandes les plus diverses ont semé la confusion dans les esprits et l'attitude des chrétiens dans la situation actuelle n'est pas toujours inspirée par l'esprit du Christ. La note suivante s'adresse uniquement aux chrétiens pour les aider, à la lumière de l'Évangile du Christ, à se faire un jugement clair sur trois questions:

- Les antécédents de la situation actuelle
- La révélation biblique face à la confusion entre le Judaïsme et le Sionisme
- Les perspectives d'une solution juste du problème palestinien.

I. Les antécédents de la situation actuelle

1. Depuis l'an 70 des communautés juives ont continué à vivre en Palestine. A part la révolte de 135, leur présence n'a jamais posé de problème politique. Cependant la nostalgie du "2 retour" et le désir de restaurer le troisième temple ont toujours été ressentis par les Juifs religieux dispersés dans le monde.

2. Le fait est respectable au nom de la liberté de conscience. Mais transformer une aspiration religieuse en revendication politique devient ambigu. Ce fut l'ambiguïté des royaumes chrétiens de Palestine au temps des Croisades. L'appel à la guerre sainte n'a aucun fondement dans l'Évangile et s'oppose à la conscience moderne de l'homme.

3. Sauf quelques persécutions dans le Hejjaz au 7<sup>ème</sup> siècle, le Proche Orient arabe n'a jamais connu l'antisémitisme. Par contre, l'antisémitisme violent a été, depuis le Moyen Age, le fait des royaumes et empires chrétiens de l'Europe, de l'Oural à l'Atlantique. Les chrétiens de ces pays doivent reconnaître d'abord que leur infidélité à l'Évangile a été l'une des causes les plus déterminantes du mouvement sioniste moderne et rechercher ensuite comment y remédier aujourd'hui, au lieu d'en faire porter les poids aux populations innocentes de la Palestine.

A la faveur de la décadence de l'empire ottoman, des "colonies" sionistes commencèrent à s'établir en Palestine. Aux aspirations religieuses se mêlaient déjà des visées politiques. Cependant ces colons ont joui, de la part des Palestiniens, de la même hospitalité que les autres communautés religieuses, musulmanes, chrétiennes et druzes, qui se réfugièrent au Proche Orient au cours des siècles.

4. La déclaration Balfour de 1917, promettant l'installation d'un foyer juif en Palestine, coïncide avec le développement dans le Proche-Orient d'intérêts pétroliers et stratégiques des grandes puissances d'argent. Cette déclaration ne relève plus d'un fait religieux. Elle ne peut être invoquée par la conscience chrétienne pour légitimer l'existence d'un Etat juif.

-2-

5. L'antisémitisme européen a atteint son paroxysme dans la persécution nazie. Après la seconde guerre mondiale les Etats européens ont eu mauvaise conscience. Les communautés juives de l'Europe du centre et de l'est auraient pu être réintégrées dans leurs droits pléniers de citoyens, comme l'ont été les autres familles non-juives, victimes du nazisme. Or, ces Etats ont refusé cette injustice. On a voulu réparer l'injustice nazie: on a créé une nouvelle injustice. Parce que les chrétiens d'Europe et d'Amérique ont démissionné devant la responsabilité d'un million de Juifs qui étaient leurs frères, ils ont chassé de leur patrie palestinienne un million d'Arabes: "Qu'as-tu fait de ton frère?" Le rejet d'un million de Juifs et la spoliation d'un million d'Arabes, telle est la double faute des chrétiens d'Occident qui crie justice vers le ciel.

6. La création de l'Etat d'Israël aurait été impossible sans la complicité des intérêts militaires et économiques des grandes puissances. La conscience des chrétiens ne peut pas masquer ces vrais motifs, sous des raisons humanitaires ou religieuses sans ajouter à sa double faute une nouvelle hypocrisie et une nouvelle démission.

7. Les communautés sionistes de Palestine ont refusé en 1947 le projet de l'ONU visant à instaurer un Etat palestinien pluraliste qui aurait tenu compte des droits de toutes les communautés ethniques et religieuses de Palestine. La conscience des chrétiens est souvent courte: elle oublie que les guerres de 1948 sont dues à ce refus d'une solution de justice.

8. Après l'armistice de 1948 et au mépris des décisions de l'ONU les Israéliens ont refusé d'intégrer dans leur nouvel Etat le million de réfugiés palestiniens, chrétiens et musulmans, qu'ils avaient chassés de leurs maisons et de leurs terres. Ce refus, qui dure jusqu'à ce jour, relève d'une mentalité raciste qu'aucune conscience humaine et chrétienne ne peut accepter. Tant que les Israéliens voudront fonder un Etat palestinien sur ce racisme, il sera du devoir de tous les chrétiens de s'y opposer.

9. Il reste que les chrétiens d'Occident pensent laver leur conscience en s'apitoyant sur le sort des Israéliens, en leur fournissant des armes et du matériel; mais l'histoire leur pose encore une question: Pourquoi êtes-vous sensibles au sort des Juifs que vous avez expulsés de leurs patries, alors que vous ne vous êtes jamais inquiétés des millions d'Arméniens et autres chrétiens d'Orient qui ont été massacrés et qui ont dû quitter leurs patries?

10. Depuis 30 ans au moins les Eglises ont émis des déclarations contre l'antisémitisme. Le Concile de Vatican II a lui aussi promulgué une Déclaration dans les conditions que l'on sait. Or, ces textes ont toujours été exploités par les Israéliens à des fins politiques.

Ces déclarations ont une finalité explicitement religieuse et humanitaire. En aucun cas elles n'ont signifié la reconnaissance de l'Etat d'Israël, mais la volonté des chrétiens d'être davantage fidèles à l'Evangile dans leur relation avec les Juifs.

Confusion entre le peuple juif et l'Etat d'Israël, entre le judaïsme et le sionisme: voilà le coeur du problème posé à la conscience chrétienne par les derniers événements de Palestine.

## II. La révélation biblique face à la confusion entre le judaïsme et le sionisme

11; Pour les chrétiens, il ressort clairement de la révélation biblique que le peuple juif est élu par Dieu. Il a été choisi par le Dieu vivant pour révéler son plan de salut sur l'humanité en Christ "Le salut vient des juifs" (Jean 4:22). La vocation du peuple juif est de révéler dans sa propre histoire l'histoire de toute l'humanité: une histoire où Dieu sauve l'homme. C'est en raison de cette vocation qu'il n'est pas un peuple à destinée temporelle et politique, mais le "type" de tous les peuples dans leur destinée éternelle. Il est appelé à révéler que l'humanité tout entière n'est pas destinée à une réussite dans "ce monde-ci" mais dans "le monde qui vient": le Royaume de Dieu.

12. La promesse faite à Abraham porte sur une descendance et sur une terre. Si cette descendance devait être la race juive et la terre de Palestine, cela signifierait que Dieu exclut les autres peuples de la terre. Or, la bénédiction de la promesse est destinée à se répandre sur toute l'humanité et toute la création. La promesse est accomplie dans le Christ. Il est personnellement la descendance (Gal. 3 et 4), Lui qui récapitule toute l'humanité. Quant à la terre, on en hérite dans l'Esprit Saint et c'est le Royaume de Dieu (Béat. Matt.5) Comprendre "selon la chair" la promesse faite à Abraham, c'est pervertir le dessein de Dieu; c'est seulement "selon l'Esprit" que s'accomplit la promesse: dans le Christ ressuscité (Act.13:32) La descendance et la terre ne sont pas acquises par l'homme mais données par Dieu.

13. Le peuple juif, type de toute l'humanité, est un peuple consacré, une nation de prêtres: il n'appartient qu'à Dieu et non pas à un royaume de ce monde. Faire du peuple juif une nation parmi les autres équivaut à faire de l'Eglise une nation parmi les autres (ce qui n'a pas manqué dans l'histoire) car l'Israël selon la chair est la figure de l'Eglise qui est l'Israël selon l'Esprit.

14. Le peuple juif est prophétique, non pas une nation mais "témoin de Dieu parmi les nations". Par son élection, il révèle que tous les hommes sont aimés de Dieu d'un amour d'élection. Par son infidélité, il révèle que toute l'humanité est "enfermée dans le péché". Parce que l'amour de Dieu est plus fort que son péché, il révèle que toute l'humanité est sauvée par pure miséricorde (Rom.11). Parce qu'il donna au monde le Sauveur et les Apôtres, il révèle que désormais l'Eglise donne au monde le salut par son ministère apostolique.

15. Le peuple juif a été choisi pour servir le salut de l'humanité et non pour s'établir dans le particularisme racial ou religieux. De même, l'Eglise est "appelée" pour servir le monde et non pour se replier dans un particularisme culturel ou religieux. Les chrétiens, et bien d'autres religions, connaissent bien leur propre tentation de "sionisme". Or, la vocation du peuple juif est universaliste, non particulariste.

16. Au regard de la foi chrétienne, il est clair dès lors que la création d'un Etat israélien exclusivement juif va directement contre le dessein de Dieu sur le peuple juif et sur le monde. De même, la création d'états exclusivement chrétiens, autrefois ou aujourd'hui, va directement contre la vocation de l'Eglise et contre le salut du monde.

17. La restauration de la royauté en Israël (Act.1:6-11) était encore le rêve des Apôtres avant l'Ascension. Le Seigneur ressuscité leur révèle clairement que cette restauration est désormais l'oeuvre de l'Esprit Saint en faveur de toutes les nations. Il a fallu la vocation singulière de Paul pour le faire admettre finalement par la première communauté chrétienne. Voilà le message que l'Esprit rappelle sans cesse aux Eglises et dont nous devons témoigner, spécialement envers nos frères juifs.

18. La ruine du Temple en 70 et la dispersion du peuple juif sont présentées par Jésus comme le signe précurseur du Royaume (Matt.24). La disparition du peuple juif comme nation politique signifie le premier avènement des royaumes de ce monde révélera le second avènement du Fils de l'homme et la consommation du Royaume.

19. Dès lors, pour un chrétien, vouloir rétablir la nation juive comme entité politique exclusive serait une incompréhension totale de l'histoire du salut et une perversion du dessein de Dieu. Cela reviendrait à affirmer que l'humanité n'est pas appelée au Royaume de Dieu, mais à une destinée purement temporelle. Le messianisme sioniste se révèle ici très cohérent avec le messianisme marxiste. Il représente aussi une régression vers la mentalité médiévale où l'Etat et la religion étaient identifiés. En ce sens, bien des religions anciennes et des idéologies modernes relèvent de la même mentalité: aucun chrétien ne peut s'en faire complice.

### III Perspectives d'une solution juste du problème palestinien

20. La conscience chrétienne doit donc constamment discerner la vocation authentique du peuple juif de sa contrefaçon qui est l'Etat raciste d'Israël. Seul ce discernement permet d'éviter l'antisémitisme, qui s'attaque au dessein sauveur de Dieu et le sionisme, qui pervertit ce même dessein sauveur en messianisme temporel. Dans ce discernement, l'histoire a montré la chaîne d'aberrations où l'on est entraîné: l'antisémitisme produit le sionisme et le sionisme produit l'injustice raciste, nationaliste et le fanatisme religieux. Les habitants légitimes de la Palestine en sont aujourd'hui les témoins sanglants à la face de l'humanité.

21. La solution du drame palestinien se trouve d'abord en dehors de la Palestine dans la droiture de conscience de tous les hommes et spécialement des chrétiens. Dans une question qui est au coeur de l'histoire du salut de l'humanité, il est impérieux que tous les chrétiens convertissent leur mentalité au Christ: "il n'y a ni juif ni grec, ni esclave ni homme libre, ni homme ni femme, vous n'êtes tous qu'un dans le Christ". L'Etat actuel

d'Israël est la forme la plus récente du racisme, mais les racines et les fruits du racisme foisonnent encore à travers le monde. Si chaque nation acceptait et intégrait ses citoyens juifs dans la vraie liberté des enfants de Dieu, le problème palestinien serait déjà en partie résolu. Puisque le peuple juif est par vocation universaliste, que les chrétiens le soient aussi vraiment. Ce peuple est le miroir de l'humanité: sa tentation est la nôtre, notre victoire sur toutes les discriminations sera alors la sienne.

22. Il est du devoir de tout chrétien de s'informer objectivement, et d'informer objectivement les autres hommes, des véritables données du problème palestinien, au-delà de toutes les propagandes mensongères, d'où qu'elles viennent. Or, en ce domaine les chrétiens pourraient s'interroger, avec sens critique et sagesse évangélique, sur le succès d'une certaine propagande sioniste à travers le monde.

23. La force ne peut fonder le droit. Or l'Etat d'Israël est né de la violence, s'est développé par la violence et continuera à se développer par la violence. Il est le plus récent exemple, dans l'histoire, d'une colonisation de peuplement par la force. En principe la conscience mondiale s'y oppose désormais. Pourquoi les chrétiens se taisent-ils, eux dont la mission est de servir la Vérité qui libère par la non-violence?

24. Cette campagne mondiale de vérité sera décisive pour le règlement du problème palestinien. Elle exige de la conscience chrétienne de démystifier les motifs religieux et sentimentaux dont se revêtent les puissances d'argent dans la campagne raciste du sionisme. Après le million de réfugiés palestiniens, ce sont maintenant des centaines de milliers qui sont jetés dans le dénuement, l'exil, la dégradation et le désespoir. "Qu'as-tu fait de ton frère?"

25. Finalement, l'unique solution du problème palestinien réside dans la volonté efficace du pluralisme ethnique, religieux et social, de la part de tous les habitants de la Palestine, chrétiens, musulmans et juifs. C'est justement, sans paradoxe, la vocation de l'humanité que leur rappelle le peuple juif: l'universalisme. Cet universalisme a nom aujourd'hui pluralisme. Non pas la simple tolérance de minorités, comme dans la mentalité médiévale des religions politiques, mais ce pluralisme créateur de tout Etat moderne. Cela signifie pour l'Etat actuel d'Israël une véritable conversion du racisme à la vocation universaliste des Juifs qui le composent:

- intégrer tous les réfugiés qui ont été expulsés de chez eux;
- réparer les torts qui leur ont été causés, comme certains Etats ont réparé envers les Juifs les torts qu'ils avaient subis;
- accepter tous les habitants de la Palestine comme citoyens à part entière de leur propre patrie;
- promouvoir la participation active de tous les Palestiniens à la vie politique de leur pays, sans aucune discrimination;
- utiliser toutes les ressources pour ce développement de tous les citoyens et des pays voisins
- et se soumettre aux décisions internationales -...

telles sont quelques applications modernes des requêtes élémentaires du Sermon sur la Montagne. Que tous les chrétiens du monde les écoutent et les fassent passer dans les puissances de décisions internationales, alors ils auront répondu aux exigences évangéliques que leur rappelle impérieusement le drame actuel de la Palestine.

Beyrouth, 18 juin 1967, signé: un groupe de théologiens du Proche Orient

June 16 - Aufruf der Westberliner Kirchenleitung

Obwohl zur Stunde in Nah-Ost die Waffen schweigen, ist der Friede noch fern. Es fehlt auch jetzt nicht an Äußerungen des Hasses. Der Ruf nach Rache und nach der Vertreibung der Juden aus Palästina ist nicht verstummt.

Wir sind gefordert, der Wahrheit, dem Recht und dem Frieden zu dienen.

1. Darum bekundet das Recht: Sowohl durch die Zustimmung der Mehrheit der UN zu dem ihnen vorgelegten Teilungsplan für Palästina 1947 wie durch die Aufnahme des Staates Israel in die UNO 1949 ist die Siedlung und Staatsbildung von Juden in Palästina anerkannt.
2. Darum tretet ein für das Lebensrecht des Staates Israel! Zu diesem Lebensrecht gehört die freie Zufahrt von Schiffen zu seinem Hafen Eliat.
3. Gottes Verheissung ist über dem von ihm erwählten Volk Israel in Kraft geblieben. Obwohl zum Staat Israel nur ein Teil der Juden in der Welt gehört, ist dieser in die Absichten Gottes mit hineingenommen. Darum bezeugt allenthalben: Wer Israel auslöschen will, widersteht Gottes Verheissung und Willen.
4. Helft Israel in mannigfaltiger Weise, durch Spenden wie durch persönlichen Einsatz! Wir sind dazu verpflichtet, denn zahlreiche Bürger des Staates Israel sind zur Zeit der Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich dorthin geflohen.
5. Durch Schweigen und Unterlassen sind wir damals mitschuldig geworden an dem Frevel, der durch Menschen unseres Volkes an den Juden begangen worden ist. Das macht uns zu Mitbeteiligten. Darum achtet darauf, dass wir nicht durch Unterlassen und Schweigen neue Schuld auf uns laden!
6. Gedenkt der Bedrohten und Bedrängten unablässig in Fürbitte! Schliesst in diese Fürbitte auch alle an dem Konflikt beteiligten Regierungen ein und auch die Mitchristen im Vorderen Orient!

"Alle eure Sorge werft auf ihn, denn er sorgt für euch"(I. Petrus 5,7)

(From: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 21 - "Guiding Principles" of the World Council of Churches. Extract of a letter to the member churches from Dr E.C. Blake.

- (i) It is a chief concern of the World Council of Churches to help prevent violence and war and to seek peace when war has broken out. It is not the task of the World Council of Churches to try to be judge between conflicting national interests.
- (ii) When a conflict has begun, the World Council of Churches is committed to the principle of helping those who have suffered, no matter what is their political position, religious confession, or their racial or national origin.
- (iii) Rather urgent requests have come from some of our constituency for the World Council of Churches to take position on one side or the other of this conflict on the basis of it being our moral duty. It should be generally known that the reason for not responding to these conflicting requests for statements or actions is that the World Council of Churches considers that, as an agency of the ecumenical movement with loyalty to the one Lord Jesus Christ, its primary responsibility is to be an agency of reconciliation across the cultural, confessional, ideological and national divisions of men and churches. We do not believe that the Israeli-Arab conflict is a political issue on which moral duty clearly requires us to take an absolute stand for or against either side. Furthermore, since the majority religious bodies in the nations in this conflict are Jewish and Moslem, churches ought to remember that the acts and failures in the past of predominantly Christian nations give us no firm ground

for Christian self-righteousness or demands upon the belligerents, even for the protection of the Holy Places. There can be no doubt about the special relation between the Christian Churches and the Jewish people everywhere. We have also remembered that anti-Semitism in Christian cultures and active persecution of Jews in recent European history, had contributed to the political problem of the Middle East and laid a heavy burden of remorse upon all Christian Churches. This moral sense of repentant solidarity with the Jewish people everywhere is precisely what requires Christians to strive to be agents of reconciliation. This role makes impossible their uncritical identification with the political aims of any state, because reconciliation must transcend them. Especially is this seen to be true when our member churches in the Arab lands remind us that "Christian" nations have generally failed to act effectively to aid Arab countries in their great problems of poverty and development. Too often on the contrary they have shown greater concern for their own economic and political interests in the Middle East.

- (iv) The World Council of Churches has also been conscious of the position of our member churches in lands where governments of cultures have pressed them to support one side of the conflict. We have been concerned to act to prevent by every means the escalation of the Middle East conflict into a new confrontation of the great powers which would add to the strains between them, already present because of the unresolved conflict in Vietnam.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

June 24 - Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas

The Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas met in special session, June 24, to examine the status of holy shrines; the preservation of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and the present tragic plight of the refugees in the Holy Land. At the meeting it was unanimously decided:

1. To instruct the Chairman of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops to take all necessary steps at the United Nations, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches and other international and religious agencies, to defend and to preserve the traditional and inalienable rights of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the Holy Land;
2. To voice the conviction that the shrines of all faiths in the Holy Land be given an internationally guaranteed status, irrespective of the results of present efforts for a political settlement; and
3. To express its deep concern for the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of refugees in the Holy Land, and to establish a special 'Holy Land Refugee Fund' to which all participating jurisdictions are urged to contribute....  
(EPS, Geneva)

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

# DOCUMENTARY SERVICE

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June 28, 1967

## RABBI ON WAR

The following statement on the continuing Arab-Israel conflict was written by Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Jewish theologian, author and professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. It was distributed in New York by the New York Board of Rabbis.

O God, do not keep silence,  
Do not hold thy peace, be not still, O God...  
They lay crafty plans against thy people...  
They say, "Come let us wipe them out as a nation;  
Let the name of Israel be remembered no more...  
Psalms 83: 1-4

This psalm was our continuous prayer for weeks, witnessing how the Arab rulers were forging a ring of vast armies, tanks and planes around the tiny territory of Israel, announcing the blockade of the gulf of Aqaba, proclaiming the imminent "holy war" of destruction and extermination.

Terror and dread fell upon Jews everywhere: Will God permit our people to perish? Will He permit another Auschwitz, another Dachau, another Treblinka?

The people in the land of our fathers are "the remnant of Israel" and the survivors of the "house of Jacob" (Isaiah 10:2), "a brand plucked from the fire" (Zechariah 3:2), survivors of Nazi extermination camps. Will God permit "Israel his first-born son" (Exodus 4:22) to perish?

The darkness of Auschwitz is spiritually still upon us, its memory is a torment forever. In the midst of that darkness there is one spark of light: the return of our people to our Holy Land. Will God permit this spark to be crushed?

Had God permitted Sanherib to conquer Jerusalem and to destroy and to disperse the people the way he dealt with other peoples in that area, or had the Maccabees been defeated, where would the world be today? There would have been no Jewish people, no Jesus, no Apostles, no Mohammed.

Sacred history has not come to an end. Many of God's blessings are still in store for all mankind. The state of Israel, a new chapter of sacred history, the partial fulfillment of God's promise to His people, is a prelude, we hope, to new wonders, to new blessings.

(MORE)

DOCUMENTARY SERVICE  
NC NEWS SERVICE

-2-

RABBI ON WAR  
(June 28, 1967)

The Arab states have consistently refused to recognize Israel's existence, have subjected it to military harassment, infiltrating the land and killing civilians. They have received arms from Soviet Russia in the amount of almost \$2 billion and the avowed purpose proclaimed by the Arab rulers was to throw the population of Israel into the ocean.

We abhor war with all our heart and soul but there is a right and duty of self-defense.

History is not a blind alley, we believe, and there is always a way that leads out of stupidity and sin. Over all the darkness of experience hovers the vision of a different day.

"In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria: the Assyrian will come to Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians. In that day Israel shall be a third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, which the Lord of hosts has blessed, saying Blessed be My people Egypt and Assyria, the work of My hands, and Israel, My inheritance" (Isaiah 19:23-25).

In the days of the prophet Isaiah, Egypt and Assyria were locked in deadly wars. Hating each other, they were both the enemies of Israel. How did Isaiah, the son of a people which cherishes the privilege of being called by the Lord, "My people, the work of My hands," feel about Egypt and Assyria? The God of Israel is also the God of Syria, the God of Egypt. The enmity between the nations will turn to friendship. They will live together when they worship together. This is our hope, our prayer, our goal.

July 7 - Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches

In the Middle East today the World is paying the price for its willingness to ignore explosive situations of human need and national hatred as though time alone would remove them. The National Council of Churches confesses its participation in this sin of neglect.

In an area which has long seen differing peoples contending for homeland, the State of Israel came into being in 1948. The displacement from their homes of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs relegated them to refugee status and all too often confined them to misery and despair. For a generation they have cried out for redress of their grievances. Among the few who have heard have been Arab leaders, outraged at the establishment of Israel in the first place and fearful of her future expansion. The churches have also heard. Christians, as well as Jews and Muslims, are closely bound by historic ties to the land where all three faiths had their origin. But our contribution to the relief of suffering and the pursuit of justice there has been inadequate when compared to our resources.

For a generation the world has heard politically inspired threats of a war of extermination against Israel. It has heard answering threats of retaliation by Israel. The consequences speak for themselves. During this period we Christians have said little and done little to seek assurance for Israel that extermination would not be her fate. We have called on neither the Arab states nor Israel to abandon warfare as the means for settlement of conflicting national interests.

Now that violence has erupted, the National Council of Churches will

not fail to help those who have suffered. We strive to encourage every means of negotiation and agreement which might remove the causes of violence. This does not mean that ~~we~~ we are unaware of the moral claims made by both sides. These claims exist in historical ~~times~~ circumstances which are at best ambiguous in a century which has been singularly unkind to Arab and Jews alike.

The National Council of Churches lists below six major issues which we believe must be dealt with if there is to be peace in the Middle East.

#### I. Territorial Integrity

With due consideration for the right of nations to defend themselves, the National Council of Churches cannot condone by silence territorial expansion by armed force. Israel's unilateral retention of the lands she has occupied since June 5 will only deepen the divisions and antagonisms which separate her from those neighbours in the midst of whom she must dwell.

The territorial frontiers of the states of the Middle East should now be definitely established by negotiation in treaties of peace and the integrity of such frontiers should be assured by international protection. No territories should be gained or boundaries violated by force. The international community should take all necessary action to prevent territorial changes brought about by other than peaceful means.

#### II. The Acceptance of the State of Israel

Indispensable to peace in the Middle East is acceptance by the entire international community of the State of Israel, ultimately in a peace treaty or by de facto means short of a treaty. Early talks between the belligerents with or without the good offices, conciliation or mediation of a third party are encouraged.

#### III. The Refugees

Means must be found to remove the festering cause of suffering and unrest which is the displacement of the Palestinian Arabs. Israel must accept significant responsibility for solving the refugee problem.

The bringing into being of thousands of new refugees day by day in the wake of the recent hostilities demands the urgent attention of the world. Israel should do everything in her power to encourage such refugees to remain and to facilitate their re-admission to their homes.

We believe possible alternatives for solving the refugee problem of longer standing are repatriation of those who became refugees prior to the 1967 hostilities, to their former homes or nearby, or emigration to other lands of their choice. In either case the refugees should have status of full citizenship and their rights protected. We view these as minimum options to achieve approximate justice, and recognize that these programmes will require imagination, patience, and substantial funds. Israel, together with the Arab states and other members of the international community, must share responsibility for solving this refugee problem.

#### IV. Jerusalem

We support the establishment of an international presence in the heretofore divided city of Jerusalem which will preserve the peace and integrity of the city, foster the welfare of its inhabitants, and protect its holy shrines with full rights of access to all. We encourage the earliest possible advancement of United Nations proposals to make such arrangements practicable.

We cannot approve Israel's unilateral annexation of the Jordanian portions of Jerusalem. This historic city is sacred not only to Judaism, but also to Christianity and Islam.

#### V. Arms control

The extension of militarism in the Middle East raises the specter of nuclear confrontation, both between the super powers and, potentially between the Arab states and Israel. As long as other countries of the world ship arms to the antagonists, either in military aid to establish a balance of deterrence or on purchase orders, the danger of new bloodshed and escalation will remain. We call on arms-exporting nations to subscribe to the proposal for the establishment of an effective arms monitoring and

control commission in the United Nations. We believe also that arms control is necessary, and that expenditures for armaments should be replaced by expenditures for peaceful purposes.

#### VI. Reconciliation and Reconstruction

A new will and spirit must obtain, both in the Middle East and in bodies politic around the world, if peace and development are to come to the Middle East. The cruel inequities of wealth, exploitation, poverty and illiteracy should be corrected, and social changes should be encouraged and supported to that end. Cooperative efforts to utilize scarce fresh water resources such as the Jordan River and practical applications of desalinization research, are merely two obvious priority needs if arable land are to be expanded for the benefit of Arab and Israeli alike.

Free trade and with it free access to the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal by all countries in the area will establish and expand the economies of each nation so that all may prosper. With trade must be coupled capital for investment and construction. We advocate a full-scale development programme for the entire area, underwritten by a development bank for the Middle East or by commitments from private or public sources with sufficient capital to join in the endeavour. The establishment of a research institute in Jerusalem or elsewhere, bringing together in dialogue for problem-solving the best minds in the Middle East, Arab and Israeli, would contribute substantially to a plan for growth and a spirit of mutual endeavour. The National Council of Churches stands ready to work with the World Council of Churches, national governments, private foundations, or any interested party for the realization of peace with justice in the Middle East.

We record our conviction that these issues in the Middle East must be resolved in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that the members of the United Nations should fulfil their responsibility both inside and outside the UN in order to bring about such resolutions.

Our commitment to the task of peace-keeping motivates us to pursue it across the cultural, confessional, ideological, and national divisions of man. Therefore:

1. We call upon our churches, in the ministry of service and compassion, to support the appeal of the World Council of Churches for an initial sum of two million dollars to be used for relief of all war sufferers throughout the entire area and for resumption of work among the neediest people. Church World Service is to be commended and encouraged to raise one million dollars as our share.
2. Our people should be challenged to support negotiation on the difficult issues. The United Nations peace-keeping programme must be enlarged to foster international judgement, enabling it to override national sovereignties and conflicting interests to the end that peace may be patiently and finally established.
3. Believing that the present crisis offers further challenge for conversations on international issues with representatives of the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities, we encourage the Department of International Affairs to seek and receive every opportunity to involve the widest possible member communion and Council representation for such dialogues.
4. We ask the Division of Christian Unity and the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches to continue to explore with the World Council of Churches the possibilities for an Inter-Faith Centre in Jerusalem that would be a place for encounter, study and action among Jews, Christians and Muslims.
5. We commend the World Council of Churches for its programme of service and compassion and its mission of fellowship to the area. We offer not only our support but indicate our readiness to respond to their suggestions for ways we can:
  - a. Testify to the solidarity within the World Christian Community.
  - b. Explore with our Christian brothers in the area appropriate conversation with representatives of the Israeli and Arab communities.

# Jerusalem Should Remain Unified

The fate and destiny of Jerusalem impinges crucially upon the relationship of Christianity to Judaism.

Judaism has at its center an indissoluble bond between the people of Israel and the land of Israel. For Christians, to acknowledge the necessity of Judaism is to acknowledge that Judaism presupposes inextricable ties with the land of Israel and the city of David, without which Judaism cannot be truly itself. Theologically, it is this dimension to the religion of Judaism which leads us to support the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.

During the past twenty years the city of David has experienced an artificial division. This has resulted in a denial of access to their holy places for all Jews and for Israeli Arabs of the Muslim faith. It has also severely limited accessibility to Christian shrines for Israeli Christians. This injustice, we must confess, did not elicit significant protests on the part of the religious leaders of the world.

We see no justification in proposals which seek once again to destroy the unity which has been restored to Jerusalem. This

unity is the natural condition of the Holy City, and now once again assures the world's religious peoples the freedom of worship at the shrines which remain the spiritual centers of their faith.

We are gratified that the sanctity and protection of the holy places of all denominations have been assured by the Government of Israel, whose record over the last twenty years in providing free access to Christian shrines within her jurisdiction inspires confidence that the interests of all religions will be faithfully honored. This confidence is further strengthened by Israel's offer to place the holy places under independent denominational supervision.

The new situation has also created an opportunity to come to grips decisively with the Arab refugee problem, which must weigh heavily on the world's conscience. We urge both Israel and the Arab countries to exert new initiatives to eliminate once and for all this human suffering, within the framework of an overall settlement of the major issues to be achieved through direct negotiations.

c. Understand the programme and needs of the churches and institutions of the other communities of faith.  
d. Be a ministry of listening to the concerns of Christians, Muslims and Jews.

(from: Newsletter FCC, December 1967)

New York Times July 12, 1967:

Signators of the New York Times July 12, 1967, advertisement:  
 "JERUSALEM SHOULD REMAIN UNRIED"

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 Chicago Theological Seminary  
 Chicago, Illinois

**Dr. Jerald C. Brauer, Dean**  
 University of Chicago Divinity School  
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## SPECIALIZED MINISTRIES DEPARTMENT

## NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

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HOWARD SCHOMER  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Telephone (212) 870-2460

To: Signers of the New York Times July 12, 1967, advertisement:  
"JERUSALEM SHOULD REMAIN UNIFIED"

From: Howard Schomer

Date: July 13, 1967

As I read your public statement this morning, certain letters from the Middle East lay upon my desk. Because a number of you are old colleagues and friends, I would like to share these materials with you. They are representative of the flow of information coming to our church mission agencies from the area of conflict. I think they reveal little-publicized aspects of the problem upon which you have taken a strong, clear stand.

I. Mrs. Charles K. Nucho is an American Protestant, daughter of the long-time comptroller of Union Theological Seminary in New York. Her Lebanese husband is the president of the Christian Medical Association of the Near East, as well as the director of the Hamlin Hospital for Chest Diseases.

II. Mrs. Nancy Nolan Abu Haydar, an American Protestant, is the wife of a Lebanese endocrinologist on the faculty of the Medical School of the American University of Beirut.

III. Bishop Samuel of Cairo, who is known to many of you and who is in New York this week, is head of ecumenical and social services for the Coptic Orthodox Church.

Several of us at the National Council of Churches are in close contact, amid the current tensions, with Jewish colleagues who have sometimes expressed themselves as spokesmen for "the Jewish Ecumenical Establishment". We are keenly aware that the precious Jewish-Christian dialogue is in some jeopardy at this time and requires of Christians special sensitivity and courage. But we are also aware that the Orthodox and Protestant Christians of the Middle East are subject to all of the painful pressures that grip the general Arab population, plus the peculiar dangers inherent in their minority status. We are determined to keep faith with both our fellow-Christians in the Middle East and our Jewish brethren there and here.

Speaking only for myself, I do not believe that we can keep faith with both, or promote proximate justice for all of the peoples of the Middle East, through the euphemistic formula that "Jerusalem Should Remain Unified". Daily the Israeli Government is proceeding with the displacement of Arabs and Arab institutions as it takes over the administration of the ancient sector of the city. The Government of Israel has flatly rejected a United Nations call, voted by the General Assembly without dissent, to rescind its acts of outright annexation. The "unification" of which you speak is a simple act of conquest.

A UNIT OF THE DIVISION OF OVERSEAS MINISTRIES FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY SERVICE

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Your position is therefore entirely one-sided, totally rejecting the claims of Arabs, Christians and Muslims alike, to the city where they have dwelt for so many hundreds of years.

While it is quite possible for any of us to make the bald judgment that Jordanian Jerusalem should now become a part of the State of Israel through right of conquest and by reason of Israel's technological and administrative superiority, I wonder what good can be accomplished by confusing this notion of "manifest destiny" with Biblical revelation. Is it true that "Judaism cannot be truly itself" without the City of David? Have Christians not learned from the Hebrew prophets that every idolatry, even of "holy places", is an abomination unto the Lord, that our God does not dwell in temples made with hands? What is the theology out of which it can be said of the only historic part of Jerusalem, the Jordanian sector, that its annexation to the modern Israeli sector is "the natural condition of the Holy City"? Is the present passionate identification of "the holy congregation of Israel" with the soil of the Israeli State, however delimited, the highest insight of prophetic Judaism, or a temporary aberration which, in years to come, Jew and Christian alike will have to regret?

These holy places do have their evident historic and emotional significance. In actual practice, is there not every reason to fear that free and equal access to them for all three of the religions concerned can never be implemented if Jerusalem remains under the political control of either of the bitterly hostile parties? I am convinced that it can be guaranteed only through some form of political internationalization of the whole city. Moreover, only such international political control can assure to both Jordan and Israel their fair shares of the income which these shrines bring to the area, and which is so important to the economic survival of the desert kingdom of Jordan.

I am encouraged to find the germ of a fresh approach to the contemporary significance of Jerusalem in the minds of many who worked on the NCC Executive Committee resolution concerning "The Crisis in the Middle East", released yesterday and herewith transmitted for your study. In the context of the paragraph on economic problems, page 4, it is suggested that Jerusalem might be the proper place to locate "a research institute ... bringing together in dialogue for problem-solving the best minds in the Middle East, Arab and Israeli." Concerning recommendations on religious institutions, page 5, strong support is offered for the idea of developing in Jerusalem "an Inter-faith Center that would be a place for encounter, study and action among Jews, Christians and Muslims."

Under the political administration of some kind of inter-governmental consortium, the Mount of Zion might well become the unifying center of all the peoples of the Fertile Crescent, the seat of inter-governmental agencies devoted to the social and economic advance of the whole region, the home of inter-faith movements consecrated to the spiritual progress of all mankind. It is no argument that history gives us no working model of a successfully internationalized city. The tragic failure of purely national control of Jerusalem is documented by the history of more than three thousand years, and the ephemeral character of every triumphal entry based on mere victory in battle hardly needs still another pathetic demonstration. It is the hour for a new, a more creative vision of the political order of this city over which Jesus wept, choked with longing that it might discover the things that make for peace, and so be spared still another destruction.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM ●

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST  
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO : DOM Executives  
Colleagues in DOM Organizations  
NCC Colleagues

FROM : David M. Stowe

SUBJECT: Information on the Middle East Situation

DATE: July 14, 1967

With DOM involved directly, and through the World Council of Churches, in the Middle East situation, we are very much in need of all available information about the human condition of the peoples caught in the middle.

Doubtless many of you have access from time to time to fresh, first-hand reports which would help us in interpreting and responding to the needs there. It would be immensely helpful if you would share such information with our Middle East and Europe Department (Dr. Dorman and Dr. Lomas). They will make it available to the Department of International Affairs and other interested units.

NB

Attached are examples of the kind of material which is needed. They are first-hand accounts of some of the human aspects of the conflict.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Hamlin Hospital  
Hammana, Lebanon  
July 4, 1967

Dear Friends,

This is a far different letter from our usual newsletter describing hospital activities. In the past few weeks we have found ourselves in the midst of a tragic situation in the Middle East--unbelievably misrepresented by the western radio and press. We cannot but speak!

Since the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the Arab nations on June 5th we have been bombarded from all sides by news reports--most of which were contradictory in the extreme. What was the truth of the situation? To be absolutely certain that we were not disseminating rumor we have waited until certain friends of ours have arrived from Jerusalem. There are friends who have lived there throughout the hostilities and who can be relied on to report the situation as it was.

One such friend is an American housewife. Enclosed is her first hand report of the situation as it was up to the day she left--two weeks after the war.

Another friend who has recently come to us on her way to the United States is the wife of the warden of the Garden Tomb, Mrs. Mattar. The Mattars are of Jordanian nationality and for many years have been entrusted with the care of this beautiful spot which many believe may be the actual place where Jesus was buried. They have tended the garden there, have arranged for Christian groups to hold services, have preserved a quiet, dignified atmosphere for those who wish undisturbed meditation, and have personally accompanied the hundreds of pilgrims who have visited daily. Their tour of the Tomb and neighboring Golgotha was no mechanical repetition of the historical facts for the benefit of tourists. It was a religious experience! Along with the impact of their words was imparted the conviction of believing Christians.

It had come time for Mr. Mattar to retire and his wife had expressed a longing to visit their married children and grandchildren now living in the States. But every time a new group of visitors would knock at the gate he would leave his dinner or whatever he was doing, thanking the Lord for the new opportunity of spreading His word. Mr. Mattar's wish was to remain at his post, and this wish was granted, for he is buried in the Garden today.

On June 5th, when the war broke out and shells were falling all around them, the Maatars and their German assistant, Sigrid, found their best place of refuge to be the Tomb itself. They stayed there all of Monday and Monday night. Early on Tuesday morning Mr. Mattar said, "My heart is at peace today and I am not afraid. I feel that I am ready to meet my Master". During a lull in bombardment he said he was going across the compound to the house--a hundred yards away-- to make some tea for them. Before he left he providentially gave his wife the money he was carrying. Some time later Mrs. Mattar and Sigrid heard someone banging on the garden gate. They heard Mr. Mattar walking out to answer and heard him say, "Good morning" and then a blast of machine gun fire. The Israeli soldiers then came into the garden and shot into the tomb where the two ladies were. When she heard them reload, Sigrid dashed out screaming. The soldiers, taken back by the presence of an obvious foreigner moved on with a word and wantonly machinegunned the house from top to bottom. They emptied the remaining few dollars from Mr. Mattar's wallet.

Mrs. Mattar spent the next two days in the Dominican monastery next door. No one was allowed to remove her husband's body from the ground for more than two days. On Friday he was buried in the garden near the place so dear to him. During that time the house was thoroughly looted. On a trip back to the house Sigrid was told to wait outside for a half hour until the soldiers had finished their "searching for arms", which was the general pretext for looting in the city.

While a number of families were huddled in the blackness of the Dominican cellar an Israeli soldier came down and ordered all the children to be brought upstairs. They were to be used as hostages in the face of Jordanian fire. The youngsters clung to their mothers in terror as the soldier's flashlight played into all the corners. Then to the credit of this particular soldier at least, let it be said that he remarked, "I am the son of a mother, too", and changed his mind.

By the 15th of June, Mrs. Mattar was given the opportunity of leaving. She no longer had a house or family and most of her belongings were stolen. What was there to stay for? With one small suitcase and a plastic bag full of items salvaged from the ravaged house she walked down to the center of town where Israeli busses were waiting to take refugees to the Jordan border -- a distance of about 25 miles through parched countryside. Along the way were the remains of bombed ambulances with burned stretchers still in place. Near the border the bus stopped and the occupants were asked to get out. Before them was a water truck with faucets where the refugees were allowed to drink. Some smiling soldiers were passing around crackers. The bus passengers were bewildered by all this attention and wondered at the change of attitude of the Israelis until the reason became plain. Nearby, were grinding the cameras of a number of television and newsmen. Mrs. Mattar describes one with the word "Life" written on his shirtfront. Israel was to be proclaimed to the world as the humane victor "feeding the refugees"! (In another place eye witnesses have reported watching prisoners being given bread and olives during a tour of western officials and then machine-gunned as soon as the officials left) The newsmen were also busy taking pictures of nearby gypsies. These are often represented to the world as typical Arabs.

At the Jordan River the broken ends of the bridge protruded from the unusually high waters. A rope was stretched from shore to shore. The refugees were obliged to shoulder what possessions they could and, holding on the rope, wade through the deep water to Arab held Jordan on the other side. A trip back for more belongings was not permitted by the Israelis who have since been seen (by a British correspondent) to kick and slap and occasionally fire upon anyone attempting to return.

During Mrs. Matter's brief stopover with us in Lebanon, we were privileged to witness a superb example of the wonderful sustaining power of faith. Here is a family which has lost house and possessions in 1948 when Israel first took over Palestine. During the Suez crisis in 1956 they lost a piece of land. Now Mrs. Mattar has lost not only possessions but what was infinitely more precious. And yet she is not bitter and during the time she spent in the Dominican cellar, when those around her were voicing their deep resentment of the Israelis she remembered that God would not listen to her prayers when her heart was full of hatred. On her knees she prayed for the forgiveness of the soldiers that had shot her husband

--not knowing what they were doing. She showed us the passage that was quoted in her book of daily devotions on that terrible Tuesday:

When through the deep water I cause thee to go,  
The rivers of sorrow shall not overflow;  
For I will be near thee thy troubles to bless  
And sanctify to thee thy deepest distress.

This was another example of the guiding hand that has been so evident in her life during the recent days. It is interesting to note that her special visa for entering the United States given her years ago, was valid until only a few days after she so unexpectedly needed it. Mrs. Mattar has now gone to her daughter who is studying for her PhD at Columbia University. She is going to need every bit of the consolation of the words above to sustain her in a New York delirious with happiness over the Israeli victory!

When those of you who live in the West see and hear of Arabs being described in belittling terms, remember that there are also many Christians among them like the Mattars, whose families have been Christian for centuries and whose roots are in Palestine. They are now being forced to flee through intimidation and starvation. Two days ago the Israelis announced that anyone wishing to return to his home may do so until August 10th. When the refugees left, the Israelis took away all of their papers and yet now the evacuees must prove that they have lived in Jordan in order to return. And to what will they return? To houses looted of foodstuffs and other belongings with no possibility of work and no chance of help since even the international Red Cross is not permitted by the Israelis to enter the occupied zone.

As an unfortunate by-product of our western policy, many Arabs are finding Christianity and Zionism to be synonymous and are turning away from anything Christian--undoing the patient years of work by national and foreign evangelists.

It is our earnest hope that all of you will share these letters with your church groups, and will join your prayers with ours that a solution to the tragedy of the Holy Land may be found compatible with the principles of Christian love.

Mrs. Charles K. Nucho

I am writing this open letter to the Christians of the Western world on behalf of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. While I cannot believe that world Christianity is willing to abandon the land and city so profound in its memories of Jesus Christ, in vain I scan the international press daily for the words which will alert the Western world to the plight of the Holy City of Jerusalem. The absence of such reports, due in part to the difficulty encountered by foreign correspondents wishing to enter Jerusalem plus the reluctance of vested interests to publish or broadcast a complete and unbiased story of Jerusalem, has prompted me to make this appeal on a personal basis.

My husband and I, along with our three children, lived in Jerusalem from September, 1966 until June 19, 1967. During this time my husband, a physician, was spending his sabbatical year of leave from the faculty of the medical school of the American University of Beirut at the Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem. There he was engaged in research work concerning malnutrition in Arab refugee children. Up to three weeks ago we knew Jerusalem as it lived in peace and security, its people happy and contented as they began to experience a taste of prosperity which they have worked so hard to attain in the 20 years since disaster struck them during the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.

Today Jerusalem is an occupied city, ruled over by an enemy determined to irrevocably change its physical appearance and break the spirit of its people. These objectives are being pursued in many ways with the utmost speed and precision as we saw very clearly. After a three hours' notice to evacuate their homes, the dwellings of approximately 250 families were bulldozed down in the Moroccan Quarter of the Old City to make way for a paved square in front of the Wailing Wall. In like manner the Jewish quarter, so called after the Jews who rented land there prior to 1948 from the Arab land trusts, was destroyed so that a road leading directly to the Wailing Wall might be built. This area contained a refugee camp, many small workshops and numerous homes. The 2,000-3,000 people made homeless by these combined operations, all of which was accomplished:

[end]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



within 24 hours, wandered the streets with the few possessions they were able to snatch up and carry until finally, in desperation, most of them had no alternative but to board buses which took them to the banks of the Jordan River where they crossed over into what remains of Free Jordan. The Israeli authorities made absolutely no attempt to find or provide any kind of alternate housing for any of these people. Similar upheavals will follow in rapid succession until the pressure of world opinion forces Israel to act in accordance with basic humanitarian principles.

Still more terrible than such forced dispersals is the immediate danger of starvation which faces the 30,000 people who live within the old walled City of Jerusalem. Wage earners have not worked for more than three weeks and owners of small shops and businesses have had no customers for at least as long. Many of these people have been further impoverished as a result of the looting of stores and homes and, even, of being robbed of the money they carried in their pockets. As a result of all these factors the vast majority of these people have no money with which to buy the remaining stocks of foodstuffs. We have, with the help of friends, canvassed much of the Old City population and have neither talked to nor heard of anyone who has received food from the Israeli authorities, in spite of the announcement in the June 12th issue of The Jerusalem Post saying that "thousands of loaves of bread and bottles of milk" had been distributed free of charge to the residents of the Old City. Unless these people do receive help from the outside world within a very short period of time they will have to choose between starvation and emigration to Free Jordan, thereby abandoning their homes and businesses. It is my firm conviction that this pathetic situation has been deliberately contrived as a means of forcing these people to leave, thereby enabling the Israeli authorities to destroy or confiscate more and more property until the demographic structure of the Old City has been completely remodeled to suit the long term objectives of the Israeli government.

Since, up to the day of our departure, there was no international relief agency working in Jerusalem, or in any other section of occupied Jordan, which could report to the world about these violations of all humanitarian principles, the Israeli authorities can pursue their aims unwatched and unhindered. All attempts of the Red Cross and its Moslem counterpart, the Red Crescent, to give material aid to the population of occupied Jordan have been ignored by the Israeli authorities. This attitude has been dramatically demonstrated in the incident of recent days when a Red Cross unit trying to enter the West Bank of Jordan across the ruined bridges over the River was fired upon by Israeli soldiers. At the same time all efforts by the people of Jerusalem themselves to organize relief have been thwarted. The Greek Patriarch in Jerusalem called for a meeting of all heads of religious communities in the Old City so that they might make plans to help their people. He promptly received a summons by the office of the Israeli military governor who told him that such meetings were forbidden and would only bring trouble to everyone thus involved. To emphasize this point the Patriarch, a man of about 80 years, was denied the use of his official car and returned to the Patriarchate, a distance of about two miles, on foot.

While the Israeli authorities proclaim to the world that all religions will be respected and protected and post notices identifying the Holy Places, Israeli soldiers and youths are throwing "stink bombs" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and sectarianism is being fostered. The Moslem call to prayer, formerly heard from every minaret five times daily, is no longer heard in Jerusalem, third most sacred city to the hundreds of millions of Moslems all over the world.

The Church of St. Anne, whose crypt marks the birthplace of the Virgin Mary, has been virtually destroyed and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was damaged. The wanton killing of the Warden of the Garden Tomb followed by the shooting into the Tomb itself in an attempt to kill the Warden's wife was another instance that we knew first-hand which illustrates the utter disregard shown by the occupation forces toward the Holy Places and the religious sensibilities of the people in Jordan and in the rest of the world. The desecration of the Christian churches, especially the Church of the Nativity and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of which we know personally, includes smoking in the churches, littering the churches, taking dogs inside, and entering them in inappropriate manner of dress. Behavior such as this cannot be construed other than as a direct insult to the whole Christian world.

The deliberate bombing of hospitals in Bethlehem and Jerusalem, destruction of ambulances clearly marked as such, the strafing of doctors retreating on foot from an army hospital, napalm bombs used on retreating soldiers and civilians, terror tactics such as threatening the use of gas in Bethlehem and the kidnapping of children from the Old City of Jerusalem, are all calculated to drive people out of their homes and country. And the wide-scale, organized looting of stores and homes are some of the other terrible things which we have seen ourselves. It should be stressed that all of these things are being done by Israeli Army personnel, many of them officers.

While Jerusalem struggles to survive, the world's attention is absorbed by political discussions and the world Christian conscience is being deluded and poisoned by a world-wide hate campaign directed against the Arabs. The fact that this psychological warfare is raining indignities upon people from all Arab countries, and in many instances, involving people we know who have recently returned from Western countries, makes it all the more diabolical and destructive in its implications than any of the heartbreaking effects of the recent war. This massive propaganda effort launched by world Zionism must be recognized as a diversionary tactic whose ultimate aim is to do nothing less than to finally and completely sever all relationships between the Western world and the Arab world by engendering bitter hatred between the two.

I appeal to every person who reads this letter to answer this campaign of hate with a campaign of Christian love and concern for all the people in the Arab world who have and are suffering from the effects of aggression, deprivation and malice. I believe that only the immediate and concerted action by Christians the world over will save Jerusalem from demographic and spiritual obliteration.

I have spoken mainly of Jerusalem because of its dire need and complete isolation from the rest of the world and because what I have recorded is what I have personally seen and heard, and know to be true. It is well known, however, that thousands of people in other parts of occupied territory are also in desperate straits and are daily fleeing in terror to Free Jordan.

I urge you to meet these needs by contacting your local and national church councils, Red Cross chapters, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. branches, Lions and Rotary clubs and all other organizations which can exert pressure on national and international levels. I feel sure that such a response from individuals and groups will force the government of Israel to allow international relief agencies to work in occupied Jordan and will, furthermore, demonstrate to the Arab people that they have not in fact been forsaken by the West.

June 26, 1967

Nancy Nolan Abu Haydar  
Beirut, Lebanon

III

July 13, 1967

Dr. Howard Schomer  
 National Council of Churches  
 475 Riverside Drive  
 New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Dr. Schomer:

Greetings in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

I read a statement in the New York Times of July 12, 1967, entitled "Jerusalem Should Remain Unified" and signed by a number of professors of theology, especially your former colleagues in Chicago. I was astonished to see this one-sided statement coming from highly respected theological scholars.

Theologically speaking, if we believe that the earthly Jerusalem still has to be bound religiously to the people of Israel, then we seem to believe that Jesus did not come, or that He was not resurrected. But we know that Jesus said to the Samaritan woman at the well, "Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father ... The hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him." (John: 21,23)

But in any case, the new city of Jerusalem is totally modern. It has no historical significance. So it has nothing to add to the ancient city of Jerusalem. The unification of the two parts has no religious significance.

I know that you have received direct eye-witness accounts from American Christians in Jerusalem as to the actual facts of the Israeli administration of the city. I wish to add that the Israeli administration is already changing the shape of ancient Jerusalem by driving out many of the Christian, as well as Muslim, inhabitants of the Old City. Dependable witnesses have told me that every sixth dwelling house in the streets of the Old City is evacuated, to be replaced by a synagogue.

I wish that you might write to the Chicago professors for the sake of the integrity of their information. We are all aiming to seek peace based on justice.

Sincerely,

Bishop Samuel

July 18, 1967

Mr. Howard Schomer, Executive Director  
 Specialized Ministries Department  
 National Council of the Churches of Christ  
 475 Riverside Drive  
 New York, New York 10027

Dear Howard:

I have received your letter with the dossier which accompanied it. I thank you very much for all of this and I will try hereafter to make clear my stand. First of all, every detail of the letters you communicated to me could easily be criticized. The witnesses, are questionable. First, all of them are Arabs; they are not direct witnesses, they are paasionated, full of hatred, overwhelmingly pathetic, nearly all of them are women, and everyone is situated far from the location of the reported events....

What impresses you and much less impresses me, is that those persons are Christians. I know by experience the kind of persons they are. I have met hundreds of them in the Arab countries and I know that most of them are Marcionist, having rebuilt a Christianity which they have tallied to their own measures. I know also that nearly all of them are permeated by the Arab propaganda. What I mean by that is that for twenty years now, daily, the Arab radio and television has poured the ugliest form of Nazi stuff against the Jews. It doesn't make any difference if these are called here Zionists, while the Germans said "plutocrats". I bring here the testimony that the Christian Arabs I have met were full of hostility against the unknown Israelis, a kind of feeling we can easily understand when we think of the delirium against the unknown "communism" in this country, or of the phobia against the unknown "capitalism" in Moscow!

As for the accusations themselves contained in the letters, you will give me the benefit of remembering that I have spent three years in the Middle East. Moreover, I am neither Jew nor Arab myself, and I may add that I had the rare privilege of crossing the border between Israel and the Arab countries each month during my sojourn in the Middle East. I know the nations which confront each other and when I am pushed to a comparison between them, it is a confrontation between a western sensibility on the one hand and a vicious complex of inferiority on the other hand; between Einstein, Buber, Heschel...and... whom? The crimes alleged against Israelis are alleged against those I have named hereabove. It belongs to my faithfulness to them to reject the accusations with the same disgust as if they were fostered against my father. I do not necessarily say that they are mere forgery or hoax, but I certainly say that they distort the events. And then, I am amazed about your accusation of my one-sidedness. If so, what about those letters, filled with hatred, and hysterical pathos? To be sure, some of the so-called "facts" could be based on historical events. For instance, the drama which occurred by the Maatars has a background which can be reconciled, I think, with what I know from Roman Catholic sources in Jordan. But that one could endorse such

narrations and base one's position on them for blaming me for being one-sided, appears to me an incredible naivety. May I recall that we are speaking about war? We have learned that the battle for Jerusalem has been one of the heaviest and the fiercest of the war. The Jordan legionnaires were hidden in every house of the old city, and had transformed every house into a stronghold. We can thus imagine that when the Israelis were taking over house after house they were not coming with flowers.

I know that the "mot d'ordre" among the Arabs is to call the Israelis "the aggressors" (see Mrs. Aba Haydar's letter, page 4). For twenty years the vicious Arab leaders have had the tactics of accusing the others of their own sins. Who has brought the catastrophe on their own heads? Who is responsible for the sequels of misery due to the fights? Who ceaselessly spoke of genocide? Who rejects until now any truce talks? Which "institutions" (your letter, bottom of page 1) refuse the dialogue? Who is still now speaking openly of wiping out the neighbor? Who has made all possible efforts to draw the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in an atomic, mutual annihilation? Who has frightened American women and children in the Cairo hotels? As a stranger in your attaching country, I have noticed with amazement how prompt you are to sympathize with everyone in the whole world...as long as he is not American!

Now that the hot war is over, David has been crushed by Goliath. Twenty years of Arab policy come to such a failure! One can understand the childish hope that it was but a dream. One can understand that the Arabs want to receive back their kost marbles! But, it is difficult to believe that some of our Protestant or Orthodox brethren would share such a silliness. War is no carnival. Nasser spoke of eradicating Israel from the world's map. This is no game. And, by the way, I do not know about the destruction of Cairo, or of Beiruth, or of Amman, or of Damascus...! I do not know about the destruction of the religious shrines of the Old City of Jerusalem, or of Bethlehem, etc.

Do you not feel any uneasiness in the fact that the Churches waited until 1967 to take a stand about the "crisis in the Middle East"? Where are the protests against the arbitrary occupancy of Old Jerusalem by Transjordan? Against the arbitrary and criminal blockade of Israel by the Arabs (I have lived in Israel from 1951 to 1953 and I know about what I speak)? Against the violation by Cairo of the free navigation of the Suez Canal? Against the expulsion of the Jews from all the Arab states (for Israel also has its thousands of refugees of whom nobody speaks in parallel with the Arab refugees in the Arab countries, for the good reason that the Israeli refugees have been settled in Israel when the Arab refugees have been maintained in their misery by the Arab leaders)? Against the "fedayeem", professional Arab killers infiltrating month after month in Israel (please, I also do know about what I

speak)? Against the refusal of the Vatican to recognize the very existence of the state of Israel? Against the fact that Pope Paul VI sent after his historical visit to Jerusalem, a telegram to King Hussein addressing him with all his titles, and to the President Shazar, with the words "Dear Sir"? Against, last but not least, Nasser's threatening of mass killing of the Zionists?...Where is the churches' protest? Have they so quickly forgotten that likewise, six million of Zionists have been reduced into smoke by Egyptians' masters? Don't you feel, like me, uneasy to see, put on the same level, "the threats of a war of extermination against Israel" and "threats of retaliation by Israel" (Documents, page 1)!

For far for the superficial aspects of the problem. For, until now, I have only treated the whole thing from the point of view of justice, not yet as a spiritual question.

As a matter of fact, the names of the belligerents in this affair are not replaceable. It is Israel on the one hand, and the Arabs on the other hand. And this makes the whole difference. "Mr. Hitler 1967" knows it very well, he calls all the Arabs to the "holy war". For his ugly master too, it was a holy war. To every megalomaniac, it is hard not to be the chosen People. Since the Pharaoh of the Exodus, through the wicked Haman, Pilatus, the Crusaders, the Tsars (ancient and modern), the Nazis, Nasser, the KKK...they are innumerable, those for whom the Jew is the insignificant little stone in the wheels of the perfect annihilating machine! You remember that little stone of Daniel II which makes collapse the whole power of 100 million of Arab "brethren".

Not because they are Arabs, to be sure (even if their propaganda affects an attitude of poor, misunderstood martyrs, see your dossier, paasim), it would happen to anyone, to the Belgians, to the Americans,.....who would erect their own statue on clay feet.

I am not doing here an artificial revivalistic exegesis of the Old Testament. I do believe in the indefectible ties between God and his pereennial People. (See my book on that topic). I do believe in the unity of Jesus of Nazareth and His People. I reject as a fatal "Hybris", as a cardinal sin, the attempt of a certain wing in the church (the "Christian" Arabs for instance) to put themselves in the place of Israel. I consider as a self-condemnation the stupid Arab Christian refusal of the Old Testament as a whole and even of the mention of "Israel" in the New Testament. I pretend that those aberrations are inevitable as soon as one rejects the Jews. I subscribe to the statement that the Jews are the (proof of the) presence of God among us. They incorporate the crisis in the world. No one can remain indifferant. It is an either/or.

You invite me, Howard, to weep for the death of the first born sons of Egypt. But, I am not any more on the left side of the Red Sea, I am on the right shore and I sing my joy with Miriam, because those who were already dead are now living and those who dig a pit fall into it (Proverbs 26:27). Don't ask me, in the name of a denatured "Christian" charity, and still less in the name of an uncommitted "Objectivity" to cry crocodile tears on the Arabs victims. I shall not cry when Speck will be electrocuted. I do not think I am "one-sided" because I condemn the monster without trying to charge the slain nurses. This does not mean that I do not pray for my enemies. On the contrary, in order to pray for them, I must first know who they are.

Decidedly, Howard, what I have signed, I have signed. I hope you will understand me. I am,

Faithfully yours

Andre Lacocque.

July 17 - Swedish Ecumenical Committee on International Affairs

The Swedish Ecumenical Committee on International Affairs views with concern the situation in the Middle East. The situation that has long been characterized by hatred, mutual distrust and complete lack of understanding of the claims and points of view of the opposite side has been aggravated by the war and its consequences. Irrespective of how the conflict is interpreted in terms of its causes and significance, it has ~~be~~ to be acknowledged that war cannot contribute to a just and durable settlement of the underlying problems.

It is of utmost importance that steps are taken that can contribute to the upholding of the truce. This, however, is not enough, if new and yet more serious armed conflicts are to be avoided, decisive steps have to be taken as soon as possible towards a modus vivendi which takes into account legitimate interests of all parties concerned and which can prepare the way for a permanent and mutually satisfactory settlement of the conflict. In that respect it depends on Israel in the first place in its capacity as the strongest of the parties at present to take steps that may be suited to create a climate more favourable to negotiations.

The Committee appeals to the Swedish Government to work within the UN and in direct contacts with the parties for a settlement of the conflict on the following points among others:

1. Irrespective of any views on the equity of the design of the UN partition plan of 1947, Israel's right to an existence in peace is a political reality that cannot be questioned. That the Arab states accept this is a precondition to a settlement of other problems.
2. Israel ought to declare clearly that it is prepared to withdraw its troops, in connection with negotiations, inside the borders valid before June 5 this year. The annexation of areas captured since cannot be accepted and is unfortunate since it contributes to increased Arab embitterment.
3. Whatever status Jerusalem may be given in the future with respect to international law, free access to all Holy Places in the whole of the city ought to be guaranteed to adherents of all creeds.
3. The Arab refugees ought to the greatest extent possible to be given the right to return to their former houses. For those who cannot or do not desire to return, the issues of economic compensation for the property they have lost have to be solved in a just and equitable way. Since it can be assumed that Israel cannot alone bear that economic burden, some form of international cooperative effort ought to come about.
4. The right to free navigation ought to be acknowledged by all as valid also for the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.
5. All prisoners of war ought to be released as soon as possible and returned to their countries.
6. The humanitarian aid to the victims of the war ought to be substantially increased and distributed according to the needs, which seems to imply that the Arab countries get the greater part of it.
7. The great powers and their allies ought to attempt by mutual agreements to contribute to the prevention of a new arms race in the area.
8. Conflicts between the parties ought to be settled through mediation under the auspices of the UN.

The long-term goals for the policy in the area ought to be to attempt to create the necessary conditions not only for coexistence but for active cooperation between the parties for the joint development of the whole area. Struggling about scarce resources is to the advantage of nobody, while all will profit from a cooperation of which the results are equitably shared.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

## DALLAS CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE FOR ISRAEL

209 BROWDER BUILDING, SUITE 403 DALLAS, TEXAS 75201 TELEPHONE RI 8-4318

July 25, 1967

Today you were among a select group of Dallasites invited to hear an address by Rabbi Levi A. Olan sponsored by the newly-formed Dallas Christian Committee for Israel. We know that if you attended this meeting you were inspired with all of us by Dr. Olan's challenging portrayal of the plight of Israel's people and of their urgent need for assistance by men of humanitarian spirit everywhere.

Israel, the last great bastion of democracy in the Middle East, has been forced to apply all of its available national funds to the defense of freedom against Communist-inflamed aggression. There are no available funds for the Israeli people's regular health and welfare needs, much less for aid and relief to the thousands of innocent war victims and citizens whose homes and lands were destroyed during Israel's defense.

On every occasion when there has been a pressing need in this community, our Jewish friends have joined unselfishly with us to help meet it. Now it is fitting that we of Dallas join with them to help the people of Israel in their great hour of need.

The Dallas Christian Committee for Israel has been formed to undergird our close ties with the Jewish community in Dallas and to provide a channel for funds for the people of Israel. Your help in this cause will be a true demonstration of your faith and goodwill and will assist greatly in strengthening Israel's citizens.

Please use the attached card and envelope to return your contributions or pledge in whatever amount you are able to give. All gifts to the Dallas Christian Committee for Israel will be turned over to the Jewish Welfare Federation of Dallas and thence to the Israel Emergency Fund, so please make your checks payable to Jewish Welfare Federation of Dallas - Israel Emergency Fund, which contribution is tax deductible.

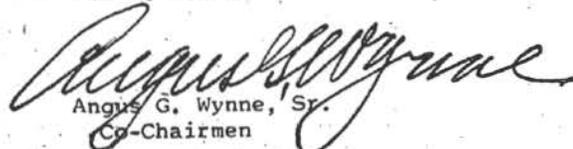
Most sincerely,



Frank H. Heller



Ben H. Wooten



Angus G. Wynne, Sr.  
Co-Chairmen

FRANK H. HELLER, BEN H. WOOTEN, ANGUS G. WYNNE, SR.: CHAIRMEN  
FRANK H. KIDD, JR., M.D., FRED M. LANGE, M. T. (BUDDY) MINYARD: VICE-CHAIRMEN

July 20 - Near and Middle East Committee of the Conference of British  
Missionary Societies - The International Department of BCC

This Committee deplors the spirit and content of the statement on the Middle East, dated 14 June 1967, and hopes that it will be corrected as soon as possible.

This committee would wish an early statement first to express what Christians should be considering and praying about in this present situation, and secondly to state with sensitivity the needs for peace founded on justice.

Such a statement should be framed with the intention of reassuring and encouraging the Christian Churches in the area as well as informing public opinion at home.

This committee shares the department's horror at the results of recent public opinion polls in this country. These would seem to indicate both a lack of appreciation of the background of both the Arab and Jewish point of view, and a lack of responsibility towards the refugee population for whose plight this country's policy was partly responsible.

This committee urges the department to ensure that any further statement should have in view not only ecclesiastic circles but also the ordinary citizen in this country and also in the Middle East, where the present statement has already caused considerable misgivings.

The committee does not feel that one more appeal for refugee relief will meet the needs of the situation, and urges the department to correct as soon as possible the impression given by their first statement.

This committee submits the following points for the department's consideration in forming any ~~xxxx~~ further statement:

1. The need for repentance among Christians in this country for our country's policy in the Middle East since the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration and the constant failure to implement the repeated UN resolutions regarding the refugee problem.
2. Recognition of the protection given by the Muslim community through the CENTURIES TO THE HOLY PLACES.
3. The misappropriation of Old Testament prophecies to justify the recent "fait accompli" of conquest by force.
4. The failure to see the Middle East problem as a moral issue.
5. The failure to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism.
6. Failure to appreciate the existence of indigenous Christian Churches in the Middle East.

Finally this committee feels that a solution to the Middle East problem is not likely to be found without taking into account the moral and historical issues involved.

(from: Newsletter WCC. December 1967).

August - Statement adopted by the Central Committee of the World Council  
of Churches at Heraklion, Crete.

The deep conflict which for over twenty years had divided the Middle East and troubled the whole world and which this year has broken out in a new and bitter fighting, must be of profound concern to all Christians. The countries involved in it have been the birthplace of some of the earliest developed human civilizations and of three of the world's greatest religions, Jewish, Christian and Muslim.

The present crisis has developed in part because the rest of the world has been insensitive to the fears of people in the Middle East; the fears of people of the Arab Nations because of the dynamism and possible expansion of Israel, and the fears of the people of Israel who have escaped from persecution on other continents only to be threatened, at least by word, with expulsion from their new home.

We recognize the urgency of seeking creative solutions to this problem lest the acceptance of a cease-fire without a just political settlement result in a fait accompli which can only increase antagonism and encourage preparation for the next attempt at a solution by armed force.

Since the beginning of the present crisis the World Council of Churches has called for a peaceful and just solution. After the outbreak of war, it urged a speedy cessation of hostilities and insisted that both the peoples directly involved in the conflict and the great powers were responsible for the establishment of a just and durable peace.

We believe there are strong spiritual and moral forces that exist below the surface and can be released to end the cycle of enmity and suspicion. The situation now emphasizes the necessity and presents an opportunity to move towards a brighter future for all people concerned. We do not consider it our task to enter into all the details of a political settlement. We do hold, however, that the following ~~main~~ elements are essential to any peace founded upon justice and recognition of the equality of all peoples in the region.

(1) No nation should be allowed to keep or annexe the territory of another by armed force. This applies to the present situation. National boundaries should rest upon international agreements freely reached between or accepted by the people directly concerned.

(2) Effective international guarantees should be given for the political independence and territorial integrity of all nations in the area, including both Israel and the Arab nations.

(3) There can be neither reconciliation nor significant development in the area unless, in the general settlement, a proper and permanent solution is found to the problem of the Arab refugees, both old and new. We therefore urge:

a. that all persons who have been displaced in recent months should be permitted to exercise their right to return to their former places of residence. In the case of those from the West Bank of the Jordan this will involve action:

- (i) to extend substantially the period of application to return, and
- (ii) to provide a form of application that carries political implications.

We are glad to learn that on both these points some progress has been made.

b. that the United Nations should be increasingly involved in the short and long-term aspects of the problem of all displaced persons. The expanding services of UNRWA are essential and urgently need the generous support of all governments. The World Council should continue in its search for a satisfactory solution to the whole refugee problem. The current operations of the churches and the Near East Council of Churches should be reinforced.

(4) In the meantime until a just and peaceful settlement is reached, we are particularly concerned about the religious aspect of the situation. In a region where communities of three religions met and lived together for long centuries, full religious freedom must be assured to all persons and communities. The continued presence and witness of these faiths and their respective communities must be guaranteed by international agreement including free access to the holy places in a land of unique importance for everyone of them.

(5) While the needs of national security in each case must be adequately met, a new armament race must be avoided by the agreed limitation of national armaments to the lowest level consistent with a balanced security in the area.

(6) The great powers have played a role in shaping the political and economic structure of the Middle East. For this reason and because peace in this most sensitive and central area affects the peace of the world, these nations must be prepared to co-operate with leadership in the Middle East in the stabilization of the region and refrain from selfishly pursuing their own political, economic and commercial interests.

- (7) The legitimate hopes of all people of the Middle East for development should be encouraged based upon the talents and resources of all the nations involved. This assumes international and financial support by all possible sources including the commitment already made by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

(from: Newsletter WCC, December 1967)

FOR THE PRESS  
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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August 26, 1967

DR. CARL MC INTIRE, PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL  
OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

CHALLENGES WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S  
STATEMENT ON ISRAEL

The statement of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, adopted in Crete, reveals the complicity which the Council has with its Russian element and its disregard of the prophecies of Holy Scripture. Not only is Israel not an aggressor, but she is entitled to the land and the city of Jerusalem which she now possesses and had to have for her own protection. The announcement of Nassar, with the backing of the Communists, that he would drive Israel into the sea, further emphasized the impossibility of Israel's territorial position. The brave little power not only acted in her defence, but challenged the entire Communist world. She won for herself that which God promised Abraham, Isaac and Jacob would be their possession. The WCC has completely ignored the Biblical aspects of the conflict and the place which God in His eternal purposes has given to Israel in the Middle East.

## ## ## ## ## ## ##

The Seventh Plenary Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches will assemble in the United States at Cape May, N.J., August 14-25, 1968. It maintains 120 Protestant denominations in consistent membership.

A special ICCC commission is presently in Jerusalem seeking to confer with Israel officials on the Holy Places. The ICCC maintains that Israel should remain and administer the Holy Places.

# NEWS

## Central Conference of American Rabbis

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Los Angeles, Calif. -- The head of Reform Judaism's Commission on Interfaith Activities today accused the organized Christian establishment with failure to back Israel's position in a time of hostilities and crisis.

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, New York City, Director of the Commission told 500 Reform Rabbis at the 78th Annual Meeting of the CCAR at the Hotel Ambassador that "the official spokesmen of American Christendom were not only silent in support for the integrity of the state of Israel, but by their silence or their prayerful calls for peace which urged that the question be placed in a paralyzed United Nations, these leaders also failed the cause of world peace."

A number of rabbis were disappointed at this lack of understanding on the part of the Christian hierarchy since they felt that the Jewish passion for survival, especially after the dreaded holocaust has not been fully comprehended by these groups.

Other rabbis responded that in their own communities large numbers of Christian laymen and clergymen came forth with financial and other aids to their Jewish colleagues and friends on behalf of Israel. They pointed out that the Christian laymen were not acting under the theological doctrines and directives of their faith, but rather as Americans who have warmly received the pioneering and democratic spirit of Israel.

The Rabbis noted that on a grass roots level ministers and priests were not bound by the strictures of official organizational policies and therefore, they were able to come forth. Both the United Jewish Appeal and the Bonds for Israel have reported large contributions above normal giving, from Christian laymen.

Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman, Trenton, N.J., found Christian lay people far ahead of their clergy in coming to the support and expressing sympathy for Israel. He said that the day the war started, "a Protestant school bus driver came to my house with a \$10-bill, a Christian stonemason asked a Jewish real-estate broker to deduct \$25 from \$32-debt owing to him, and make it a gift to Israel. Numerous such stories of the generosity of plain Christian folk, Protestant and Catholic were reported."

In his sermon before the CCAR group, Rabbi Brickner said, "Christianity was faced with an acid test of American inter-religious relations and by and large Christians were silent and in some instances their support was for the wrong reasons--Anti-Communism--red baiting."

He sharply criticized a Jewish national body, the American Jewish Committee, who said in a report that there existed "widespread Christian support for Israel's position as a reflection of the growth of Jewish Christian understanding that has developed through interfaith dialogues."

Some individuals who issued statements were: Richard Cardinal Cushing, Boston; Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, Baltimore; Archbishop Hallinan, Atlanta; Dr. Franklin Litell and Dr. John Bennett, President, Union Theological Seminary.

Although welcoming this support, Rabbi Brickner stated that these individuals were the "exception rather than the rule."

Several Rabbis at the CCAR meeting supported this statement. One said that Cardinal James Francis McIntyre, Los Angeles, "put a lid

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on his boys not to get involved, although at the press level there were a few who were contacted and did express extreme sympathy right away."

Rabbi Ernst M. Lorge, Temple Beth Israel, Chicago, asserted that in his city John P. Cardinal Cody "did not speak up officially, even though he was asked to make an official statement, however, privately the Catholic prelate expressed his sympathy for the state of Israel."

Rabbi Lorge explained the reasoning behind some of the Christian hesitancy, "there are groups of Arab Catholics whom the church does not wish to antagonize, and both Protestant and Catholic groups conduct widespread Missionary activities in that part of the world."

Rabbi Brickner told his colleagues that "We have mistakenly assumed that Jews and Christians understood the basic differences that distinguish us from one another. We have assumed that Christians were cognizant of the mystique of "Jewish peoplehood" which undergirds all Jewish being and which rises involuntarily, instinctively in the breast of practically every Jew when the core of his existence as Jews are threatened, this springs forth instinctively.

He continued, "We have mistakenly thought that American pluralism made Jewish ethnicity self evident and that we could go on with our Christian colleagues to discuss less basic and more subtle notions of Judaism--of faith."

Rabbi Brickner felt "Understanding the very existence of the Jew precedes any interfaith conversations we might wish to have about the Jewish understanding of conscience, morality or worship. If we are to talk theology, let us first talk about the theology of Israel and its role in the life of the Jew."

He stressed that "Despite my disappointment with the initial reaction of organized American Christendom, I do not believe that the American Jew can survive or should seek to survive in this radically new society of ours by remaining aloof from or hostile toward the

-4-

larger community of which they are a part, a large part of which is organized, at least nominally on Christian terms."

As an example of what Rabbis are prepared to do as positive steps to bridge the gap of understanding with their Christian colleagues, Rabbi Albert Lewis, Los Angeles, Chairman of the Committee on Church and State of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California, reported that in his community Jewish spiritual leaders have been asked to seek out private meetings with close Christian colleagues and engage in "frank and open exchanges".

"In this way we hope to help meet the need of the Christian clergy," Rabbi Lewis said, "this will give us an opportunity of learning what questions and concerns are uppermost in the minds and hearts of our Christian colleagues."

He stated that Christian and Jewish clergymen have during the past number of years cooperated closely both nationally and locally on such problems as civil liberties, civil rights, poverty, and world peace. Rabbi Lewis felt "This broad based religious unity is important and necessary for our national life and purpose. We must continue this interfaith, interreligious dialogue between Rabbis, ministers, and priests without interruption."

This afternoon the meeting will conclude with the election of new officers. Tomorrow the CCAR's Executive Board will hold its post convention session. Next year's meeting will be located in Boston.

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# Clergyman Backs Israel Holding Holy City

By Rev. Carl McIntire  
Pastor, Bible Presbyterian Church  
Collingswood, N. J.

On Saturday, July 8, I received a cable from Jerusalem from Dr. Robert W. Hambrook, a member of our Collingswood church. It read: "Come see the wonders of the one Jerusalem." Not only are the hearts of the Jewish people rejoicing throughout the world in the victory which was so swift and decisive and which returned the entire city of Jerusalem to their hands, but a great company of Christians rejoice with them. Jerusalem belongs to them.

I have raised and turned over in cash \$5,100 to the Israel Emergency Fund, through the Federation of Jewish Churches, United Jewish Appeal Campaign, Atlantic City, N.J. As one of the first Christian leaders in the country to come to the support and the defense of Israel in an hour when there was silence and confusion, I felt that Christians should be given an opportunity to express in some concrete way their sympathy.

There are two basic reasons why I support Israel and believe that she is entitled to the land that she has and that she should keep Jerusalem.

First, a part of my ministry on the radio has been our strong stand against Communism and any compromises with it. Israel successfully defied the Communist world. In these matters there can be no question where a Christian should stand. The world has beheld the spectacle of the Number One Communist leader leading the fight for the Arab nations. The



Rev. McIntire

made his best and also his threats to drive Israel into the sea because he was arated by the Communists. Had he been successful, the Communists would have virtu-

ally had undisputed sway throughout the entire Middle East. In a special way I have been concerned about the Communist attack upon religion and their endeavors to

use various religious groups for their deceptive propaganda and I have been fully aware of the Communist oppression of the Jews in Russia and their deceptive use of a number of Jews who have been willing to compromise their faith and their freedom for what position and security Communism offered. But the Jews generally have been more alert to this Communist strategy than have been our Christian leaders who have accepted the patriarch of Moscow and Metropolitan Nikodim and received them into Christian fellowship when they have simply been mouthpieces of the Kremlin. And though some Communists have been Jews, it was abundantly clear to all who would appraise the Communist position and their drive in the Middle East that such a manifestation of power should require and does demand the unity and cooperation of all forces which oppose godless, materialistic communism. It was for this reason that I challenged the neutrality which President Johnson pronounced as the position of the United States. There was nothing neutral about Israel as she fought for her life, for her very existence, and tore the mask from off the face of Meccow and set back the whole world-wide conspiracy. Israel set an example to the United States, one which could very well be followed and which could be used to bring an end to the war in Vietnam and spare the lives of no one knows how many of our beloved American boys.

It was during this period that I, after consultation with some of our brethren in the International Council of Christian Churches, sent telegrams to Israel's foreign

minister, the Honorable Abba Eban at the United Nations and to Premier Levi Eshkol. On June 19th I wired Mr. Eban: "Your defense today was magnificent, brilliant and unanswerable. We fully support Israel. Please make no compromises or concessions. The Old Testament promises abide

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(Continued from front)

you to all you have. Keep Jerusalem, with great admiration." Later, June 25th, I sent the premier in Jerusalem a cable: "Our people congratulate you in your victory and your action to unify Jerusalem. You have our sympathy, encouragement and backing. We oppose any internationalization of the Holy Places too. You can provide all protection and freedom necessary for us all."

I was concerned and continue to be over the possibility of the Christian Holy Places being turned over to the Vatican. Israel should keep them and not permit any particular group of Christians to exploit them or have advantages from them.

I give these references to our telegrams because some Jewish leaders in this country have complained that churchmen have remained silent and attempted also to be neutral. In fact, there has been strong reaction against the ecumenical movement on this very point and I believe properly so. There is a wide difference in the Christian world which many of our Jewish neighbors are not familiar with, but the liberal-modernist element have had more sympathy with the Communists, socialist orientation of society and have, of course, rejected the liberal interpretation of the prophecies of the Holy Scriptures. But across this country the great rank and file of the Bible-believing Christians are with Israel and Israel should know it.

My second reason for supporting Israel is based upon the prophecies of the Old Testament. In Genesis 17, verse 8, God said to Abraham, "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an ever-

lasting possession; and I will be their God." And in Genesis 28:13 the Lord said to Jacob, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; and the land wherein thou dwellest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed." These promises were appealed to by Moses as reported in Deuteronomy, Chapter One, verse eight: "Behold, I have set the land before you; go in and possess the land which the Lord swore unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them." Jeremiah, the prophet, Chapter 16, verses 1 and 15, also refer to "their land." "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be said, The Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the lands whither he had driven them; and I will bring them again into their land that I gave unto their fathers."

The speed of victory and the skill with which military actions were executed, stunned the whole world and indeed it reads very much like the accounts of the deliverance in the Old Testament. The Jews today have so much to be thankful for.

Moreover, Jesus Christ, in one of His great prophetic prophecies said, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," Luke 21:24. And, for the first time since 70 A.D. the Jews now possess the city and the times of the Gentiles are at an end. And all that the Bible predicted concerning Israel and her future will be fulfilled.

As a Christian who believes these matters, we feel very close to the Jews and my concern now is that in her handling of the pres-

REV. MCINTIRE

Rev. Carl McIntire, Director of the 20th Century Reformation Hour Broadcast, and editor of the weekly religious newspaper, "The Christian Beacon," which sponsors the broadcast, is also the pastor of the 1750-member Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, N. J., where he has been pastor since 1933.

Dr. McIntire helped form the International Council of Christian Churches. He attended Princeton Theological Seminary and received his B.A. degree from Park College, Parkersville, Mo. He was graduated from Westminster Theological Seminary. Dr. McIntire is the author of 12 books discussing religion.

ent powers which are hers, the most powerful nation in the Middle East, there will be a disposition to be just, and that injustices may be repaired.

I know that the offering that I raised on Radio Stations WLDB, Atlantic City, N.J. and WXUR, Media, Pa. come from many, many Christians, the largest amount being \$100 and the remainder being \$25.00 and \$10.00. God Almighty, according to His own election, chose Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the line through which the land was to be preserved, and those who would finally possess it, was not through Ishmael or through Esau, but through Isaac and Jacob.

The views which I have expressed have always been ours during the thirty-three years of my ministry in Collingswood, N.J. and are recorded in my sermons when I preached against Hitler and his persecution of the Jews. These prophecies should mean even more to Israel than they do to us as

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Christians and I have been most pleased to be able to encourage and to help their cause with the cooperation of many of our Christians.

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Dr. Carl McIntire, Director.

Sponsored by Christian Beacon, Collingswood, N. J.

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A STATEMENT OF CONSCIENCE

Developments in the Middle East have been a matter of profound concern to alert citizens and it is essential that those concerned with the establishment and preservation of world peace give public expression to their thinking.

Although we are aware of the complexities of long-standing disagreements and the subtleties of international relations, we hope that the nations of the world, and especially the big powers, will seek every possible avenue to avert the catastrophe of renewed conflict in the Middle East. The need for a permanent and just settlement is inextricably intertwined with the questions of world peace and men of good will everywhere have a clear responsibility to speak out in pursuit of these goals.

We believe that settlement of the following issues is of compelling concern to all mankind:

1. The right of Israel and its citizens to exist in a sovereign state.
2. The rights of suffering Arab refugees who have been displaced by conflicts beyond their control.
3. The plight of persecuted Jewish minorities whose human rights have been jeopardized in some Arab lands.
4. The need for guarantees to all nations of free access to international waterways.
5. The peaceful settlement of territorial disputes and other matters of common concern through direct negotiations between interested nations.
6. An end to the arms race in the Middle East and the divergence of all possible resources to the social and economic rehabilitation of the region.
7. Assurance of universal and uninhibited access to the Holy Places in Jerusalem through arrangements for direct supervision by the appropriate Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Moslem and Jewish authorities.

United in our common belief in the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God, we intend to do all within our power to bring about understanding and good neighborliness among the peoples living in the area which is the cradle of our great religions, for it is written: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

8/67 *list*

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 Dr. Frank Gray (Methodist), 5250 Santa Monica Blvd., LA 90029  
 The Rev. Antonio L. Hernandez (Presbyterian), 4517 Bedilion St., LA 90032  
 Dr. Leland Hine (Baptist), Seminary Knolls, Covina  
 The Rev. Dean Humbert, 818 So. Lemon, Anaheim  
 Mr. Lloyd W. Halvorson (Friends), 12151 Dale St., Stanton  
 Mr. Archie Hardwick (Presbyterian), 10125 So. Beach St., LA 90032  
 The Rev. James H. Hargett, 2085 So. Hobart Blvd., LA 90018  
 Dr. G.L. Hays, 3771 La Salle Ave., LA 90018  
 The Rev. Robert Hermanson (Presbyterian), 1501 Wilshire Blvd., LA 90017  
 Mrs. John E. Hutchinson (Methodist), 1432 W. 102nd St., LA 90047  
 Mr. Jack L. Jones, 2538 Seventh Ave., LA 90018  
 The Rev. James Jones (Presbyterian), 2230 W. Jefferson Blvd., LA 90018  
 Dr. James A. Joseph, Claremont Council of Churches, The Claremont Colleges, McAlister Center,  
 Claremont, Calif.  
 The Rev. Arthur C. Keim, Church of the Brethren, 875 West Orange Grove Ave., Pomona  
 Dr. Julian J. Keiser, United Church of Christ, 466 E. Walnut St., Pasadena 91101  
 Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Methodist Churches of So. Calif., 5250 Santa Monica Blvd., LA 90029  
 Dr. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., (Baptist), 2413 Griffith Ave., LA 90011  
 Mrs. Elinor Ashkenazy, American Friends Service Committee, P.O. Box 991, Pasadena  
 The Rt. Rev. Torkom Manogian, 4511 Orchid Drive, LA 90043  
 Dr. Clarence F. McCall, Jr., United Church of Christ, 466 E. Walnut St., Pasadena 91101

Mr. Paul McKelvey (Presbyterian), 314 W. Sixth St., LA 90014  
 Mr. Warren O. Mendenhall (Friends), 1325 No. Lowell, Santa Ana  
 The Rev. Paul Nakamura (Lutheran), 2514 Sixth Ave., LA 90018  
 Dr. James H. Parrott (Disciples), 3126 Los Feliz Blvd., LA 90039  
 Dr. Alfred K. Quinn, 1149 So. Rimpau Blvd., LA 90019  
 The Rev. Jeremiah Powe, 245 E. 66th St., LA 90003  
 Dr. O. E. Schafer, 4209 Don Felipe, LA 90008  
 Dr. Carl W. Segerhammer, (Lutheran), 1345 Burlington Ave., LA 90006  
 The Rev. John G. Simmons (Lutheran), 11600 Eldridge Ave., Picoima 91331  
 Mrs. Raymond Sites, United Church of Christ, 3555 Rose Ave., Long Beach  
 Dr. Robert Stellar, Exec. Dir., Episcopal City Mission Society, 615 So. Figueroa St., LA 9001  
 Dr. R. DeWitt Turpeau, Jr. (Methodist), 3520 Trinity St., LA 90011  
 Dr. Albert Van Dyke, 992 E. Kingsley St., Pomona  
 The Rev. Kenneth Watson (Methodist), 4754 W. 120th St., Hawthorne  
 Dr. L. L. White (Methodist), 3320 W. Adams Blvd., LA 90018  
 Mr. Bruce Williams (Methodist), 5250 Santa Monica Blvd., LA 90029  
 Dr. Frank Williams (Methodist), 5250 Santa Monica Blvd., LA 90029  
 Mrs. Mildred Wright (Episcopal), 4287 Garthwaite Ave., LA 90008  
 The Rev. John H. Yamazaki (Episcopal), 961 So. Mariposa Ave., LA 90006  
 The Rev. Carroll N. Anderson, American Lutheran Church, 7339 West 93rd Place, LA 90045  
 Dr. Chester M. Buley, The United Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1501 Wilshire Blvd., LA 9001  
 Captain George Church, The Salvation Army, 832 West 9th St., LA 90015  
 The Rev. Glen Crago, Dept. of Sociology, La Verne College, La Verne, Calif. 91750  
 Dr. R. Eugene Crow, American Baptist Convention, 816 So. Figueroa, LA 90017  
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 1400 West 9th St., LA 90015  
 The Rev. G. Kenneth Longmore, Baptist City Mission Society, 427 West Fifth St., LA 90013  
 The Rev. Vahac Mardirosian, American Baptist Convention, 816 So. Figueroa, LA 90017  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
 Elder D. A. Neufeld, Seventh Day Adventist Church, 1535 E. Chevy Chase Drive, Glendale  
 The Rev. Canon Nobel Owings, Episcopal Diocese of LA, 1220 West 4th St., LA 90054  
 Mr. Michael Purcell, Roman Catholic Archdiocese, Chancery Office, 1531 West 9th St., LA 9001  
 The Rev. Irwin Trotter, The Methodist Church, 4300 Bellflower Blvd., Lakewood 90713  
 The Rev. John Wagner, Director, Inter-Religious Committee, 817 West 34th St., LA 90007  
 Mr. William H. Waite, Christian Science Committee on Publication, 210 W. 7th St., LA 90014  
 Dr. Forrest C. Weir, Council of Churches in So. Calif., 1411 W. Olympic Blvd., LA 90015  
 The Rev. A. Ray Wellington, Christian Church-Disciples of Christ, 3126 Los Feliz, LA 90039  
 Mr. John Hamilton, Youth Consultant, Inter-Religious Committee, 672 No. Kenmore, Apt. 22, LA 9000  
 Mrs. Connie Leas, Celebration & Arts Consultant, Inter-Religious Committee, 7680 Walnut Dr., LA  
 The Rev. William Weatherford, Coordinator, "Centers for Choice," 3814 Lorado Way, LA 90043



# NEWS

from THE AMERICAN  
COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC.

BILL GOTTLIEB, *Publicity Director*  
After Business Hours: 516-466-0785.

## What is the Council?

A national organization of Americans of Jewish faith, who believe the following: (1) Nationality and religion are separate and distinct. Our nationality is American, our religion is Judaism. Our homeland is the United States of America. We reject any concept that all Jews outside of Israel are in "exile." (2) The nationalism of Israel must be confined to the boundaries of that State. Its spokesmen, representatives, agencies and instrumentalities in no way represent us. (3) We are dedicated to extend the fullest philanthropic aid to our coreligionists and to suffering humanity everywhere. (4) No Jew or group of Jews can speak for, or represent, all the Jews of America.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG

ASKED TO TRANSMIT STATEMENT OF ACJ

TO CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT

ON 1000th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
OF JEWS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW YORK---September 12, 1967---The Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, was urged to transmit to the Czechoslovakian representative to the United Nations an appeal for that government to reconsider its decision to cancel its participation in the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Jewish community there.

This appeal was made in a letter made public here today, to Ambassador Goldberg by Rabbi Elmer Berger, Executive Vice-President of The American Council for Judaism. It was prompted by reports on September 6th, of the cancellation motivated primarily "because of the diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel."

Dr. Berger pointed out in his letter that Czechoslovakian Jews had no responsibility for the actions of the Israeli Government. He added: "To penalize this ancient and glorious Jewish community for the severance of relations between Israel and Czechoslovakia is...an irrelevance and...a thrusting upon the Czechoslovakian Jews of total and involuntary identification with the State of Israel."

The Council leader termed the presumption of such a relationship between Jews living in other countries to Israel, a "total

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surrender" to the "spurious legal-political claims of the World Zionist Organization" that all Jews are part of an alleged nationality entity of which Israel is "the sovereign state." Dr. Berger said that such presumptions are a "disservice" to Jews, who are nationals of the countries in which they are citizens, and who should not "have forced upon them---involuntarily---any nationality identity with the State of Israel by reason of their identification as Jews."

The tacit acceptance of the Zionist nationality principle, the Rabbi continued, is also a disservice to any eventual peace in the Arab-Israel controversy, because "Zionism is one of the obstacles to any resolution of the issues between Israel and her Arab neighbors."

Dr. Berger's letter closed with the hope that the Czechoslovakian Government would recognize the realities of the situation, the consideration for human values involved, the strengthening of friendship between peoples, to which the United Nations was dedicated by charter, and alter its reported decision and participate with the Jews of Czechoslovakia, in their 1000th anniversary celebration.

# # # # #

(Full Text of Rabbi Berger's letter to Ambassador Goldberg Attached).



201 EAST 57th STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

COPY

September 6, 1967

The Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg  
Ambassador of the United States  
to the United Nations  
United States Mission to the United Nations  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We would be obliged to you if you would use your good offices to convey the following message, on behalf of The American Council for Judaism, to the representative of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations.

The American Council for Judaism notes with anxiety and dismay recent reports that the Czechoslovak Government has decided to cancel its participation in celebrations scheduled to observe the 1000th anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia. A report in The New York Times (September 6) quotes an official of the Cedok Travel Agency as explaining this cancellation "because of the diplomatic situation between Czechoslovakia and Israel."

We would urge the Czechoslovak Government to reconsider this action. The responsibility of Czechoslovakian Jews for the actions of the Israel Government is non-existent. To penalize this ancient and glorious Jewish community for the severance of relations between Israel and Czechoslovakia is at best an irrelevance and at worst, a thrusting upon the Czechoslovak Jews of total and involuntary identification with the State of Israel.

The presumption of such a relationship is total surrender to the spurious legal-political claims of the World Zionist Organization that all Jews---"the Jewish people"---are recognized to be part of an alleged nationality entity of which the State of Israel is "the sovereign state." Even so negative an acknowledgment of this Zionist claim as is reflected in the reported action of the Czechoslovakian Government helps the propagandistic advancement of the claim throughout the world. The result can be only a disservice to the majority of Jews of the world who are nation-

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION dedicated to the preservation of the universal values of Judaism and opposing Zionist efforts to impose a national identification on our religious faith. For in the U. S. religion and nationality must remain separate and distinct. We regard the State of Israel as the "homeland" of only its own citizens and nationals. We reject Zionist-national claims that the "Jewish people" is a legally recognized "political and ethnical entity" with rights in, and obligations to, the State of Israel. We therefore endorse the United States Government's rejection of "the Jewish people" concept" in International law. We activate our principles through programs in public affairs, religious development and philanthropy. We affirm that no individual or group can speak for all Americans of Jewish faith.

Hon. Arthur . Goldberg

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Sept. 6, 1967

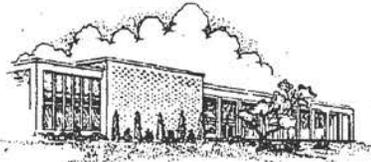
als only of the countries of which they are citizens, and who in any event should not have foisted upon them-- involuntarily---any nationality identity with the state of Israel by reason of their identification as Jews. The tacit acceptance of the Zionist nationality relationship is also contradictory to the democratic principle of separation of church and state. Finally, the tacit acceptance of the Zionist nationality principle is a disservice to any eventual peace in the Arab-Israel controversy. For it is now abundantly clear that Zionism is one of the obstacles to any resolution of the issues between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

We sincerely hope, Mr. Ambassador, that in the light of the realities, of the genuine consideration for human values, and in the interest of improving that human understanding between peoples to which the United Nations is dedicated by its Charter, you will transmit this message to your Government in the hope it may alter its reported decision with respect to this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Elmer Berger  
Executive Vice-President  
American Council for Judaism

EB:nlp



## PRESS RELEASE

Biola Schools and Colleges, Inc.

13800 Biola Avenue, La Mirada, California 90638

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### A PROCLAMATION CONCERNING ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS

FOR RELEASE

A spirit of hostility against Jew, Arab, or anyone else has been branded as anti-Biblical and out of harmony with the Christian message by a college and seminary in La Mirada, suburb of Los Angeles, California.

In a "Proclamation Concerning Israel and the Nations," the group appeals to people everywhere to "appropriate God's grace and to serve Him in the fulfillment of His purpose for the nations and Israel." The statement was issued by the Board of Directors of Biola Schools and Colleges, in consultation with the faculties of Talbot Theological Seminary and the Bible Department of Biola College.

A similar protest against anti-semitic sentiment appeared in 1939 over the signatures of honored Bible teachers such as J. Oliver Buswell, Lewis Sperry Chafer, Charles E. Fuller, H. A. Ironside, Alva J. McClain, Wm. L. Pettingill, and Louis T. Talbot.

The Israel-Arab conflict last June focused the attention of the world upon Biblical prophecies, the statement says. "Prominent among predicted end-time events related to the coming of Jesus the Messiah is the return of the Jews to their land and their redemption. It appears that recent developments in the Middle East may be preparing the way for these great prophetic events."

The Bible does not speak simply of enlargement and blessing for Israel, but also for the Arab states and the other nations, according to this group. God chose Israel to be the channel of world redemption. Though mankind "failed to cooperate fully in the working out of God's purpose, it is abundantly evident in the Scriptures that His

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purpose will not on that account be thwarted but will be fully and gloriously accomplished."

Anti-semitism is denounced.

"The millions who died in the Nazi holocaust have not been forgotten by Christian people, and there are many upon whose consciences this tragedy still rests painfully. It is true that some atrocities in the past have been committed by some in the church, but there are many in the church who have spoken out against these evils as a violation of the spirit of love in true Christianity, and who have contributed to the rescue, resettlement and rehabilitation of thousands of Jews."

A plea of this body is that the Jewish people will not continue to interpret anti-semitic actions of some professing Christians as reflecting the Christian attitude as a whole.

The Arab world, too, is the object of God's love and grace. God intends to establish a kingdom of peace in which all nations will share.

"Then God will dwell with men and rule over them in the person of His Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah of Israel, through whom He has provided personal salvation for all men who will put their trust in Him."

#### A PROCLAMATION CONCERNING ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS

Recent events have focused the attention of the world upon biblical prophecies relating to the fulfilment of Israel's destiny. Prominent among predicted end-time events related to the coming of Jesus the Messiah is the return of the Jews to their land and their redemption. It appears that recent developments in the Middle East may be preparing the way for these great prophetic events. Analysts of contemporary developments should exercise caution at this point, however, in equating particular events with fulfilments per se of specific prophecies.

The millions who died in the Nazi holocaust have not been forgotten by Christian people, and there are many upon whose consciences this tragedy still rests painfully. It is true that some atrocities in the past have been committed by some in the church, but there are many in the church who have spoken out against these evils as a violation of the spirit of love in true Christianity, and who have contributed to the rescue, resettlement and rehabilitation of thousands of Jews. God's eternal love for Israel is abundantly delineated in the Holy Scriptures, and for many Christians this is an article of faith.

Throughout its history the nation Israel has been the object of opposition and attack by Satan, the arch-enemy of God's purpose and program. Untaught and unholy men have unwittingly cooperated with the devil in this. It is our conviction that the true people of God should not be found in league with those who oppose the will and work of God for Israel.

Antisemitism is anti-biblical and un-Christian. Recent attempts to equate antisemitism with the New Testament are false and unfounded. Moreover statements and actions of some professing Christians are not to be viewed as representing the Christian attitude as a whole.

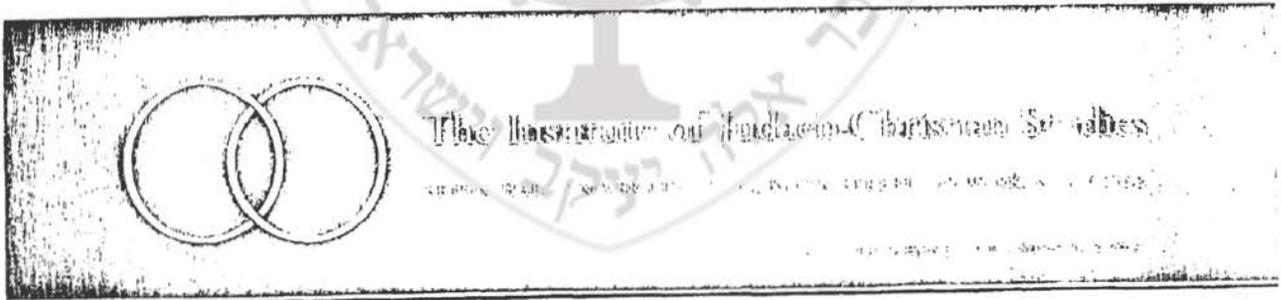
God has an eternal purpose for all the nations and for Israel in particular. He chose this nation to be the channel of world redemption. While mankind failed to cooperate fully in the working out of God's purpose, it is abundantly evident in the Scriptures that His purpose will not on that account be thwarted but will be fully and gloriously accomplished.

God's purpose for the Arab world includes promises of national enlargement and blessing. They along with all Gentiles are the objects of God's love and of the proclamation of His grace. Therefore, we acknowledge our indebtedness to them, as to all nations, and desire to contribute to their spiritual, social, and material needs.

While the Bible discloses and interprets past and present events with regard to God's plan, its basic concern is with the future. The ultimate purpose of God includes the establishment of a perfect kingdom of the nations of the world. Then God will dwell with men and rule over them in the person of His Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah of Israel, through whom He has provided personal salvation for all men who put their trust in Him.

Mindful that all men will be judged, we urge people everywhere to appropriate God's grace and to serve Him in the fulfilment of His purpose for the nations and Israel. We exhort Christians to abide in Christ and to occupy the time until he comes.

Issued by the Board of Directors of Biola Schools and Colleges, Inc., in consultation with the faculties of Talbot Theological Seminary and the Bible Department of Biola College, La Mirada, California. November 9, 1967.



#### A STATEMENT OF CONSCIENCE

Once again, the Arab-Israeli conflict is discussed by the Security Council. Once again, there are charges and countercharges, invectives and threats. Once again, the Council seems to be unable to end the crisis. It is this unrelieved tension in the Middle East that compels us to take a public stand and plead with our fellow-Christians to make their voices heard, too.

We are mindful of the words of the Lord that came to the prophet Ezechiel: "If the watchman sees the sword coming and fails to sound the warning trumpet, so that the sword comes and takes a victim from among the people, I will hold the watchman accountable for the victim's blood, even though the victim deserved his death because of his sin. So it is with you, son of man; I have appointed you watchman for the house of Israel" (33, 6f) Since every Christian has a prophetic calling, he, too, is God's watchman in the world and must, when needed, sound the alarm. With this truth in mind, we make the following affirmations:

(1) No matter how often the Arab delegates have, with <sup>unanimous</sup> assistance the Russian ambassador - whose country is largely responsible for the conflagration of last June -, accused Israel, she is not the aggressor. Her stroke at the Egyptian airforce in the early morning hours of June 5 was clearly an act of defense. For years, terrorists had entered her territory, hostile guns had shelled at her settlements in the North. Before Israel made her move, Arab leaders had threatened to wipe her off the map; state controlled radios and streetgatherings in Arab lands had clamored for a holy war; President Nasser had demanded that the United Nations Emergency Force, stationed in the Gaza Strip, be withdrawn from the Egyptian-Israeli border; hostile troops had been amassed at her borders, hostile air planes had been waiting for the command to bomb her cities; the nearby waterways had been closed to her merchant ships, all traffic vital to her economic life and thus to her very existence had been cut off. Her assault on Egypt's aircraft was thus the operation of a country that refuses to be strangled to death.

(2) Israel came into being with the active support of the world community. We can think of no better title to her sovereignty than the sponsorship of a majority of nations at the time of her birth. Yet, her claim does not rest with international law alone; it is also based on the work of her hands. A former generation drained malaria-infested marshes, the former and the present ones have turned barren land into gardens. Not only has Israel made the desert bloom, she has created the economic, social, and cultural conditions for a just, a truly human society. Israel's leaders have accepted the challenge of the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 2, 1917) and turned her into a homeland for all Jews who wish or need to live there. In fact, so solid has her own advance been that this tiny country is able to send teams of highly gifted and skilled men to developing countries, thereby doing her share

in making the community of man a happy reality.

Even if all this were not so, Israelis have now lived in the land of their forefathers - from which, incidentally, Jews were never fully absent - for almost twenty years: They have taken roots there, children were born, men and women died, couples got married and soldiers fought. It seems to us that as a living person has a right to go on living - a right that no neighbor or society can deny him - so a commonwealth as alive as Israel has a right to peaceful existence. We thus affirm Israel's right to stay securely on the soil which her farmers, workers, thinkers, and teachers have reclaimed by the sweat of their brows. As Christians, we must go even further: The people of Israel have not only a right to live - they have a vocation to live for the Lord. We hope that it will be granted them to bear witness to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as never before.

(3) We are encouraged by the recent statement of Jordan's King Hussein that the Arab world is ready to recognize Israel as "a fact of life" even though the government of Syria let it be known that the King did not speak in its name and even though his own foreign minister did not show the same moderation. At the Security Council's meeting of November 13, Mr. Abdul Monem Rifai declared there could be no peace talks unless Israel withdrew first from all the territories she conquered in the Six-Day War. The Israeli Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, however, reiterated his government's determination not to give up the occupied territories prior to any direct peace negotiations. He also insisted upon adjusted frontiers to meet the security requirements of the State of Israel.

We fully support Israel's stand as reasonable and fair. It would be absurd to expect Israel to withdraw behind the armistice lines of 1949 and thus, for instance, return to Syria the very hills from which heavy guns kept Galilean kibbutzim under fire and from

which minor and major attacks could be launched again. It would be utterly unrealistic to demand of Israel that she move back to borders so vulnerable as to invite invasion, to borders that make it easy for Egypt to close the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran at will. We do not think that Israel wants to hold on forever to the territories she seized in the course of fighting. If she were to do so, she would assume a tremendous economic and administrative burden, one too heavy to bear; she would in all likelihood face an Arab irredenta, the suppression of which would take her away from many essential tasks; finally, she might lose the sympathy of some of her friends.

An entirely different matter is, however, her resolve not to relinquish the occupation ahead of face-to-face negotiations. The occupied territories are the only palpable argument by which she can hope to persuade the Arab States that they should come to the peace table. They are an assurance against the resumption of hostilities in the near future. They are a constant reminder that the former state of belligerency -- which, the Arab leaders claimed, for 18 years, existed between the Arab States and Israel ever since the armistice in 1949 -- must give way to one of peace, of friendly coexistence and fruitful cooperation. Now is the time for the UN to do its utmost that "swords shall be beaten into plowshares" (Is 2,4; Mich 4,3): Hence, the world community must try everything possible that the Arab governments and Israel, the foes of yesterday, sit down as partners to a peace conversation so that they may be friends tomorrow.

(4) Linked to the problem of occupied territories is that of the city of Jerusalem, at least in the mind of outsiders. To the Israelis there is no problem: they are determined never to go back to a Jerusalem that is cut into two. The united city, a demand of history as much as of Jewish consciousness, is simply not a negotiable item for them. Who would not see that to the Israeli people and to Jews everywhere the streets of Jerusalem, her very stones, are soaked with meaning? Moreover, when the Jordanians held the Old City, they closed the border so that no Israeli Jew or Arab could visit any of his holy places; they destroyed 35 out of 36 synagogues; they used tombstones from the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives to pave the footpaths and -- latrines of the Arab legion camp in Bethany. To cede the Old City to Jordan would be for Israelis a participation in those acts of impiety.

Many Christians think of Jerusalem not as a city belonging to Jews only, but as one belonging to all the descendants of Abraham, indeed to all mankind. Was it not from Sion that the Lord's commands went out, and from Jerusalem, His word and revelation (Is 2,3)? Certainly. But must we draw from this the conclusion that Jerusalem's status should be that of an international city, that she should be under the protection and supervision of the major, or of all the, powers of the world? The experience the cities of Vienna and Berlin have had under four power rule should stand as a warning: To bring these powers into the Holy City is to jeopardize peace; it would turn the city into a nest of intrigues, a meeting place of spies, a home of professional revolutionaries.

We are certain that Israel would be a faithful guardian of all holy places. Yet, Israel is willing, even eager to turn the various sanctuaries over to accredited representatives of the respective religious communities and grant them extraterritorial rights. To our minds, her offer is clear evidence of her good will and desire to live in harmony with Muslims and all Christian Churches. Soon after the reunification of Jerusalem in June of this year, the Israeli Parliament passed a bill that promised protection of all sanctuaries from desecration and guaranteed unhindered access to them. The bill testifies to the acumen of Israeli leaders; what is more, it bears witness to their lack of rancor. Only when one remembers the contempt shown to Jews by the Jordanian government, which for 18 years prohibited their pilgrimage to the Western Wall and to Rachel's tomb; when one remembers the sins of Christendom, particularly the cruelty of those Crusaders who in 1099 burned the Jews assembled in the synagogue of Jerusalem alive, can one appreciate the spirit of reconciliation embodied in this law.

(5) Another critical question, perhaps the most critical one, is that of the Palestinian refugees. In discussing it, one ought to keep these points in mind. First, it is a gross misrepresentation to say that, at the time of the first armed Israeli-Arab confrontation in 1948, Jews drove their Arab neighbors out. Second, the shutting up of these refugees in camps is not a page of glory in Arab history -- Germans, for instance, integrated their brethren who Poland and Czechoslovakia had expelled from their native soil into the own economic, social, and cultural life of West Germany. Finally, Israel absorbed,

in a kind of exchange, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries. Still, for the sake of justice and peace Israel, again offer financial compensation to those who lost their house and fields, also assistance in uniting families that had been forced apart. In addition, an international resettlement fund could be set up. Yet, the tragic lot of these refugees will in all probability not be ended prior to a peace treaty; their suffering will cease only as a result of, or concomitant to, a covenant between the present adversaries.

Though the settlement of this intensely human problem will have to await the settlement of many others, its terms and methods could and should be prepared now. Statesmen with the help of scientists could draw up and disclose blueprints for the desalting of seawater and the irrigation of Arab and Israeli lands, as a promise of how all could prosper together. The possibilities of economic cooperation could be discussed publicly in order to show that the entire Middle East would benefit from an agreement among the armed camps that for the moment have stopped firing but are still confronting one another. The present cease-fire must become lasting concord.

"Seek peace and pursue it," is the admonition of one of the psalmists, "Happy the peacemakers;" the praise of Christ.

MONSIGNOR JOHN M. OESTERREICHER

REVEREND EDWARD H. FLANNERY

The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey

## DOCUMENT I

## COLLOQUE SUR L'EGLISE ET ISRAËL DANS LA CONJONCTURE ACTUELLE

Le comité "Eglise et Israël" de la Fédération Protestante de France a tenu les 2 et 3 décembre dernier, à Paris, sous la présidence du pasteur Charles WESTPHAL, une réunion élargie à laquelle avaient été invitées plusieurs personnes occupant dans les Eglises protestantes de France des postes en vue et qui s'étaient prononcés depuis six mois au sujet de la situation au Proche-Orient. Les travaux de ce comité élargi (25 participants) ont été marqués principalement par un mémorandum de M. F. LOVSKY, secrétaire du comité, un rapport du professeur André DUMAS sur l'interprétation des passages bibliques relatifs à Israël, un exposé du professeur André LACOCQUE sur le messianisme et une prédication du professeur Wilhelm Vischer. Les discussions animées qui ont eu lieu n'ont pas abouti à un accord complet. Mais elles ont mis en lumière un certain nombre de faits importants et préparé la voie à d'indispensables consultations ultérieures.

Depuis 1945, atterrés par les effroyables conséquences auxquelles leur traditionnel antisémitisme avait conduit sous le régime nazi, les théologiens chrétiens d'Europe ont fait un effort très nouveau pour prendre au sérieux l'origine juive du christianisme et l'ensemble de la tradition religieuse du judaïsme. Dans une ambiance de repentir et de sympathie pour les persécutés, une sorte de consensus mi-théologique, mi-sentimental s'est établi, surtout du côté protestant; il semblait inconcevable de mettre en question la pérennité de l'élection du peuple juif, les droits de celui-ci sur la Terre Promise, la conception très concrète du messianisme qui prévalait dans le sionisme. La crainte de retomber dans l'antisémitisme paralysait ceux que ce consensus ne satisfaisait pas.

Aujourd'hui, ces appréhensions ont été balayées par la "guerre des six jours" et par ses suites : telle est la constatation la plus intéressante que les débats des 2 et 3 décembre ont permis. C'est dire qu'il va falloir reprendre à frais nouveaux la réflexion théologique sur la relation entre ces deux Israël rivaux que sont l'Eglise et la synagogue. La question a été abordée et il est apparu qu'un certain nombre des acquisitions des vingt dernières années n'étaient mises en question par personne : nul ne s'avise par exemple d'imputer au peuple juif tout entier la responsabilité de la Crucifixion ou de le croire maudit par Dieu. Mais les divergences existantes sont nombreuses et sérieuses, tant sur l'interprétation de l'Ancien Testament que sur la relation entre Jésus Messie et son peuple ou sur la portée de la séparation entre judaïsme et christianisme au I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère. Il y a eu des participants pour dire que ces questions étaient capitales pour la théologie et la vie de nos Eglises; c'est peut-être excessif, mais ce n'est pas tout à fait faux.

Les adversaires de ce consensus judéophile, bien que certains fussent des théologiens, étaient mis par des préoccupations avant tout politiques et humanitaires. Ils ont dénoncé avec force l'injustice infligée aux Arabes, particulièrement aux Arabes de Palestine, par la colonisation sioniste et par les grandes puissances qui l'ont favorisée; rappelé le triste sort des réfugiés palestiniens; évoqué l'expansionnisme israélien et ses appuis extérieurs; présenté la défense du nationalisme arabe. Ils ont surtout mis en cause l'utilisation politique d'idées théologiques ambiguës comme celle de l'élection d'Israël. La discussion a montré qu'il n'y avait pas de défenseur inconditionnel de l'Etat d'Israël et de ses idées annexionnistes dans le comité élargi, mais que la pure et simple évacuation de toute référence théologique était inacceptable pour plusieurs participants, dès lors qu'il s'agissait du peuple de l'Ancien Testament. Il faut admettre que sur ce point le désaccord est profond et irrémédiable tant que la réflexion théologique évoquée ci-dessus n'aura pas progressé.

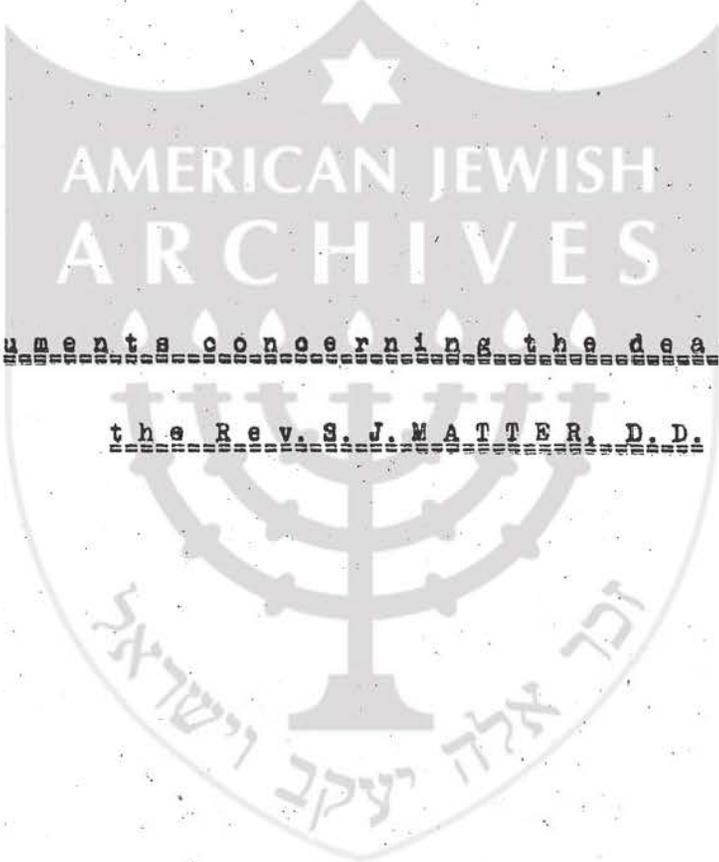
Un certain accord s'est pourtant manifesté par-delà cette divergence doctrinale. Personne n'a réclamé la suppression de l'Etat d'Israël, dont l'existence constitue aux yeux de tous un fait acquis, même lorsqu'on estime qu'elle complique sérieusement tous les problèmes du Proche-Orient. Inversement, tous les participants ont admis plus ou moins explicitement qu'Israël ne pouvait pas être autorisé à dicter à ses voisins un règlement léonin,...

Que le problème des réfugiés devait être résolu d'une manière équitable et que les grandes puissances avaient le devoir de tout faire pour faciliter le "décollage" économique des pays arabes, dont le sous-développement actuel rend bien difficile la cohabitation avec Israël. Il n'a malheureusement pas été possible d'aller très loin dans la recherche des ces points d'accord et de rédiger un texte où ils auraient été enregistrés.

Sans doute faut-il le regretter. Mais la tâche du comité "Eglise et Israël" n'est évidemment pas d'arriver à des compromis politiques privés de soubassement théologique. Elle consiste bien plutôt à remettre en chantier la doctrine du "peuple de Dieu" pour éviter que des événements comme ceux du printemps dernier jettent nos Eglises et leurs fidèles dans le profond désarroi que nous avons connu. La réunion des 2 et 3 décembre aura été fructueuse si cette difficile entreprise fait quelques progrès en 1968.

(Document communiqué par Etienne TROCME) (B.I.P.)





AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Documents concerning the death of

the Rev. S. J. MATTER, D. D.

זכר אלה יעקב ישראל

**D. H. BYRD****ENTERPRISES**

TOWER PETROLEUM BUILDING

**DALLAS, TEXAS 75201**  
July 28, 1967

Mr. Stuart Doss  
Religious Editor  
Dallas Times Herald  
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Mr. Doss:

Inasmuch as you have misplaced the article which Mr. McKnight and I gave you yesterday, about the Holy Land incident, I am sending you another copy. It is hoped that you can use this in some way in your column.

As explained to you verbally, Col. Byrd and Dr. Fry and their wives visited the Holy Land just five years ago and were recipients of the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Mattar in their home in the garden where the Tomb is situated. The Byrds also had the Mattars and some twenty young Christians, who were doing missionary work in the area, as their guests at their hotel. Col. Byrd had kept in touch with them through letters and donations to their project, so it was natural that he should be notified of Mr. Mattar's tragic death during the recent war between Israel and the Arab countries.

I also was in Jordan, Israel and Egypt during April of this year, being a member of a group from the Highland Park Presbyterian Church, conducted by Dr. L. McD. Kennedy. We visited the Garden Tomb and met Mr. and Mrs. Mattar and were impressed with the wonderful work they have been doing for the past twenty years, following their ejection from their home in Palestine in 1948. To me this seemed to be one of the truly authentic spots of Christendom, and the wanton murder of one of Christ's most dedicated disciples struck a cold chill to my heart and a sadness to my soul. I felt that Christ had been crucified again! The garden itself was desecrated and badly damaged, and one wonders how it can be restored to its former serenity and meaningfulness.

Col. Byrd telephoned Mrs. Mattar in New York last Friday, and she verified all of the contents of the letter which had been circulated by their former secretary, Miss Proft, adding some further details of her own. She suffered near death at the hands of the Jewish soldiers when they shot into the Tomb, where the two women were still in refuge. Then when they discovered that Mr. Mattar had been killed, they also found that his billfold and money had been stolen and that their house had been ransacked and looted of all its valuable items. The Israelis would not let her bury her husband for several days, until the intervention of an English minister prevailed upon them to permit him to be buried under a big tree in the Garden. Having nothing left to keep her in Jerusalem, Mrs. Mattar is now with her daughters in the United States, and Miss Proft is at a Bible school in Switzerland.

Page #2  
July 28, 1967

It is difficult to suggest what sort of editorial approach might be made to this situation and its tragic aftermath. So much has been said by the Israelis as to how they offered amnesty to Jordan if the latter would not enter the conflict, and how, failing acceptance of such offer, they "protected" the Holy Places. However, since they actually began the attack on Old Jerusalem on Monday, June 5, the first day of the blitz war--and not the middle of the week, as claimed in several TV documentaries--this one incident would seem to belie their manifestations of sincerity and claims of good will.

We, as Christians, cannot help but protest inwardly against such inhumanity and desecration - not just for the human individuals concerned, but more especially because of the attack on and damage to a Shrine that symbolizes Christ Himself and all of His teachings.

Dr. Fry through certain sources has requested an investigation of this incident by the Israeli and Egyptian ambassadors. In the meantime, if you would like substantiation of personal feelings other than my own in this matter, you might contact Dr. Kennedy. He agrees that there is very little we can do from a political angle; but from a humanitarian and Christian standpoint, some good might be accomplished in high-lighting the need for a continuation of the operation of the Garden Tomb under Christian auspices.

Sincerely yours,



(Mrs.) Orlean Ehrlich

Inclosure  
cc Felix McKnight

D. H. BYRD  
ENTERPRISES  
TOWER PETROLEUM BUILDING  
DALLAS, TEXAS 75201

August 1, 1967

Mr. Ben H. Westen, Co-Chairman  
Dallas Christian Committee for Israel  
209 Brewer Building, Suite 403  
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a letter from the secretary of Rev. and Mrs. S. J. Mattar, which describes the terror and tragedy they experienced during the short war between Israel and Jordan.

Dr. Mattar was a very dear friend of mine. He and his wife entertained Mattie and me, and our pastor and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Tom Fry, in their little home in the confines of the Garden Tomb in 1963.

- 2 -

and Miss Proft dug a grave near a tree and buried him inside the walls of the Garden.

I am frightened as to what will become of this holy of all places which is sacred to the Christian religion and, in my opinion, the only real authentic spot in this entire area known as the Holy Land, that has not been exploited by other religious groups for monetary reasons.

I have started an investigation through the United Nations to try to get an answer as to why Dr. Mattar was killed by the Jews. If this is the pattern they used for others on the Jordan side, I am certainly not interested in any contributions to the Jewish cause, now or in the future.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

D. H. BYRD

cc: Frank H. Heller  
Angus G. Wynne, Sr.  
Frank H. Kidd, Jr.  
Fred M. Lange  
M. T. Minyard

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you, I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." John 14: 1-3

Dear Friends in Christ,

The Rev. S. J. Mattar, D.D., the Warden of the Garden Tomb, Jerusalem, is no longer with us. He went home to be with the Lord, Whom he has served so faithfully and for Whom he has witnessed all his life. He died on Tuesday the 6th of June 1967 at the age of 75.

Rev. Mattar has during his life time pointed out the Way of Salvation to many thousands of visitors who came to the Garden Tomb, to the empty Tomb of our Risen Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He never missed any opportunity to witness for his Master and it is impossible to count all the numbers of people who have been greatly blessed through the wonderful testimony he used to give for the Glory of his Lord. He loved the above Bible passage and often used to quote it to his visitors. Now the Lord took him home to his mansion, which He had prepared for him long ago.

It was one of the most tragic things that had happened during the short war between Israel and Jordan. When the war started on Monday morning the 5th of June the three of us, Mr. & Mrs. Mattar and I went to the Tomb for shelter from the constant bombing and shooting. We had to spend all day and all the night in the Tomb of our Lord, as the fire never ceased. Towards the

morning of that sleepless night I remarked: "I hope we won't have to die here, I am not yet ready for that." — I shall never forget as Mr. Mattar got up from his seat and went into the inner part of the Sepulchre. Looking long at the place where the Body of the Lord was laid he answered: "I am ready to die! — I am ready to meet the Lord!"

About 7 a.m. on Tuesday the fire seemed to get less and Mr. Mattar decided to go up to the house and get some breakfast. At 7.30 a.m. we suddenly heard voices of soldiers in the lane. They broke the gate and the last thing we heard was Mr. Mattar's voice telling them "Good Morning" in Arabic, kindly and friendly as he would have received any visitor. We heard several shots immediately afterwards, and they also shot at us in the Tomb, and only through the Lord's protection we were not hurt. When I went up to the house later I found the dear saint of God dead in front of the house with several shots in his head, killed by Jewish soldiers without any cause. There had been no conversation, no questions, they just shot at him. The only explanation possible is that those soldiers must have thought that there were many Jordanian soldiers hidden in the Garden and house. The Jordanians had quietly at night fixed a big canon on top of Golgotha Hill and when that canon was captured by the Jews early that morning they must have expected to find part of the army in the Garden and shot at the first person they saw.

If it were not for the Lord our refuge it would have broken our hearts, that this dear man had to die such a death. He, an innocent man, who never

hated anyone, who never hated the Jews although they took all his property in 1948. He often opened his Bible and used to tell us: "Someday the Jews will have to get the rest of the City; it says so in the Bible." Only God, whose thoughts and wisdom are high above our understanding can answer these questions in our wounded hearts. There is comfort in the knowledge that nothing ever happens without the Lord's consent and will. Maybe he was the only person in this city of Jerusalem whom the Lord found ready to meet Him, and therefore He took him home to His glory.

I am writing to you on behalf of Mrs. Mattar who is now on her way to the States to be with her children. Her address is: Mrs. Minerva Mattar, c/o Miss Lydia Mattar, 417 Riverside Drive, Pent House, New York, N.Y. 10028.

I have been living with the Mattars for the last four years and was Mr. Mattar's secretary and have seen and experienced that his life was fully consecrated to the Lord's service. Day by day he was a living letter to the Glory of God. — Oh, that we may use all the time we have left for the Lord Jesus, that He may find us likewise ready when He shall call us!

With warm Christian greetings

Yours in the Lord,

Sigrid W. Proft

Bible Seminary

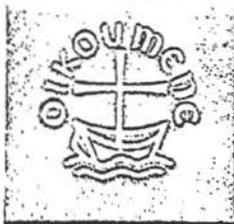
3803 Beatenberg B/D

Switzerland



Rev. S. J. Mattar, D.D.

255.1 / pl



16 JAN 1968

150 ROUTE DE FERNEY  
CH 1211 GENEVA 20  
TELEPHONE 833400  
CABLE ADDRESS: "OIKUMENE" GENEVA

## WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES INFORMATION

### THE AGONY OF JERUSALEM

by Hugh Samsom

of the British Council of Churches' Department of Christian Aid

Jerusalem the Golden, 1968, is a little tarnished. 'The shout of them that triumph' and 'the song of them that feast' are no doubt to be heard, but not among the 60,000 Arab population.

The atmosphere in this Israeli-occupied city is as taut as a piano wire, and it would be too easy to play emotional tunes on it. The facts must speak for themselves.

The milk and honey with which the Holy City was once blessed was the tourist trade. It has gone. Or at least it has gone from most of the Arab traders in Jerusalem, and its benefits are totally denied to the lacerated economy of Jordan which ruled here until last June. Jerusalem had accustomed for 40 per cent of Jordan's Gross National Product from tourism.

There was a short sharp boom as the dust of battle settled and Jewish visitors from Israel, anxious to see places which for 19 years had been on the wrong side of the 1948 Truce Line, flocked into the Old City and went through the shops like a swarm of locusts. Prices were sensationally lower than in their own half of the city, and the shelves were soon stripped bare. The Israeli Government rapidly took over the economy, closing the Arab banks, curtailing trade with Jordan, and introducing tax and tariff levels which Arab traders and businessmen find crippling. Whatever benefits Christmas visitors may have brought, these were of only marginal and temporary help to the hard-pressed Arabs.

#### Trade stagnating

Mr. Adib Otaqui, the unhappy proprietor of the Jerusalem Clothing Factory, has kept all workers on his payroll chiefly to make clothes for refugee children. The made-up garments are distributed free by the Near East Council of Churches' Refugee Committee who import the cloth. Since June Mr. Otaqui's factory has made 5,000 such pieces and he is awaiting the arrival of another 9,000 yards of cloth from the USA. for this purpose. But he now has practically no other business.

Cloth for the commercially profitable side of his trade lies uncollected in Amman, but that is now enemy territory - not Mr. Otaqui's enemy, but Israel's. He used to pay 40 per cent duty on imported cloth from England, Germany, Italy and the USA. Now the Israelis have levied 86 per cent on all synthetic fibres

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and an even higher rate on pure materials. Mr. Otaqui's cloth in Amman might as well be in Australia. "I would like to be trading with Britain, taking advantage of devaluation", he says. "But it's out of the question".

Ironically, he has just received the new income tax assessment on the employees whose wages he is paying out of his own pocket. It is three-and-a-half times the old Jordanian rate.

#### Arabs lose business

A man who runs his own tourist agency shrugged his shoulders like the Arab hoteliers when I asked about business. "There are no tourists", they all said - discounting the Jewish visitors, who take their patronage to Israeli establishments.

The tourists from Europe and America will no doubt return, but even if they choose to do so, they will find it difficult to benefit the Arabs. One of the biggest and best hotels in Arab Jerusalem, hitherto serving tourists more or less exclusively, has sandbags across its entrance. It has been taken over by the Israeli Government as offices.

Arab tourist agencies are forbidden to handle tours outside the Old City and although this remains the chief attraction most tourists like to pull in visits to other places as well while in the Holy Land. So any package deal has to be arranged through an Israeli agency.

Even most of the Arab taxi-drivers have been effectively taken off the streets and replaced by Israelis. The Military Governor refused licences to all except 32 out of the 200 Arab taxi drivers. The favoured 32 are all older men, having held licences in the pre-1948 Mandate days.

#### Christians share the agony

Among defeated people you will always find bitterness. It is inevitable. And in every defeated country occupied by the victors it must be expected that the vanquished take second place. Magnanimity is a big, fat, impressive word, grossly under-exercised. The heel of the conquerors rests lightly and humanely on the people of occupied Jerusalem, but it is there and it is felt. Though the Israelis have swept away the barricades, the barbed wire, and the No-man's land which separated the Arab from the Jewish populations from 1948 onwards, Jerusalem is still a divided city.

Where does the not-inconsiderable Christian community stand today in Christendom's holiest of cities? Only outward observances remain the same. For the rest, Christians share the agony of occupation with their compatriots. The scrupulous carve-up of responsibilities between the Latin, Greek and Armenian branches of the Church, instituted with almost slide-rule precision by the old British administration, remains unchanged. The Israeli authorities told all Jews to keep away from the Christmas celebrations in Bethlehem, and offered free access to Israeli territory for Christian pilgrims from Jordan at Christmas time. But the Church leaders in Amman jointly declined to accept the concession, no doubt fearing that to take advantage of it would imply recognition of Israel's right of occupation and her authority to admit or bar pilgrims from the place of Christ's birth.

Christians in Jerusalem and other parts of occupied Jordan are subject to the same tensions and privations and humiliations as the Muslims, and in so far as the overwhelming majority are Arabs their national pride is as deeply wounded. Brotherly love for the next door neighbors who have now moved into their homeland is strained almost beyond endurance, and in this near-intolerable situation the Christian communities there stand in great need of love and understanding from the whole Christian world.

#### Need not creed

They also stand in need of practical help, not to effect their own material losses but to enable them to do their duty - to serve those who are suffering most, whether they be Muslim or Christian.

During the June fighting many Jordanian mothers gathered up their children and fled from bursting artillery shells, whining bullets and screaming jet planes that skimmed the surface of their world. In rocky hillside caves they lay hidden from the horror outside and their youngest children paid the price death or malnutrition.

Some of the survivors are still being nursed back to strength at the Near East Council of Churches' Family Centre in the village of Qubeibeh which lies on what many believe to be the old Biblical road to Emmaus. Mothers daily bring their young children and babies here for supplementary feeding. Twelve local children died after living in caves nearby - most of them from gastro-enteritis. Under the supervision of Mrs. Sumaya Khoury this Christian centre has moved on from emergency to preventive care, and the mothers are taught how to supplement their normal family meals at home with special protein-rich foods prepared from locally-available ingredients. The centre also takes 60 girls at a time for one-year courses in home-making, nutrition, child-care, health and hygiene, and sewing.

Many villagers whose homes lay on the battlefield returned from the sanctuary of the hills to find nothing but rubble. Other villages, in militarily strategic positions, were considered a potential danger to Israeli security and have since been evacuated and bulldozed to the ground. So the centre at Qubeibeh teaches uprooted people how to make do on nothing. They learn how to make cots for their babies out of cardboard boxes, beds out of odd bits of wood, clothes from sugar sacks, and - to add a little gaiety to a grim situation - necklaces from spaghetti.

#### Peasants and professionals

But although the outside world may think of Arab refugees as fleeing peasants whose simple material needs have now undergone a process of still further simplification, there are thousands of others who would no more think of living on international charity in an urban hovel, a hillside cave or an UNRWA tent than would the average British or American businessman. They are company directors, manufacturers, caterers, administrators, commercial representatives, lawyers, and so on. In fact, a cross-section of a nation. They, too, are refugees. They, too, have lost livelihoods and property. They, too, need help to survive. So the Near East Council of Churches - again calling upon resources from Christians in other lands, channelled through the World Council of Churches - has added a small-loans scheme to all its other programmes of aid and mercy.

(Note. To help war victims in the Middle East, irrespective of religion, nationality, politics, or geography, the World Council of Churches has appealed to its members for \$ 2,000,000. The response will be channelled to the Near East Council of Churches and other relative agencies in the Middle East.

(Pictures to illustrate the above article are available on request to the Information Department, WCC. 150 Route de Ferney 1211 Geneva 20)

c o p y

THE COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION ADOPTED  
BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF  
CHRISTIANS AND JEWS ON 23rd JANUARY 1968.

The Executive Committee of the Council of Christians and Jews, which has had under careful review the events consequent upon the Arab-Israel conflict of June 1967, and the impact of those events upon Jewish-Christian relations generally, desires to place on record the following statement of its convictions.

- (1) THE STATE OF ISRAEL HAS A RIGHT TO EXIST IN SECURITY. This right has been constantly called into question by her neighbours, and must henceforth be universally recognized and accepted.
- (2) THE PLIGHT OF THE ARAB REFUGEES AND OF OTHER DISPLACED PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST CONSTITUTES A CHALLENGE TO THE GENEROSITY AND TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE SERVICE BOTH OF GOVERNMENTS AND OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, NOT ONLY WITHIN THE AREA ITSELF BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. The Committee has been kept informed of rehabilitation projects ranging from ambitious plans for the settlement of approximately one million people, utilising modern technological means of desalination and involving large-scale expenditure and international co-operation, to more modest projects for the vocational training and rehabilitation of younger refugees which must depend upon generous giving by all sections of the community.
- (3) WITH REGARD TO JERUSALEM THE COMMITTEE WELCOMES STATEMENTS THAT ACCESS TO ALL HOLY PLACES WILL BE GUARANTEED TO ALL THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES CONCERNED, AND BELIEVES THAT THE REUNIFICATION OF THE HITHERTO DIVIDED CITY OF JERUSALEM MUST BE ENSURED WHATEVER THE EVENTUAL FORM OF ADMINISTRATION. It looks for assurance that never again shall there be desecration of sacred sites and shrines, places of worship and cemeteries.
- (4) A LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA WHICH SHALL BE JUST BOTH TO THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL DEPENDS IN THE LONG RUN UPON THE GOODWILL AND CO-OPERATION OF THE PEOPLES IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED. The Committee appeals to men of goodwill everywhere to guard against the spread of bitterness and of propaganda likely to engender misunderstanding and hostility between Jews and their neighbours in other parts of the world.

23rd January 1968

C O P Y

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF DALLAS

209 Browder Bldg. Dallas, Texas 75201  
Suite 403 Riverside 8-4571

August 7, 1967

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
United Jewish Appeal  
1290 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, New York 10019

Dear Herb:

The enclosed correspondence is self-explanatory. Obviously it is not the \$ 100 that is important, but the principle involved. Walter Brudno, who is our "protestant", is one of our significant and valuable community citizens, whose viewpoint is one that we value. I have told Mr. Brudno that we would forward his letter of protest to you for your consideration and statement. This is being done whether or not Mr. Brudno sees fit to support the Israel Emergency Fund. As you can see, I drafted a reply to Mr. Brudno, which does not satisfy him because what he would like is to know whether the United Jewish Appeal can take formal action along the lines that he has outlined in his letters to Rabbi Levi Olan and to Dr. Stanley Pearle. Your consideration will be most welcome.

Incidentally, I have just reported to Martin Peppercorn that the Dallas Israel Emergency Fund campaign has reached \$ 2,015,000. We are continuing to get contributions through a Christian Committee who are demonstrating widespread support for Israel in our community

I hope your own trip to Israel is productive.

Sincerely,

JACOB H. KRAVITZ  
Executive Vice President

JHK: ap  
Encl.

cc. Mr. Jacob Feldman

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF DALLAS

July 26, 1967

Mr. Walter Brudno  
First National Bank Building  
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Walter,

Due to your absence from the city, I have been unable to discuss with you your letter of June to Dr. Stanley Pearle, with its enclosed copy of a letter to Rabbi Levi Olan and your check of \$100, which you have requested should be applied "exclusively for purposes of Arab relief".

I doubt whether an intelligent, fair-minded person will dispute with you your humanitarian concern for all refugees. Until now, however, neither our government nor our religious leaders could do anything as long as the Arab refugees were literally under the control of Arab governments.

The situation has changed today, and with the major Arab refugee problem located in lands that are under Israeli control, steps are already being initiated to develop constructive programs for the permanent resettlement of these refugees. This is being done by the government of Israel and funds will undoubtedly be forthcoming from governmental and inter-governmental channels. Believe me that all of us are cheering the Israeli government on so that they can demonstrate that after nineteen years of an Arab refugee problem, solutions can be found if there is a humanitarian will to do so.

Many steps are being taken to achieve the purposes in which you and I are both interested; however, this in no way diminishes the purpose for which Stanley Pearle solicited your personal contribution. He was asking you to give to the Israel Emergency Fund of the United Jewish Appeal - a cause supported by Jews throughout the world (and many Christians, too) and the funds involved are used to meet health, welfare and resettlement programs. While some Christians and Arabs are also receiving assistance, the fundamental beneficiaries are those Jews who are currently immigrating to Israel or have immigrated there during the past five years. Incidentally, included in this group are tens of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

The purpose of this campaign is to demonstrate that we are our brother's brother. We have helped these homeless Jews get into Israel, and we want to keep them alive, employed and healthy so they can again become self-respecting humans. This is work that we have been doing for sometime. Actually the people of Israel have borne two-thirds of the cost. With the tremendous military problems facing them, they can no longer share with us in the costs involved. It is for this purpose that we are asking for your contribution and we believe that support of the Israel Emergency Fund in no way excludes any efforts in their directions.

I do hope you will let me know that you have eliminated your restrictions and that we can deposit your check so that it can be joined with the more than six thousand other contributions that we have received for this emergency effort.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) JACOB H. KRAVITZ  
Executive Vice President

JHK: ap

Law Offices  
K I L G O R E   A N D   K I L G O R E  
1800 First National Bank Building  
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

June 30, 1967

Dr. Stanley Pearl,  
Opticks, Inc.  
2534 Royal Lane  
Dallas, Texas

Dear Stanley,

I do not feel that during our brief telephone conversation the other evening I adequately expressed my feelings not the depth of my convictions. Perhaps the enclosed letter will make my position more clear.

I am enclosing my check to the U.J.A. with the specific request that it be used exclusively for purposes of Arab relief. If there is no way this use can be assured through the mechanisms of U.J.A. I wish the check to be forwarded by it to the United Nations' relief and work agency, or, if preferred, returned to me for transmittal to that agency.

I recognize that if all contributors would take similar course it would be destructive to the worthy objectives of the U.J.A. Appeal. However, since U.J.A. has not seen fit to include Arab relief among its stated purposes or to provide for allocation of a specific portion of its funds to that end it is unlikely that any substantial contributions would be similarly restricted and, in order to fulfil what is to me a matter of conscience, I have no other alternative.

I would enjoy the opportunity of discussing this with you further when I return to the city.

Cordially yours,  
(signed) Walter W. Brudno

WWB:gb  
Enclosures  
bcc: Dr. Stanley Pearl

June 30, 1967

Rabbi Levi A. Olan,  
President, Central Conference  
of American Rabbis  
8500 Hillcrest  
Dallas, Texas

My dear Rabbi Olan:

The durability of Judaism in the Diaspora has been tested and proven so many times over the centuries that it would be ironic and tragic indeed if the victory of Israel should spell the defeat of Judaism.

In the recent historic weeks I have become increasingly concerned over what appears to me to be an abandonment of traditional Jewish ethical values in favour of the pragmatic ones which are all too common among warring men and nations. I have attended rallies at which stirring appeals have been made for extraordinary aid to Israel in its time of unquestionable need.

heard rabbis and community lay leaders extol the demonstrated courage and might of the Israeli people. I have heard Abba Eban pleading his country's just cause with stirring eloquence and dignity. I have heard spokesmen for Israel, for Russia, for the Arabs, for the United States. But who speaks for man? I have heard not one word of compassion for the war's innocent victims. I have heard no plea for help to those hundreds of thousands who have languished at the edge of survival for almost twenty years in refugee camps.

There are 750,000 inhabitants of the Arab refugee camps who are under 18 years of age. Hundreds of thousands more were too young in 1948 to bear any responsibility for their present plight. Of the remainder, those who fled voluntarily, surely a very large number were merely ignorant dupes of unscrupulous leaders, illiterate peasants terrorized by vicious aggrandizement of their primitive fears. While Israel did not will these people into a life of misery and hopelessness, it is an inescapable fact that they are the victims of the fulfillment of Jewish needs and aspirations and that the state of Israel benefited by their departure.

If I speak of this to my friends I am told that this is an "Arab problem", that the United Nations is caring for them, that the Israelis and their American friends (of whom I hope I am one) have their hands full taking care of "their own". All of this is true. But I recall an ancient saying: "If I am not for myself, who will be? But if I am only for myself, who am I?" I recall the legend that when the feeling Israelites crossed the Red Sea on dry ground and their Egyptian pursuers were drowned, the angels in Heaven sang for joy, and God rebuked these angels saying: "Why do you sing when my children have perished in the sea?" And I recall that, each year as we recount the story of the Exodus, we dip wine from the cup as we read the Ten Plagues, so as to symbolize the fact that our cup of joy is not full when victory is paid for even with the suffering of our oppressors.

Israel as a Jewish state is a political reality and its survival as such must be insured. But it would be an immeasurable loss if ethical Judaism should be supplanted by political Judaism. I am not criticizing the efforts of the United Jewish Appeal or deprecating the instantaneous and generous response to its call for aid to Israel. But I do criticize its complete absence of any demonstration of a larger concern. A nation cannot survive without a certain amount of nationalism and chauvinism -- but a religious people cannot survive as such if they are only moved by national concerns.

I am writing you not as Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El but as President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis because I feel that this is a matter that deserves immediate consideration of the Rabbinate as a whole. I urge that you consider the use of your influence to broaden the scope of the U-J-A Campaign to include an appeal for funds with which to provide Arab relief. I know that some of the U.J.A. funds would be so used in any event, for Israel will not let the Arabs within its borders starve. But neither those who give to the U.J.A. or those who do not are conscious of this fact, nor does anyone purposefully contribute through the U.J.A. to those who are considered to be "enemies of the Jews".

I recognize that the approach I suggest would diminish somewhat the assistance provided Israel, but a nation has no right to expect that it can surmount a crisis of its existence without some hardship and deprivation. On a broader scale and in the longer range, and independently of the moral issues involved Judaism and Israel can only benefit from the added respect such a course would command in the world at large. Perhaps such a course would even temper the hatreds which infest the neighborhood in which Israel must live for the rest of its natural existence. Perhaps if we had really let the "light break forth as the morning" it would be possible, in some small measure, to be "a light unto the nations."

Cordially yours,

Walter W. Brudno

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COMMENTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST



LETTRE AUX AMIS

Newsletter

No.9

Jerusalem  
22 June 1967

Dear Friends,

Having received from God and the Church the vocation to keep an ear constantly tuned to Jewish realities, we feel ourselves, in the present grave circumstances, under the commanding and urgent obligation to utter a cry to the Christian world.

We would like this cry to be pure and strict, but we are aware that it risks being misunderstood or sounding contradictory, for the cause in whose name we are raising our voice is complex, and is encumbered in the minds of many people with a triple ambiguity.

The first ambiguity which must be clearly recognised is the one which threatens every encounter between Jews and Christians. When one refers to a common heritage, when one looks for the common basis for a dialogue, the biblical tradition which one claims, the words which are used are the same, but they do not always have the same meaning for the Christian as they have for the Jew.

The next ambiguity which our Jewish brothers themselves are the first to bring out: that which the name Israel itself implies, for the political reality of the State does not embrace the entire Jewish reality, and the destiny of this country does not necessarily work out the destiny of the Jewish people.

Finally, a more concrete ambiguity relevant to current events: if Israel was driven to engage in a war which in its eyes signified a desperate struggle for justice - indeed, it was a question of its very existence - one should nevertheless not brush aside the justice of certain Arab claims, in particular those concerning the refugees.

We would like this preliminary warning to be kept in mind. Let it be known that, as we utter our cry, we are conscious of this triple ambiguity which risks restraining its import or smothering its echo. This being said, we cannot refrain from speaking.

As priests and Christian men of religion living in Israel a destiny common to the Jews of Israel, we are trying to explain as Christians that which seems consonant with justice in the cause that they are defending - strangely alone once again - before the whole world.

1.

JEWS AND ARABS IN THE FACE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The conflict between the Jews and Arabs regarding the State of Israel has its origin, before any other economic, political or strategic cause, in the field of spiritual, mystic and religious convictions. But even in this sphere one observes a fundamental misunderstanding which has aggravated mutual incomprehension to the point of tragic hostility. Indeed, it could have been expected that Jews and Arabs would enter upon a struggle in the name of rival theocracies, a clash of claims on the subject of the Holy Land, each one wishing to have its rights over Abraham's heritage recognised. It is possible to hear the echo of this claim in the calls to Holy War which mobilised the Arab masses against the intruder, Israel.

In fact, if the Arab leaders were preaching Holy War, they would seem to have been ignorant of, or to have forgotten, the past, the memory of which animates Israel's aspiration to return to the land of its ancestors, and upon which it bases its right to exist. From this point on, it must be clearly noted that Jews and Arabs do not see things in the same light and do not speak the same language. This misunderstanding is clearly demonstrated

in the letter written to us by a Christian Arab on 27th May 1967, as tension was rising each day between Israel and its neighbours. We reproduce the text as follows:

"In the face of the imminent danger which this country is bringing upon itself, I am allowing myself to ask you at once to persuade your friends who have influence with Israel's leaders, to avoid war at all costs. For by avoiding war, Israel will not only avoid certain defeat, but also useless massacre.

"Believe me, man is worth more than the land, however holy and sacred it is.

"After all that the Palestinian Arabs have suffered as a result of Balfour's promise, Israel cannot hope to live in peace with its neighbours, as experience has proved. So why not render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and look for another site on which to settle? I am sure that, by acting in this way, Israel would acquire the sympathy of the whole world. I do not believe it would be difficult to help Israel find another national home in a country as good as, if not better and bigger than this one, and which in addition would offer the security and peace so earnestly desired.

"I see no other solution to this distressing, yet so simple, problem. It seems to me the only way to avoid the useless horrors of war.

"I beg you to do all that you can in this sense and without delay. Believe me, Israel would have nothing to lose and everything to gain from following my suggestion."

One cannot fail to be struck by the complete misapprehension of the biblical past, and of Israel's mysterious link with its land, of which this letter gives proof. This state of mind is the result of a long history. The creation in Palestine of a "Jewish National Home" was not understood or accepted by the Arabs because it was not planned in peaceful collaboration, and no preparation for it was made in their thoughts, either from the spiritual or the political point of view. Tireless, violently anti-Zionist propaganda increased the original ill-feeling still more. Yet should not the Christian conscience have been attentive and open to the mysterious dimensions of the event?

This misapprehension is the more surprising and disastrous since it is precisely the mysterious elements of the "Return to Zion" which animate the Jewish fervour of Israel's citizens. Recently we have had innumerable opportunities to realise this.

Throughout those terrible days, during the interminable wait as well as under the bombardment, we had many contacts with the Israel "man in the street". As we mingled with the crowd or when we happened to pick up soldiers or civilians in our car, we were deeply struck by the peaceful and religious reactions of our interlocutors. We can bear witness, from all the meetings we had, before and during the fighting as well as after the victory, that this war was waged without hate. To the admiration of the whole world, the Israelis were strong and courageous, and yet, despite their extraordinary success, we have seen many youths back from the front full of real compassion for the conquered enemy, full of disgust for the ghastly reality of war. This could be observed on the day of Shavuot, the Jewish Pentecost, during the pilgrimage to the Wailing Wall. The joy of rediscovering this holy place remained grave.

Above all, religious reactions: one soldier strongly reproached his companion who was discouraged by the events for lacking confidence in God who had always saved Israel; another, to whom I expressed my fears in the face of the political difficulties, even more formidable than the military ones, answered spontaneously: "God has wrought the first miracle by granting us victory. That is a sign that He will not abandon us and that He will lead us to real peace with our neighbours." And again, in the middle of the very dense crowd that was thronging around Mandelbaum Gate immediately after the entry of Israel's soldiers into the Old City of Jerusalem, a woman turned to me and said fervently: "I fasted for eight days so that I should witness this day. The Messiah will certainly come without delay, yes, He will surely come!" It would be impossible for me to count the number of Jews I saw weeping because they could not go at that moment to the Wailing Wall. In conversations, in the newspapers, on the radio, everywhere passages from the Psalms and the Bible reverberated: "Cry aloud and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion; For great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee!" (Is.12.6)

Here one can gauge how tragic is the radical incomprehension which exists between Jews and Arabs. Very rare indeed are the Arabs who have an idea of the religious and biblical foundation for the Jewish presence in the Holy Land, of the essentially religious and biblical motive which, consciously or not, is at the basis of the State of Israel.

And yet, would it not have been possible to wipe out the ignorance which is at the root of such a misunderstanding? Professor Zvi WERBLOWSKY, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, recently gave a lecture to priests, nuns and Arab lay brothers on the religious motives behind the return of the Jewish people to the land of their fathers. A Melchite priest who attended the lecture said to me afterwards that "this talk has been a revelation to the majority of the audience, and Professor Werblowsky should come back to talk to the Arabs of Nazareth"!

It should suffice to quote here from Jacques MARITAIN's book, "Le Mystere d'Israel" (The Mystery of Israel). In a post-script which must be read in its entirety, the author explains the religious significance of the return of the Jewish people to the land of its fathers. This short study, though it certainly calls for many theological details, nevertheless provides Christian thought with an extremely precise orientation on the "mystery of Israel". It also contains an original and suggestive view on the manner in which the Moslem world could one day agree to co-exist in real peace with Israel, in common submission to the will of God. I quote here the first paragraph of this chapter which to us seems of paramount importance:

"What I would like to point out in the first place is that today, by a strange paradox, we are seeing the Israelis challenged by their neighbouring States over the only territory to which, considering the whole spectacle of the history of mankind, it is absolutely, divinely, certain that one people has an incontestable right: for the people of Israel is the only people in the world to whom a land, the Land of Canaan, was given by the true, unique and transcended God, creator of the universe and of the human race. And that which God has given once is given for ever.

"The granting of the Land of Canaan to the tribes of Israel by divine decree is an article of faith for Christians as well as for Jews. The Christian faith holds in fact to the belief that the Holy Spirit is the principal author of the Scriptures; and however great was the instrumental role played in its writing by the human element (customs and mentality of the times, etc.) which is taken into account by biblical exegesis and history, it nevertheless remains that the intention of the author inspired by the Holy Spirit cannot be doubted: the creator of heaven and earth gave the Promised Land to the Jews by the free decree of His will. I think that even for those Israelis who have abandoned all religious belief, this certainty, even if it has been relegated to the unconscious, is the unshakeable root of their conviction that by returning to Palestine they are returning to their home to settle. And the rulers of the nations who still claim to be Christian no doubt also have more or less vaguely - even if their personal faith is weak or non-existent - an obscure feeling of the right that Israel possesses from God himself to exist, and to be recognised as a nation on the land to whose threshold it was led by Moses.

"As for the Moslem world for whom only the Koran has full authority as a divinely revealed document, one certainly cannot expect that the Bible would have left similar marks upon it. At least, since it is itself accustomed to venerate in its own special manner God's positive commandments, it could recognise that Israel, even assuming that it was wrong, has, in its own perspective, the most inimpeachable basis to establish a belief in good faith and which must be treated as such by its neighbours in reasonable discussion, free from anger and contempt. Besides, it seems that the Moslem world could also, by virtue of that resignation to events which are proof of Allah's will that is such a profound characteristic of Islam, decide one day without too much difficulty to "give" the Jews that which, from its point of view, it regards as its own but which God, through the event which has definitely taken place, and for the benefit of world peace, asks it to abandon.

"Such considerations might appear perfectly utopian to the "realists" whose eye is fixed on the present moment. They might also sway the mind towards supposing that, if the great nations did not come to em-

bitter matters with their rival interests, the dialogue on the subject of the return of the Jews to the Holy Land between the descendants of Ishmael and those of Isaac and Jacob would have some chance of being established, and of leading to an agreement which is clearly required if the risk of world catastrophe is to be averted."

One can see how deep is the misunderstanding which lies at the origin of the Israel-Arab conflict. The fact that the Arabs do not wish to recognise the young State springs undoubtedly from a very complex mixture of historic and political causes, but it comes above all from a radical misapprehension of the rights in whose name Israel claims its right to re-establish its homeland in Zion and its centre in Jerusalem.

The victory which Israel has just gained with such surprising speed and with a will to survive whose strength gained the admiration of the whole world, this war in which its enemies intended to annihilate it, has provided Jews and Arabs, perhaps for the first time, with a unique opportunity to adjust their views and to find a common language.

One dreams of what the Near East could become if a real, sincere and lasting peace were to be established between Israel and its Arab neighbours. If the Arabs could show proof of realism, and if the Israelis could prove themselves as magnanimous in victory as they were in the defence of their homeland, real collaboration could be organised between them for the benefit of this entire region of the world, and would mark the beginning of an age of prosperity lived in mutual understanding and respect.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

### II.

#### THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

We have to admit, in all truth and humility, that, since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Christian world has always displayed fears and reservations towards it.

##### 1. Reservations of a theological nature

These are first and foremost theological reservations which are the heritage of sequel of a long history of clashes and controversies. The first of them can be expressed thus: if the Jews were to occupy Jerusalem, if they were to rebuild the Temple, if they were to re-establish the cult and resume the ancient sacrificial ritual, would this not run contrary to the Christian belief, expressed in Chapter Nine of the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to which Christ, the High Priest of the new Covenant, has, by his sacrifice on the cross in a Temple not built by human hands, replaced forever all the ancient sacrifices?

To dispel this fear at the theological level in which it is expressed, it should suffice to point out that it was the Epistle to the Hebrews which answered it once and for all, since its object was precisely to explain to the Christians who had come from Judaism how Christ replaced with a new order the old order which was only the shadow and the appearance of the one which He set up. However the ancient ritual in a reconstructed Temple might be revived, the Christian has the assurance of the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood which henceforth concentrates and transcends all mediation, sacrifice and liturgy. We will no doubt have the opportunity to go back to this question in the "Cahiers Saint Isaac" for it has often been asked in various ways by both our Jewish and Christian friend.

But is unnecessary here to go into this theological discussion, and it would perhaps be more advisable to show, from the point of view of the events themselves, how empty seems the fear that the Jews might rebuild the Temple. On 9 June, 1967, the Council of the Chief Rabbinate of Jerusalem recalled at a special meeting that Jews are forbidden to walk on the Temple enclosure. In fact, the site of the Holy of Holies is unknown and it is forbidden to tread on the place. Also when, on 7 June, immediately after Jerusalem was taken, Doctor WAHRHAFTIG, Minister of Religious Affairs, entered the Old City to go and pray at the Wailing Wall, he covered his face

<sup>1</sup> These lines by Jacques MARITAIN undoubtedly express with too much precision and certainty that which remains shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless, we think that his intuition aims at a truth which it is difficult and upon which it is important to meditate.

with his arm as he passed the Temple enclosure so as not to lay eyes upon this holy place. As for the reconstruction of the Temple, the most religious among the Jews - the only ones who are interested in the re-establishment of the ancient cult - believe that this can be accomplished only by the Messiah when he comes. At a more concrete level, the recent decision taken by the Israel Government to ensure free access of the Moslems to their two mosques shows that Israel has no plans for a religious or cultural takeover of the Temple enclosure.

Another reservation, also of a theological nature, stems from the fact that Christian tradition for a long time considered that the dispersion of the Jews was a consequence of the Crucifixion of Christ, and that it must necessarily continue till the end of time as a sign of the malediction. From this point of view, the return of Israel to its land seemed to repudiate an article of faith and run contrary to a divine punishment. Much could be said on this manner of interpreting the tradition. Many conflicts and much cruelty could have been avoided in the course of history if one had taken care to withdraw to a certain degree from the theological interpretation of the dispersion of the Jewish people. We hope to return to this matter elsewhere to try, in particular, to specify in what perspective the sometimes vehement texts of certain Fathers of the Church should be read.

Let us be content to observe here that the recent conciliatory declaration Nostra aetate henceforth forbids the profession of this opinion and thus thrusts aside all foundations for the reservation in question.

In short, even if we do not attach to the events which led to the establishment of the State of Israel, and which accompanied it, the same significance that the Jews accord it, we must admit that they remain mysterious, and we must try to interpret them in the perspective of God's design for a people to whom His gifts are without repentance. This should suffice to draw the attention of every Christian who watches the astonishing and sad history of Israel; this could perhaps reverse the kind of a priori contempt with which too many Christians, ill-informed or ill-educated, too often consider Israel's arduous hope and difficult existence.

## 2. Reservations due to the misapprehension of Jewish or Israel realities

a. Israel has often been reproached for being founded on a racist principle. This represents a misapprehension of the Jewish reality whose complexity itself is at the root of this confusion. To be sure, it is true that the State was founded by the Jews and for the Jews, even though non-Jewish minorities have their place within it. It is equally true that, according to the Halacha (traditional religious law), whoever is born of a Jewish mother is Jewish. It is above all true that Judaism is an original union between the religion and the nation which is difficult to define. It is a nation with a religious vocation; it is a religion with a national basis. The Jewish reality oscillates between these two poles. One can understand, then, that a "Jewish State" can appear to be founded on a racist principle. In truth it would be as correct to say that it rests upon a theocratic principle, as the orthodox Jews, for whom the ideal would be that religious law should become the actual law of the State, would like it to be.

In fact, it should be realised that the principle on which the State of Israel is based is far less a racial than a religious one, and this with all the risks of narrow-mindedness and intolerances which any fusion of religion and the nation entails. In this regard, Islam has many analogies with Judaism, with the important reservation that its nationalism is divided different sovereignties.

But life comes to demonstrate how paradoxical the Jewish reality is in this field as in many others. In effect, one observes among a considerable portion of the population a growing tendency to dissociate itself from the close link between nation and religion, between Israel citizenship and Jewish faith - to desanctify, as it were, the Jewish identity. Thus we observe in Israel an increasingly wide movement of Jews who criticise their traditional attitudes. In this respect, it seems that the foundation of the State of Israel tends to make this country "a nation like other nations". We would not presume to say whether this is good or bad for the Jewish identity and for the ultimate destiny of Israel. But in any case it is sure that this fact removes all substance from the reproach in question.

b. In another tone, one sometimes hears it said that the life of the Christians in Israel is often made difficult because the society is confined to a rather narrow community framework. That is what prompted Father CONGAR to write recently as follows:

"The Christians in fact are faced with limitations and discrimination such that many young people are leaving the country which does not seem to offer them a future... From the standpoint of real religious liberty for the Christians of Jordan, one would not wish them to pass under Israel sovereignty if the real régime imposed on the Christians in Israel is to remain as it is!"

This remark calls for many more specific details, and I find myself obliged to correct here the opinion of a man who was formerly one of my teachers.

First of all, in regard to the Christian Arabs: it is true that they have had to suffer certain limitations and discrimination in this country. What must be realised is that this was not because they were Christians, but only because they constituted an Arab minority (a minority which, if one considers the whole of the Near East, is only a fraction of a vast hostile majority, in relation to which it is natural that the State of Israel has not yet found the correct attitude). Besides, the motives which led many Christian Arabs to leave the country were not religious but economic. The same state of affairs existed in Jordan where one has for many years been observing the same exodus. This migration is due to the fact that a minority (Arab among Jews in Israel, Christians among Moslem in Jordan) will always have to suffer certain limitations in relation to the majority, particularly in economically backward countries. Finally, if one wished to compare the real religious liberty of Christian Arabs in Israel and Jordan, it is certain that the comparison would be in Israel's favour. One need only quote one important fact: Jordan imposed upon Christians schools a supervision of curriculum and textbooks. Such supervision has never existed in Israel. In short, as His Grace Archbishop HAKIM wrote recently in a French Catholic magazine:

"Nowhere is there any question of a restriction of religious liberty. There is complete religious liberty throughout the Holy Land."

We could add on a more personal note that, having lived in Israel for fourteen years in contact with many friends - Jewish, Arab and Christian - in a Dominican institution which is considered more and more here as Israeli, we observe among Government and Jewish intellectual circles a growing tendency to open up to a presence of the Church in Israel. We can bring proof of the respect and esteem which has always been shown us, as Christians and as priests, by the Jews of Israel.

It nevertheless remains true that the condition of Christians of Jewish origin is extremely difficult in Israel. Our Christians of Hebrew descent are considered as renegades, as a threat to the Jewish identity of the country. This is a serious fact and its establishment can only sadden us. We frequently express our astonishment at it to the most open-minded and tolerant authorities of the country.

If the recent events bring about some territorial changes, the presence in Israel of a much larger Christian minority could precisely constitute a salutary challenge, and invite Israel to broaden its horizons towards a real universality and a more liberal legislation.

c. Reticence is also inspired by the fear that Israel may not ensure adequate protection of the Holy Places or may not permit sufficiently free access to them. But it should be known that, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the Israel Prime Minister made a very firm declaration on this subject, and promised the protection of, and free access to, the Holy Places of the three religions. During the fighting, very strict orders were given to the Army to respect the Holy Places. Despite a few regrettable exceptions due to errors of marksmanship - this was unfortunately the case with St. Anne's - these instructions were in general scrupulously carried out, despite the presence of Jordanian forces near certain Holy Places. Among other things, we would like to point out the following, particularly characteristic fact: Shortly after the conquest of the Old City, someone hoisted the Israeli flag on the Mosque of Omar. General DAYAN, Minister of Defence, ordered it to be removed immediately in order that the Moslem Holy Place should be respected.

It should suffice to observe the complete freedom of access to the Holy Places of Nazareth during the nineteen years of the State of Israel's existence to remove any reason to doubt the sincerity of the Israel Government.

To those who insist on doubting, one could finally oppose the ultimate motive for confidence: the State of Israel needs, and will always need, the sympathy of world public opinion, and particularly of Christian opinion. It knows that this sympathy will not be granted to it unless it faithfully maintains freedom of access to the Holy Places. All concern on this count seems decisively without foundation.

### III.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OFFERED

A historic and absolutely unique possibility presents itself today:

1. For the first time since the establishment of the State, at the end of a violent situation, a way has opened to peace between Israel and its neighbours. Everything must be put to work with good will in the hope that, through direct talks between the parties concerned, relations of mutual acceptance and collaboration may be established.

This will be possible if the conflict of interests between the Great Powers does not interfere with the desire for harmony and calm of the Near East countries.

2. The confrontation of the Church and the State of Israel, at the conclusion of this test and this war, constitutes a mutual challenge, a kind of emulation which should be profitable to both. The State of Israel has today a unique opportunity to make the Church accept it by itself accepting, without discrimination and without ulterior motive, the Christian presence in its midst. As we have noted above, we can give proof of the respect and esteem with which we are surrounded, as Christians and men of religion, by the Israeli Jews. And we have also mentioned that, if the Christian Arabs suffered it was not because of the fact that they were Christians. However, we must point out that the opening is not always as spontaneous or as wide: when a Christian community seems likely to constitute a danger to the unity of the people and its Jewish identity, it has to face up to very great difficulties. We speak here not only of Jews who, of their own free and unprejudiced choice have wished to embrace Christianity, but also of many Christians who are the issue of mixed marriages, families who came from the countries of eastern Europe to settle in Israel. (In general, the husband is Jewish and the wife and children are Christian.)

It is incumbent on the State of Israel today to show towards this Christian minority the same tolerance which the Church has tried to determine as a policy in its document on religious liberty.

As for the Christian world, it would seem today to be called upon in the most urgent manner to see in the State of Israel one of the providential steps in the destiny of the Jewish people. It is, to be sure, extremely presumptuous to claim to distinguish the link between the event and the revealed Word in the Bible. Nevertheless, the facts concerning the destiny of Israel finally become intelligible in the perspective of the People of God. It is in this light that the Christian must consider all Jewish reality.

But one must admit that, since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Christian world has had a mistrustful attitude towards it. Much could be said about the causes of such a reaction. And yet, the experience of our life as Christian men of religion in this country enables us to say that the Christian heart finds in Israel what it expects or what it is looking for! If it expects to find hostility or mistrust, it will encounter hostile or mistrustful faces. If it is looking for open hearts, it will find them.

Israel is perhaps the site par excellence for the Jewish-Christian dialogue between those who, in complete sincerity and out of deep respect each for the other, are looking for a real meeting point. The Jews can be magnanimous, of that too we have proof. They know how to remember and be grateful. They have won this war, they have a very strong will to win the peace. For that they need the Christians' confidence. Israel's magnanimity in peace depends perhaps in part on the magnanimity of the Church.

That is why we feel ourselves to be the interpreters of Christians, whether of Jewish origin or not, who have chosen to live in Israel, as well as for all our Jewish friends of good will, in expressing the desire which fills our hope and our prayer.

We wish with all our heart that the Church would accept the difficult path of having confidence in Israel. It is certain that the only chance of achieving real peace in this region of the world is that the Church should establish normal relations with the State of Israel at a more serene and elevated level than the Great Powers. The stakes are the more serious since the Near East seems, at the present juncture, to be one of the keys to world peace. And this is without taking into account that, by taking such a step, the Church could in addition obtain the opportunity to discuss and negotiate in order to achieve for the Christians a lawful and actual equality in the Israel establishment whose destiny they wish to share and to whose construction they wish to contribute.

At the local Christian level - the Church of God in Israel - we equally wish with all our might that the Church should find in its midst, and among its leaders, partners willing to enter into a dialogue with their Jewish counterparts, capable of showing confidence, without fear or ulterior motive, men animated by the spirit of Vatican II.

That is why, filled as we believe ourselves to be by the zeal of God's Kingdom, and in a respectful, obedient and filial spirit, we are allowing ourselves to utter this cry to the Church and the Christian world.

We seem to be in a unique situation in which Israel and all those who desire peace are waiting for the Church to express itself with authority, and to appear in the eyes of the Jews as it appears to those who look upon it with our faith: the Epiphany of the Visage of Christ.

Interview with Brother Bruno by Brother Marcel.



## THE FORGOTTEN DIALOGUE: ISAAC AND ISHMAEL

The hey-day of the Christian-Jewish dialogue seems to be over, especially across the Atlantic; which is just another way of saying that the actual dialogue may get a chance to begin at long last. For the orgy of busy-bodding, conferences, televised interfaith appearances, Brotherhood dinners, surveys and publications (largely financed by Jewish organizations) was a major exercise in public relations but had little religious depth or theological significance. This of course did not disturb the professional "dialogicians" and "ecumaniacs". Then came June 1967 and the ominous silence of the Christian Churches and organizations. Beyond their busy-bodding and inter-faith shouting, the Jews discerned the national, yea-political, dimension of their apparently religious commitment. They realised that interfaith programmes which ignored these issues were meaningless and hollow, and they were disappointed and hurt. A somewhat sudden hang-over has succeeded the paroxysm of "dialogitis", although the concomitant danger of throwing out the baby with the bath water seems to be no less serious than previous excesses.

In fact there have always been protests against exaggerating the significance of the Jewish-Christian dialogue. Alas, many of these protests were based on traditional Jewish anti-Christian animus, and they displayed all the aggressiveness which is the symptom of apologetics in reverse. The crisis in Jewish-Christian relations, precipitated by the events of May-June 1967, has helped to add new force to the message of a "dialogue with Islam". And although this new challenge is partly inspired by hatred of, or rather disillusionment with, the Christian Haman rather than by love for the Muslim Mordecai, the subject is important enough to merit consideration; an examination of the problems must therefore go deeper than the at times ludicrous catch-phrases (such as, e.g., the appeal to renew the Golden Age of yore) that are bandied about by the protagonists of the new dialogue.

In the first place it seems surprising that if the breakdown of Jewish-Christian relations in the West is due to Christian silence during the Middle East crisis in 1967, a Jewish-Muslim dialogue should be proposed in answer to it. After all, the alleged sin of the organized Christian bodies was said to have been one of omission: silence and evasion in the face of the Muslim sin of commission: namely, their avowed purpose to "annihilate", "liquidate" and "eliminate" Israel. It is difficult to understand why this should provide a firmer ground for dialogue, especially with a view to the political loyalties of the whole non-Arab Muslim world from Pakistan to Malaya.

There is, of course, the possibility of keeping the religious dialogue carefully insulated and preserved from all contamination by political issues. The relevance of such a vacuum-packed dialogue is doubtful, especially at a time when the Christian-Jewish dialogue passes through a crisis precisely because of its failure in the political dimension. It might even be argued that talk about fraternal dialogue on a purely religious or spiritual level is actually the greatest blasphemy imaginable, for whatever religion may or may not be, it is certainly supposed to be concerned with that which is ultimately real. Politics is, in many ways, ultimately real. At least it is the one thing for which people unquestioningly die, and I think it can be claimed that even if religious martyrdom did occur today, it would be much less a matter-of-course than the sacrifice of the soldier marching into battle. Religion without the background of concrete reality is irreligious make believe, and the substitution of a pleasant discussion group for a genuine confrontation. If an American, a Viet Cong, a South Vietnamese, and a militant Buddhist agree to forget about their fighting once a month and to meet to play Chamber music, this would not prove that Chamber music is real. It would only mean that people are prepared to take a holiday from reality. Perhaps T.S. Eliot was right after all: "Humankind cannot bear very much reality". That, incidentally, may be one of the reasons why they engage in religious

dialogues. If a Rabbi, a priest and an Imam sit down to discuss their views about Jesus or Muhammad, their discussions may be interesting indeed, but one should not expect others to take this kind of inter-faith "doll's house" seriously. On the other hand the political dimension may provide the real challenge and possible promise of a Muslim-Jewish confrontation. Precisely because it is not academic, because it is inextricably intertwined with social, national and political realities, because it is a clash of societies and ideologies in which religious tradition, social identity and political loyalty can hardly be separated, there is a dimension of reality about it which could conceivably produce, in the long run, something solid and substantial.

The need for realistic appraisal, preliminary understanding and a possible future co-operation need not of course be marked immediately with the fashionable label "dialogue" particularly as the subject of Jewish-Arab relations invites much irresponsible claptrap based on immature good will and plenty of ignorance. There never has been a Jewish-Arab dialogue. There has been co-existence (with the Jews as a tolerated and despised minority) and, of course, mutual influence, although the decisive influence travelled one way: from the Muslims to the Jews (leaving aside for the moment the garbled Jewish influences on the Prophet Muhammad). If Jewish philosophy (including Maimonides) is unthinkable without the Arab philosophers, if certain types of Jewish spirituality (including Bahya's "duties of the Heart") are unthinkable without the Muslim sufis, if Hebrew poetry is unthinkable without the Arab example, then we have proof of the pervasiveness and significance of culture contact, but this has nothing whatever to do with dialogue.

Inter-faith contacts have a habit of inflating the selfevident to the rank of a major achievement called the dialogue. But scholars have explained the history and the meaning of religions without resorting to this term, and every Rabbi, priest, Imam or layman who wants to understand his own or his neighbour's religion will find plenty of books, including paper-backs, to help him. To assume that theologians sitting down together and discussing some pressing "modern" problems (e.g. the problem of youth or of the great industrial cities) could produce serious results is either sinful arrogance or culpable naivité. The notion that the three great monotheistic religions should become brothers-in-arms against the wicked atheists and materialists is simply laughable, particularly as nobody really knows who is what. An Orthodox Rabbi or Muslim may have doubts about the monotheism of Christianity. An ardent Israeli Marxist member of a Shomer Hatzair Kibbutz is not necessarily an ideal comrade in arms in the battle against atheism, and it is difficult to determine who is the real materialist: The protagonist of Mao's cultural revolution, the oil-Sheikh from Kuwait, or the pillar of a local Church in the United States whose "Pilgrim's Progress" on this earth is measured by his suburban house and by the price and status-value of his successive motor-cars. And as for monotheism - one wonders what this can mean at a time when the writing of obituaries after "The Death of God" provides theologians, journalists and publishers with a livelihood.

Of course it is true that in the medieval context of religious thought Islam and Judaism seem less antagonistic than Judaism and Christianity. Islam has never denied the legitimacy of Jewish existence, and the philosophical theologies of the two religions were based on the same Greek traditions and were operating with similar concepts. But we are no longer living in the Middle Ages. Whilst historians are welcome to enjoy their antiquarian pleasures, it should be obvious that neither the study of Kalam nor that of the Ashariyya are going to bring Jews and Muslims closer together.

On the other hand, and this may well be the crucial and decisive point, Christianity, and to some extent Judaism, are contemporary in a sense in which Islam is not. Christianity today is a post-modern phenomenon. It knows that it exists after Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, Darwin, Wellhausen, Marx and Freud. This holds true of Judaism to a much lesser degree, but modern Judaism too participates in the Western tradition of which Christianity is the most articulate religious expression. Islam, as a religious system, is neither post-modern nor even modern. It is pre-modern, and even its so-called modernistic movements are quaintly naive and anachronistic. The bifurcation between traditional religion on the one hand and the struggle for

political and social modernisation of the Arab world on the other hand has led to what Sir Hamilton Gibb has called the typical Arab "double-mindedness". Another scholar has remarked that "popular piety has continued to play an important role throughout the Near East in nationalist and pan-Arab enthusiasm, and even most members of the modern elites... seem to remain attached to Islamic belief in some form. But, cut off as it is by the intransigence of the Ulama from serious concern with modern problems, professional theology contributes little to this personal piety which consequently tends ... to become a kind of religious veneer for political nationalism". A muslim sociologist has therefore no hesitation in speaking of an almost "Hypocritical adherence to the cultural heritage and an effective estrangement from that heritage occurring side by side".

It would be easy to translate the above quotations so as to apply to the Jewish situation. For the Ulama, impervious to modern problems, substitute a certain type of Orthodox Rabbi; for nationalist enthusiasm read Zionism; and for the perseverance of "some form of Islamic belief" even by the modernised elite, read "Jewish consciousness". There are, indeed, similarities galore. If there were enough Jews and Muslims courageous enough, honest enough, and open-minded enough to seek a better understanding of themselves (not of one another) by studying these problems with their similarities and differences, instead of suggesting irrelevant talks about Jewish-Muslim attitudes regarding prayer, or a holy book, or concepts of an imageless God, then perhaps some fruitful and significant dialogue may, after all, emerge one day.

R.I. Zwi Werblowsky.

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A CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO M.E. PEACE - by the Rev. Peter Schneider

Fear is not a Christian virtue, yet I tremble as I write these words not because I am afraid of criticism but rather because I am anxious above all else that what is here expressed might help the cause of peace in the Middle East.

This is the time when Christians all over the world are preparing to celebrate the Feast of Nativity. It is for us Christians a glad remembrance of the birth of Jesus - a recalling of the angel's message 'on earth peace, good will toward men'. The absence of a 'peace settlement' in the Holy Land cannot but be for Christians a serious concern.

True, in Jerusalem the barriers are down. Who even of the most optimistic among us, would have dared to believe this time last year what is a fact for all of us today? None of us could have seen that within 12 months Jerusalem would have rid herself of mine fields, barriers of all kinds and the necessity for a Mandelbaum Gate, that always shut out more people than it let through. The unity of the City broken for 19 years and more has once again been restored. Jew and Christian can once again echo the psalmist's delight over Jerusalem that 'is built as a city that is at unity in itself'. But, and it is a crucial but, while the war (like all wars cruel and regrettable) for the unity of Jerusalem has been won, the anguish and the struggle for that deeper unification and peace cannot come without a true meeting of Israeli and Arab leading eventually to an agreed peace. The fact and result of the Six Day War tends to make us forget the preceding uncertainty and crisis. Yet it was that very crisis which challenged many Christians in Israel to articulate their attitude to the State. This is not to say that Churchmen in this area had not previously thought about the significance of Israel. Last year in this newspaper I maintained that in a real and mystical way, the Jewish Christian relationship of almost two thousand years seemed to be caught up, centred and focussed in the contemporary meeting of the Church and the Jewish People in Israel. Further, I argued that it was the meeting and encounter in Israel that is of the most crucial significance for present and future understanding and cooperation between Jews and Christians the world over. Yet it was the crisis in May of this year that acted like a catalyst to these and other Christian attitudes and convictions relating to the State of Israel.

It must at once be stated that the Churches' primary concern is not politics but rather to know and to do the will of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Yet this is carried out in a real world, a world where we humans live and have our being, a world about which God cares, for not only has he created it but remains active in it. It is not only our world for it is even more profoundly God's world.

The difference between not meddling in political issues as such and yet being concerned with this world is not easy to articulate. It is a razor-edged difference - but it must be determined. Thus I do not believe that it is the duty of the Christian Church to make judgements and pronouncements on this or that political manoeuvre in the Middle East.

However, the position is altogether different when a whole nation is threatened with extinction and when Christians see and feel the resulting fear and anxiety. This became even more acute when such a situation occurs for Jewry in Israel, where for many the memory of the Nazi holocaust is far too close to be able to dispose of such threats and fears as unfounded or ridiculous. It seemed that for the Christian Church in Israel the serious side of Purim had come around again in three months rather than the customary annual commemoration. The words of Mordecai stood out and directly challenged us: 'Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape... if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time'.

This was the challenge present in the discussions of many Christian leaders in Israel during the recent crisis. Some of us realized that it was the right of the State of Israel to be and to continue to be, that was once more being challenged. It was about this issue that the world was being questioned and that we in Israel as Christians and Churchmen were also being questioned.

It was not primarily a question of expressing an opinion about 1948 or the Balfour Declaration of 1917, or the first World Zionist Congress of 1897; rather it was the total Christian involvement with the Jewish people. This goes back not only to the beginnings of Christianity and hence the commencement of the Christian-Jewish relationship, but further, evokes God's call of the Jewish People that was from the very beginning associated with a Holy Land - a Land set apart.

Had it not been for the continuous association of 'Jewry and Judaism' with its Land, the return of the exiles to Zion could never by itself have achieved the natural union of 'people and land' that engendered the development of all the facets of an independent and sovereign modern state. In every respect, except one, the growth and struggle of the Jewish community in Palestine towards the achievement of sovereignty and independence is like any other movement of an indigenous people towards the attainment of self rule. The one exception, that of the ingathering of the exiles, is often mistakenly taken to be the sole factor where in fact it is only a part of a complex movement. Not only have there always been, as Dr. Parkes has rightly maintained, "as many Jews in this Land as the Land could bear and the authorities would allow" but also from the very beginning of Jewish existence this Land has been the source, the root and the secret that has sustained both 'Jewry and Judaism' in its long and chequered history. Ideologically, historically and theologically as the prophet saw, the return to Zion was inevitable. It is against this background that reference needs to be made to a statement of the executive committee of the United Christian Council in Israel issued after our meeting in Nazareth on 1 June 1967. We have been particularly requested only to quote this statement in its entirety and so the following is the full text:

'We, the United Christian Council in Israel, through its Executive Committee, meeting in Nazareth on June 1st. 1967, express our deep concern for the peoples of the Middle East in the present crisis.

This is a time for all men and women of good-will to pray for the establishment of peace with Justice.

We affirm that all states, nations or peoples of this area have an equal right to peaceful existence.

We believe that any resort to force will only lead to disaster and delay a just and lasting settlement.

We therefore, call on our people to give themselves to continuing prayer and dedicated service, for the good of all'.

To many readers this will seem to say very little or to be over-cautious and restrained. I believe that its very restraint gives the statement its strength as a theological assessment in a crisis which demanded such a response from us. I cannot claim to be an official interpreter of the above statement, but I can at least say, as one who was involved, that it was the above line of theological thinking and reasoning that brought some of us, as Christians

and churchmen, to adopt a stance of no accommodation to any and every attempt in ideology or action that threatens the right of Israel to be, and to continue to be.

If one's pro-Israel attitude is based on the flimsy foundation of support for the weak as seems so largely to have been the case in Britain, or even worse on the vested interest of 'you scratch my back and I will scratch yours' as seems to have been true of some opinion in the United States, then there should be no surprise at so-called changes of heart and mind. If however, a Christian attitude is built on a firm religious basis, not only will it not flounder, but neither is it restricted to be for Israel and against the Arabs.

The above quoted statement underlines this point, It speaks of the rights of all states in the area. I am convinced that an absolute commitment to the right of Israel to exist, now and always, is not contradictory with a deep concern for the right of the Arab peoples, the nearby Arab States and particularly that of the Arab Palestinians. It is outside the scope of this article and beyond my competence to spell out the terms of a proposed peace settlement or to offer suggestions on boundaries and federations. Theologically an agreed peace settlement is the only right way, the only hope for the well-being of Jews and Arabs, Israel and the nearby Arab States.

Perhaps one has to begin not with the preliminary proposals for direct talks and a peace settlement (though clearly one cannot hope, pray and work for anything less), but with preliminaries to the preliminaries. Something and something very important can be done for the Arabs at present within Israeli jurisdiction. Every attempt needs to be made to encourage continuous meetings between Jews and Arabs (both Christian Arabs and Moslem Arabs) in Israel today. Only so can a movement towards mutual understanding be initiated and this can hardly be without much accompanying agony.

It needs hardly to be added that such understanding can never come on terms of 'victor and vanquished', but only on the genuine footing of equal rights as brother-Semites. What is involved here is not only a matter of attitude, personal and group relations, but also costly practical implications. These are chiefly concerned with the new practical problems created by the sudden contact of a less developed economy with the rapidly developing Israeli economy. The scope of this article precludes particularization, but in general, the problem is that of equal opportunity of work and this can hardly be effected without subsidies, training schemes and much else.

This engagement for mutual understanding if sustained by Israeli goodwill and technical skill coupled with the growth of a confident and full Arab cooperation, has every chance to make a breakthrough in the present wider context of the Israeli-Arab impasse. Certainly this is asking for a lot, but Israel has proved time and again how well she is able to respond to tough assignments. If anything, peace is more difficult to win than war. Christians are not in a position of power in the Middle East today but they have a responsibility (and also I believe the potential) to be instruments of reconciliation and peace. Such a motivation and work cannot even be initiated, never mind sustained, without a real love for Israel and Jerusalem, which must, of necessity, include all citizens. A love like this needs to be sustained by a steadfast will and prayer that neither expects nor is prepared to fail. In other words:

'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee'.



COMMENTS FROM OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST

## A TIME FOR CANDOR IN INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

Delivered by

Rabbi Balfour Brickner,  
Director, Commission on Interfaith Activities of  
Reform Judaism at the Central Conference of American Rabbis  
Thursday, June 21, 1967

This is perhaps the most difficult moment since the end of World War II to discuss interreligious relationships. Events of the past few weeks have made it almost impossible to stand before Jews, particularly before colleagues with much experience in the entire field of interreligious relations and raise this subject without risking the evocation from some of you of at least a skeptical half smile, half sneer. For if ever there were among us at least a few, hesitant, perhaps suspicious, if not hostile to what the professional "ecumeniacs" seemed to be pushing the Jewish community in terms of greater interreligious confrontation, they need no more ammunition for further disengagement, than the spectacle of nearly total absence of visible support for the State of Israel during her hour of need by at least the establishment of organized American Christianity. Many Jews are now saying, not without anger:

"You see. I told you so".

"You should never have tried to beguile the Jewish community into thinking that there was any real substance to this matter of interfaith relations. Now, you see how right we are".

It is not difficult to make out an argument in support of their position. For the truth is, the official spokesmen of American Christendom were not only silent viz; support for the integrity of the State of Israel, but by their silence or by their prayerful calls for peace, suggesting that the matter be placed in the lap of a then practically paralyzed United Nations - they also failed the cause of world peace. To suggest, as has at least one national Jewish organization, that "widespread Christian support for Israel's position is a reflection of the growth of Jewish Christian understanding that has developed through interfaith dialogues in the years since Vatican Council II", is to say the least, an exaggerated oversimplification. In less elegant terms, it is an unctuous, self-serving fabrication constructed out of the isolated statements of a few liberal Catholic prelates, very recent editorials in such liberal Catholic journals as "The National Catholic Reporter", "Commonweal", publicized releases of too few liberal Protestant clergymen and one or two inter-denominational statements such as the one signed by 19 Boston clergymen. In the main, those making these statements were people whose close contact with the Jewish community, helped them realize that Christianity was faced with an acid test of American interreligious relations. Under such circumstances it is indeed sorrowful to see any national Jewish organizations or spokesmen distort the facts, for the sake of Christian "good will". The record has to be set straight. By and large Christians were silent and in some instances where their voice were heard, it was for the wrong reason - anti-Communism, red baiting. Interestingly, strongest Christian support for Israel - came from the West German Evangelical Church.

In the light of the above, what should be our position? Should we as some now counsel, further disengage Jews and Christians, admit, as some of my colleagues have stated that interreligious relations are essentially "a farce" merely a new veneer to cover up what remains a conversionary mission? Despite my disappointment with the initial reaction of organized American Christendom, I do not believe that the American Jew can survive or should seek to survive in this radically new society of ours by remaining aloof from or hostile toward the larger community of which we are a part, a large part of which is organized, at least nominally, on Christian terms. There is a mood of "Jewish triumphalism" growing within American Jewry - a feeling that wherever we are going - whatever we wish to do - we can go it alone. The power, position and capacity are now in our hands and we don't need anyone else. The recent stunning Israeli military victory has given added impetus to some of this feeling. Is it as dangerous to the total American fabric as it is divisive. If left unchecked, it can make even easier further disengagement of Jew from Christian.

If the present contretemps teaches us anything, it teaches us how badly we have failed properly to use the present openness between faiths. We have mistakenly assumed that Jews and Christians understood the basic differences

that distinguish us from one another. We have mistakenly assumed that Christians understood the mystique of "Jewish peoplehood" which undergirds all Jewish being and which thank God rises involuntarily instinctively in the breast of practically every Jew when the core of his existence as a Jew is as threatened as it was within the past fortnight. We have mistakenly thought that American pluralism made Jewish ethnicity self-evident and that we could go on with our Christian colleagues to discuss less basic and more subtle notions of Judaism - of faith. Obviously, such explorations while ultimately necessary are still somewhat premature. Before we dialogue about matters of faith, let us dialogue about matters of being. Understanding the very existence of the Jew precedes any interfaith conversations we might wish to have about the Jewish understanding of conscience, morality or worship. We are not "Protestant Jews" - a people defined in faith terms alone. If we are to talk theology, let us first talk about the theology of Israel and its role in the life of the Jew. One Catholic Journal with which I am familiar has attempted such a probe. "The Herder Correspondence" for this June, has written in a fascinating way on "The Jewish Identity in Israel". It points out that there are "two Israels both inside and outside the State of Israel with very different ideas of what it means to be a Jew."... "The danger of Israel and the diaspora drifting apart, though exaggerated at times for practical purposes, is not imaginary. Every time a diaspora Jew returns disappointed from a visit to Israel, having seen prosperity but not Judaism, and, above all, having felt the mental gap between himself and the young Israeli, the bonds are loosened. The diaspora Jew sees that there is no real place for the Jew as Jew in Israel, and inevitably, where Jewish self-consciousness is strong in the diaspora, it must sooner or later turn away from Israel". One cannot avoid observing that there were among us, myself included, who prior to the Israeli "blitzkrieg" (to use Time magazine's term) might have found much in this statement with which to agree. The "60 hour war" has brought all this into question. The diaspora will never drift away. How petty seem our criticisms in light of the threat to Israel's survival.

Conversations with our Christian conferees had better seek to close the anachronistic gap which seems to exist between the political Israel of the contemporary world and the religious Israel of the prophets, Jesus and Paul. We know that both Israels are of the same cloth, that it is impossible to understand one without the other. But for a multitude of reasons, many of our Christian friends and neighbors do not seem to either know or understand this fact.

The failure of Christians to find their tongues in support of Israel as a sine qua non to world peace at a moment when so many of their leaders and denominational heads have been vigorously outspoken in their opposition to the (unholy) war in Vietnam cannot be explained only on the ground that they are not "Middle East watchers". Two other realities seem to serve as inhibiting factors; their investment, financial and psychological, in the Middle East missionary movement, the preponderance of which is still in Arab lands, and (in my judgement) their misunderstanding of what is commonly referred to as "the plight of the Arab refugees". Many Christians still believe that the Arabs were unjustly and cruelly expelled from Israel in 1948 and that had it not been for "Jewish intransigence" the matter could have been settled years ago. The efforts of American Jewry seriously to meet with their Christian counterparts on this subject, has been a feeble one. We have either been unwilling to raise such "controversial subjects" at gemuetlich interfaith meetings or have felt to insecure about the facts of the situation as to be unable adequately to discuss the differing points of view. It is time for candor on these as on many other heretofore "untouchable" topics, and it is time still to ask that the voice of Christianity be raised in support of Israel's ultimate integrity. It is time also, once and for all, to put an end to superficial, too easy congregational interfaith programs, Sisterhood luncheons, Brotherhood smokers, award dinners to undeserving "goyim", joint thanksgiving services and the like, and in their place develop the ongoing confrontations; the lasting lay dialogues, interreligious adult education; those programs that will enable Jews and Christians to strip off their brotherhood masks and begin to say what they really think and feel. This is hard. It takes time and demands a prior commitment to the worthwhileness of such contacts. I am not sure we all share that commitment. To the contrary, I am convinced that there are many who don't. To those who say that the Christian-Jewish relationship in America is not yet strong enough to withstand the shocks and jolt which such honest confrontation will produce, I can only suggest that, if it isn't it is not worth preserving. I think it is. First, Christians and Jews need one another today as never before if we

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are going to add anything as religious people to the solution of the problems of our society. Secondly, Christians are curious about the Jew and Judaism. They want to know more about the Jew with whom they live in such easy suburban comradeship, and finally Christian leadership is even more concerned than we that the nascent, half built world of interreligious relations not be destroyed. Even those who oppose greater interreligious contact cannot these facts of life. Most do not. I know how deeply involved each of you is in the interreligious field. Certainly you are involved interreligiously in the area of community social action. Interreligious relations are the cutting edges of today's religious social action effort. And as you know they bring by products that go far beyond the contemplated goals. There can be no question about the validity and effectiveness of such involvement. The question remains: Is this enough? Is this all we should be seeking interreligiously? Should we, can we expect more? Is it sensible to talk about or plan for interreligious contact that goes beyond social action and that involves laymen? The creation of a National Commission on Interfaith Activities by the total family of American Reform Judaism would seem to indicate an affirmative response to these questions, yet it is no secret that historically there has been some reluctance to let "Jewish uneducated laymen become too active or involved in so sensitive an area". Moreover rabbis have had a tendency to feel that the world of interfaith relationships was their special domain.

Until recently, the layman was content to let the rabbi function exclusively in this realm. Two forces now operate to change this pattern. The emergence of the Jewish lay or secular organization and the rise of lay interest in religious (as distinct from worship) affairs. If Jewish laity no longer expresses itself as a worshipful community, it is indeed one whose involvement qua Jews in the affairs of the general community is growing. These two forces now give rise to a paradoxical situation. Many rabbis are content to be used by the Jewish lay organizations in their dialogue and conference programs, while at the same time being somewhat diffident in turning to the inter-religious outlets of their own national religious body.

The second paradox is that this growing lay interest in broader participation has not produced a concomitant growth in congregational participation. Despite the fact that there is popular awareness and interest in interreligious matters, we are still content either to leave this work to Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods, or make it a tangential and often secondary part of congregational social action committees. We have ignored repeated pleas of the National Reform movement for the creation of congregational vehicles by which more completely to involve our laymen in interreligious work. I yield to no one in my passion for congregational social action but social action is not the alpha or omega of religious life. At its core religion is a way of thought as much as it is a way of action. We need to think through a new theology that is more than an activist humanism plastered over with prophetic quotations. In this effort, some Christians are trying to break new ground in ways which could be helpful for Jews equally struggling with the problem of religious relevance. Malcolm Boyd is right when he speaks about a nameless revolution taking place in American religious life, an underground church movement which has doctrine but no dogma and which is deeply concerned about poverty, war and peace, sex, race, and drugs and which disregards and discards old structures which have in fact become barriers. While he is here describing the Christian church, he is hopefully also describing a small but growing element of those who if they are not, would like to be in the synagogue. We need to be in closer touch with these minds. It was Maimonides who over 800 years ago, reminded us to "learn the truth from whoever speaks it". I cannot believe that we have nothing to contribute to one another. I say this, particularly mindful that on the horizon of Christian thought there is another newness emerging; the rejudaising of Christianity. Men like Roy Eckardt, Marcus Barth, Court Rylaarsdam and Harvey Cox, to name but a few of those better known personalities, are seeking to rediscover and recover the Judaistic roots of their own faith. It is Harvey Cox who writes:

"If we stood closer to the Old Testament - and this means closer to the spiritual descendants of Israel, the so called "religious" as well as the so-called non religious Jews - we would have a better locus for making up our minds theologically".

To be sure there are dangers in this new Christian thought - that it be used for a too facile, overly simplistic and incorrect conclusion that there are no differences between Judaism and Christianity, but the dangers do not outweigh the advantages posed by this new spiritual mining. If properly

utilized and exploited, this new interest can help save the Jew for Judaism. It may sound strange but I am convinced that Jewish exposure to Christian curiosity may yet drive the Jew back to his Jewish booshelf to learn more about himself and his faith. What he may never learn "lishmah" he might study when he confronted with the challenge of presenting Judaism to a non-Jew. Some of you who have experienced with such programs as our "Lay Dialogues", "We Speak for Judaism" teams, interreligious adult education courses, and the like know whereof I speak. You, as I, have seen lay people emerge from such experiences not only depened in Jewish knowledge, but even strengthened in faith. I do not suggest that this is the only or even the primary way to make Jews Jewish, but it is an approach that should not be casually or lightly dismissed. The Jewish layman may be Jewishly ignorant but he is stupid. He is well-educated, well-read and capable of sustained study. That he is not more Judaically knowledgable is a not too complimentary reflection on the limitations of our pulpits and Adult Education programs.

Some withdraw from too much interreligious contact on the grounds that Christianity is convertionary and our people would be too easily susceptible to the blandishments of well educated zealous Christians. Even if conversion were the goal of all Christians in their interreligious outreach, a supposition which I do not accept, are we really so afraid of our people's weakmindedness? Are we afraid that Judaism cannot compete with Christianity in the open market of ideas? Personally, I have morde confidence in both Judaism and the Jew than to use this as an argument against confrontation. Sometimes I wonder if we are afraid for or afraid of our laity. Jewish ignorance cannot be the reason why we are so reluctant to advance the cause of intensifies interreligious lay contact. Perhaps it is because deep down we continue to harbor a residual dislike of all 2,000 years we have nearly loved to death by what passed in the name of Christian love. We Jews have long memories and one cannot wipe away 2,000 years of history in the twinkling of an eye. Neither can we nor should we forget the holocaust. But memory can not be the only criteria which dictates present or future behavior. Frankly, I do not think we know what we want in Christian Jewish relations. As a result we remain somewhat schizophrenic in our attitude; half involved, half withdrawn. We verbalize a commitment to the total community and to the day when all men will relate fully one to the other, but we do not always act in ways which would cause anyone, including ourselves to think that we really mean that hope. The Christian community is guilty of the same double standard. Perhaps that is why when an Israel crisis occurs we find ourselves out of touch with one another, frustrated, angry and somewhat distrustful. It is time we took a long, hard fresh look at what the world of social freedom has left us.

We are living in an age of religious turmoil and revolution. Nothing is sacred. Everything is subject to question. This turmoil sets up a tension between immobilists and progressives, between traditionalists and radicals, sectarians and ecumenists, between religious and the seculars. It is a tension which will either remake the church and the synagogue in relevant terms or once and for all reveal them as an enclaves of piosity and little else. If that happens the young, the intellectuals will surely abandon them and rightly so. This tension is a whirlpool into which all of us inevitably and inexorably are drawn. Each of us will have to take sides. As we do, we will find that what is called in to question are the ways in which each of us have of looking at man, society and the cosmos. The choices we make will quite often leave us lonely. But, as that happens we may come more fully to understand what we mean when we say we are a Covenated people.

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NO BASE IN ZION FOR US

I think I am finally beginning to understand why Christians and Jews failed so totally to understand one another during the recent Middle East crisis. Put simply, Christians saw what happened in and to Israel as a political problem with little or no real theological implication or moral overtones. For Jews, the renewal of Arab threats to exterminate "Zionists", "Jews", "Israelis", (no distinctions were made between these groups) attacked the very nerve of their understanding of morality even as it challenged the future of their peoplehood. This threat left neither time nor space for philosophical discussion or political quibbling. As far as Jews were

concerned what was at stake was their very ethnic, if not their religious, being.

Most Christians, even those close to and interreligiously involved with Jews, did not and still do not understand the ensuing passion that led Jews the world over to a massive response of support for Israel. When they turned to Christian friends with whom they were enjoying an unprecedented openness of friendly spirit for matching support, it was not forthcoming. Most Jews could not and did not understand how something so obvious to Jews remained so opaque or underevaluated by Christians. Most Christians wondered why non-Israeli Jews got so excited.

As a result, the two communities passed each other like ships in the night, obscured for the most part by the fog of mutual misunderstanding. Their horns aggressively sounded both their presence and their positions in the sea of international politics, thus avoiding some but not all collisions. Jewish leaders accused the Christian Establishment not only of a failure of moral nerve by their silence but also of failing the cause of world peace. Christian leaders responded in kind: Jews were guilty of practicing "ecumenical blackmail" and/or of trying to make a holy war out of the conflict. During the last half of June and throughout July representatives of national Christian and Jewish organizations met in what seemed like an endless round of conversations, each seeking to explain his position to the other. The National Council of Churches created a task force to enlarge upon its earlier terse statement of June 5. On July 7, it released a five-and-a-half page resolution on "The Crisis in the Middle East". Jews reviewed it critically. In July the papers were filled with letters and ads on the subject. At a symposium on "Christian-Jewish Relations" held in Strasbourg, France, a number of leading Catholics and Protestants expressed "deep regret" that "so few leading Catholic voices were raised in defense of the Jewish people during the Middle East crisis".

Where do matters now stand? As the Arab states refuse to recognize the State of Israel, as Israel subsequently continues to hold captured "Arab land", attitudes of church people are hardening. No longer is Israel the "heroic little David, magnificently pitted against an Arab Goliath". On one point, however, both Jews and Christians seem to be in agreement: that the meaning of Jewish peoplehood ought to be the major item on the forthcoming agendas of Jewish-Christian dialogue. Secondly, it seems that the future of Jerusalem will become a source of inerreligious difference if not disputation and, finally, the problems now raised for the world by Israel's stubborn militant existence become as divisive as was the issue of Zionism until 1948. Talk to Christians about the June, 1967, war, or the status of Jerusalem or the future of the Arab refugees and one is likely to hear the statement: "Well, you know, I am not sure modern Israel should have existed in the first place". Obviously, the dispute over the philosophy of Zionism never died, it just became dormant after the November, 1947, UN decision. It is good to look at some of these issues.

#### What is Jewish Peoplehood?

Almost every Jew was surprised by his own reactions to the war. Even the most blasé Jew responded. Some of the most alienated and the most nonreligious reacted and did so, not as "humanitarians", nor as "Americans", nor as "faithful", nor as anything other than Jews identifying as such. Why? Identity is only the name we give to a collective social ego. Remove a man's ego and you destroy him as a man. Rob a person of his identity and you destroy his ego, his ability to say to himself and others: "This is what and who I am". Translated into the language of Jewish identity, it sounds like this:

All right, I don't believe in God. I am not a member of a Jewish race. I am a citizen of the United States to which I have political allegiance. I admire Israel and the Israelis. So what? So do lots of non-Jews. What am I? I am a Jew. I don't know exactly what that means and really don't care until someone curses me with the name or tries to take Israel away from the Jewish people. Then I become aware of its presence in my life.

By attacking Israel, Nasser unknowingly tried to rob Jews of their identity, because for the Jew, place and people are intertwined. The place gave birth to those historic memories, which in part make Jews what they are. Apparently, we have more than one identity. Our reaction to the war made us more consciously aware of that.

The writer Eli Weisel expressed it quite accurately when, after a visit to the Wailing Wall last June, he wrote:

The war has compelled each Jew to confront his people, his past and his God.

I try to understand, to believe - I succeed a bit...but the truth is, I still don't understand. The more the professional experts try to explain, the less I understand. It all seems like an ancient legend, as though we had all gone far, far back to the past, Perhaps that's why I have an almost palpable feeling of victory - we have conquered time itself! And our generation is not privileged to boast many such victories.

Maybe Jews reacted so vigorously to the crisis because with the loss of spiritual links and with the growing assimilation of the diaspora, Jews were afraid that if Israel fell to the Arabs, the Jews would totally disappear. To the diaspora Jew what was at stake when Nasser massed 100,000 troops on the Gaza border and threatened a jihad was not really Israel the place, but Israel the people, that is, Jewish continuity. Once that continuity is assured again by making "the place" secure, diaspora Jews will return to their criticism of "the place". An article in 'Herder Correspondence' (June), obviously written before the hostilities, reflects with amazing insight the attitudes of many American Jews to a non war-threatened Israel.

Still less is Israel a spiritual or ideal homeland. It has the sympathy and support of the diaspora, to which it has given in return a stronger self-consciousness, inasmuch as it did away with the shallow reproach of "homelessness". But, this does not mean that the diaspora identifies itself with Israel or feels that it belongs in any way to that land or state..... What the Jew abroad wants from Israel is precisely what it has no present intention or possibility of becoming; a fully organized and working Judaism, and not merely an Israeli state with military and financial preoccupations. The great majority of Israelis have no intention of adopting Judaism in practice.

The danger of Israel and the diaspora drifting apart was and may again become a real danger. However, one of the by-products of the war was that it at least temporarily halted that drift. There was a mental gap between the diaspora Jews visiting Israel and returning disappointed, having seen prosperity but not Judaism, and the young Israeli whom he met there - blatantly and openly anti-Judaistic, persuaded that the axis of the world bisected Jerusalem and that the entire world rotated around it. "Why don't you come to live in Israel" is now a jingoistic slogan, said by Sabras as much out of bluster as out of nationalism. It is also in part a manifestation of Jewish "ease in Zion".

Israel, being an essentially Jewish (at least non-Christian) culture, affords the Jew the luxury of repudiating his Judaic (religious) self without repudiating his Jewish (ethnic) self without fear of criticism from an outside, ostensible Christian world. The war has helped soften the seeming contempt that so many young Israelis expressed to and about their diaspora cousins. In a very graphic way the war has helped the Israeli Jew realize the importance of the diaspora and the love that those who live outside have for the land and its people. The war has brought Israel and the diaspora closer together. It has made "peoplehood" real to both. Perhaps we will even see that this war has helped make Israel more Jewish.

#### The Religious Meaning of Jerusalem.

If the war demonstrated the peculiar centrality in the life of the Jew of this mysterious phenomenon called Jewish peoplehood, it also revealed the differing emphasis Jews and Christians place on the theological notions of universalism and particularism. No one ever really expects theological ideas actually to motivate practical or political behavior; yet they do, especially when it comes to the way Christians and Jews respond to the present status of Jerusalem.

To many Christians, Israel simply annexed Jerusalem. The NCC resolution of July 7 disapproved of "Israel's unilateral annexation". Prof. J.A. Sanders, of Union Theological Seminary, a self-admitted "pro-Jewish" Christian, in a closely reasoned article "Urbis and Orbis: Jerusalem Today" (The Christian Century, July 26), proposed that "the likelihood of Jerusalem's reverting to Jordanian administration under massive UN presence should be anticipated and, if need be, supported by the American Christian community". Few indeed have, been the Christian voices supporting the view that Jerusalem has been reunified and not annexed. An advertisement signed by 16 prominent Christian theologians (The New York Times, July 12) was the exception rather than the rule.

Why should Christians, Protestants even more than Catholics, feel so strongly that Old Jerusalem should not remain in Israeli hands? Surely, they know that the physical needs of Jerusalem, Old and New, will be served better by the Israelis than by either Jordan or some international force. Surely they must know that as far back as 1950 the UN Trusteeship Council admitted to the Security Council that it could not implement any internationalization plan for the city and that the General Assembly at that time refused to reaffirm its own internationalization proposal. Moreover, all must know, under recently passed Israeli law, the security, safety and accessibility for all shrines and holy places is a reality for all peoples - Israelis, Christians and Moslems, as well as Jews - a situation that has not existed during 20 years of Jordanian occupation of the Old City.

Why then the continued insistence on either "internationalization" or an "international presence"? It has been said so often that it is now accepted as an unquestionable truth that "Jerusalem is equally important to all three of the great faiths". I question the use of the word "equally". Is Jerusalem as important to a Muslim as Mecca? In the tradition of Islam, is the Kaaba on a par with the Mosque of Omar?

As for Christianity, is it not essentially "placeless"? "Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey bless't" in Christian tradition, refers not so much to a place as to a state of mind, a glorious ideal, the final fulfillment of man's most piously hoped for dreams.

Only in Judaism, however, does one find a constant attention and heavy emphasis on Jerusalem. It is in all Judaic literature, liturgical and secular. Even Reform Judaism, not noted for its "Zion directed" orientation, in its worship service contains as prelude to the taking of the Torah from the ark the phrase from the second chapter of Isaiah "for out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem". To this day, more traditional Jews break a glass at a Jewish wedding, to remember the Roman destruction of ancient Jerusalem. What Jewish child is not early taught the Hebrew to the 137th Psalm: "If I forget thee O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning...."

The image and remembrance of Jerusalem is completely and totally woven through the entire fabric of Judaism. And when Jews pray or sing or speak of Jerusalem, they are not talking only about some "ideal state of being". They are thinking of a piece of real estate. To be sure, Judaism can exist without Jerusalem, just as God is not rooted to any given place. As a matter of fact, Judaism did survive without Jerusalem for nearly 2,000 years. Perhaps that is what makes doubly precious its present reacquisition. But, if it is not place-rooted, Judaism is certainly place-oriented, and oriented in a way different from and more intense than the orientation of either Christianity or Islam.

The particularism of Ezra, who insisted on the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem as the only authentic center from which the Torah could emanate, cannot be forgotten by Christians or by Jews caught up in the noble vision of Jewish universalism as expressed by Ruth or Jonah. Particularism vs. universalism is an irresolvable tension in Judaism. One does not exist without the other. Universalism with its soaring message of one, unique God, everywhere for all men at all times, is matched in Judaism by a particularism that relates this God, at least for Jews, to a place and a land in an undeniable fashion. Judaism is a kind of Unitarianism for Jews and others. For all three faiths, there are sites and shrines that are holy, but for Judaism, Jerusalem the place, not merely some specific spot in Jerusalem, represents the quintessence and summation of nearly 4,000 years of identity and ethnic being, half of which has been spent in a yearning, piously wiseful search for collective ego restoration. Is it any wonder that Jews throughout the world are reluctant if not downright unwilling to see Israel yield one inch of that city, a city the destruction of which they carefully avoided during the recent war at the cost of many young Israeli lives.

#### Other Views

I can appreciate the fact that the passion of which, and with which, I write might not be readily understandable to "staeless" Christians. Interestingly, some Protestant bodies, particularly the more theologically conservative groups, do share the general Jewish conviction about Jerusalem but for different reasons. For them, the complete fulfillment of prophecy, which will hasten the second coming, will come about only as and when the Jewish community is restored to Jerusalem.

Roman Catholic inability to emphazise with the so-called Jewish view is even more understandable. For the past few decades, Roman Catholics, particularly the American leadership, has grown increasingly fitful over the tendency by

non-Catholics to lump the Vatican, the faith and the Holy See into one indistinguishable package. Increasingly, they have tried to cut the church away from the territoriality of the Vatican or the political life and responsibilities of the Holy See. The "church universal" may be Rome-oriented, but is not Rome-dependent.

This growing desire for ideological independence at least on geopolitical matters makes very difficult a sympathy by Roman Catholics with the Jewish idea of relatedness of faith, place and people. Yet paradoxically, it is the church in Rome that today shows the greatest flexibility in accepting a new status for the holy city. Even the preliminary reports of the meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and Msgr. Angelo Felici of the Vatican Secretariat of State, reveal a willingness on the part of the Vatican to compromise its previous call for internationalization.

Some non-Catholics continue to see Jerusalem as a theological symbol indicting the Jewish people and justifying their demand that the city be wrested out of Jewish hands. Thus Bishop Samuel of Cairo, head of ecumenical and social services for the Coptic Orthodox Church expressed the following in a letter addressed to Dr. Howard Schomer, Executive Director of the Specialized Ministries Department of the NCC: "Theologically speaking, if we believe that the earthly Jerusalem still has to be bound religiously to the people of Israel, then we seem to believe that Jesus did not come, or that he was not resurrected....."

The importance of this letter is not merely the content but the fact that Dr. Schomer found it so important as to have it reproduced and distributed to members of the NCC staff as well as to others in the Division of Overseas Ministry. Perhaps Bishop Samuel was expressing a viewpoint more prevalent in contemporary Christianity than many would care to admit. As a Jew, I cannot help wondering how current is this age-old rationalization and how much it motivates Protestants in their negative view toward the present status of Jerusalem.

### The Refugees

Finally, the continued "tragic plight" of the Arab refugees remains as a festering sore. Here, too, one can discern a Christian "mind set" emerging, broadly sympathetic to the condition of the "poor benighted Arabs" and equally condemnatory of the "militant, intransigent Israelis" who created the Arab refugee situation by "driving them out of Israel" in 1948. Quite often one sees references to the notorious Paragraph II of the General Assembly resolution authorizing the creation of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, which states that: "Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for property of those choosing not to return". Seemingly innocuous enough, no paragraph has caused more confusion or done more harm than this one. It is ironic that at the time of the vote on the total resolution, the Arab states unanimously voted against it, since it called for a settlement with Israel. From that moment on, however, the Arab nations have insisted on the "letter on the law", demanding repatriation and refusing any alternative suggestions or solutions. Yet, not one of the conditions outlined above has ever been met. The Fedayeen raids into Israel in 1956, stemming as they did from the refugee camps of Gaza, as well as the fact that Ahmed Sukairy's Palestine Liberation Army was recruited from the Arab refugee camps, at least cast some doubt on the Arab desire "to live at peace".

Let us agree that Israel must share in the responsibility for solving the refugee problem. However, it is grossly unfair to suggest that Israel is solely responsible for their tragic situation. Israel did not drive them out last June.

As 20 years ago she announced a readiness to make the refugee problem the first item on an agenda of peace negotiations, so now has she announced her readiness to permit the return to their homes of persons who left Israel because of the recent military conflict. With notable success Israel is restoring normal living conditions to those Arab refugees living in areas she now occupies and controls. Education, social services, health services, are all, in some instances newly, coming to refugees long denied. This behavior stands in stark contrast to Arab treatment of Jewish citizens of Arab countries. In many of these lands, Jews have been victims of inspired pogroms, arbitrary imprisonment, torture and even expulsion. The Arab says he is not anti-Semitic, only anti-Zionist. The indiscriminate oppression of Jews in Cairo, Baghdad, Tripoli or Meknes makes a hollow mockery of that distinction. While the tears shed for the Arab refugees are legitimate and the aid given them by Christian groups is well deserved and praiseworthy, let

not those tears distort the focus required for an objective viewing of the total situation.

Religious groups are not expected to offer political solutions to the tangled and emotionally highly charged Middle East situation. Yet all of us have both a religious and a political stake in what happens there. Events - past, present and future, can easily widen the fissure now beginning to break the tender new skin of Christian-Jewish harmony.

I have tried not to distort the situation or bend the facts to fit my view. If I have, I have done so inadvertently. That should make even more obvious the need for more, not less, intense communication between Jews and Christians on the subject of Israel, interreligiously considered, from the desk, the pulpit and social hall of church and synagogue.

From: Christianity and Crisis, September 18, 1967, by Rabbi Balfour Brickner.

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(Have the "Times of the Gentiles" Been Fulfilled?)

by William Sanford LaSor

On May 6, 1967, the forty-one members of ETERNITY's Holy Land Tour gathered in a large room in our hotel in Nazareth, and I tried to answer an important question that had been raised: Did I think that the present State of Israel was the fulfillment of prophecy? Little did I think then that one month later Israel's Army and Air Force would be driving back the combined might of the Arab nations, reducing to nothing the boast that they the unified Arab states would take back the territory that had been occupied by the Jews, and I would be faced with a new question: Did I think this was the end of the "Times of the Gentiles"?

In this article, written at the request of the Editor I shall try to answer not only these two questions, but also a third, and in some ways a far more important question: What should be the Christian's attitude in the present situation?

### Israel and God's Promise to Abraham

When we turn to the Bible to study the promises of God, we are amazed by the number of times the land-promise is mentioned, and by the precise detail in which the promise is spelled out. It becomes impossible to dismiss lightly the subject, for it is almost as basic to the Old Testament as is Abraham himself.

The first reference occurs at the beginning of the Abraham story: "Then the Lord appeared to Abram, and said, 'To your descendants I will give this land'" (Gen. 12:7). This is expanded by the addition of the words "for ever" in Genesis 13:15, and further expanded by the addition of geographical limits in Genesis 15:18. The promise made to Abraham is repeated to Isaac (Gen. 26:3), to Jacob (Gen. 28:13), to the Israelites (Exod. 23:31) and to Moses (Deut. 34:4). In the prophecies of the restored Israel, Ezekiel repeats the promise (Ezek. 47:14). In his stirring address before the Council, when he summarized the story of Israel, Stephen refers to the land-promise (Acts 7:5). This is by no means an exhaustive list of references.

If we seek to discover the extent of the promised land, we find that carefully spelled out. Not only is there the rather general inference that it was the land of the Canaanites (cf. Gen. 12:6), but it is also described as extending "from the River of Egypt (probably the Wadi el Arish, but possibly the Nile) to the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen. 15:18). The expression "from Dan to Beersheba" has become a proverbial description of the limits of the land, but this is only a fraction of the region included in the Biblical promises. Even the land seen by Moses from Pisgah's lofty heights (see Deut. 34:1-3) was much less than the full extent described in the Bible.

The most precise descriptions of the boundaries of the Promised Land are to be found in Numbers (34:2-12), Joshua (15:1-12), and Ezekiel (47:13-20). There is some discussion concerning the location of certain places, such as Mount Hor, the "entrance of Hamath", and others of lesser significance and as a result the northern boundary cannot be positively drawn. It is either along a line north of Damascus, near Hamath (the modern Hama), or along a line somewhere near the Orontes River (the southern border of modern Turkey). The reference to the Euphrates seems to favor the more northern line, but inclusion of other placenames seems to favor the more southerly line. The southern border, likewise, is not beyond question, owing to the identity of the River of Egypt. In any event, it includes some, and perhaps all, of Sinai. The eastern border is reasonable clear. It includes Damascus, some of the area east of the Sea of Galilee, and then follows the Jordan rift (i.e., the Jordan River, the Dead Sea, and the Arabah). The western boundary is the Mediterranean Sea.

Spelled out in modern geographical terms, the Promised Land includes some of western Syria, all of Lebanon, the "West Bank" portion of Jordan, all of Israel, the Gaza strip, and a good part (or perhaps all) of Sinai.

Now, let's do some hard and clear thinking. This was God's promise to Abraham and his descendants. That does not automatically mean, and I do not intend in any way to imply, that this is God's promise to the modern State of Israel.

The whole question of "What is Israel in the Bible?" is highly complex. The prophets in the Old Testament and Jesus and the apostles in the New Testament clearly distinguish between those who are Israelites in name only and those who are Israel according to the spirit. Jesus bluntly rejected the claim made by His contemporaries that they were Abraham's descendants (see Jon 8:38). Likewise, Paul dismissed the notion that physical descent insures spiritual blessings (study Romans 9:6-8).

In view of the Biblical teaching --in both Old Testament and New-- I think we are forced to deny that any group of people, whether Jewish or Mormon or British-Israel, has the right to say, "We are physically descended from Abraham (or Israel), therefore we have the right to claim title to the Land of Promise."

At present, I am not willing to concede that the State of Israel is to be identified as the Israel described in Holy Scripture. But at the same time I am willing to admit that it seems quite likely that the regathering of the Jews to Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the almost incredible military success of Jewish armies against what appeared to be overwhelming odds, are somehow to be related to God's promises. The details, however, need very much study, and great caution is required.

### The Jew in Prophecy

This leads us to attempt to answer the second question. Have the "Times of the Gentiles" been fulfilled?

The phrase, "the Times of the Gentiles" occurs in the prophecy which Jesus gave concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, the cataclysmic events of the end-time, and His return in power and glory. It seems to have its Biblical basis in Daniel 8:13. Concerning Jerusalem, Jesus said, "Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (Luke 21:24).

With this verse as proof-text, the statement has often been made in recent years that all that remains of the Times of the Gentiles is the few hundred yards that separates modern Israel from the site of the Temple. And when the pictures were flashed around the world of Jews weeping at the Wailing Wall, students of prophecy began to ask if this was related to Jesus' words concerning the end of the age.

At the risk of great oversimplification, let me point out what I consider to be the main thread running through the Bible concerning the people of God. The people of God are those men and women through the ages who know God and are known of Him, who strive to be what He wants them to be and to do what He wants them to do. They trust Him and want to obey Him. They trust Him because they know Him, and they know Him because He has made Himself known to them. He has revealed Himself to His people by His words through His prophets and by His deeds in history.

If we ask the reason behind this relationship, we quickly find the answer. God loves His people and He wants to bless them. But there is more than that to the reason. He wants to make them a blessing to others; He wants to enlarge the company of the people of God. In God's call to Abraham, which is taken as the basic principle throughout the rest of the Bible, God says "I will bless you. . . be a blessing" (Gen. 12:2, literal translation). This is further defined in the following words, "By you all the families of the earth will be blessed" (Gen. 12:3).

The people of Israel were not always the people of God. Sometimes they did not do what God wanted them to do; at other times, they did not trust Him but turned away to serve idols or burn incense or worship on high places. The prophets castigated them because of their repeated idolatries, and their infidelities to God were many times described as harlotries or adulteries. For their many sins, they were torn up from their land and sent into exile, to be returned by God's grace some years later. But this was only a "remnant". Above all, they failed to make known God's redeeming purpose to the nations of the earth, hence they failed to be a blessing to the gentiles. In His closing days, Jesus rebuked the religious leaders of His nation for this

failure (see Matt.23:1-28), and He particularly singled out their failure to yield the fruit for which they were intended. Solemnly He said, "Therefore I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the fruits of it" (Matt.21:33-44).

Starting with the small group of apostles and disciples, Jesus began to build His Church, the people of God who would replace fruitless Israel. In a few years, the gentile converts outnumbered the Jews, and it has remained ever since overwhelming gentile. About the same time that this change took place, the Jewish-Roman struggles reached a climax, Jerusalem was besieged and reduced to rubble, and the Jewish nation came to an end. Except for the brief period of the Second Revolt, the Jewish nation ended with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Is this all there is to story? Can we say that the Old Testament people of God (the Israelites) were replaced by the New Testament people of God (the Church), and that all of the promises to Israel in the Old Testament are now to find their fulfillment in the Church?

The question is not an easy one to answer. The Bible itself often makes statements that would support this view. In some Old Testament passages, the "remnant" that remains can be identified with the Church. In the New Testament, the term "Israel" is used where it can refer to the Church. Many Christian Bible scholars are convinced that, just as the gentile was to be reached by and included in Israel in the Old Covenant, so today the Jew is to be reached by and included in the Church. There is therefore no further need of "Israel" in the old sense, and no reason to look for a re-establishment of the nation Israel.

But Paul seems to indicate otherwise, according to the long discussion in Romans 9--11. And the prophets of the Old Testament, particularly Ezekiel, seem to look beyond the regathering of the Exile to a second and greater regathering of the Jews (see Ezek. 38--39). Jesus, in His reference to the Times of the Gentiles, seems to indicate that it must come to a fulfillment, and Paul has some such fulfillment in mind when he writes, "a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in" (Rom. 11:25).

As I understand the teaching of Scripture - and I readily admit that there is much difference of opinion, and I refuse to be dogmatic on the subject - the time will come, toward the end of this age, when Jews in great numbers will begin to accept Jesus as their Messiah. The millennial age, as I understand it, will be a time of great blessing to all the earth, but that blessing will be mediated to gentiles by the Jew who has again taken his place as the faithful servant of God. If I am correct thus far, then I can add that that will be the time when the land in the fullest extent of the promise will belong to Israel.

But is the present victory of Israel, with the accession of the Old City of Jerusalem, the end of the Times of the Gentiles?

I do not know. As I understand the Scriptures, before the Davidic King takes His place to reign over the people who have been regathered to the Land there is a spiritual quickening (cf. Ezek. 37:6, 11, 24-28). Having visited Israel many times, and having lived and studied there, I cannot testify that I have seen signs of such a spiritual quickening. I am not aware that Jews in any great number are beginning to accept Jesus as their Messiah.

But, as is true with all the signs in prophecy, we must certainly look upon the present situation as one of the signs intended to prepare us, that we should "watch and be ready" (Matt. 24:42-44).

#### The Christian's Attitude.

In the excitement of studying signs of the times, the Christian is often guilty of forgetting his purpose in this world. We are the people of God. And the people of God are supposed to do the will of God. And the will of God is to bring men to know Him. We are debtors - not only to the Jew but also to the Arab.

It is probably true that most evangelical Christians are more sympathetic to the Israeli than to the arabic side of the continuing conflict. If we try

to analyze this, we find that there are several factors. For one thing, there is the Biblical promise to Abraham. I have tried to point out that we need to think carefully before we decide that the modern "Israel" and the Biblical "Israel" are identical. A second factor is our common heritage with the Jew. We both derive our faith from the Old Testament, and we both trace our line of faith back to Abraham. A third factor is perhaps the feeling that the Jew has been the under-dog, he has been persecuted, he has wandered the face of the earth, and now he deserves a place to call his home.

But we forget that the Arab also traces his line of faith to Abraham. We forget that if he is a Moslem he honours Jesus as a prophet. We forget that a large number of Arabs are Christians. And we forget a vast number of Arabs are now wanderers on the face of the earth, and they, too, deserve a place to call home.

Only one who has lived in the Arab world and has talked intimately with Arabs knows how deep are the wounds caused by the formation of the State of Israel. For example, it is almost impossible to use the Old Testament in a Christian service in the Arab world. The word "Zion", which occurs 154 times in the Old Testament, often in passages rich in meaning cannot be uttered without stirring up feelings that make the rest of the message useless. Hymns containing the word "Zion" or "Israel" must be modified or omitted. If you ask an Arab Christian what solution he has to offer to the present problem, you will get the same answer you get from a non-Christian Arab: Israel must be effaced, every Jew must be driven into the sea.

The Christian, whether he be American, English, or any other nationality, has apparently chosen to ignore this side of our Christian duty. A few have devoted themselves to work among Arabs, but the number is very small and I have found that they have no better answer to the present situation than the Christian-Arabs have.

It is my deep conviction that the Christian must be positively impartial in the present situation. By "positively impartial" I do not mean "neutral" or passive. We must have a positive approach and an impartial one. It is possible that the best peace-keeping force in the Middle East would be the State of Israel. The Arabs were unwilling and the United Nations unable to keep the peace. If the nations involved would accept such a solution, and if Israel would rise to the occasion, this could result in tremendous benefit and blessing to Lebanon, to Jordan, and even to Syria and perhaps to Egypt. But such a decision is not ours to make.

As Christians we can only urge both sides, Arabs and Jews alike, to apply the principles of justice and mercy in all their deliberations, to recognize that all men have basic rights and needs, and that the universal laws of God must be observed by all men if we are to have His blessings. As Christians we must urge our own governments to act with the same principles, to remember that the safeguarding of human rights for both Arab and Jew are more important than Jewish votes or Arab oil, and above all to equip nations of the Middle East with instruments of peace instead weapons of war.

Written for ETERNITY  
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## CHRISTIANS AND "THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM"

On returning home one recent evening from the raucous drama of multilateral diplomacy at the United Nations, I discovered that I could not escape the Middle East crisis even in the tranquil bosom of my family. Our ten year old daughter was crying because that political crisis had invaded her private world with painful force.

The Jewish family nextdoor had decided to depart for Israel as soon as possible and to put their house on the market. The father, a professor and departmentchairman at a state university, is president of his congregation. My daughter has often and happily gone with his daughters to Hebrew School and has learned to sing and to love Hebrew songs. She has marvelled at the candles in the window on Fridayevenings, as well as on the special holydays that permitted her friends an extra "vacation" from public school. In all respects except Christmas, "being Jewish" is something very wonderful to her - and even then our neighbours' concessions to Santa Claus and the coincidence of Hanukkah have helped to relieve the difficulty.

The profound stirring of the American Jewish community in response to, the present struggles of Israel with her Arab neighbours is at once a religious event and a political phenomenon of astonishing poignancy and power. Teachers and students, doctors and businessmen have uprooted their existence or sacrificed their savings to rally to the side of the Jewish homeland. Christians have been more than spectators at this happening. The cry of the Psalmist, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem!" has been invoked on behalf of the policies of the Israeli Government and has mustered an instinctively sympathetic response from some of our most visible churchmen. Religion and politics have always provided a highly combustible if inevitable and necessary mixture.

In the case of the Middle East the mixture includes very large elements of oil and water. In fact, conflict in the Middle East has always seemed to consist of one part spirit, one part oil and one part water. For Christians, the dilemma in this latest crisis over water and oil has been posed by the recurrent tension between two imperial drives that have contended for the mastery of Israel's anguished soul for three millennia: nationalism and universalism. The tension between nationalism and universalism exists in some form for many of the worlds peoples. "Christian America," which has long imagined itself to be the new Israel, has its own special affinities with Zionism.

This is not to plead for a purge of nationalist sentiment altogether: every people has a particular and religiously meaningful pilgrimage through its own adventures in nationhood, and that of modern Israel properly asserts its own special claims upon our compassion. Any visitor to Israel is inescapably caught up in the inspiration of its heroic creativity. But Arab peoples have their ancient cultural pride, and they have had their own full measure of bitterness at the hands of crusades, colonialism, dispossession and poverty - and they, too, infuse their historic pilgrimage with a religious meaning.

There has been much Bible quoting in the pulpits and the press in recent days mostly in service to the Israeli cause. Prejudicial proof-texting has for ever been the bane of religious discourse in political matters, and both Biblical scholars and Arab nationalists understandably take exception to the primitivism of many present usages. If we must publicize our way through the minefields of religious animosity in the Middle East, one of our better texts is surely Isaiah 19:24,25: "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the Lord of hosts has blessed, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands and Israel my heritage.'"

Erich Fromm, speaking as a Jew at the Pacem in Terris Convocation in Geneva in late May, acknowledged that exploiting the ghastly memories of Nazism often leads to a one-side emotionalism in Western reactions to Middle East issues. Trading on the memories of Nazism for present political purposes is a morally loaded game that almost any number can play, and it uniquely poisons international conversation. Israel's portrait of Nasser as the new Hitler continuing the program of a "final solution" is all too readily countered with Arab charges that Israeli militarism is pursuing a policy of 'lebensraum' and "genocide". It is one of the most terrible ironies of 20th-century language that Moshe Dayan's swift military successes should be characterized in two such dreadfully incompatible words as "Israeli blitzkrieg".

## The Costs of Victory

Millions of Americans have rejoiced in Israel's victories, not only from the partisanship of their emotions but also because the suddenness of triumph took the US off the hook with regard to its own intervention. It is no denial of the brilliance and valor of military achievement, however, to count the political costs of victory as well as the human casualties.

One of these costs is the dangerous hardening of Israel's domestic politics. The hawks, preeminently Moshe Dayan, are flying higher than ever. Premier Levi Eshkol, who had been cast in a somewhat moderating and temporizing role over against Ben-Gurion and Dayan, can apparently retain power only by tough talk and cabinet shuffling. Abba Eban, best known to Americans as Ambassador to both UN and US in the 1950's and as an urbane eloquent diplomat, nearly lost his present post as foreign minister in late May; he has kept it since by flights of Churchillian bombast and pugnacity. ("This was Israel's finest day!" he said at the end of the first day of the war.) What is problematic now is the political capacity of Israel to respond to reasonable peace terms and to be magnanimous toward her defeated adversaries in their humiliation and appalling human need.

An all too similar cost is the immoderate twist in the politics of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. King Hussein had been the least hostile of Arab leaders vis-a-vis Israel and had also incurred the continuing wrath of Egypt and Syria for his moderation on his refusal to assume a belligerently anti-Western stance. As a visitor to King Hussein in his palace in Amman some time ago, I was profoundly impressed not only by the political sanity of the young monarch but also by the extremity of security precautions (the most elaborate I have ever confronted) around the palace heights. These security arrangements were not occasioned by Israeli threats but by pro-Nasser extremists of the kind who had assassinated the Jordanian premier in 1960. It is not that Israel has lost a cordial friend in Hussein now; it is rather that an Arab ruler who had been only "correctly" hostile was pushed and pulled into active and destructive belligerency and may yet lose his throne if not his life as an ultimate consequence. His dismissal of the able and temperate Wash al-Tall, Chief of Cabinet and former Premier, long under attack by Arab radicals, is a major casualty of the war.

The tragedy of Hussein's predicament clearly had its genesis in the Israeli raid on the Jordanian town of Samu last November. Israeli troops crossed the border in the early morning of November 13, forced the inhabitants to evacuate, blew up their homes, and ambushed and incapacitated a Jordanian army column that had rushed to the rescue. The UN reported 18 killed, 134 wounded and 127 buildings destroyed. On November 25, the Security Council condemned Israel for the raid. Israel could justifiably complain that the Council had not censured the Arabs for their hostile acts in 12 years - but that complaint did not spare Israel from the difficulties created by her own provocation.

Whatever the mixture of rights and wrongs in the background of the Samu raid, the consequences included swift escalation of Palestinian extremism against Hussein himself for not retaliating forcefully against Israel. Hussein almost incredible flight to Cairo on May 30 must be seen as a political extension of the Samu raid, which must be accounted now, as it was by many in November as a major Israeli blunder. While Israel has seized all of Jordan west of the Jordan River and inflicted devastating losses on Hussein's army (15,000 killed by his own admission), these may prove to be Pyrrhic victories in the weeks and years to come.

## Israel and the UN

The exhilaration of Israel must also be tempered now with the realization of the desperate need of the Soviet Union and the Arab states to recoup their prestige. To serve this need, the UN has become once again, in Herman Finer's picturesque phrase, a "forum for the mobilisation of shame". With the special session of the General Assembly just underway, it is too early to assess fully the UN role in this crisis.

The American Jewish community has for years many manifested a unique love-hate syndrome concerning the UN. In the United Nations Association of the USA, Inc. and other citizen groups devoted to international cooperation, the numbers, prominence and generosity of Jews have been notable. But their affection for the UN has been severely alienated at times by defensiveness over Israel's unwillingness to support or permit some critically important UN activities. The current flagellation of U Thant and the UN by Jews and other advocates of Israeli policy is a somber manifestation of this syndrome.

Israel's positive record with the UN is somewhat offset by the following:

the assassination of UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in 1948 by Zionist terrorists; the repudiation of the General Assembly's vote in 1949 to establish a permanent international authority for Jerusalem; the October 29, 1956, attack upon Egypt just four days after assuring the Security Council that Israel would not start a war with its Arab neighbors; the unwillingness to permit the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) on the Israeli side of the border with Egypt; and the denunciation of and refusal to participate in the Egyptian Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission (EIMAC).

U Thant's compliance with Nasser's request to withdraw UNEF understandably put heavy emphasis upon Israel's own non-cooperation with UNEF and EIMAC. Israeli and American criticism of U Thant on this score has been singularly insensitive. (Particularly regrettable is the scathing rebuke of the Secretary General by the Mayor of the UN's host city. When this is added to the mob demonstrations at the UN, threatening phone calls to Arab missions and the extreme one-sidedness of New York press coverage, editorial commentary and television accounts in the world's largest Jewish city, one begins to understand Arab sensitivities over the location of the UN in Manhattan). At any rate, Israel's self-interest is hardly served by continuing contempt for the UN.

Several years ago in Jerusalem, Abba Eban shared with me a radiant perspective on Israel's improving fortunes with most of sub-Saharan Africa and much of Asia as a result of her own remarkable development assistance programs in several dozen lands. The political strategy implicit in this ambitious development program was an outflanking of Arab hostilities in the UN and the world at large. Readers of these pages may know much better than the writer can know at this writing how much Israel's anti-UN declarations have done to squander the goodwill she had cultivated so carefully throughout the Afro-Asian world.

#### The Need for an Active Sorrow

The moral truth in the Middle East is not the monopoly of either Israel or the Arab states. Nor is it simply at some midpoint between them. The terrible truths in that conflict are trapped in a labyrinth - a bitter zigzag maze of grievances and wrongs on all sides. One cannot find these truths in aloofness but only in the zigging and zagging through the tangles of history and in fellowship with living men and women of the nations and religions involved. Indignation is the least helpful moral stance in the Middle East. Sorrow is much more appropriate - not a passive sorrow but an active sorrow that never forsakes the works of reconciliation and reconstruction.

Christians have no warrant for pontification to either Jews or Muslims about peace in the Middle East. We must not repeat the solemn foolishness of former UN Ambassador Warren Austin, who urged Israel and Egypt to settle their differences "in a spirit of Christian charity". As Israel forces captured Bethlehem, I remembered the Muslim guide who had conducted a group of political scientists through the Church of the Nativity and who mischievously urged us to be patient with non-Christian religions for their hostilities. The Church of the Nativity, of all places, is chopped up into its Roman, Orthodox Anglican and Armenian sections with their separate altars, while Protestants have held special services outside in the alley. "And so I must ask you to be a little patient with us," smiled our Muslim friend.

Yet this injunction to restraint must not mean a continuation of laissez-faire illusions with regard to the fundamental problems of the Middle East. The seeming intractability of these problems has for much too long justified the quaint maxim that only time itself will heal the animosities that have obstructed regional peace and progress. But "time" - as Americans in the civil rights movement have long since learned - does not operate in a vacuum. Time does not guarantee any melioration of human affairs apart from determined effort to redress the environment within which men and nations live. Indeed, hate and misery may intensify far into the future unless the most imaginative works of reconstruction are undertaken. War could return to the Holy Land in irrational and vengeful fury at any time, with an all-out bombing of population centers, a resort to weapons unused in the June blitz, an unleashing of massive guerilla warfare - and with a renewed prospect of a US-Soviet confrontation.

In short, it is folly to be thinking now in euphoric terms about a "postwar settlement". We may already be in an exceedingly dangerous new "prewar" situation in which, notwithstanding the overwhelming Israeli triumph of arms, the real challenge is to ward off the insanity of a yet more dreadful conflict. Let our active sorrow contemplate such possible elements of reconstruction as the following:

(1) The internationalization of Jerusalem.

The partition of Jerusalem was a scandal and a failure. Reunification of the city has unleashed torrents of religious emotion among Jews that, in a historical sense, had to be gratified. It is intolerable that the rigidities of partition should be reimposed.

But is beyond belief that simple acquiescence in Israeli control of all of the Holy City will really establish "the peace of Jerusalem". Whatever the detailed arrangements in relation to the sovereignty of Israel and Jordan, new provisions must now be advanced for international authority and protection. Jerusalem is holy to Muslims and Christians as well as to Jews. It was the collective judgement of the UN two decades ago that an effective international presence is required in this most ancient and sacred and tormented city. "The peace of Jerusalem" cannot be founded upon the spoils of war.

Elements of Reconstruction

(2) The restoration of UN peacekeeping forces.

Continued Israeli occupation of Sharm el Sheikh will understandably not be forsaken without a firmer international guarantee of shipping rights than the subordination of UNEF to Egyptian sovereignty. Perhaps the creation of an international zone adjacent to the Gulf of Aqaba and under unhindered UN control would prove more palatable to Cairo and other Arab capitals than military tenure by Israel. For its part, Israel could contribute greatly to making such a plan agreeable and effective by consenting this time to the presence of UN forces on its own side of the boundary. Double standards are the doom of effective international cooperation.

(3) A comprehensive settlement of the Arab refugee problem.

The most massive continuing tragedy of the Middle East for nearly 20 years has been the misery of more than a million Arab refugees from territories held or seized by Israel. Now there is a new generation of refugees, mostly from the west bank of Jordan.

This vicious circle prevents more substantial efforts at relief and rehabilitation. Israel has withheld compensation and resettlement on the grounds of security and the insistence upon recognition by the Arab states. The Arab states have withheld recognition of regional cooperation with Israel largely on the grounds of her refusal to compensate and resettle refugees. This impasse must be broken.

According to UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) reports, Israel has contributed a total of only \$ 256,000 in two decades to the UNRWA program, less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent of the amount expended. In view of the scope of Israeli's development assistance program and, much more, the \$4.5 billion that Jews in other countries have supplied to Israel, generous and unconditional offers by the Israeli Government and American Jewish organizations to help relieve the plight of refugees might constitute an important element in the betterment of regional relations.

In the Arab states sources of wealth and potential employment exist within the framework of economic development that can be made available for the reintegration of a considerable portion of the refugees within Arab life. Neither Israel nor the Arab states can be expected to bear this burden alone; together, with UN assistance, they must begin to eradicate this human misery and political cancer.

(4) Regional economic development.

It has been 12 years since Secretary John Foster Dulles announced, all too hopefully, that Eric Johnston was working to "eliminate the small margins of difference" that then remained before a cooperative Jordan Valley Authority would become a reality in the Middle East. After technical agreements had been reached, the strife of 1955-57 destroyed them politically. Regional politics had also become increasingly infected by the Cold War. Dulles' own withdrawal of the offer to assist Egypt in the construction of the Aswan Dam in July, 1956, not only triggered the Suez crisis but has traumatically affected US aid relations in the ensuing decade.

It is time to resurrect and to nurture patiently the hope of cooperative economic development in the Middle East and to do so with more political wisdom and magnanimity than American leadership has provided in the past. The poverty of Arab peoples, especially in Egypt and Jordan, is not only to be measured in terms of hunger, disease and ignorance but also in terms of violence and threats to the peace. A regional development bank and a Jordan River Authority would be two particularly useful instruments of reconstruction. Western, Israeli and Soviet generosity, combined with a curbing of the regional arms race, would provide the most salutary impetus for such a program.

(5) Deescalation in Vietnam. Soviet belligerence on behalf of Arab states is not entirely unrelated to American policy in Vietnam. Nothing might prove more felicitous for new beginnings in the Middle East than a new willingness to deescalate the conflict in the Far East, beginning with the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam.

(6) A concluding unpolitical postscript. The recurrence of war in the Holy Land has shocked relationships within the American religious community. There is a sudden realization that most of us do not maintain any meaningful dialogue with Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim. New forms of communication with Arabs are absolutely essential, as well as much sounder bases of understanding with Jews. Perhaps the most promising efforts at religious reconciliation can be made with this student generation. Work camps, development projects and special institutes might well be established for the overriding purpose of nurturing new cadres of compassion among Muslims, Jews and Christians. We need such schemes in America and other Western countries; the younger generation in the Middle East has its own compelling need for them. If much time is required for the healing of these conflicts we surely ought to be making significant investments in potential leaders for the next political generation. In the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, my companion of the evening poured out his bitter life-story. Of German nativity, he had lost both parents in Nazi camps while a schoolboy in Palestine. He had served in the British Army in defense of Egypt; shortly after the war his brother was executed by the British as a "terrorist". He had fought against Egypt in 1956 and was full of grievances against Arabs. "It is impossible for me and my generation not to hate", he said, "but I am trying to teach my children not to hate". To teach our children not to hate is to begin to build "the peace of Jerusalem."

From: Christianity and Crisis, July 10, 1967, by ALAN GEYER (a political scientist specializing in international affairs, is Director of International Relations for the United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action.

#### CHRISTIANS AND THE MIDEAST CRISIS

Outright disagreement with Israel's well planned conquest of June 1967 is required of Christians.

When is attack no aggression? When it is self-defense. And self-defense, it seems, has all along been the position of both Moshe Dayan and Gamal Abdel Nasser, of Israeli and Arab alike. Though the shooting has stopped (at least for the time being), the war of words goes on in the continuing story of the Middle East as it has done for decades. From the United Nations and diplomatic circles, from pulpits and editorial pages issue appeals to the principles of morality, decency and justice. Speaking individually or officially, people agree that self-defense is legitimate but differ as to whether particular acts in the recent Arab-Israeli war were self-defense. They agree that there has been more than enough violence but disagree as to the steps to be taken to forestall further violence.

In the Arab-Israeli clash of 1967, the combatants were primarily Jew and Moslem, and political leaders on both sides appealed to religious sympathy and tradition and skilfully manipulated these in support of the war effort. But this was Christendom's war too; or at least a fair number of people were trying to make it so - morally if not theologically. Christian leaders have been called on, and no doubt will continue to be called on, to adjudicate the moral issues of the Holy Land. They form a "third party" in the bargaining, though they are far from being as disinterested as one might wish. A typical pro-Israeli appeal to Christians was the three-quarter-page ad published in the New York Times on Sunday June 4, the day before the Israeli attack. Headed "The Moral Responsibility in the Middle East" - the moral responsibility being to "support Israel's right of passage through the Straits of Tiran" - the ad declared that the threat to peace lay in "the recent Arab military mobilization along Israel's borders". "Let us recall", the ad continued, "that Israel is a new nation whose people are still recovering from the horror and decimation of the European holocaust". As the next six days were to prove, Israel was not so decimated that it had not been able to mobilize an army of men - and women! Presumably the signers of the ad including such luminaries as John C. Bennett, Martin Luther King, Reinhold Niebuhr and Robert McAfee Brown - did not view Israel's own mobilization as

a threat to peace.

That Israel took the offensive in the war only increased the pressure on Christian leaders for moral support. In city after city, representatives of the churches were called on to share the platforms at meetings and rallies with rabbis and public officials and to affirm that Israel's cause was just. Clergymen were urged to assert what only a jurist or a Near Eastern specialist could competently assert, that the Israeli attack was not aggression but legitimate self-defense.

This is nothing new. Over the years pro-Israeli interests have systematically cultivated the Christian clergy. Until the mid-'50s, when it was exposed as a Zionist front and so discredited, the so-called American Christian Palestine Committee worked unremittingly to convince church leaders of Israel's moral and biblical claims to the territory she won by force of arms of 1948. Clergymen were offered free trips to the Holy Land, and during the past decade other agencies have continued an Intourist-type treatment for ecclesiastical V.I.P.s visiting Israel. Thus we have a generation of church leaders schooled not to raise questions when Israel's 1948 war is called the "war of liberation". Apparently they are unaware that some crucial and embarrassing facts about that war have been swept under the red carpet.

#### The Refugee Problem

Of course, there have been appeals from the other side. But these are mainly humanitarian - appeals for the relief, however minimal, of the thousands of refugees and other Palestinian Arabs who lost their livelihood in the war of 1948. (In the past month, incidentally, the number of refugees increased by perhaps 100,000.) The focus is on the human need for two reasons: first, because it is immediate; second, because it is nonpolitical. Whereas Zionist political and philanthropic activities in the United States go hand in hand, American charitable and educational organizations working in Arab countries feel the need to remain scrupulously aloof from politics, lest there be a legal challenge to their philanthropic endeavors. The net effect is that the churches have been frightened away from any pro-Arab position. The refugees are dealt with as a virtually unexplained fact, and it is left to the individual to ask why they are refugees at all.

Indeed, the churches have been remiss in regard to the refugee problem. When the first phase of the recent war erupted, the church agencies and boards apparently were concerned chiefly for the safety of their personnel stationed in the Arab countries. The evacuation of these people made it impractical for the churches to commit themselves to extensive relief operations. Only on the 13th day of the crisis did timid TV coverage of Christian interests appear. Informed individuals in the churches campaigned here and there, but as of the last week of June official church support for the Arabs in their time of suffering remained seemingly sporadic.

The first public appeal for refugee relief appeared in the New York Times on the 20th day after the war began. Paid by private persons, this appeal called for contributions to three secular organizations working through United Nations channels. UNRWA, with an international staff already on the scene, was during the early weeks of the crisis better prepared than the American churches to offer aid; yet it took three weeks to muster support even for UNRWA. Meanwhile, appeals for support of Israel had been broadcast throughout the U.S.

#### Vietnam Doves as Israel Hawks

The Middle East crisis poses several problems for Christian ethics. One is how to support the desire of both Israelis and Palestinian Arabs for an assurance of national and personal peace and security. Even more difficult is the problem raised by U.S. national interest in the Middle East. Coming after a couple of winters of theological discontent with our military involvement in Vietnam, the question of what should be the nature of our involvement in the Middle East will doubtless prompt lively discussion when seminaries resume classes in the fall.

Comparisons of U.S. policy in the Middle East and in Vietnam have swirled on editorial pages across the land. Seldom have newspapers had so much free copy from professionals. Historian Barbara Tuchman fired one of the first salvos in a letter appearing in the New York Times (and also in the Washington Post) on May 30. Claiming that Israel, as representing the source of the Judeo-Christian tradition, concerns America more nearly than South Vietnam, Mrs. Tuchman argued that our government's standing by while the Gulf of Aqaba was blockaded was "the ultimate paralysis of power". "Futile fiddling" in the "cynical farce" of the United Nations is useless, she said, for "the family of nations is an illusion with which we comfort ourselves like a teething-ring".

The fate of the Western democracies hangs on "independent action in support of our stated policy (which) is not intervention, nor is it something to be afraid of".

Three days later the New York Times published a reply by David Lelyveld, who described Mrs. Tuchman's "discussion of the issue as a question of American 'prestige' and a battle between higher civilization and lesser breeds" as

a return to the rhetoric of the era of high imperialism which she usually writes about. What is saddening is that respected public leaders like Martin Luther King who have courageously opposed American actions in Vietnam should now associate themselves with vague calls for American intervention on behalf of Israel.

Now the fat was in the fire. How could the Vietnam dove be the Israel Hawk? Most liberal intellectuals, following Mrs. Tuchman, argued that our interests were more seriously threatened in the Middle East. It is astonishing that for three weeks practically no one engaged in the hawk-dove discussion suggested that our commitment to Israel had been, or ought to be, anything less than unlimited.

The issue was put clearly on June 25 by Yale's David Little in his important letter to the Times:

Neither is our commitment to South Vietnam as "minimal" as is alleged, nor is our commitment to Israel as "maximal" as is implied. . . . Our commitments do not obligate us to support, or even to condone, Israel's patent acts of expansionism, particularly against Jordan. . . . Self-defense in both the case of Vietnam and of Israel seems to be a just cause. In neither case may arbitrary expansionism be so designated. . . . Premier Eshkol's recent declaration which implied that Israel alone is "entitled to determine what are (its) true and vital interest and how they shall be secured". . . . is a cynical doctrine that undermines the notions of justice and law.

Why, during June, did so many of our liberals urge American support of Israel? Mainly because they saw Israel as the bastion of democracy in the Middle East. Israel, they declared, is our only friend, a bulwark against Russian influence in the Middle East - despite the evidence that the spread of Russian influence there is a result of America's longstanding favoritism toward Israel. Or, they said, Israel is a showplace of progressive Western ways - despite the fact that the capital required for technology has been uniquely available to Israel and that comparison of living standards in, say, Gaza Strip or Jordan (which have had so much less U.S. aid per capita) with those in Israel is acutely offensive to Arabs, who would develop a technology if they had the capital. Or again, they said that Israel is the only nation seeking peace in the Middle East - despite Israel's defiance of U.N. peace-keeping efforts for these 19 years, despite the speed with which she seems to have exhausted all alternatives to armed attack when Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran, and despite her delay in matching the Jordanian cease-fire until she had achieved her military objectives.

While Israel was winning the war, Secretary Dean Rusk stated American's position: "neutrality in thought, word, and deed". One wonders whether Washington would have been so calm if the Egyptians had torpedoed an American ship, if the Syrians had struck deep into Israel, if the Jordanians had systematically demolished an Israeli hospital or looted a museum or executed children at a boys' school. Our "neutrality" was partiality, the effects of which on future American-Arab relations can only be catastrophic.

#### Christian-Jewish Relationships

Language of this sort, indeed even the mildest criticism of Israel, raises still a third cluster of problems for Christians: Christian-Jewish relationships on the American scene. The current crisis has revealed Jewish loyalties whose passionate intensity few Christians had been aware of. Note first the genuinely gratifying advances that have been made in inter-faith relationships among us. In the past two decades especially, we have witnessed a "coming of age" of the American Jewish community. The old barriers of prejudice have been falling away in most neighborhoods and professions. No longer are Jews "strange" people. Ours has become a religiously and culturally pluralistic world in which Jews are intelligent, talented neighbors. In this we rejoice.

But many of us Christians assume that Jews are almost exactly like us religiously, too - a naive and even pernicious assumption which, though it may seem to make for brotherhood, is based largely on ignorance. What separates Jews and Christians, alike heirs of Moses and the Prophets? Apart from the status of Jesus, not much, we have thought. The messiahship of Jesus is central to the Christian understanding of man and of God. Hence Judaism appears to be a rejection of the heart of Christianity, a kind of hereditary Unitarianism. But such a view fails utterly to convey a Jewish understanding of man and God. To discover the heart of Judaism we must shift the focus from the messiahship of Jesus to the peoplehood of Israel.

### The Peoplehood of Israel

In the rich complex of religious connotations attached to the idea of Jewish peoplehood two main themes are survival and suffering. Over the millenniums the scattered people of the Jews has clung to this religious tradition and this sense of national identity as the fortunes of politics drove it from land to land. In modern times the tradition has been realized in the State of Israel. But to the Jew the triumphs of the people are a sign of divine favor and its tragedies a divine testing. Nobody who watched the Shavuoth observances televised from the Wailing Wall in June could miss the note of tragedy underlying the song of triumph. The trauma inflicted on the Jew in 20th century Europe intensifies his feeling of urgency about a homeland, and as long as this feeling is alive there is slim chance of a reaffirmation of the American Reform rabbis' 1885 Pittsburgh platform: "We are no longer a nation but a spiritual community and therefore expect no return to Palestine"! Thus while in the Christian's view the State of Israel is simply a political fact, for many Jews it is also a profoundly religious fact. That explains why by mid-June fund drives for Israel launched in the United States had brought in more than twice the amount she was reported to have spent on the June 5-10 battle. For example, a synagogue in Connecticut contributed the \$10,000 it had salted away for its building fund. A Jewish businessman who led in organizing an Israel rally is reported as saying that he didn't know much about the Bible or about Middle Eastern politics but that for him giving to Israel is a mitzvah, a religious obligation.

For many American Jews, Zionism functions as a defense against assimilation to modern secular culture. They have no particular interest in traditional theology and ritual observance, but their community can achieve a sense of meaning and relevance by rallying around a tangible campaign. American Jews who feel guilty for having escaped the suffering of their European fellow Jews can atone by sacrificing financially now. Israel is the answer to European Jewry's need for a haven for everyday life, but it also meets American Jewry's need for a haven from the secular embrace of everyday life. That is to say, what is secular nationalism in Israel is piety in America. American Christians, so accustomed to doctrinal formulations of religion, have generally failed to grasp the nature of Jewish loyalty. And in the eyes of their brethren those American Jews who steadfastly object to political involvement with Israel are victims of an unduly spiritual (i.e. American) concept of religion.

Thus we can understand why American Jews view as a personal affront any criticism of the State of Israel. In the eyes of many such criticism amounts to a blasphemous attack on their religious identity, almost as we would regard an attack on Christ. To assert that Israel has no historic claim to Palestine is to deny the Jew's interpretation of Scripture. To assert that Israel has no moral claim to Arab land is to deny the Jew compensation for Auschwitz and Buchenwald and thus to question divine justice. To assert that Israel had inadequate provocation for launching its preventive attack in June is to cast doubt on the fact of Jewish suffering and thereby on the "sacramental theology" which undergirds the fund drives. To suggest that Israel deserves no support from religious men because it inflicted suffering through acts of premeditated brutality is to question the concept of Jewish peoplehood. And, finally, to liken Israel's militancy to the Germans', the annexation of Old Jerusalem to Hitler's Anschluss, is the unpardonable sin.

### Denunciations from Jewish Spokesmen

All of which is to say that anything short of total commitment to the rightness of Israel's cause is interpreted as anti-Semitism. As a matter of fact, even the grass-roots anti-Semites of the radical right have been silent of late, probably because our "enemy", the Soviet Union, supports the Arabs. All the same, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a body generally distinguished for liberality and intellectual integrity, has seemed downright paranoid in the current crisis. For example: Arthur Spiegel, Connecticut regional director for the A.D.L., commenting on William Buckley's protest against the

league's monitoring of broadcasts, declared that Buckley "never lets a fact get in the way of his obsessive hatred of the A.D.L." - a remark irrelevant to the crisis at best and a piece of defamation at worst. Again, Arnold Forster, B'nai B'rith general counsel, dismissed Arab Spokesman Mohammad T. Mehdi as "an Iraqi citizen who refuses American naturalization" and declared that "as a guest in this country Mehdi should refrain from criticizing activities of its citizens" - surely neither an invitation to examine the substance of Mehdi's statements nor a suggestion that American Jewish comments on developments in Iraq were off limits. Jewish spokesmen have directed their scorn not only at political conservatives and "irresponsible Arab propagandists"; they have blasted the mainline churches whose clergy have been brotherhood-minded for years. For example, on June 22 Rabbi Balfour Brickner, director of Reform Judaism's Commission on Interfaith Activities - a normally cordial quarter - denounced the "Christian establishment" as silent "on support for the integrity of the State of Israel." To counter "these failures on behalf of the Christian Church", he said, "let us first talk about Israel and its role in the life of the Jew. . . . Understanding the very existence of the Jew precedes any interfaith conversation we might wish to have about Christian-Jewish understanding of conscience, morality or worship". This, then, is the church's dilemma. For many Jews this war is a holy war. But is it therefore a holy war for Christians? In interfaith matters it is one thing to understand, quite another to agree. Anti-Semitism has to do with the spirit in which criticism is given; it must not be equated with the fact of disagreement.

### AMERICAN JEWISH Truth vs. Slanted Information

Christians, clearly, have moral concerns besides the concern for interfaith harmony. The concern for truth and justice, in my opinion, overrides the concern for harmony. Hence outright disagreement with Israel's carefully planned conquest of June 1967 is required of us. Christians must defy pressure on them to sit by silently, muzzled by the fear of being called anti-Semitic. Besides caring for the hundreds of thousands of blamelessly suffering Palestinian Arabs and working to end their suffering through resettling them somewhere (even in America), the churches must look toward the preservation of free speech in our nation, in fact as well as in law. The right of dissent - staunchly defended by religious and secular intellectuals in respect to other issues - has been effectively suppressed in respect to the current crisis.

The powerful pressures which have made it possible for subtle pro-Israeli evaluations to pass as fact in the news have also caused even the most restrained mediating position to be assessed as Arab propaganda. For a time, virtually the only place in North America where the Arabs could be heard was the U.N. Official Washington, insensitive to the opinions of the voters, appears unable to penetrate the smokescreen of Israeli self-righteousness through which the Arab picture comes and seems ready to sacrifice American interests in the Arab world. Included in such sacrifice would be Christian educational, medical and evangelistic work built up over the past hundred years.

But the Christian Losses will not only be overseas. Here in America, church leaders have unwittingly played into the hands of a militant foreign nationalism. So far as they have been victims of slanted sources of information they may perhaps be pardoned - Bennett on mobilization, Eugene Carson Blake on control of the Old City, any Christian spokesman who confers his blessing on Israel's nationalistic excesses. But so far as they have been victims, so far have they cast doubt on the reliability of the church's official judgments.

From: The Christian Century, July 26, 1967, by Willard G. Oxtoby (associate professor in Yale University's department of religious studies, a Presbyterian minister and a specialist in the religious history of the Middle East)

## AGAIN. SILENCE IN THE CHURCHES

### I. The Case for Israel.

The guilt of the Christian community for its dominant silence amid the Nazi slaughters of the Jewish people has in recent years been increasingly confessed within both Catholic and Protestant circles. Yet when within past weeks the extermination of the entire nation of Israel almost occurred, once again there was silence in the churches.

The few voices that were raised merely helped to make the general stillness louder. When at the beginning of the crisis Protestant and Catholic organizations were asked by the American Jewish community to call upon our government to stand by Israel, there was no institutional response. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops gave no word and the National Council of Churches was content to urge "compassion and concern for all the people of the Middle East" and the formulating of a solution by the United Nations. Some Christians found an element of presumptuousness in the Jewish request; they claimed it did not allow them to reach a moral judgment of their own. But the fact is that church groups either ignored the entire problem or announced a policy of neutralism.

Undoubtedly, many Christians remain genuinely perplexed over the recent events in the Middle East and the new crisis that has ensued in Jewish-Christian relations. The purpose of this essay is to contribute to the current debate, in the interests of independence of judgment, by offering one point of view on the subject.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

The silence of the churches can hardly have derived exclusively from the principled rule that says one must refrain from making moral evaluations in a situation too complex or controversial to justify a decision. Morally speaking, the conflict in southeast Asia is infinitely complex and debatable, yet this fact has not compelled Christian silence. Numerous church bodies and spokesmen have called upon the United States to cease escalating the war and to stop the bombing of North Vietnam, just as many groups have long since condemned and worked against apartheid in South Africa. Yet to our knowledge not a single church body spoke out against the publicly promised annihilation of Israel or proclaimed that nation's right to defend itself.

That Israel was able to turn the threat to her existence into a military victory has been viewed as somehow vindicating the Christian neutralists, but the conclusion is not convincing. The situation in the Middle East is as forbidding as ever, and the root question in the conflict - the rightness or wrongness of the State of Israel's reality and claims - remains in the forefront.

Obviously, in no human conflict is right totally on one side. The conflict before us has singularly deep historical roots. The geographical presence of the State of Israel is linked not only to positive Jewish claims but also to adverse treatment of Jews in both past and present by people other than Arabs.

Can the silence of the churches be justified by the force of historical circumstance and the weight of moral evidence? Since the possibility of such justification is at the root of much of the current debate, it is appropriate to supply reasons for our view that the evidence would normally be expected to motivate at least some church groups to the kind of expression of sympathy and support for the Israeli cause that has been readily forthcoming from secular quarters.

### II

The following are some of the major elements in the case for Israel. Some of the points are necessitated by the recent disputes over Israel's right as a nation; others are included in order to bring out prevailing points of controversy.

1. Palestine/Israel is the original homeland of the Jewish people and of no other living nation. Despite hostile and intolerable conditions, there have always been some Jews inhabiting the land. The weight of the Jews' historic territorial claim can scarcely be duplicated anywhere else on the globe. Arnold Toynbee's assertion that the "statue of limitations" invalidates Jewish claims to reoccupy the territory is a historical distortion. Down to the end of the 19th century, all Moslem rulers, Arab and Turk, acknowledged the special right of the Jews to enter and settle the land, in contrast to the Christians, who could for the most part only visit as pilgrims. Despite partial, recurrent

exiles, the Jewish people have never ceased to work for restoration and development of their ancient land.

2. Any implicit or explicit argument against the Jewish case that resorts to citation of the right of conquest is self-invalidating, since it would have to accept the results fighting. Yet wholly to rule out the tacit moral validation of conquest would produce some extremely embarrassing consequences for most nations, which, insofar as they were to question Israel's right to exist, could not escape hypocrisy.

3. The homeland plea can never be sufficient or attain the status of absolute right - in principle because no people can claim any land absolutely, and in application because otherwise many peoples today could be rightfully asked to pack their bags and leave their countries. Accordingly, the right of Jews to Israel as a home must also be viewed in the light of decisions by the 20th century international community.

That the Jewish prerogative in Israel rests upon a unique complex of values - not exclusively political or social or moral or religious, but a combination of all these - is recognized in many quarters and lies behind the United Nations' decision of 1947 (with the Soviet Union in the forefront of the campaign to provide a home for Jews). The partitioning of Palestine was carried out by the nations on the basis of earlier international decisions. The preamble to the League of Nations mandate quotes the Balfour Declaration in full; it also states that the Jewish people were being given opportunity to reconstitute their national home. Most Arab states now rejecting Israel's right to exist did not even exist themselves at the time. The Jews accepted the 1947 partition, at some cost to their own settlements. The Arabs rejected the partition, immediately initiated attack against the Jews and declared a general war upon them when the British withdrew. (The Soviet Union labeled the war an "act of aggression" and demanded that the Arabs stop it).

Karl Deutsch likens the United Nations' decision to an act of eminent domain at the international level, and adds the important proviso that any compensation accruing to Arabs in, for example, relocation of refugees is owed by the world community, not just Israel. (What about compensation to the many Jews who have had to flee Arab countries?)

4. The effort to achieve and maintain a sovereign state for Israel, in contrast to a quasi-political community as approved by a few Arab leaders (the latter possibility in keeping with, for example, the old Parthian millet system), is morally justified by the countless years of oppression of the Jews - most recently in the Nazi holocaust, with the complicity of much of the rest of the world. The alternatives for most Israeli Jews have been and remain life in Israel or death; this is not true for any Arab. That the United Nations deserted the very country whose founding it sanctioned 20 years ago is among the most reprehensible deeds of this century.

5. The one prerequisite to a solution of the Middle Eastern question in its entirety (including the situation of the refugees) remains the acknowledgment of Israel's right to exist. We have recently witnessed the spectacle of many nations of the world in effect denying only to Israel the prerogative of self-protection against terrorist harassment and openly avowed politicicide. The war in the Middle East was the direct result of the illegal Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba and the announced intention of Arab leaders, with accompanying military measures, to wipe Israel from the face of the earth. Yet Israel is now taking steps toward permanent peace and reconciliation, while all that most Arab leaders offer is a promise of revenge. Considerably after the cease-fire was effected the Iraqi chief of state spoke for Arabs everywhere in proclaiming that "the existence of Israel is in itself an aggression". No real hope is in sight for a negotiated settlement, either with the Arabs or through the almost completely futile United Nations organization. If the Israelis do not insist upon taking necessary steps on their own to ensure their rights as an independent people, they run the risk of death. We must avoid the wholly unsupported assumption that if Israel will only behave as others ask or demand, her detractors will become rational and want to be friends. The only thing that would appear capable of propitiating Arabs, communists and Christians who find the Israelis guilty of "aggression" would be for the latter to lie down and be slaughtered.

### III

6. The very nations that have criticized Israel for reunifying Jerusalem and who demand internationalization of the city would never permit any such division or denial of sovereignty with respect to their own historic capitals. Israel faced the choice either of acting unilaterally to restore to unity the ancient capital she had founded or of ensuring its rupture for an indefinite future. Any plea for the unity of Jerusalem has to be grounded in the autonomy of the State of Israel, recognition of the City of David as a

spiritual focus of Jewish faith, and complete religious freedom of access. Israel is pledged to this freedom. The Arabs have refused and will continue to refuse equal rights to the holy places.

7. The church can hardly betray its obligation to oppose the deplorable state of much international morality - a condition reflected in the gulf between popular sympathy for Israel in many lands and the policies and actions of many governments and officials. Thus, in the U.N. General Assembly loud and prolonged applause greeted the speech of Jordan's King Hussein, who just a few weeks earlier was plotting with Nasser to destroy Israel and had subsequently agreed to the Big Lie of accusing the United States and Great Britain of participating militarily in the war (Britain was included at Hussein's suggestion). Has the church no conscience to condemn plotting and lying?

8. Many castigations of Israel for her alleged responsibility for the suffering of Arab refugees have been terribly one sided and unfair. Why is so little attention paid to the fact that the original refugees in the situation were Jews fleeing the Nazi terror, people who were barred from other lands and then denied access to the one place that could give them hope? Why do we hear almost nothing of the oppression in Arab countries since 1948 of indigenous Jewish populations or of the thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab lands? Why is it hardly ever pointed out that the original and continuing cause of the Arab refugee problem and its recent aggravation has been Arab intransigence and hostility; the refusal to recognize Israel and the pledge to annihilate the Jews? There would be no refugee problem at all if the Arabs had not defied the United Nations partition. The Arabs started the war in 1948 that forced the refugees to leave - not to be banished from their homes. Israel tried to convince them to stay. Arab leaders frightened them into fleeing, with dire warnings that the Jews would persecute and destroy them.

We are frequently advised that Israel's recent military victory is the reason for the increase in refugees, but we are seldom reminded that the latest Arab campaign to destroy Israel was the sole incitement for that victory. An Arab triumph would have left not Jewish refugees but Jewish corpses. Any help Israel now grants to Arab refugees - and she is already giving succor and beginning to offer resettlement, despite unabated Arab belligerency - is largely a matter of either prudence or charity. The moral debt is primarily that of the Arab powers, who have callously manipulated these uprooted people to the end of a devious program to exterminate Jews.

9. Israel is neither the servant nor the apostle of "Western" interests. Arab propaganda identifying Israel as a "foreign intrusion" is belied by the facts. Today more than 65 per cent of Israel's population is entirely Middle Eastern in ancestry and outlook. Of the remainder, large numbers are native-born Israelis with no experience of or ties with other countries. The birth rate in Israel among Jews from Islamic lands is much higher than that among those from Western lands. Israel is becoming more and more an Asian country, but at the same time she serves as an instrument of democratic values and technological advance. An irony of the present situation is that where Israel can be of influence, Arab peoples will have great opportunity for social, economic and political well-being, in contrast to unilateral control of their destiny by their own regimes. If Israel is enabled to continue and to prosper, the resulting growth in the region as a whole will promote the welfare of unnumbered human beings in Western Asia and Africa. All this is in application of the devotion of many Jews in Israel and elsewhere to the cause of Arab-Israeli unity, a cause so dear to the late Martin Buber.

It is alleged that the Middle Eastern situation is so morally gray that it is wrong for the churches to take sides. We contend that this allegation is not creditable. A fundamental of ethics is the necessity to distinguish among the facts of a case where there can be no absolute right or wrong, and the responsibility to act in behalf of the side more nearly in the right. Through this all-important distinction, neutralism of action is in countless situations exposed as, if not wrong, at least irresponsible. In the particular issue under discussion we are impelled to oppose the Arab cause, but not by insinuating in any way that the Arabs have no rights in the situation. This decision is made inevitable by the announced policy and the actual behavior of these peoples themselves; otherwise it might not be possible. From the standpoint of moral assessment, Arabs certainly have grievances (as Israel openly concedes). But from the standpoint of the responsibility to act, we have no choice but to say that the Arabs are wrong in their would-be plicitude against the Jewish nation. That policy is not just "partly" wrong and hence to be only "partly" opposed; it is altogether wrong and ought to be fought unqualifiedly. In brief, prevailing right is the one validation of specific moral commitments.

We are not casting about for irrefutable arguments, nor are we trying to cut

off debate. We expect and we solicit response to our documentation. (It may be interjected that philo-Semitism is as disreputable as anti-Semitism; it is little more than Judenfeindschaft overtaken by remorse.) The Arab side must certainly be heard and given its due. Yet we feel strongly that the primary issue is one of balance and of history. Had Christendom not been in the forefront of the persecution of Jews for hundreds of years, the judgements against Israel now being heard in Christian circles would not be so disheartening. These judgements cannot be received in isolation from the age-long Christian "teaching of contempt" (Jules Isaac), the death camps in Europe and now the unabated annihilationist intentions of Arab nations. We submit, in sum, that the overwhelming moral force of the case for Israel makes it impossible either to explain or to justify the new silence of the churches through the contention that the evidence is either lacking or equivocal. Accordingly, we are led to seek other reasons for the silence, a matter to be explored in Part Two of this essay.

## II. Christian and Arab Ideology

As a point of departure in seeking an explanation for the preponderant silence of the churches before the recent threat to the State of Israel, we note that considerable sound has come from Christian sources in defence of the Arab cause. Here is a sampling of materials in a leading newspaper and two Christian publications: One writer refers to "Israeli gains through aggression" and demands "the withdrawal of all Israeli occupying forces". Another maintains that Israel should offer to repatriate all Arab refugees into Israel and contends that Christians and Jews are obliged to "reject the biblical literalism that lies behind political Zionism". A third says that the United States must show "no further favoritism toward Israel," a country guilty of the "aggressive annexation of territory." A fourth speaks of "Israel's patent acts of expansionism". Still another stresses the "just and proper claims of the Palestinian Arabs against Israel" and concludes that "the Holy City of Jerusalem has become war booty". And still another stands "aghast at Israel's onslaught, the most violent, ruthless (and successful) aggression since Hitler's Blitzkrieg...in the summer of 1940, aiming not at victory but at annihilation", and speaks of "Israel's 'callous indifference to the more than a million displaced Arabs' who have been 'subjugated or driven into exile'".

These writers are not official representatives of Arab or communist states. The first is a former Presbyterian missionary in Beirut, the second contributes a column to a Methodist periodical, the next three identify themselves as professors in Christian institutions, and the last is retired president of a well known Protestant theological seminary. On the basis of letters to newspapers and periodicals - and we have examined several hundred - we must conclude that the majority of spokesmen who identify themselves in some way with Christianity tend to speak for the Arab side, while the majority of those who do not so identify themselves (and are not identifiable as Jews) speak largely for the Israeli cause. It is hard to think of these proportions as being purely accidental.

The data cited above can be related to another, highly crucial consideration. The one unbreakable bond that unites the Arab peoples is their conviction that Israel deserves to die. But this very conviction retains a deep hold upon the Christians as well. For centuries Christendom has been indoctrinated in the identical idea: Jews have no ultimate or integral right to exist - in their land or anywhere, as a faith or as a people.

The distinguished French historian Jules Isaac has shown how the "dispersion of the Jews" from their land as "divine punishment for the Crucifixion" (a dispersion that in plain fact never took place in toto) became a main pillar in Christian "teaching of contempt" for Jews and Judaism. In the history of "Christian" Europe there have been three established policies in regard to the Jewish people: conversion, expulsion and annihilation. As J. Coert Rylaarsdam has written in *The Christian Century*: "Over the centuries Christians have generally lived with the tacit assumption that a 'good Jew' is either a dead Jew or a Christian. So, alternately, they have consented to the death of Jews and prayed for their conversion... Christians have never really said that God loves the Jew for what he is now" (which includes, of course, the Jews who live in the State of Israel). After all, are not we Christians the real Israel? And is not original Israel barred from Zion until or unless it accepts Christ?

The entire movement to re-establish the Jewish people in their ancient homeland, culminating in the reconstituting of the State of Israel in 1948, has been a traumatic experience from which the collective Christian psyche has never entirely recovered. The reaction is revealed, on the one hand, in the inability of many representatives of the churches to find any theological meaning in the drama, together with their attempted reduction of Israel to a purely "political" or "secular" phenomenon, and, on the other hand, in the contention of many that something has gone awry religiously. God could not very well have made a historical-theological miscalculation by sanctioning the "return" of the Jews before the proper time. So perhaps the whole operation was the work either of the devil or of human idolatry, or both. How presumptuous for Israel to be "reborn" in clear violation of Christian eschaology!

Just as in 1933-45 unnumbered people in the churches were never quite convinced that the nazis were not the unwitting allies of God - since the Jews were "no longer" his people - so in 1967 a powerful ideological affinity is manifest between Christian predisposition and the annihilationist designs of the Arabs.

By contrast to Jews, so the covert "Christian" rationalizing continues, Arabs shape up pretty well. They are indeed a prevailingly innocent and needy lot, rather like children. And of course multitudes of them are "refugees". Refugees from what? From Jewish sophistication, Jewish intransigence, Jewish power. Once the Assyrians were the rod of God's anger; today there is a man by the name of Nasser. We wonder... After all, the Arab people have never really rejected Christ. Could not they be instruments of divine judgement upon Israel? The Israelis are so wordly, so willful, so self-righteous, a stiff-necked bunch if there ever was one, and withal a "minority". But there untold numbers of Arabs who are in "great priritual need", and perhaps we will be strengthened to save many of them for Christ. At any rate, it is essential that we not overlook or jeopardize the safety of the Christian missionaries hard at work in Arab lands.....

## II

If the world Jewish community has been shocked and disillusioned by the new Christian silence before Israel's plight, it must be driven to the verge of despair by the readiness of some Christian leaders to call black "white", to label as "aggressors" the targets of aggression, to identify as "annihilationists" those who barely escaped being annihilated by a foe pledged to turning them into corpses (and who are nevertheless prepared to deal righteously with their would-be slayers). There are elements of perversity, even of insanity, in these identifications. Perhaps we will next be told that the death camps were actually protective measures created by the nazis to keep Germans from being exterminated by Jews. That many nazis did believe this to be the purpose of the death camps offers a frightening clue as to how the above-mentioned retired seminary president can label Israel as an annihilationist aggressor. The pathological collective unconscious of Christendom has at last come to the surface in this man: "The Jews are the enemy; the more they appear to be helpless victims, the more they are in actuality conspiring as the devil's own agents of destruction. Before the anti-Christ conquers the world, let us expose him for what he is".

Thus an explanation is at hand for the recurring silence of the churches, revolting though that explanation is. Whenever original Israel is assailed, certain suppressed, macabre elements in the Christian soul are stirred to sympathy with the assilants. It is difficult to account in any other way for the vehemence and mendacity of some of the current Christian attacks upon Israel.

To understand the strength of Christian opposition to Jewish existence we must further bear in mind historic Christian uncertainties respecting the relation of the religious and secular domains. These uncertainties become evident in the frequently expressed Christian refusal to "take sides" because "the whole conflict is after all a political power struggle". The Christian mind has been heavily conditioned by the Greek dualism of "matter" and "spirit", in contrast to the Hebraic insistence on the unity of all life. Is not Israel - so the dualistic line goes - a pervasively secular state and, accordingly, is not something seriously with her spiritually?

Here is another way in which the Christian conscience acts to remove the "worldly" Israelis from the scope of its obligations: in effect it reads them out of Judaism. Judaism, we are advised, is a religion. And our Christian responsibilities as a community of faith are limited to other communities of faith.

The effect of this dualistic orientation is to drive a wedge between Christians and Jews. Any implicit or explicit allegiance to a dichotomy of profane and sacred is incomprehensible to most Jews. Here is another reason why the current crisis in the Middle East was bound to create a crisis in Christian-Jewish relations.

The lengths to which various Christian apologists have been driven in order to rule out any divine authentication of the re-establishment of Israel as a state are indicative not only of their insistence that Jewish history be subjected to a christocentric history, but also of a Christian deficiency in relating life's transcendent dimensions to the secular-political realm. There is a major ideological reason why, as one rabbi observed, American Christians simply did not appreciate the agony of anxiety that pervaded the Jewish community in the days just passed. "In order to know how we felt, you must understand the strong sense of peoplehood which unites Jews and causes every Jew to feel personally involved in the fate of all other Jews. You must also remember that we saw six million of our people slaughtered by the nazis. Then you can begin to comprehend what it meant to hear Premier Nasser declare that he was going to exterminate the two and one-half million Jews in Israel".

### III

For the vast majority of Jews, Jewish life means a faith and a people. We Christians strive manfully to construe Judaism as only a "religion", but our dualistic outlook has the double effect of annulling our obligations to the people of Israel and of separating us from Jews as human beings. Christianity is never entirely safe from the heresy of setting God above politics. For the Jew there is a divine link between faith and life, between doctrine and action, between the sacred and the secular. That link is righteousness (zedakah). The perennial Christian temptation is that of a lovely mystical universalism exempt from the duty to fight human oppression. One hopeful sign in the current theological temper, incidentally, is the new affirmation of a "secular Christianity", which may be construed in part as a yearning in the church for a return to its Hebraic roots. Unfortunately for righteousness' sake, the fresh outlook has not as yet produced a uniquely Christian rationale for the State of Israel as temporal fulfillment of the Covenant.

Christians are taught to say that God rescued his people from the oppression of Egypt 3,000 years ago. But what about the happenings of 1967? Something seems to have scrambled our reading of events. It appears only a few romanticists are willing to risk the reputed foolishness of proclaiming a connection between two deliverances. When there is no ardor for zedakah, the people fall silent.

### IV

Obviously, many Christians are not willing to assign peculiarly Christian theological status to the State of Israel. Yet as Christians they are, presumably, committed to religious freedom. That commitment is here put to a basic test of strength. For multitudes of Jews, the integrity of Israel is an inherent and vital element of their faith. As Louis Cassles writes: "To Jews, Israel is the fulfillment of the biblical promise that the Jews will one day return to their homeland. Thus Israel has a mystical significance for devout Jews, and preserving its existence is a religious duty which arouses in Jewish breasts a fervor comparable to that which might inspire a Catholic if the papacy were attacked or a Protestant if the Bible were threatened with suppression". Does the Christian community intend to deny the Jewish right to the above tenet of faith? We do not deny it to Moslem peoples. This right must be placed within a much larger context than that of freedom of religious conscience as such. Religious freedom means little apart from the freedom of men to survive and endure as human being, in both an individual and a collective sense. Indeed, religious freedom is a human social value only as a part of this wider dignity.

Just as the Arabs by their actions and attitudes toward Israel have thrown great doubts on the justice of their own cause, so the Christian church is hardly in a moral position to dictate or even to give counsel to Israel. In the contemporary Christian community a glaring contrast is revealed between great concern for the rights of Christians (and Arabs) and a conspicuous lack of concern for Jews and the welfare of Israel. We want privileges in the Holy Land but not at cost to ourselves.

The argument that Moslems must not be antagonized because of possible consequent dangers to Christians living among them deserves as a rejoinder H.A. Reinhold's statement concerning the nations under Hitler: "Position after position was bargained away by Christians to save their decisive

resistance for a later time."

The recent behavior of our brothers in Rome has been particularly unfortunate. Silence in regard to justified cause of Israel is bad enough; positive demand and reprimand against the Israelis are worse, especially when tainted with self-interest and hypocrisy. Any assumption that the Holy See was neutral in the recent conflict is counteracted by the Vatican's opposition to the reunification of Jerusalem. As long as Jordan held the Old City, permitting Christians to come to the holy places but forbidding Israeli Jews or Israeli Arabs to do so (in flagrant violation of the 1949 armistice guarantees), the Vatican showed no perturbation; it seemed content to condone religious discrimination in the Holy City. Yet now that this discrimination has been abolished by Israel, the Vatican has suddenly remembered its traditional call for internationalization of the entire city. Particularly reprehensible is the demand that Israel actually cede territory it possessed before the hostilities began. On June 23 the permanent observer of the Holy See at the U.N. distributed a note calling for a corpus separatum (separate territory) for all Jerusalem, under an international regime. This demand by a Christian body for the surrender of the erstwhile territory of a nation that has been subjected to wanton aggression is not only immoral; it also - coming as it does from a religious entity that is also a secular state - constitutes illicit intervention in the affairs of another sovereign nation. The demand would come with much more grace, though still without legitimacy, if the Vatican were prepared to grant full recognition to the State of Israel. Its deficiency here makes it a poor candidate for arbitration or for giving political advice. In view of the historic Christian persecutions of Jews and the representative character of the Vatican before the world, that state should have been among the very first to recognize and support Israel.

V

Understandably, spokesmen for the World Council of Churches and other bodies have reacted with coolness to the Vatican demand that Jerusalem be entirely taken away from Israel. But subject as they themselves are to the Christian dualism referred to above, they could provide no positive theological foundation for this disagreement. They could only say that the question of Jerusalem was strictly "political" and that religious interests could not be discussed until a political settlement had been reached.

It is generally recognized that many peoples of the world would feel immeasurable guilt were they to permit the Arabs to slaughter the Jews of Israel. If the neutralism of church bodies and the anti-Israel statements of Christian spokesmen are any guide, it would appear that such a concern has no great strength in the churches.

If Christian silence is the silence of the Christian god, he is better off dead. Woe unto Israel had she waited for the god of neutralism and a political "love" to deliver her. Instead, she refused to die, and thus - with lesser or greater faith, with "worldly" or "unworldly" aspirations, with "atheist" or "believing" assumptions - was enabled to celebrate the living Lord of creation and the God of righteousness. Christians, with other residual pagans, may not wish to be disturbed by this God of justice who earns his living in wholly worldly ways.

Deep in Christian ideology is the insistence, on the one hand, that for various reasons the reputed people of God are barred from their land, and, on the other hand, that the dominant secularity of the State of Israel flouts divine authentication and makes Christian doctrinal recognition impossible. Perhaps the Christian community could never endure tension of bringing together doctrine and politics in this matter. For once it acknowledged and confirmed theologically the unqualified right of Israel to live, it would be confronted not only with an ideological crisis but also with the moral necessity of casting its lot publicly with Israel, in opposition to unceasing Arab exterminationism. Should Christians be enabled to overcome the theological bias that predisposes them to sympathy with the enemies and detractors of Jews they may come to see the overwhelming moral justice of Israel's cause and be willing to stand up for it with courage.

The moral tragedy is that the only tangible way open to us to atone for our historic crimes against original Israel is by assuming a special responsibility for the rights and welfare of Jews. The present refusal to bear this obligation may well reflect the Christian community's wish to exonerate itself from culpability for the long years of anti-Semitism.

Karl Barth once said: "In order to be chosen we must, for good or ill, either be Jews or else be heart and soul on the side of the Jews". It almost seems that the entire history of Christianity, including the the churches' current response to the Middle Eastern crisis, has been an attempt to make Barth's words as irrelevant as is humanly possible. Writing as Christians who oppose

that attempt, we say to our Jewish brothers: We too have been shocked by the new silence. And we are greatly saddened. But we have not been surprised. The causes of the silence lie deep in the Christian soul. Therefore we can only mourn and pray and hope.

From: The Christian Century, July 26 and August 2, 1967 by A. ROY and ALICE L. ECKART (Dr. Eckart is editor of the Journal of the 'American Academy of Religion' and professor of religion at Lehigh University; Mrs. Eckart is a graduate of Oberlin College, has a master's degree in history from Lehigh.)

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WHAT IS ISRAEL ?

What do we mean by the word "Israel"? The connotations and ramifications are numerous, but in current, general usage it identifies a small state located on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean sea, one of the new nations that came into being during the past generation. In its basic functions this state is just like all others: it governs a people, levies taxes, provides public services, enters into diplomatic relations, wages wars. Israel's neighbors, some of whom suffered heavily when the new state was formed, have relentlessly refused to recognize Israel's existence, but most of the great world powers and international bodies - fully aware of the irony and injustice attending the new state's birth - grant Israel full recognition. Whether this is what the word "Israel" should connote, whether this state should have been created, whether the purposes it serves justify the sufferings and crises produced by its creation, whether some better way could have been found to serve the same end - these are questions that will be debated beyond the lifetime of any of us.

The Christian Century was among the journals that 20 years ago questioned the wisdom of translating the Israel that had been a faith and a folk into the Israel that became a state. At that time the editors accurately predicted some of the problems that have now appeared in the Middle East. But the translation of one kind of Israel into another occurred, and necessary journalistic adjustments were gradually made to be accomplished fact. At present the Century holds that no happy and just solution of the Middle East crisis is possible unless the solution begins with an international recognition of Israel's right to exist as a state, a recognition formalized in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This first step toward the peace in the Middle East will leave numerous questions unanswered, and some of them cannot be answered in ways entirely pleasing to Zionists.

However, as the word "Israel" becomes increasingly identified with a specific geography and a particular political entity, it will inevitably lose some of its meanings heretofore most precious to Jews and Christians. As the word moves from general, abstract meanings to a specific, concrete focus it inevitably loses its broad and deep spiritual significance for those who are not Zionists. For many centuries the term "Israel" has served dispersed Jews as a literary symbol for a heritage, a folk, a community, a faith. Likewise, allusively and figuratively this word has been used by Christians as a synecdoche for the Christian church, the whole Christian community. That connotation will gradually diminish as Christians deprived of the figurative meanings of the word, find it increasingly difficult to think of Israel as anything other than a political state. How can they sing "O come, O come, Emmanuel, / And ransom captive Israel, / That mourns in lonely exile here / Until the Son of God appear"? These semantic changes may be no great loss for Jews, for Christians or for the State of Israel; but it is well to note that what we are witnessing as symbolic Israel becomes political Israel is more than a semantic transformation.

If Israel is a state, then it is bound by the same standards applicable to other states. It must take its place in the world of states without appeals for special consideration based on the spiritual and nonpolitical values that gentiles have drawn from the name the state adopted. Christians, and nations that call themselves Christian, owe to Israel - the faith, the heritage, the community - a debt they can never fully discharge, but history has not made the State of Israel the collector of that debt. The United States, West Germany, Britain, France and other nations have varied and special obligations to and selfish interests in the young state, but these obligations and interests, however binding, are entirely separate from the Western world's

indebtedness to the Jewish people and to their traditions. These distinctions, of course, will not be acceptable to many zealous Zionists. For them the faith, the political entity and the land are one, and all three are summarized and expressed in the word "Israel". These Zionists agree with the extreme position taken by David Ben-Gurion when he was Israel's premier: "Since the day when the Jewish state was established and the gates of Israel were flung open to every Jew who wanted to come, every religious Jew (remaining in the Diaspora) has daily violated the precepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel". Ben-Gurion later modified his position, but many of his followers did not. For them Israel - the state and the land - is not merely the mystical hub of world Jewry but the homeland apart from which every Jew ceases to be a Jew, an inseparable part of the faith itself, the visible expression of the invisible essence of Judaism. Wherever this mind appears it will be intolerant of all criticisms of the State of Israel - as though rebuking this body politic were an offense to God. So it will ascribe to anti-Semitic motivation all political rebukes of Israel. The Zionist extremist, like all extremists, cannot endure complexity and ambiguity. He must always reduce the complicated situation to the simplest possible explanation. To him Israel is everything that implies wrapped up in one ball of wax, and you must be for it or against it. The Jews of the world must be understood in the light of the fact that Arab threats and the implementation of those threats revived their sharpest and most painful memories of the genocide Hitler inflicted on them. But they in turn must be patient with those of us who look at the situation from the outside and to whom it does not appear as simple as it does to them. The reaction of non-Jewish Americans to the multifaceted word "Israel" will naturally assume multiple combinations. It is possible for a Christian to be critical of the State of Israel yet not be anti-Semitic. In fact, it is possible that some Americans who are basically anti-Semitic nevertheless champion the State of Israel for economic and political reasons. It is possible to be pro-Judaism and anti-Israel, pro-Arab and pro-Jew, pro-Israel and anti-Zionist. Such distinctions may be inconceivable to many Jews, but they are nevertheless live options for many gentiles. And these gentiles - by the very nature of the case they cannot be rabid Zionists - may be ambivalent in their relation to Israel yet at the same time the most vigilant foes of ungrateful and nefarious bigotry against the Jewish people. A considerable amount of patient understanding is needed on both sides.

From: The Christian Century, August 30, 1967, Editorials.

#### JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY II - AFTER A COLLOQUIUM AND A WAR

In 1963 the Harvard Divinity School arranged for a Roman Catholic-Protestant Colloquium. Many factors converged into that decision and invitation. Some of our faculty had served as Observers at the sessions of the Second Vatican Council and were following closely its further developments. In 1958, the Charles Chauncey Stillman chair for Roman Catholic Studies had been established at Harvard University, and it had been decided that this chair should be on the Divinity School rather than in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. For the academic year 1962-63, we were granted permission to use the funds for this Colloquium in lieu of the visiting professorship envisaged. And, above all, it was the right moment to highlight and scrutinize the new spirit of ecumenism by placing it in the crucible of academic inquiry. For all of us who participated in the seminars, the Colloquium was a stimulating and reassuring experience. Our scholarly deliberations indicated that the image of an ecumenical breakthrough - as pictured by the press-coverage of the Vatican Council - was, indeed, a well-founded one, and we could push beyond what was already achieved. In addition, there were the symbolic effect of Cardinal Bea's lectures and the demonstration that Roman Catholics were not guests but co-workers in the theological enterprise of the Divinity School.

In some ways things turned out differently with the Jewish-Christian Colloquium to which the Divinity School invited an equal number of scholars in the fall of 1966. And these differences are symptomatic of the present state of Jewish-Christian relations. The outward arrangements were similar. A wide range of such consultations had taken place, the press-coverage of which usually highlighted a new "ecumenical" spirit. It was deemed timely to choose this topic for the major scholarly celebration of our 150th

anniversary year as a Divinity School. Names like those of George Foot Moore and Harry A. Wolfson indicated Harvard's substantial part in the serious academic study of the topic. The present faculty had played its part in these areas, both in the States and in the Middle East. The generous interest of the American Jewish Committee allowed us to plan on strong international participation. The aim was the same as three years earlier. We wanted to test, in the sober and sharp light of academic inquiry, where the cutting edge was in studies significant to the widespread dialogues of Judaism and Christianity. We wanted to test how well-founded the publicized spirit of brotherhood was, and, hopefully, to suggest lines for further progress. I think it is fair to say that we did not come very far. We did not do so well. But that is also important, since it indicates how mandatory it is to work harder. Thus it may be useful to have me, as one of the participants, reflect in writing on some of the reasons for such a state of affairs.<sup>2</sup>

Here we must consider a basic incompatibility between Judaism and Christianity. We are used to treating them as two "religions" or two "traditions" contributing to Western culture. But in doing so we may well overlook elements which are constitutive. Both as religions and as traditions, Judaism and Christianity are related to each other in ways which make it difficult for them to be merely parallel phenomena. On the one hand, Christianity grew out of Judaism with a claim to be the fulfillment thereof, and, on the other, in the history of ideas they are intertwined beyond disentanglement. It could be argued, for example, that the beneficial contribution of Christianity to Western culture was exactly its function as the vehicle for the Jewish component in Christianity, while some of the less attractive elements of Christian ideology are the properly "Christian" ones. Or - as is often done in Christian circles - such an argument could be put forward in its absolutely opposite form. So complex is the matter when considered in the history of ideas.<sup>3</sup>

When we think of Christianity and Judaism as communities of faith, as church and synagogue, the incompatibility is perhaps most obvious in the fact that the church is by definition set on mission and conversion, and that this missionary thrust includes the hope that Jews accept Jesus as their long-awaited Messiah. Judaism, on the other hand, has no equivalent urge toward evangelization among the Gentiles.<sup>3a</sup> While this difference in the theological structure of the two has led to gruesome things where the Jews constituted a minority placed in a so-called Christian society, the problem itself is not dependent on a minority/majority situation. While it can be alleviated in a secular and pluralistic situation, it remains a problem at any direct confrontation between Church and Synagogue. It is a problem which works both ways. The "pressure" from the Christian side heightens the fear on the Jewish side, and leads to frequent pleas that the Christians declare a non-mission stance, in conformity with that of Judaism. If we don't, why do you? The incompatibility is a basic one, and is one of the most serious factors in the Jewish dispersion with its concern about assimilation. This leads us to another factor which troubles a dialogue between Judaism and Christianity: the whole web of guilt and fear which the 2000 years of our common history has made us inherit. It could perhaps be said that one issue in our Colloquium as an academic enterprise was whether the scholarly approach should attempt to stand above this factor, and achieve a non-emotional detachment therefrom. Were Auschwitz and Belsen to be considered admissible evidence in our court of discussion, or not? The problem reminds me of the discussion whether nuclear warfare is just another quantitative development of weaponry, or whether it changes the ethical problems of the world in a qualitative fashion so as to make many earlier forms of argumentation obsolete.

Such discussions can often turn cynical. It seems that the attempted genocide of the 40's, even if considered "only" a quantitative intensification of the pogroms, is a valid reason to ask new and more drastic questions about Christian responsibility, and exactly in that academic fashion. Christian theologians, preachers, and laymen all tend to make a most convenient distinction between Christianity as an ideal phenomenon - a priori beyond suspicion of any guilt in these matters - and bad "Christians" who in their lack of true Christianity have committed heinous crimes. But after 2000 years, such a facile distinction becomes rather suspect. It is a striking example of the most primitive mistake in the comparative study of religions. One compares one's own religion in its ideal form with the actual form and manifestations of other faiths. We must rather ask openly and with trembling whether there are elements in the Christian tradition - at its very center - which lead Christians to an attitude toward Judaism which we now must judge and overcome. It is an odd form of anti-intellectualism to believe that the theology is all right but the practice and sentiments of individuals are to blame. It may well be that we should be more responsible for our thoughts

and our theology than for our actions. To trust in "men of good will" and to leave the theological structures unattended is bad strategy. The Harvard Colloquium had its challenge exactly at this point. We could take for granted that we were all for brotherhood and against bias and discrimination. We had all done our part at community activities to the betterment of social and personal relations between Christians and Jews. But now we were to test the theoretical bases for such desirable attitudes. And here we found that little had been done which could constitute a consensus. And even less had been done so as to intimate a new starting point. It could perhaps be argued that this was partly due to a more accidental incompatibility at our Colloquium. We were fortunate in having a wider spread of theological and philosophical opinion among the Jewish participants than was perhaps the case with those who spoke out of a Christian tradition. In the future, this should be corrected by widening the Christian spectrum. The main threat to ecumenical work is that more and more significant voices are frozen out, while those who remain in conversation pride themselves on their increasing agreements. Nevertheless, the radical nature of our problem can perhaps be well exemplified by two publications which have appeared since the Colloquium.

On my desk is an edition of the Gospel of John, the title page and dust-jacket of which state - partly in re-assuring Gothic print - that here is "The Gospel according to Saint John, in the words of the King James version of the year 1611. Edited in conformity with the true ecumenical spirit of His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, by Dagobert D. Runes. The message of Jesus is offered here without adulteration by hate and revulsion against the people of the Savior".<sup>4</sup> In this edition, some twenty shorter or longer passages of the Fourth Gospel are deleted,<sup>5</sup> and at other points references to the Jews are exchanged for general terms like "the people", "the crowd(s)", etc. In 7:13, 19:38, and 20:19 we read that those friendly to Jesus acted out of fear of the Romans - not of the Jews, as the text says. Such an edition is based on a laudible sentiment. And many of us would prefer a New Testament without the marks of bitter feelings between Church and Synagogue. But it is hard to believe that the production of a fraudulent text can help anyone. There is no manuscript basis whatsoever for these deletions and changes.<sup>6</sup> I have not brought up this type of pious fraud in order to ridicule what is intended as a positive attempt toward bettering Jewish-Christian relations. Rather, it points toward the serious fact that the Christian Bible itself contains material about the Jews which must strike the contemporary reader as offensive and hateful.

That such and similar New Testament sayings have functioned as "divine" sanction for hatred against the Jews is well-known and a commonly accepted fact. The more crucial question is whether they should not be defined as having in themselves, and in their very biblical context, that element of bitterness and hateful zeal. This issue is well and tragically demonstrated in a recent book by Cardinal Bea.<sup>7</sup> It had been his eager expectations to have the Second Vatican Council make a strong statement which in effect would condemn all anti-Jewish sentiment, social and theological, as sin against God and his Christ. Much attention has been given to the ways in which this statement was finally toned down to a far more guarded and general one and placed in the context of the Council's "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions". By his book and by its very title, Bea tries to salvage his original intention and to give as positive an interpretation as possible to what finally was decreed. In that sense the book is a moving personal document. We should, however, not blame the outcome at the Council only on political pressure from the Arab world - Christian and Muslim - nor on an ill intentioned conservatism among the bishops. Bea's own presentation makes it perfectly clear that the theological structure of the New Testament material cannot so easily be brought into harmony with a spirit of love and humility on the side of Christians. 1 Thess. 2:14ff. stands out and bothers Bea continuously (e.g., pp 74, 87, 158, 165) and he can only counterbalance it with the Pauline sentiment in Rom. 9:1ff. Much attention is given to the fact that the gospels often confine the responsibility for the death of Jesus to the Sanhedrin or to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; hence it is not tried to all "the Jews" of that time, let alone of later generations. This is not the place to argue whether such an interpretation can be defended. If it is, it is a fine point, immensely difficult to retain, in the future development. Nor does it quite suffice to stress the love of Christ as an antidote to the bitter language about the Jews to which the Christian bible-reader is exposed. At least history shows, that so far, that has not been enough. In short, one reason for the defeat of Bea's intentions at the Council was that too many texts from the New Testament were against him. This is the really serious level of Christian anti-semitism: can the church admit to the tinge

of anti-Jewish elements in its very Scriptures?

Much of recent discussion, especially the one related to the Vatican Council, has centered around the question of the "guilt" of the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus and the so-called deicide. It may be that this specific issue is the natural one to focus upon within the Roman Catholic tradition, and within the context the Council's declaration achieves a certain corrective when it declares that "what happened is his (Jesus') passion cannot be charged against all Jews, without distinction, nor against the Jews of today."<sup>8</sup>

But there is a more subtle and, I think, more powerful form of the anti-Jewish element in Christian theology to consider, especially in Protestantism and then most prominently in Lutheranism.<sup>9</sup> I refer to the theological model "Law and Gospel". According to this model, this habit-forming structure of theological thinking, Jewish attitudes and Jewish piety are by definition the example of the wrong attitude toward God. The Christian proposition in the teaching of Jesus, Paul, John and all the rest, is always described in its contrast to Jewish "legalism", "casuistry", "particularism", ideas of "merit" etc. This whole system of thinking, with its image of the Pharisees and of the political Messianism of the Jews, treats Jewish piety as the black background which makes Christian piety the more shining. In such a state of affairs, it is hard to engender respect for Judaism and the Jews. And the theological system requires the retention of such an understanding of Judaism, whether true or not.<sup>10</sup> Even when the seriousness of Jewish piety is commended, it is done with faint praise: it may be admirable in its sincerity but just for that reason, it is more off the mark.<sup>11</sup>

All this adds up to a deep-rooted tension between Judaism and Christianity. In a historical perspective there is little surprise that that should be so. The early Christian movement was a distinct and vigorous sect within Judaism, fierce in its critique of other segments of Jewish religious life. Just as was the Qumran sect at the Dead Sea, the writings of which are filled with scathing and even hateful comments about the Jewish establishment in Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> The prophetic tradition within Judaism reaches equally fierce expressions, "for the Lord reproves him whom he loves, as a father the son in whom he delights" (Prov. 3:12, cf. Hebr. 12:5ff.) and the prophet did his part of that reproving. In a prophetic tradition, this is the natural discourse.

What makes for the problem for Christianity versus Judaism is that this prophetic language fell, so to say, into the hands of the Gentiles. It should not be forgotten that perhaps all of our literary remains from the earliest period of the Christian movement are not only in the Greek language (which was used at that time also by many Jews - even by the majority of the Jews), but was shaped in its present form by churches which were predominantly Gentile in their constituency. In seeking its identity, this primarily Gentile church found its rationale partly in the "no of the Jews" to Jesus Christ. To Paul, the Jew, this "no" was a mystery which he treated with awe, and which, according to him, should create even greater awe and reverence in Gentile minds (Rom. 11:20). Nor does he suggest a Gentile mission to the Jews. As a good Pharisee, he leaves the solution in the hands of God (11:25-36).

But once this Jewish context and identification was lost, the words of Jesus and the earliest witnesses of apostolic period received a new setting. They were not any longer operating within the framework of the Jewish self-criticism. They hardened into accusations against "the Jews", the synagogue across the street, and against the people who claimed the same Scriptures, but denied its fulfillment in Jesus Christ.

The drastic consequence of such form-critical observations could perhaps be stated somewhat like this: The Christian Church has no "right" to the use of these prophetic statements, once it has lost its identification with Judaism. Even if we repeated the actual words of Jesus, preserved by tape-recordings, these very words would mean something else, something contrary to his intention, once they were uttered from without instead of from within the Jewish communities.<sup>13</sup>

The compassionate sorrow of Jesus as he placed himself in the succession of the prophets and wept over Jerusalem (Mt. 23:37-39) hardened in a self-righteous reassurance in the church; and the way in which Jews chose to remain aloof to Christian claims angered the frustrated missionaries and theologians so as to make the Jews the primary example of the enemies of Christ. Such sentiments color practically all expressions of Christian theology, from New Testament times (including the gospels) to the present.<sup>14</sup> There is little reason to wonder about the fear and tensions in this area. The question must be asked - as it was at our Colloquium - if the present attempts to purge Christian liturgies, catechisms and hymnals from overt antisemitic elements are not only coming too late, but are primarily too timid and totally

insufficient. The church is not only responsible for its intentions, which may be honorable, but also for what actually happens in the minds of its actual members and half-members as they have been and are exposed to its Scriptures and message.

What should and could be done? It is clear to me that Christian theology needs a new departure. And it is equally clear that we cannot find it in our own, but only by the help of our Jewish colleagues. We must plead with them to help us. And as far as we are concerned, it is not a dialogue we need; we are not primarily anxious to impart our views as they impart theirs. We need to ask, in spite of it all, whether they are willing to let us become again part of their family, a peculiar part to be true, but, even so, relatives who believe themselves to be a peculiar kind of Jews. Something went wrong in the beginning. I say "went wrong", for I am not convinced that what happened in the severing of the relations between Judaism and Christianity was the good and positive will of God. Is it not possible for us to recognize that we parted ways not according to but against the will of God?

I know that this is a strange way to speak. I know that it may be branded as historical romanticism, an attempt to turn the clock back. But why call it "to turn the clock back"? Why not say instead that the time has come for us to find alternatives which were lost at that ancient time, alternatives which are the theological expressions of our repentance and of our understanding as they force themselves upon us today?

In this respect the parallel to the ecumenical movement is highly instructive. After a period of improved relations between the churches, Christians came to a point where the parting of ways in the past appeared to have grown out of diverse concerns within the one church. Many of these differences - some of them prefigured already in the rich variations within the New Testament itself - are serious, but none serious enough for the divisions which hardened into distinct "churches" and "sects". And, to be sure, no excuse could or should be found for the way in which this "hardening" developed into walls of suspicion and wars of suppression. So began a new attempt to find ways of growing together again. Not a syncretistic compromising of conflicting views, but a strategy developed by which actual churches begin to express the once lost unity. This is not a romantic way to play the fourth, or eleventh, or sixteenth century. It is a way to respond to one's own faith and understanding in the twentieth.

There are good theological reasons for a similar movement in the relation between Judaism and Christianity. Needless to say, there are differences, too. But if it be true that "something went wrong" in their parting of the ways, we should not elevate the past to an irrevocable will of God, but search for the lost alternatives.

What they are is too early to say. There may be many. The important thing is to accept the possibility that there are such. My own thinking is naturally influenced by my studies of the first century of the Common Era. In the Colloquium, strong arguments were given by Jewish and Christian scholars of that period to the effect that both "Judaism" as we know it and "Christianity" have their respective beginnings in the first century. Out of the varied and rich religious life of post-biblical Judaism prior to the year 70, there emerged two main traditions. One was Rabbinic Judaism as codified in Mishna and Talmud, the other was Christianity. Both claimed their continuity and authenticity from the Scriptures and the ongoing post-biblical tradition. Each came to brand the other as unfaithful and heretical in their respective teaching and practice. Such an admittedly oversimplified model has much to commend it as far as historical scholarship is concerned, and it serves to question many of our traditional views.<sup>15</sup>

It is obvious that a Christian plea for a new relation between Judaism and Christianity of the kind we have wished for here must raise serious questions in the minds of the Jewish community. Even if it were granted that our intentions were serious when we describe our plea as one borne out of repentance and humility - for we are the ones to ask that we be recognized as a peculiar kind of Jews, and it is up to "Judaism" to see if that is possible - it must be recognized that such a question is a new one, and utterly unexpected from our divided and common history. We Christians must be prepared to face "conditions", and that will be the time when the seriousness of our repentance will be tested. Such "conditions" may be interpreted by some as a compromising of our faith. At that point, it will be of utmost importance for Christian theology to see clearly what "our faith" is, and what must be judged to be expressions of that faith which were conditioned by our division, rather than by the revelation in Jesus Christ and by the will of God.

Obviously Judaism, on its side, will have to face similar searching questions. But rabbinic halaka knows how the time can be ripe for something new, and this, if any situation, is one "when it is a time to do something for the Lord" (Gittin 60a, cf. MBer.9:5).<sup>16</sup>

It should be noted that our thinking here is openly informed by a theology of history. That is, we do not think about religious matters in terms of timeless truths, revealed in a form unrelated to the situations in which they are given. Both their original form and their continuous interpretation depend on the situations to which they speak. And the religious communities which listen and interpret are organic bodies which must find out what God wants now, as he governs his people and his world. Without attention to that now, our interpretations can never be true, although they may sound orthodox in a literal sense.<sup>17</sup>

In such a context, a comment which was made repeatedly at the Colloquium deserves attention. When Christians take for granted that their faith and theology is superior to Judaism, they often do so for the very simple reason that Christianity followed upon Judaism as a new and hence superior "philosophy". Or an argument of Heilsgeschichte makes it easy to see the later stage as superior to an earlier one. If that be so, we should take the emergence of Islam far more seriously than we usually do, for here is a tradition which makes the reasonable claim of having superseded both Judaism and Christianity, and doing so according to the will and plan of God. We should at least not close our minds to the suggestion that future theological reflection, Christian and Jewish, will cut through the immense historical barriers against bringing Islam into our serious consideration.<sup>18</sup>

It may seem almost ironical to bring up such a matter at the present time. Just as centuries of Western history were marked by hatred between Christians and Muslims - while the Jews were treated far better by the latter than by the former, first in Spain and then under the Turks - so today the tension between Muslims and Jews is one of the concerns of the world at large. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Arabs most involved in the present crisis are not to be identified with the Muslims since a sizable number of them are Christians. Also for that reason I find it important to close my reflections about Judaism and Christianity with some observations on the situation after the military victory of the Israelis in the summer of 1967.<sup>19</sup>

It is clear enough from what we have said already that current events and theological work are not unrelated. Theology - be it academic or unconsciously embedded in piety and spontaneous reactions - does inform man's actions, for better or for worse.

The relation between Judaism and the State of Israel is naturally quite complex. It would be wrong to identify the two, both in term of Israel itself and in terms of the vast majority of Jewry living in other parts of the world. But it would be equally wrong to consider Israel a purely secular state. To be sure, its constitution guarantees freedom of religion, and retains the religious courts for Christians and Muslims in matters of marriage etc., according to the ancient system inherited from the Turks and the British. But Israel is a Jewish state and its religion is Judaism. Without getting involved in the difficulties of defining "Jew", "Judaism" and "Israel", it is important for Christians and Westerners to realize that a certain kind of "clean thinking" does not work here, although it would be convenient. I refer to the view - expressed also by some Jews - that Israel is a political and secular phenomenon, while Judaism is to be defined in spiritual terms as a religion or a tradition. At this juncture in history, at least, that is not so. The driving forces which made Palestine - rather than Uganda - the goal for Zionism<sup>20</sup> are reason enough for the intertwining of Jewish faith and the State of Israel. That force was rooted in the Scriptures and the tradition. Our evaluation of the present situation must take that into account. Whether we like it or not, when we speak and think about the State of Israel, we are speaking about a very substantial element of Judaism. Not only in terms of so many Jews, but also in terms of Jews who see the State of Israel as the fulfillment of God's promises. We began our reflections by pointing to the incompatibility of Judaism and Christianity. This is not only a "difficulty" in dialogue. It is also necessary to grant to Judaism its right to work out its own problems according to its own understanding of its Scripture and tradition. It is not for use to impose on Judaism our understanding of what are the "true insights of the best of the prophets". It is not for us to prescribe for Judaism that its religious aspirations should not be tied to a land or a city, "to a piece of real estate" as one Christian writer chose to express it. It is true indeed that Judaism has lived and flourished in the Diaspora for 2000 years, but it did so because somewhere in its soul was the hope for

the return. That hope became spiritualized at times, but never really so. Judaism as we know it today is related to the Land, the Eretz. Its rabbis and its believers may differ widely in their interpretations of this fact and its foundations,<sup>21</sup> but it is hardly our task as Christians to lecture the Jews on how they as Jews should read their Scriptures.

For this reason, I am inclined to think that some of the present discussion about the possibilities of an international Jerusalem overlooks one important point. The discussion often centers on the access to the sacred sites. For Christians and Muslims that term is an adequate expression of what matters. Here are sacred places, hallowed by the most holy events, here are the places for pilgrimage, the very focus of highest devotion. It would be cruel indeed if such places were not available to all the faithful.

But Judaism is different - although the Wailing Wall came to take on much of that same character, partly under the influence of the Christian example. The sites sacred to Judaism on the Israeli side have no shrines. Its religion is not tied to "sites", but to the Land, not to what happened in Jerusalem, but to Jerusalem itself.

I would not argue that this settles the matter in favor of Israeli rule in Jerusalem. But I would argue that we as Christians concerned about the right relation to Judaism must recognize the difference between the access to Christian and Muslim sites, and the Jewish attachment to the city. To overlook that is another form of a patronizing interpretatio christiana. To Christians, Jerusalem is a holy city by virtue of its shrines. For us it would be more than natural worship at them in a Jewish city; one could even say that such a situation would be preferable, since that is how it was when it all happened.

In the months and years to come, difficult political problems in the Middle East call for solutions. Christians both in the West and in the East will weigh the proposals differently. But all of us should watch out for the ways in which the ancient venom of Christian antisemitism might enter in. A military victorious and politically strong Israel cannot count on half as much good will as a threatened Jewish people in danger of its second holocaust. The situation bears watching. That does not mean that Israel is always right or that its political behavior and demands should always be supported by all who as Christians would like to be considered honorary Jews for Jesus Christ's sake.

Our stance, rather, presupposes our trust in Judaism's capacity to find its own way as it seeks viable structures for the relation between its faith and the political realities of the State of Israel, and of the global community of nations and men. The Christian West has learned far too slowly and reluctantly that a close interplay between religion and politics has dangers so insurmountable that our best choice must be an acceptance of pluralism and the secularization of political decisions. The progress in that direction has also paved the way for many of the improvements in Jewish-Christian relations in the West. For that reason, it is only natural that we hope for similar developments within the Jewish state. To most of us, such a development is the only one in which we can put our realistic hopes for peace and co-existence. When we as Christian theologians want to defend the freedom of Judaism to find its own answers, we cannot help hoping that such answers can be aided by the negative experience we - and they as a minority in Christian societies - have had, experiences which have taught us to fear rather than rejoice in religion as a political factor. In politics the theologian, Christian and Jewish, must recognize that he is an amateur, and his professional concern for the ways of God should not cover over that simple fact.

I have no doubt that Judaism has the spiritual capacity to find its own solutions to the problems at hand. The present political situation may well unleash a type of Christian attitude which identifies Judaism and Israel with materialism and lack of compassion, devoid of the Christian spirit of love. Even a superficial knowledge of Judaism in its own terms makes it abundantly clear that such is not its nature. And an even more superficial acquaintance with church history suffices to silence such a patronizing attitude. Our hope for Israel should rather be for political wisdom in accordance with the riches of the long and varied tradition of the Jewish faith, a faith rich in compassion, as it always remembers the words "...for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Ex.22:21).

As we look and work toward a new structure for our common trust in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob - and of Jesus of Nazareth, that trust includes our personal confidence in Judaism as a force for peace and justice.

## Notes

- 1 For the material see Samuel H. Miller and G. Ernest Wright, eds., 'Ecumenical Dialogue at Harvard: The Roman Catholic-Protestant Colloquium'. Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press (Harvard Univ. Press), 1964.
- 2 My perspective is limited, especially by the fact that our work was divided into three Seminars, and I took part in Seminar II, devoted to biblical and theological questions, subsumed under the title "Torah and Dogma".  
Seminar I dealt with the period of the 16th century Reformation, and especially with the question whether the Calvinistic emphasis on the Old Testament and Covenant leads to a difference in the Jewish-Christian question, as compared with the Lutheran and its pattern of Law-Gospel theology.  
Seminar III addressed itself to the social dimensions of the problem and focused on "Secularism: Threat and Promise".  
We hope to publish a selection of the papers in a forthcoming issue of 'Harvard Theological Studies'.
- 3 Hans Jonas' lecture - "Jewish and Christian Elements in Western Philosophical Tradition" - at the Colloquium argued impressively that the Christian contribution to Western philosophy was in matters relating to Creation, and thus "Jewish", while Christology and trinitarian speculation had fostered little of significance.
- 3a For the evidence of Jewish missionary activity in the period before the Crusades, see B. Blumenkraz, 'Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental', 430-1096 (Etudes juives 2; Paris 1960), 159-212.
- 4 New York, Philosophical Library, 1967.
- 5 Major deletions: 2:12-22; 5:15-18; 7:19-23, 32-36, 43-52; 8:37-59; 9:22-23, 27-29; 11:52-57; 12:10; 18:14, 19-24, 32, 35-36; 19:4-8, 15-16, 31-37.
- 6 In his 'The Jew and the Cross' (New York, Philosophical Library, 1965), Runes gives what seems to be the rationale for his "editing". There he speaks of the gospel accounts as "set down by the evangelists of the Bishop of Rome in the fourth century" (p.25), cf. "the scribes of the Bishop of Rome" (p.26). It so happens that the oldest papyrus to any New Testament book is a fragment to the Gospel of John which begin with the words "the Jews" in 18:31, where Runes pretends to bring us back beyond the anti-Jewish papal scribes of the fourth century by reading "the people". And the whole fragment contains 18:31-34, 37-38, i.e. exactly some of the verses deleted by Runes. But the papyrus fragment is from ca AD 125.  
On the other hand, 7:53-8:11, the moving story about the woman taken in adultery, is included in Runes' edition, although all significant manuscripts indicate that it was added by Christian scribes, perhaps just in the 4th century!
7. Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J., 'The Church and the Jewish People', New York, Harper and Row, 1966.
- 8 See, Bea, op.cit., p.152. On the Jewish question at the Council, see also G.H. Williams, 'Dimensions of Roman Catholic Ecumenism (IARF Papers on Religion in the Modern World 1; 1966), 30-34.
- 9 And it should be noted that Lutheran theologians, and historians unconsciously shaped by a Lutheran tradition, have played a disproportionately great role in contemporary New Testament studies. Names like Jeremias, Bultmann, Käsemann, etc. appear on the American scene as "highly critical scholars", but they are all Lutheran in background and commitment.
- 10 See my article on "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West", in which I try to show how this image of Judaism is not that of Paul's, but of the Western tradition from Augustine, via Luther, up to the present. 'Harvard Theological Review' 56 (1963), 199-215; reprinted in 'Ecumenical Dialogue at Harvard', pp.236-56. See now also D. Georgi, 'Der Kampf um die reine Lehre im Urchristentum als Auseinandersetzung um das rechte Verständnis der an Israel ergangenen Offenbarung Gottes', in Stoehr, ed., 'Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament. Munich, Kaiser Verlag, 1967.
- 11 It has been argued that many articles in the great 'Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament' (ed. G. Kittel et al.) contain antisemitic elements, especially some of those produced during the 30's and 40's. It is true that it even contains some seriously meant references to e.g. A. Rosenberg's 'Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts'. Such details can be easily corrected. More serious is the fact that, by and large, it labors under the above-mentioned model, according to which Judaism is an inferior and erroneous approach to God. - This question is the more significant once this indispensable tool for New Testament studies is in the process

- of publication in English translation, four volumes having been published so far ('Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Wm.B.Eermans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964). While the use of this impressive work is to be highly recommended, its readers are advised to keep the above-mentioned problem well in mind.
- For recent developments, see A.Roy Eckardt, The Jewish-Christian Dialogue: Recent Christian Efforts in Europe, 'Conservative Judaism' 19:3 (1965), 12-21, cf. also, in fuller form, 'Journal of Bible and Religion' 33 (1965), 149-55.
- 12 Paul's idea of collecting coals of fire on the enemies' heads (Rom.12:19) has its perfect parallel in the Qumran community. Its members are taught to practice secret hatred against their opponents, assured of their future punishment through God's righteous judgement. See K.Stendahl, Hate, Non-Retaliation and Love. IQS x.17-20 and Rom.12:19-21, 'Harvard Theological Review' 55 (1962), 343-55.
  - 13 Without these hermeneutical consequences, this question is well exemplified by Joseph A.Fitzmeyer, Anti Semitism and the Cry of "All the People" (Mt.27:25), Theological Studies 26 (1965), 667-71.
  - 14 At the Colloquium, John Dillenberger, in his paper on "Judaism and Protestantism: Some Historical Patterns of Understanding", stressed the significance of Ch.Y.Glock's and R.Stark's inquiry into 'Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (Harper and Row, 1965). This sociological study of contemporary Christian attitudes makes it abundantly clear that anti-semitism can hardly be considered unrelated to Christian belief.
  - 15 See now also E.Bammel, Christian Origin in Jewish Tradition, 'New Testament Studies' 13 (1966/67), 317-35. This article is rich in historical information, but one must question the way in which we finally are told, in the tone of Christian evangelism, that the Jews "had no appropriate scheme to cope with this phenomenon (the person of Christ)" (p.335).
  - 16 As was the case in our Colloquium, the views of Jewish thinkers differ greatly as to the possibilities of going beyond the status quo. Here are three able and representative presentations: S.Siegel, Jews and Christians: The Next Step, 'Conservative Judaism' 19:3 (1965), 1-11; J.J.Petuchowski, The Christian-Jewish Dialogue: A Jewish View, 'The Lutheran World' 10 (1963), 373-84; J.B. Soloveitchik, Confrontation, 'Tradition' 6:2 (1964), 5-29. Note the often recurring quote from Maimonides: "The thoughts of the Creator of the world cannot be comprehended by man, for His ways are not our ways, and His thoughts are not our thoughts. All the matters of Jesus the Nazarene and of Muhammed were done for the purposes of preparing the way for the Messiah and to perfect the world so that it will serve the Lord." (Mishne Torah, Hilkhoh Melakhim 11:4).
  - 17 In Rabbi Soloveitchik's article (see note 16), Judaism is seen as an a-historical, metaphysical entity. Thus our approach would find special difficulty in relation to such an understanding of Judaism - and its equivalents in Christian theology. The same difficulty loomed large in our Colloquium. But this could not be considered a distinction between Judaism and Christianity. It rather cuts across such lines, as it is rooted in different philosophical frameworks of religious thought.
  - 18 It is important to note that our observation here differs from the way in which the Declaration of Vatican II deals with Islam. There the relations between Judaism and Christianity are seen in the light of divine economy (Heilsgeschichte) and "common patrimony". But Islam is treated in terms of its doctrinal structure. See, Bea, op.cit., p.150.
  19. For a fair statement of Jewish reaction to Christian attitudes in this setting, see now S.Sandmel, 'We Jews and You Christians: An Inquiry into Attitudes (Philadelphia, J.B.Pippincott, 1967), 51-56.
  - 20 See J.Neusner, From Theology to Ideology: The Transmutation of Judaism in Modern Times, in K.H.Silvert, ed., 'Churches and States: The Religious Institutions and Modernization'. New York, American Universities Field Staff, 1967. Neusner's article is of special interest since it applies consciously to the study of Judaism the methodology urged by our colleague, Wilfred C.Smith, as stated in his 'The Meaning and End of Religion', and his paper "Traditional Religions and Modern Culture" at 'The XIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions' (1965).
  - 21 See R.J. Zwi Werblowski, Israël et Eretz Israël, 'Les Temps Modernes', nr. 253 (1967), 371-93.

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## THE ATTITUDE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE ISRAELI QUESTION

In May of this year all kinds of measures were taken by the Arabs, and especially by the Egyptians, in order to exasperate Israel. Progressively the situation in the Middle East grew more and more tense; the threats of genocide became clearer and clearer in the speeches of President Nasser and of Mr. Ahmed Shoukeiry, the Leader of the exiled Palestinians. All looked forward anxiously to the interventions that they hoped would come from international organizations or from personalities of world-wide prestige, which would influence the authors of those delirious diatribes to moderation. More particularly people eagerly waited for the Pope to raise his voice, he being one of the highest moral authorities in the world, apart from the views of confessional bodies on his place in the Church. Would not he, in name of Christianity and of a culture claiming to be inspired by it, declare as unacceptable the threats of extermination uttered against the members of a people that had been so cruelly struck in its very life barely twenty years before? The second Vatican Council had extolled resolutely the respect due to this people, for the reason of its unique function in God's design. (The fact that in its famous "Declaration" the Council only speaks of "the Jewish religion" does not make any difference, because everybody knows that this terminology, introducing incongruities into the text itself, after all, was adopted only for political reasons. Moreover it is not possible - and never has been - to dissociate the Jewish religion from the Jewish people, since this constitutes the frame for it).

Many expected an intervention from Rome and were disappointed by its silence. Before the conflict, which soon enough opposed Israel to its neighbors, the Vatican did not take any official position, and the Pope did not go further in the course of a public audience than to express his anxiety that "the Land of Jesus was, once more, in danger", as if the ravages of war could in the first place affect a land, a country, and not its inhabitants. It must surely be recognized, that people had to wait also for the other Christian communities to take up a position, and perhaps these in turn were not firm enough when doing so. For the Catholic Church however, the problem is not quite the same, because of the political role she plays along with her essentially spiritual mission, and which according to the official thesis, is to facilitate that mission.

The unrolling of the events in the Middle East is still too recent to make it necessary to repeat them here. During the five days of hostilities between Israel and her neighbours the Pope, in good company this time, called on the belligerents, inviting them to settle their controversy by negotiations and to put an end to blood-shed. From the moment of the cease-fire Vatican diplomacy abandoned its usual tactics of prudence and of waiting, and did all it could to plead for the internationalization of the City of Jerusalem and consequently of the principle Holy Places, in accordance with the U.N.-resolutions of 1948 and 1950, and the Pope himself pronounced for this repeatedly. What was the reason for this hurry?

For the sake of cohesive reasoning proceeding by stages, we ask why the Catholic Church should have to pronounce in a conflict such as this, where both Jews and Arabs were opposed on the Palestinian question. On the one hand the Catholic Church, as indeed all the Christian communities loyal in this to Christ's peace-message claimed by all the denominations, cannot remain indifferent when the peace of the world, wherever it may be, is in danger. For the sake of peace the Pope went to the Headquarters of the U.N.O. in New York a few years ago, and for the same reason he took position on the Vietnam conflict, and finally went to Fatima to pray - whatever interpretation may have been put on this action and how little pleasing it may have been in the eyes of our protestant brothers. In the case of Palestine a particular reason for his interventions arose from its special character of Holy Land and the safe guarding of what is usually called the "Holy Places".

As we said before, on the side of the Catholic Church things are still more complicated by the fact, that though it takes position in a domain of religious interest (or what is considered as such), nevertheless, as a consequence of the structure of its organisation, its interventions are made along the political channel, according to the statute of sovereign power given to it in 1929 by the Lateran Treaty. Of course we must not confuse the Catholic Church with the Vatican State, which is a temporal expression of it, but nevertheless we have to admit quite honestly, that the distinction between the two in the concrete, often requires a good deal of subtilty, and is sometimes impossible to be established. Thus precisely in this case the

Catholic Church intending to defend a religious interest, therefore has recourse to means which belong rather to the domain of international politics.

Apart from that aspect of "direct actuality", as we might call it, in the case analysed here, one cannot make abstraction of an entirely theological situation, the situation being such that the State of Israel IS A JEWISH STATE, whatever definition it may be given by itself or by others, and independently of the religious meaning attributed or refused to it by reason of certain prophecies of the Old Testament. It is therefore inseparable from the Jewish question in its entirety and also from the Christian attitude towards this problem. Though in the present case the theological question does not appear directly on the surface, it remains nevertheless the background of many attitudes manifested in the Church in this respect, and which in many cases without any doubt determines them.

As to those attitudes, they are well-known, thanks to the vicissitudes they raised during Vatican II, with respect to the famous "Declaration on the Jews". May we be allowed to recall here, that the main opposition against this document at the time came precisely from the Secretariat of State and its leaders, an organism in charge of Vatican policies. It then obtained not the total suppression of the document - which at a given moment was almost obtained thanks to pressures "from very high level" - but at least its publication clothed in so many precautions, that the finally adopted text appeared only in a very watered down shape. It cannot be denied that the attitude of the Secretariat of State was elicited partially by the so-called "inopportunities" of such a declaration, taking into account the risk it would have of repercussions on the Christians in the Arab countries. But it is also true that all the fears and dreads in this respect were promptly welcomed by this organisation, and more particularly by the Cardinal Secretary of State in charge, Mgr. Cicognani. Fundamentally, the "traditional" Christian position towards the Jews, for a certain category of Churchmen, whose leader on the Council was Mgr. Carli, Bishop of Segni, is undeniable the theological impossibility to get accustomed to the idea that the Jewish people, even in the Christian order, can still have a personality of its own and can exist apart. and that in our days this existence can manifest itself in realisations such as the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. The whole question would be to discover, in what measure this mentality has actually evolved in Vatican circles since the Council, or whether such a mentality still continues to determine, what position is to be taken in this matter, or on the contrary not to take up any position at all. It is surely not easy to answer these questions without falling into merely hypothetical and inevitably arbitrary conjectures. If in this context we mention attitudes which were adopted quite a time ago and which surely are entirely changed in our days, this is only to show the whole genesis of an evolution, and to stress how in spite of certain contrary appearances, that evolution has been rather quick, especially during the last twenty years.

When during the first world war the Zionist thesis of the creation of a national Jewish home in Palestine received a first official approbation by the famous declaration of Lord Balfour, Benedict XV, reigning at that time, stated that the realisation of this project "would take away from Christianity the place, which until now it has always occupied in the Holy Land". We mention the position taken here, because it was absolutely typical of a rather general state of mind in Roman circles until recently, a state of mind which still continues to make itself felt. At the heart of the preoccupation is "the place" of Christianity, in this case of Catholicism, in the Holy Land, that means the role exercised by the Catholics in the Holy Places, and everything connected with this on the practical level. Thus, every time that the Palestinian problem is raised afterwards, one will as a rule only hear about "rights", their safe guarding and their defense, typical reasoning of the juridical and triumphalistic mind that has often characterized the attitudes of the Catholic Church, until the spirit of the Council brought about an evolution of the attitudes.

Pius XI, the intransigent adversary of nazism, author of the encyclical letter "Mit brennender Sorge", and of the famous phrase: "Spiritually we all are Semites", but also the Pope of the Lateran Treaty, exacted that "the rights of the Catholic Church in Palestine be respected and safeguarded by the Jews and infidels and also by the members of the non-catholic confessions". This shows how at that time the problem could be raised only in terms of antagonism, even of rivalry: on one hand there is the Catholic Church, on the other "the Jews, the infidels and the other christian confessions", all these making a block of adversaries, whose only desire would be to encroach upon

the "rights" of the Catholic Church, and towards whom those rights would have to be stressed and defended by all means.

In the meantime World War II broke out, with the holocaust of six million Jews, victims of the Nazi neo-paganism. The attitude of the Catholic Church and its top-representatives in face of the scientifically organized genocide has been discussed bitterly and analysed in all its details during the last years, especially after the play "The Vicar" by the German playwright Hochhuth. So we shall not reopen this dossier. In 1947 the English mandatory power, in Palestine from the end of the first world war, resigned in the face of increasing difficulties, and the U.N.O. decided on the creation in Palestine of a bi-national state, consisting of an Arab part and a Jewish part. Between both a "corpus separatum": the territory of Jerusalem-Bethlehem, under an international administration, in order to guarantee to the maximum the safe guarding of the Holy Places and to ensure the free access of them to the believers of the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This plan was accepted on the Jewish side, but rejected with indignation by the Arabs, with the consequences we know, resulting in the proclamation of an independent Jewish State under the name of "Israel" in May 1948.

What was the attitude of the Catholic Church in face of these events? As to its representatives in the Holy Land, everybody knew that father Alberto Gori, custodian of the Holy Land in those days, had made violently hostile statements against the "Zionist" aspirations in the presence of the several inquiry-commissions that succeeded each other in the country in order to seek for a solution to the Palestinian problem. The same father Gori was appointed by Rome Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, being the successor of Mgr. Barlassina, who died in 1947. In his new capacity he never hid his hostility to all that had to do with Israel, and at the Council he was one of the principal adversaries of the "Declaration". In spite of his great age and precarious state of health, Mgr. Gori still continues to fulfil his duties. The fact that the Jewish State, the creation of which was at stake, was at the same time destined to receive those who escaped from one of the most terrible persecutions in history, seems not to have touched the consciences of certain prelates at the time.

That from the beginning the Vatican associated itself with the thesis for the internationalisation of the City of Jerusalem, is quite normal in itself, if we take into account the great symbolical value of the Holy City for the believers of the whole world. Also the fact that the Vatican has not recognized the State of Israel on the political level is normal, because Vatican diplomacy is not accustomed to pronounce on territorial questions, as long as a quarrel subsists over the question. But the frontiers of the State of Israel, as they were found till June of this year, were the result of a simple armistice and not of a peace-treaty between neighbours.

Under the pontificate of Pius XII two encyclical letters were published on the question of the internationalisation of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Belonging rather to the homiletic style, these documents do not mention the political motives which dictated this attitude to the Holy See. Those motives however were revealed to us by the Italian review "Civiltà Cattolica", edited by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Though this review has known a considerable "aggiornamento" in the course of the last years, it has nevertheless pretty well-known antecedents on its "assets": when during the last century several accusations of ritual murder were pronounced against the Jews, it took position for the defense of the "ritual crime", and afterwards as well it distinguished itself faithfully by its "anti-Dreyfus" attitude.

In January 1951 father Messineo analysed in that publication the "Palestinian affair" and the defeat of the U.N. resolution of December 9, 1949, which claimed once more the internationalisation of the Holy Places. With respect to this resolution the author says, that it is "in conformity with the desires of the catholic world", which foresees sufficient guarantees for the protection of the Holy Places. He reproaches more particularly the U.N.O. for having admitted Israel in its body without requiring the preliminary application of the statute of the internationalisation of the Holy City.

Not less does father Messineo criticize the Israeli report of 1950 in this matter, charging "the Zionist" with having searched for their own interests only, without caring for the rightful claims of the Christians. In the author's opinion it was absurd from the beginning, to expect that the U.N. could safeguard the Christian "rights" in the Holy Land. And he addressed

himself to the "Catholic nations", inviting them to form a "granit bloc" to avoid, that an unrighteous preference should be given either to the Protestants, who are not interested in the Holy Places, or to the Israelites. As to Israel he specifies, that at the end of two thousand years of absence it has returned to Palestine after the "disastrous Balfour declaration", while the Catholics, he said, with regard to the Holy Places have "the oldest and most venerable rights, conferred by bloodshed, the funds spent for their conservation and their religious attachment".

The spirit emanating from this analysis of the situation is very clearly the crusader spirit, and the epithet "disastrous" given to the declaration of Lord Balfour, who opened the doors of Palestine to the Jews, shows very well that the author was not at all shocked by the tragedy that had just happened to the Jewish people. It must be admitted, which is a consoling fact, that such an argument, made only sixteen years ago, nowadays would be unthinkable in a Catholic paper with the prestige of "Civiltà Cattolica". To find such, one has to open reviews such as the "Palestra del Clero", distinguished by the prose of Mgr. Carli. However, does the spirit emanating from it belong effectively and definitely to the past, be it even a recent past?

The picture of the Vatican attitude in the Palestinian affair, which one would like to paint in the most positive colours possible, is slightly clouded by the fact that since 1948 one seems to have felt quite at ease, that the Holy City of Jerusalem, as well as the principal Holy Places outside it, had passed under Jordanian, that means Moslem, rule, while one comes out as the ardent defender of the internationalisation again right at the moment, when the political situation is turned in favour of the Jewish State. The pilgrimage of Paul VI to the Holy Land three years ago was not the moment indeed to enter upon this delicate problem, and one can always argue that the actual positions are explained simply by the fact, that owing to the recent hostilities the whole question has in a way come to life again (which was not the cause until now). However, observing the different opinions expressed on the subject from the Catholic side recently, one has the painful impression that the very thing that is "inadmissible" (to take up a term used in this context by a very well-known French theologian) always, is precisely the fact, that the sovereignty over the Holy Places should be EXERCISED BY THE JEWS. On the other hand it is at least astonishing to see that, though the statements actually made from the Catholic side upon the question of the sanctuaries of the City of Jerusalem always stress their universal character and the veneration given to them by the three great religions, nevertheless the Catholic authorities never did protest, as far as we know, against the fact that since 1948 the Jews had no longer access to the Wailing Wall, in spite of the formal stipulations of the armistice agreement. Likewise it seems that one has nothing to say about the systematic profanation, by the Jordanians, of the venerable Jewish cemetery covering the sides of the Mount of Olives, nor about the destruction of all the ancient synagogues in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem.

In course of the recent events there were voices on the catholic side even, wondering that the Holy See, in its interventions concerning the Palestinian problem, insists exclusively on the eternal and tiresome question of the "Holy Places". We will not raise the question here as to what, according to good theology, such a "Holy Place" can bring to faith. That the Land of Israel is holy because it belongs to God (Lev.25,23) forms part of the biblical data. Likewise this holiness is undeniable enhanced by the incarnation of the Son of God in this country and by his choice of it as the scene of his earthly activity. All this confers on the country a venerable character for every Christian for all time. As a set-off however, the most important shrines, constructed on the main sites commemorating the phases of Jesus' earthly life, have been in the course of centuries so thoroughly marked by the quarrels between the different Christian confessions disputing bitterly every inch of ground, that they have become rather the living picture of the contentions and the disunion among Christ's disciples. Nobody will deny that these sanctuaries, when kept in a worthy and decent state, and not, as is often the case, filled up with a heap of "religious" objects in the worst possible taste, may inspire sentiments of piety to certain persons. But truly the word of Jesus, transmitted by the apostle John, is always valuable for the Catholic as well as for all other Christians (Jn.4,21): "The time is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain (the Gerizim), nor in Jerusalem". Theologically speaking and in the Catholic vision, a "holy place" is at every site, where God's Word is announced and where the Eucharist is celebrated. Therefore, in a period where on the one

mankind passes through such a spiritual crisis, that the religious sense is loosing ground everywhere and the Church has to face great problems of evangelisation, and where on the other hand, in Catholicism one is determined to effect a return to the sources and purify religion of quite a mass of secondary elements, which have progressively tarnished its face often to the point of making it unrecognizable, one wonders seriously, whether the tenacious efforts to "defend a few old stones" - as has been said in an article on the subject - are not out of all proportion. This is the more true, as in reality nobody intends to oppose the right of the Church to those stones. It is really time that after nearly two thousand years of Christian preaching, on the religious level we break loose from the "stone age". In this sense one can be sincerely happy with the clear and biblical attitudes of our protestant brothers in this matter, especially in a series of articles in the newspaper "Réforme".

We saw that at the very moment when a very grave threat fell on the young State of Israel, Christian voices, particularly the Catholic ones, in favour of its survival, were somewhat few and hesitating, because when Israel is on the carpet, one is always very afraid to get mixed up in a "political affair". The forthcoming evolution of the catholic position towards the Israeli problem in the future will be determined by the political evolution in the Middle East, and in times to come by the gradual progress made in a better understanding of the Whole Jewish problem.

Vatican politics are realistic enough not to follow chimeras, and in the end will somehow adapt themselves to the de facto situation. After all it is known that negotiations are already going on between the Vatican and the Israeli government, trying to settle at least provisionally the question of the Holy Places, for the moment without touching on the problems of principle such as the internationalisation of Jerusalem. Indeed, a sudden change took place in the ranks of the Secretariat of State a few months ago, giving hope that the "anti-Zionist tradition", which until now gave the tone to that organisation, would be reversed little by little. But as we just said, far more important is the evolution of the theological thought, which for the same reason as it has been of great negative weight in the attitude of the Catholic Church towards Israel in the past, in times to come may well influence that attitude positively. But a long and patient work will still be required, for a few years are not enough to leap over a wall raised by centuries of ignorance and misunderstanding. And this work even goes far beyond the Catholic Church and must be accomplished by all Christians, without any distinction. In this perspective one can wish that, beyond any political question, disputes over "rights", and anxiety about the "Holy Places" as prevailing actually, Jerusalem will become one day, according to the wish expressed by Pope Paul VI during the Secret Consistory of June 26 of this year, "the City of God, the free oasis of peace and prayer, a place of meeting, elevation and good understanding for all".

This article is a translation of the article written by K. HRUBY from Paris in 'L'ami d'Israel' 1967, no. 5

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OTHER COMMENTS

A. From the Middle East

Interfaith and the War.....by Geoffrey Wigodor, in: The Jerusalem Post.

B. From outside the Middle East:

I. Jewish Comments:

1. Christians' Silence in Mideast Crisis Deplored by Rabbi ...John Dart  
in: Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1967.
2. Rabbis Score Christians For Silence on Mideast....by Irving Spiegel  
in: The New York Times, June 23, 1967
3. An Open Letter to Rabbis Brickner and Levowitz....by Alfred Russel.  
Date: June 30, 1967.
4. Words Fitly Spoken.....in: The Christian Century, October 11, 1967
5. Did Christians Fail Israel?....by Richard L. Rubinstein  
in: Commonweal, 1 December 1967.
6. Christian Reactions to the Middle East Crisis....by J.H. Banki.

II. Christian Comments:

1. Israel's New Burden.....in: The Christian Century, June 21 1967
2. Middle East in Crisis...by William Pfaff  
in: Commonweal, 23 June 1967.
3. War Sweeps the Bible Lands....in: Christianity Today, June 23, 1967.
4. David and Goliath....by Reinhold Niebuhr  
in: Christianity and Crisis, June 26, 1967.
5. Further Thoughts on the Middle East....by John C. Bennett  
in: Christianity and Crisis, June 26, 1967
6. What is the Christian Stake in a Jewish Dream?.....by Willard G. Oxtoby  
in: Presbyterian Life, July 1, 1967.
7. Le conflit du Proche-Orient.....by Claude Duvernoy  
in: La Vie protestante, 7 juillet 1967.
8. Moral Issues in the Middle East.....by O. Walter Wagner  
in: St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 11, 1967
9. Israel and the Christian Dilemma....in: The Christian Century, July 12,
10. Israel Annexes Old Jerusalem...in: The Christian Century, 12 July 1967.
11. A Tangled Tragedy....in: United Church Herald, August 1967.
12. Israel's Finest Future....by Cecil Northcott  
in: The Christian Century, August 23, 1967.
13. Zum Nah-Ost-Konflikt des Sommers 1967.....by Helmut Gollwitzer  
in: Stimme, 1. Oktober 1967.
14. Homeless Over Jordan.....by A.C. Forrest  
in: United Church Herald, October 1967.

15. Choisir la solidarité avec tous.....by Robert Martin-Achard  
in: La Vie Protestante, 24 novembre 1967
16. Der Nahost-Krieg und die christlich-jüdischen Beziehungen....  
in: Herder Korrespondenz, Januar 1968
17. Israel: War and Peace, an analysis of press reports I and II  
by Joan Lawrence.
18. Arabs and Jews in the Middle East: a Tragedy of Errors,  
by James Parks, London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1967.



SOME REFLECTIONS ON REACTIONS TO THE 1967 MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

by Christian Members of the Jerusalem Rainbow Group

The following reflections are based on a collection of material in English, French and German, of documents and commentary on the 1967 Middle East crisis prepared by the Jerusalem Rainbow Group. The collection which extends to some 140 pages does not claim to be exhaustive but is we hope at least representative of the main type of pronouncement and commentary that followed upon the 1967 Middle East Crisis.

The issues raised and views put forward are legion. Relatively little was said during the crisis preceding the war as compared to the flood of words unleashed by the actual outbreak of hostilities and the resulting change in the Middle East map, after the ceasefire agreements.

It is not our purpose to summarize the manyfold issues or even to offer a graph of such concerns and views which predominate. In general, and it must be agreed somewhat arbitrarily, we have attempted to set aside the more specifically and predominantly political issues. However, by designating such issues as e.g. the freedom of navigation through the Straits of Tiran, the Gulf of Akaba and the Suez Canal, as specifically and predominantly political we do not mean to assert that such matters fall outside the scope of moral judgement and that as any other historical events or evaluations are beyond the scope of moral theology. Again selecting rather haphazardly we might point out that the Letter Addressed to the General Secretary of the WCC by heads of WCC related Churches in Syria and Lebanon (pp.3-5) in its insistence on the 'elimination of Israel as a State' in fact lags behind the more positive Arab political thinking of the moment which according to press reports would now be prepared to accept the terms of the 1947 UN Partition Plan with some minor border adjustments. Further again, we might note in passing that the only collective Christian statement from Israel that of the U.C.C.I. is for all its restraint sufficiently clear. In one sentence it makes up the fundamental issue which is at once political and theological: 'We affirm that all states, nations or peoples of this area have an equal right to peaceful existence' (p.2). We would judge this statement to be political in that it accepts the right of all states in the Middle East (as it happens all memberstates of UNO) and that it makes an implicit theological appraisal of the right of Israel as a state to be and to continue to be.

The purpose of our present comment is to seek to discover the underlying issues arising out of statement and commentary and to appraise these theologically. It is not our aim simply to restate or to reassert the Israeli position but as Christians committed to a ministry of reconciliation to seek if there are any approaches that might lead towards mutual understanding and respect, and out of the present political impasse and recrimination.

By way of what we hope may be a constructive contribution in the above-mentioned direction we offer four specific considerations:

1. We cannot ignore the sense of Jewish disillusionment particularly evident in statements issuing from the United States concerning the alleged "Christian silence".

However, it appears from the available material that this Christian silence was far from complete and that the charge requires careful qualification. There was no doubt a near-silence on the part of official church bodies and particularly the various hierarchies at the critical period preceding the outbreak of hostilities. As a Catholic writer pointed out: "Many expected an intervention from Rome and were disappointed by its silence. Before the conflict...the Vatican did not take any official position and the Pope did not go further in the course of a public audience than to express his anxiety that 'the land of Jesus was once more in danger'.... From the moment of the ceasefire Vatican diplomacy abandoned

<sup>1</sup> All quotations refer to the Collation of Documents and Comments of the 1967 Middle East Crisis prepared by the Jerusalem Rainbow Group and is available on request (price \$2 including postage) from The Jerusalem Rainbow Group Secretary; P.O.B. 191, Jerusalem, Israel.

its usual tactics of prudence and of waiting, and did all it could to plead for the internationalisation of the City of Jerusalem and consequently the principal Holy Places" (p.132).

A similar trend is also evident in the attitude of the other churches.

It appears that Christendom was inclined to silence when Israel was at her moment of need but recovered its voice when Christian interests in the Holy Land seemed to be in jeopardy. Nevertheless there were significant Christian utterances such as e.g. 'Clergymen Endorse Position of Israel' dated May 31 1967 (p.10) and the aforementioned statement of the U.C.C.I. issued on 1 June 1967.

Further we need to inquire as to the underlying causes of this near-silence of Christian officialdom preceding the outbreak of hostilities. The following points may partly help to account for the near-silence of the Christian world and the consequent Jewish disillusionment.

a) There was obviously a failure on the part of the Christian churches in Israel to communicate to the outside world the very grave Jewish anxiety at the threat of genocide. It must however be added in all fairness that Christian opinion from Israel was rarely sought by official World Church organizations and was even less listened to when given.

b) It is not, however, wholly a matter of Christian deafness to Jewish feeling and opinion. In Israel itself there had been a very marked though historically understandable Jewish reticence to any kind of Jewish-Christian encounter in which the voice of Jewry could truly be heard and subsequently transmitted. The statement of the Anglican Synod of the Diocese of Toronto on June 8 1967 speaks directly to this issue: 'Whereas lack of communication between Christians and Jews and the resulting ignorance and suspicion of each other has been a barrier to Christian obedience to the law of love; it is Resolved that this Synod (in view of the experience of its programme of Christian-Jewish dialogue) memorialise General Synod to call upon the Church to seek genuine dialogue with appropriate representative bodies of the Jewish faith (p.14).

c) Moreover considerable pressure on Christian World organisations was exerted by Arab Christians who claimed that, unlike Christians in the West, they were not involved in anti-semitism and the Holocaust and hence denied a special Christian responsibility towards the State of Israel.

2. We would draw attention the great harm that has resulted from the use of extreme concepts and loaded terminology at a time when there was a special need for the exercise of restraint and the employment of verifiable and substantiated facts only. So e.g. it seems to us misleading to use such highly emotional language as: 'Israel the last great bastion of democracy in the Middle East, has been forced to apply all its available national funds for the defence of freedom against Communist-inflamed aggression' (p.41). Whilst it is true that Israel is the most stable democracy in the Middle East and that Russia and her allies did back the Arab states yet the main cause of combat is the Arab-Israel conflict itself.

As a matter of fact pro-Arab propoganda employs this particular tactic much more than certain well-wishers of Israel. Since the Six Day War many Arab propogandists are claiming that the Arab threat to annihilate Israel and other similar threats must be interpreted by giving due allowance to the known Arab predilection for the use of hyperbole (See para.8 p.4).

An example of the use of extreme language and the misleading presentation of facts can be found in a memorandum entitled The Agony of Jerusalem (p.73ff.). Moreover many of the facts alleged in this publication are demonstrably false. Certainly it is true that the Arab population of East Jerusalem have difficulties. How could it be otherwise in a period of adjustment after 20 years of total separation, enmity and a cruel war? But it is not true that the atmosphere is that of an occupied city and 'as taut as a piano wire'. Indeed, the normalisation of life in Jerusalem is an encouraging experience for all of us who live there.

As to the inaccuracy in facts instanced in the above-mentioned document two examples may suffice. The assertion that the banks were closed by Israel is the exact opposite of the truth since the banks were initially closed by the Jordan authorities at the outbreak of the war and as a matter of fact the Israeli authorities have time and again sought ways and means of reopening them. The accusation that Israel was curtailing trade between the West Bank and Jordan is contradicted by one of the most astonishing

facts in the present situation, often commented upon, namely that an almost normal amount of trade is being encouraged and maintained between the West Bank of Jordan. Such traffic is one of the hopeful signs that Israel is determined to keep the lines of communication open between the West Bank and Jordan.

3. It is a truism to say that in any conflict there are bound to be rights and wrongs on both sides. Admitting the rights of the other side is not a sign of weakness but a first and necessary step towards objectivity leading out of the present impasse. Thus there is no doubt that the Palestinian Arabs have come out very badly in the whole Arab-Israel conflict. The situation would of course have been very different for them if the 1947 partition had been accepted by the Arab States. Be that as it may, we feel that Israel should have shown more concern for bringing about a solution of the Refugee Problem and made her intentions known preferably with some gestures that would have confirmed the sincerity of her intentions.

Failure to see the rights of the other side inevitably leads to further misunderstanding and to a hardening of attitudes which cannot but delay approaches towards a negotiated peace settlement.

4. The demand of taking up seriously the position of the opposing side is incumbent on both parties. In terms of the Arab-Israel conflict this means primarily that the right of Israel's existence has to be squarely faced. Whether or not this crucial issue is to be considered by Christians as a major theological concern it cannot be gainsaid that much Christian thinking on the subject derives from spurious theological presuppositions. As a Catholic writer has stated rather poignantly, 'Fundamentally, the traditional Christian position towards the Jews for a certain category of churchmen, whose leader on the Council was Mgr. Carli, Bishop of Segni, is undeniably the theological impossibility to get accustomed to the idea that even in the Christian order, the Jewish people can still have a personality of its own and can exist apart; and that in our days this existence can manifest itself in realisations such as the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine' (p.133). Hence the need to subject to a critical examination the legitimacy of the application of anti-Judaic views to the present day situation. Among these anti-Judaistic views are such concepts as the decadence and displacement of the Jewish People and the theological necessity for the dispersion of the Jewish People.

We are astonished at the self-assurance and the lack of a sense of mystery displayed by writers who do not hesitate to determine the ways of God in the history of salvation such as e.g. dismissing out of hand the possibility of God's continued work in the history of the Jewish People. Unless he chooses to ignore Romans 9-11 a Christian theologian cannot reject the legitimacy of the continued existence of the Jews as a people having a function in the unfolding of God's economy of salvation. There is a continuous thread in Christian theology and apologetics linking the loss of sovereignty and the dispersion of the Jewish People among the Gentiles with the design of God. But if such theological evaluation of historic effects is legitimate, then there is no a priori reason to deny a theological significance for the return of the Jews to the Land and the achievement of sovereignty. We are not here asserting that Christians should accept all that some Jewish writers and thinkers claim regarding the Jewish reality conceived as a bond of Land, People and Religion. Christians should however be on their guard not to dismiss out of hand this aspect of Jewish self-understanding.

At this juncture it may be useful to elucidate some of the issues involved in this Jewish self-understanding.

Whereas Christians often take it for granted that the Jewish People left their land and only returned with the rise of the modern Zionist movement in the 19th century, actual Jewish history is characterized by an unbroken continuity, physical and spiritual, in the relationship of the People and the Land. Even the most cursory study of Jewish history is sufficient to show that the association of the Jews with their Holy Land

is not a matter of the UNO resolution of 1947 or the Balfour Declaration of 1917 or the first Zionist Congress of 1897 but goes back in an unbroken chain to the first millennium BC. In fact on more than one occasion the proportionately small Jewish population in the Holy Land has initiated movements of spiritual renewal which profoundly affected the life of the much larger Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

In view of the historical association and unbroken continuity of both living in and longing for the land, the question should perhaps be asked whether the rise and establishment of the modern State of Israel cannot be compared to the same ethnic urge towards sovereign independence which is exhibited in the movement of other indigenous peoples towards sovereignty in a land continuously linked with their ethnicity.

A further historical association that requires special attention is the peculiar bond uniting the Jewish People and the Land of Israel to the capital City of Jerusalem. Jerusalem for the Jews is at once the heart of both the Land and People as well as the symbol of their total physical and spiritual existence.

We are firmly convinced that it is possible to maintain all that we have said so far concerning the link of the Jewish People with its Land and at the same time to assert the right of the Arab Palestinians to a form of sovereign existence. For the same reasons we would be opposed to any type of enforced exodus of Arabs from the territories now forming Israel or under Israeli control.

Finally it seems necessary to add that we believe that one of the greatest disservices that Christians have rendered to the Arab Peoples and States in the last twenty years is in not having helped them to face the comprehensive Jewish reality, particularly the Jewish link with the Land. This concerns the inevitability of the continued existence of Jews in the land in terms of the contemporary State of Israel. By playing down this fact Christians have involuntarily encouraged the persistence of belligerency and prevented the opening of talks leading to a negotiated settlement. As Christians are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibilities for promoting peace and justice in the international community it is likewise their duty to explore every possible means for achieving the same objective in the Middle East.

JERUSALEM, Israel.

23 April 1968.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Foreign Affairs Department

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Reactions in Western Europe and Latin America

to the

Situation in the Middle East

A Survey

May - June 1967

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Foreign Affairs Department

### Reaction in Western Europe to the Situation in the Middle East

Reports from the American Jewish Committee's European office and other sources, through mid-June, indicate that in the period preceding the outbreak of the Arab-Israel war on June 5, public opinion in nearly every West European country was overwhelmingly in favor of Israel. A slight shift in attitudes was discernible thereafter.

Throughout the Continent, Jews and non-Jews responded to the Egyptian blockade of Israel's port of Eilat and the great massing of Arab troops with large pro-Israel public demonstrations. European Jews, many formerly remote from local Jewish life, overwhelmingly identified themselves with community efforts on behalf of Israel and responded to the crisis with a unified and spontaneous outpouring of resources and manpower.

In contrast to general public sentiment, most West European governments took a cautious and measured approach. The unfavorable reaction of the Catholic Church to Israel's capture of the Old City of Jerusalem and the holy places, previously controlled by Jordanian Moslems, posed a potential threat to the general improvement in Christian-Jewish relations.

#### Jewish Community Activity

That European Jews would rally around Israel was to be expected-- but no one could have foreseen the magnitude and intensity of their response. Jewish organizations banded together and drew upon the full range of their resources. They set out to rally public opinion and government support and, in the process, as one European Jewish leader expressed it, "found ourselves doing things we had never known or dreamt we could do before."

In a relatively brief period, huge sums were raised both for Israel and local Jewish needs. The Jewish Solidarity Fund for Israel in France passed the \$2 million mark in three days, and French Jewish communities pledged themselves to raise \$10 million

by July 1st. Fund-raising on a similarly large scale took place in other countries. Some £10 million were gathered in Great Britain and 600 million lire in Italy. The Swedish community set a goal of 3 million crowns and opened a 1 million crowns credit for Israel. In Great Britain, where -- as elsewhere -- non-Jews joined the outpouring of contributions, a unique feature was a special drive to aid war-damaged kibbutzim. In Belgium a Fund for Solidarity with Israel was created early in June and pledged to send \$5 million during the first week of its activities. The small Jewish communities in Germany, numbering about 25 thousand and including many old people living on pensions, pledged another \$5 million for Israel's emergency needs. Every Jew in the German Federal Republic was asked to contribute.

Great numbers of Jews volunteered their services in non-military capacities, struggling to get on the first plane out of London and Paris, or the first ship from Greece, before a halt to volunteers (later lifted) was announced by Israel. In the pre-hostilities period, a group of Belgian volunteers went to Israel at their own expense, as did many others from European countries. In Holland, hundreds of volunteers, mostly Jews, came to the Israel Embassy at The Hague to offer their services and, shortly after the war was over, several groups of young people took off, mainly to work on kibbutzim. Over 1 thousand British volunteers went to Israel for work in agriculture, reconstruction and road building. They were the vanguard of more than 4 thousand volunteers who were reported ready to go for periods of from four months to a year.

In France, a Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations was created in a matter of days, headed by Guy de Rothschild and including every national and provincial organization except the Communist ones. Its self-assigned tasks: to raise funds, to create a corps of France volunteers to replace Israelis called to the front, to organize public opinion and coordinate public efforts on Israel's behalf. Virtually every prominent Jew in France participated in these and other efforts. Even unhappy eventualities were taken into consideration -- as, for example, when persons experienced in the youth aliyah program prepared for the possibility that housing for refugee children from Israel might have to be provided in France. Community pressures also forced the Jewish Communists to hold a public meeting, advertised as being in support of Israel. Their newspaper, Naie Presse, produced contorted dialectical assertions of friendship for Israel, even as it sought to justify the basic pro-Arab Communist position.

The Belgian Jewish communities in Liege, Brussels and Antwerp collected blood, with the help of the local Red Cross and volunteer doctors and nurses. The nation-wide Committee for Action in Israel gathered funds for ambulances and shipped large quantities of medicines.

In the smaller countries, too, such as Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden, committees were organized to mobilize Jewish and non-Jewish support, to help raise funds, to marshal material resources such as medicines, and to provide channels for Jewish and non-Jewish volunteers.

In Holland one of the largest public meetings ever held in Amsterdam was attended by 10 thousand Jews and non-Jews under the auspices of the three Jewish religious communities -- the Ashkenazi, the Sephardi, and the Liberal -- and the Zionist Federation. The major political parties sent messages pledging solidarity with Israel. On June 5, thousands of young people in Amsterdam conducted a sympathy march, and a nation-wide fund-raising campaign was launched, organized by the United Israel Appeal and headed by an interfaith committee of prominent Dutch citizens.

In Great Britain, with a Jewish community rivalling France in size, several major rallies were organized. On June 5, the gigantic Royal Albert Hall in London was filled to overflowing to express solidarity. Proceeds from special sales in stores, or trade stamp exchanges, were added to generous individual contributions to a nation-wide Emergency Fund for Israel. Even the Jewish Worker's Circle, many of whose members have been described as "openly anti-Zionist and pro-Communist", made a special allocation.

Many young Jews formerly uninterested or alienated from the Jewish community and its institutions, now openly identified themselves with Israel's struggle for survival through the Jewish communal structure. A notable example was the well-known British author, Wolf Mankowitz, who publicly stated that the Middle East crisis had resolved his own conflicts and devoted himself to a campaign to gather financial and moral support for Israel from all sectors of British society.

The crisis, and the reactions it produced in the Jewish community, may have long-term consequences in European Jewish life.

First, there has never been such a massive Jewish response. Earlier it had been estimated that some 60% of European Jewry had no contact with Jewish life. In the last few weeks, however, nearly all Jews gave positive support to the efforts of Jewish organizations. This Jewish presence was publicly felt, and without any questions of "double loyalty." In the future this commitment may not always manifest itself, but it is clear that it can be aroused and that Jewish groups and institutions can set aside their differences and coordinate their activities. Some observers believe that more unified community structures may now develop, especially in Great Britain and France.

Finally, it became evident that a threat to Israel's existence touches the primal cord of Jewish response. Almost two decades after Israel's creation, the feeling had been growing that the State had become just another factor in Jewish life. The crisis demonstrated that the scope of pro-Israel feeling, especially among the young, is much more profound than anyone realized, though it may not always be articulated. This surely will make for some reorientation in the direction and emphasis of European Jewish life.

#### Public Reactions

General popular opinion was overwhelmingly, but not entirely pro-Israel.

Leaders of virtually every non-Communist party announced support of and signed petitions for Israel. Policy questions were raised in parliaments or public forums, often differing with government positions. For example, the Italian Vice-Premier, Pietro Nenni, announced his pro-Israel views while campaigning in Sicily. Leading Gaullists in France openly disagreed with General deGaulle's policy -- an unusual development. Veteran Laborite Emmanuel Shinwell, among others, scored the position of the British Labor government and party, where he has long been the symbol of party discipline. Many Liberal and some Conservative M.P.'s took similar positions. Sweden's Premier Tag Erlander unofficially issued a statement considered sufficiently pro-Israel as to rouse the ire of Arab governments.

Whatever the personal reactions of individual statesmen or the man in the street, governments generally remained neutral. In the pre-war weeks, some carefully-worded government statements were made in support of Israel's theoretical right to navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, with no indications that any nation

was prepared to take action. After June 5, neutrality marked the official position of most governments. The French attitude hurt Israel most. Paris had been considered a staunch defender of Israel and had sold her sizable amounts of weapons, especially airplanes.

Jewish leadership in France sought to advance Israel's case with government officials. At the end of May, petitions were circulated among members of parliament urging a parliamentary debate and a condemnation of "the menace of genocide against the Jewish people by those responsible for the Middle East crisis." One deputy, Jean-Claude Servan-Schreiber, a Jew, organized a French Rally for Israel which received widespread non-Jewish support. The Rally, with endorsement from other parliamentary deputies, urged France to rush to Israel's defense, but the pro-Israel efforts were, not unexpectedly, futile. Obviously, deGaulle's new stance was based on his desire to become the arbitrator in the conflict and to protect France's steadily improving relations with Arab countries.

Economic interests also prevent direct involvement by some governments. Great Britain remained aloof in an effort to protect its oil, shipping and sterling interests. But this proved of little value, for the Arab states branded Britain a "collaborator" with Israel and the United States, anyway. Italy worried about its nationals in Arab countries and its own economic ties in the Middle East, including oil and trade investments. West Germany has been engaged in a program of industrial cooperation with many Arab states which it hoped to expand, despite the absence of formal diplomatic relations with most Arab countries. Other governments, such as those of Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, were essentially pro-Israel, but remained neutral in the belief that this would do the least harm, even to Israel, in the present circumstances. The Dutch took what was probably the most pro-Israel official stand, with Premier de Jong clearly putting the blame for the Middle East war on Nasser.

Certain states were definitely pro-Arab, if not anti-Israel. Spain, for example, immediately reaffirmed its traditional friendship with the Arab nations. There was even talk of forming a group of Spanish volunteers to help the Arabs. Yugoslavia, which has cooperated closely with the United Arab Republic and India in the past in an effort to rally "third world" forces, openly sided with the Arabs. The Greek military junta asserted that it was maintaining strict neutrality in accordance with rules of international law, while its heavily censored press

minimized reports of Israeli military successes and, in the beginning, featured announcements of vigorous Arab fighting.

Communists everywhere generally followed the Moscow line of aggressive hostility to Israel but in Western Europe they were isolated in the general wave of pro-Israel sentiment. But many Communists, it is also known, dissented from the party line on this issue.

Of special interest to the world Jewish community was the strongly pro-Israel popular reaction in West Germany. Among the German appeals for solidarity with Israel was one addressed to youth in East and West Germany by Evangelical Church and civic leaders.

Thousands of letters of support were received at the offices of the Israel Embassy. In the first few days nearly 2 thousand non-Jews volunteered to serve in Israeli civilian forces.

The German-Israel Society issued an appeal formulated by the Bundestag deputy, Dr. Adolf Arndt, and supported by leading politicians, economists, journalists, and private groups, which called upon "schoolchildren, apprentices and students in particular" to support a moral and financial campaign for Israel.

In every major German city, private individuals and groups were caught up in the pro-Israel momentum. Student groups in Hamburg staged a silent march urging peace and justice for Israel, while long lines of blood donors were formed. The district of Berlin-Charlottenburg sent a check for 100 thousand marks (\$25 thousand) to the "Aid for Israel" campaign. Trade union associations and banks purchased Israel bonds. Leading personalities, including Günter Grass -- who seemed to appear virtually everywhere -- addressed large rallies in Hamburg, Dusseldorf, Berlin and other places. Appeals urged volunteers to help reconstruct Israel or, if the need should arise, to take Israeli children into German homes.

Before the outbreak of hostilities, opinion polls in Great Britain and France reflected 59% and 58% of the populace supporting Israel while 4% and 2% considered themselves pro-Arab. Over 25% held a neutral position and 7% expressed no opinion.

By the end of hostilities, however, popular and press opinion in some places showed significant signs of change. A great part of the initial popular pro-Israel sentiment was aroused by the memory of the survivors of death camps. But it was hard to

retain this image when pictures were published of tough Israeli paratroopers standing guard over hundreds of Arabs. Initially, the press and the public were moved by the concept of little Israel surrounded on all sides by hostile Arab armies ready to destroy the country. By June 8, to read some editorial reactions, it seemed that a gigantic military power had arisen in the Middle East -- and the concept of "Jewish power." "Jewish power" (not the notion of "world conspiracy" so dear to professional anti-Semites) seemed alarming. The press reportedly exhorted Israel not to count on its own force alone, and to make face-saving concessions to the Arabs in its own interest.

The idea that Israel might absorb new territory and the firm tone of certain Israeli statements, produced some negative reactions. So did the apparent initial reluctance to permit Red Cross observers into the Sinai, where thousands of Egyptians were reported to be without water. Stories of new refugees flocking across the Jordan to escape Israeli rule added to the shift in attitudes. In the balance were glowing accounts of admiration for the style of the Israeli victory and relief that a major war had apparently been avoided. But public and press reaction was no longer one of an overwhelming endorsement for Israel.

The great bulk of popular opposition came from Communist parties which, especially after the Arab defeat, pounded away at the themes enunciated by Arab, Communist bloc, and pro-Soviet or pro-Peking members of the United Nations. Experts felt that the hastily improvised machinery, created to present the Israeli viewpoint, would have to operate as regularly and effectively as the Communists -- especially in France and Italy -- to counteract serious impact by the pro-Soviet, pro-Arab propagandists.

Various right-wing forces leaped to Israel's support, their anti-Arab racism and their anti-Communism taking precedence over their anti-Semitism. However, the neo-Nazi West German National Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung vigorously backed Nasser, and placed all the blame on Israel.

#### Opposition from the Church

It is clear that a Vatican campaign with regard to the holy places was launched even before the end of fighting, and was quickly reflected in Spain, Italy, and France. It reportedly influenced Foreign Minister Fanfani and others in the Italian government to be increasingly pro-Arab, though officially neutral. The Italian

and Spanish governments immediately expressed their concern with regard to protection of the holy places. Stories appeared in the Italian press which made it clear that the Vatican would work for the full internationalization of Jerusalem along lines similar to various UN General Assembly resolutions adopted between 1947 and 1949. Another Vatican proposal suggested an interfaith commission to govern the city, with a Church representative as chairman. Articles in the French press, a Franciscan spokesman on French radio, the permanent observer at the UN, and the Papal Nuncio in Great Britain -- all have actively pushed the Vatican view. Pere Conger, a French priest generally regarded as "liberal," became extremely critical of Israel, asserting that the position of Christian minorities in Israel was such that young Christians felt they had to leave the country. (He did not mention that these were Arab Christians.) It is already evident that any proposition to merely internationalize the holy places in or near Jerusalem, and not the city, will not be considered acceptable by the Vatican. Protestant groups appear more inclined to differentiate between the issues.

Given the stated Israel position on Jerusalem, it is evident that a struggle is in prospect. As an emotion-laden issue, the status of Jerusalem will certainly put strains on the slightly-improved Christian-Jewish relations which have developed since Vatican Council II in 1965.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Foreign Affairs Department

CONFIDENTIAL

Reactions in Latin America to the Situation in the Middle East

Reports from AJC representatives in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Mexico preceding, during and after the Arab-Israel war up to June 15 portray generally favorable reactions toward Israel in the media of communication and among many opinion molders. Government leaders were circumspect, expressing their desire for peace and harmony in the region. The Jewish communities, traditionally strongly Israel-oriented, responded swiftly and efficiently in a number of ways. AJC offices and representatives were involved in many of the activities which were initiated in the early days of the crisis.

Following is a summary of reports received thus far:

The press in all four countries provided broad coverage in the critical pre-war years, throughout the war and thereafter, with some major newspapers publishing special supplements and editorials on the background of the conflict. In the main, these reflected support for Israel as a small nation fighting for survival against great odds, and, in several cases, condemnation of Nasser. Communist and strongly leftist newspapers indicated pro-Arab sympathies, as well as support for the "Arab line" distinguishing between Judaism and Zionism. Television stations produced discussions and analyses, including an impressive program arranged by the Uruguayan Movement for Solidarity with Israel on all the country's channels.

Writers, intellectuals, professors and others issued statements upholding Israel's cause. On the second day of the war, 60 leading figures in Mexican cultural life declared their "sympathy" for Israel and their concern for the dangers confronting her. In Buenos Aires, a non-Jewish Argentine Committee

in Support of Israel Under Attack of outstanding intellectuals announced its support of Israel and issued a statement of solidarity signed by scores of persons. Similarly, in Brazil, more than 60 non-Jewish intellectual leaders expressed support for Israel and called for freedom of navigation and direct negotiations. Most of Uruguay's Senators and Deputies were among prominent personages who signed a declaration issued by the National Committee for Solidarity with Israel. Leading political personalities took part in a rally held by this group in Montevideo.

Israeli embassies were deluged with offers of assistance from non-Jews in many walks of life. Some volunteered to go to Israel to serve in civilian pursuits as well as in the army -- which produced a warning by the Brazilian Government that Brazilians could lose their citizenship if they did so. In Cordoba, Argentina, Catholic lay leaders offered to give blood, and three retired policemen volunteered for army service.

The governments of the four countries reacted with caution. Argentina, striking an attitude of impartiality, called for a cease-fire, UN action to end the war and peace in the region. Brazil issued a cautiously-worded statement on the death of the Brazilian soldiers in the UNEF in Gaza. In Brazilian federal, state and city parliaments, Jewish and non-Jewish representatives emphasized the need for justice and peace, and harmony among the Jews and Arabs in Brazil. The Uruguayan President and Foreign Minister made a statement offering to help reestablish peace based on justice, with protection of the sovereignty of all the countries. The Uruguayan Parliament unanimously adopted a "statement for peace without harm to Israel." The legislators included seven members of the Lebanese Party who are descendants of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants. This was a reflection of the extent of integration in the nation, which is the most democratic of all Latin American countries. Mexico maintained official silence, in part due to its traditionally neutral position in Middle Eastern affairs.

Relations between Jews and Arabs were stressed by many important figures in Argentina and Brazil. There are large Arab communities in many Latin American countries, especially Brazil, most of them far outnumbering the Jewish communities. Relationships between the two groups have usually been amicable, despite Arab

League efforts to stir up dissension. Several statements were issued by intellectuals in Sao Paulo, Brazil urging continued good relations. Meanwhile, the Arab League, the Palestine Liberation Organization and a Palestine refugee group in that city were reported to be recruiting young people and collecting money for the Arab cause. In Argentina, a statement denouncing the "Zionists" was issued by the League for Arab-Argentine Cooperation, a "front" for the Arab League, following a meeting with the Minister of the Interior. It is believed that friction may develop between some Arab and Jewish elements there in the days ahead. In Mexico, Arab groups published advertisements and issued statements designed to create anti-Jewish and anti-Israel feeling.

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In Argentina, where the Peronist-oriented General Federation of Labor produced noncommittal statements recommending efforts for peace, the pro-Peronist student organization announced its repudiation of "imperialist aggression" and its "complete solidarity with the heroic Arab people."

The Soviet Union lost face rapidly throughout the week of the war, especially among leftist students. La Prensa in Buenos Aires stressed the role of the USSR in supporting the Nasser "adventure" and emphasized the long-standing communist aim of dominating the Middle East.

Reports of various types of anti-Semitic manifestations came from Argentina and Mexico. In Cordoba, one of Argentina's major centers, a Jewish bank, a Jewish social center and the doorway of the home of the Kehillah's president were bombed -- though without serious consequences. This was believed to be the work of radical rightists, possibly members of the Mazorca group, whose leaflets were found on the scene. It is believed that a meeting of all Argentine nationalist elements is to be held soon near Cordoba. In Buenos Aires, a demonstration against Israel was held by radical rightists at the UAR Embassy and another took place at the Israeli Embassy, but was disbanded by the police. Minor vandalism was reported in Mexico City and Guadalajara where defense committees were organized in synagogues, schools and other institutions to prevent further incidents.

The Jewish community acted on several major levels. Jewish organizations joined in united efforts to influence public opinion

through communications media, government officials and others. (An important consideration is the fact that Brazil and Argentina are represented on the Security Council and there are 20 South American votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations.) AJC staff members and officials of the AJC "sister" organizations, the Instituto Judío Argentino and the Instituto Brasileiro Judaico, cooperated to the fullest extent.

In Buenos Aires, the majority of the Jewish organizations set up a coordinating committee to handle all aspects of community support for Israel. The Central Jewish Committee of Uruguay did likewise. An Emergency Committee was created in Rio de Janeiro, with Jose Eskenazi, president of the Instituto, as general coordinator. An Emergency Committee in Mexico City conducted numerous activities, including a meeting of Mexican youth attended by more than 4,000 persons.

Statements were issued in support of Israel and were published in the press. The central Jewish body in Argentina planned a rally but was prevented by the police from conducting it on the ground that the law forbids meetings which might disturb Argentine relations with friendly nations. On June 6, a Manifestation of Solidarity with Israel, organized by the Central Jewish Committee, was held in the center of Montevideo with 25,000 persons participating.

In Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, volunteers for service in Israel, particularly young people, offered to take the places of men in the armed forces. By June 7, the total of such volunteers in Argentina had reached 1,000, including a number of non-Jews. Less than a week later, the number of volunteers in Brazil was 3,000. Various forms of aid were organized, including food, medical supplies and fund-raising. The Brazilian and Argentine Institutes were also active in these endeavors.

Leaders of the Jewish community, along with spokesmen for liberal elements in the general community, are stressing the need for a definite peace settlement and for harmonious co-existence in the future.