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TITLE OF BOOK (To be Chosen)

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

CONTENTS (Tentative)

priest's

TURNING POINTS IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

his

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I - FROM DIMIDIVKA TO AMERICAN CITY

My first exposure to Christians and to Christian theology began at about age four. In our poor, devout home in South Baltimore, it was a family practice that on Sabbath afternoons my father would sit with my brother, my sister and myself and would review with us stories in the weekly portion of the Bible, mixed with reminiscences of the "old country". Before coming to America in the early 1920s, he had lived as a child with his family in Dimidivka, an impoverished Jewish village in the Ukraine.

On the Sabbath before Passover, when anticipations of Passover and Easter were in the air of Baltimore, our father felt a compulsion to unburden himself with this story. It happened on Good Friday in Dimidivka. Down the muddy road from my father's village, there stood a Russian Orthodox church. During the Good Friday liturgy in which the Crucifixion of Christ was recounted, the Orthodox priest apparently became so enraged over the role of "the Jews" as Christ-killers, that he worked his congregation of Russian peasants into an emotional frenzy of hatred against the Jews.

The congregation became a howling mob, and poured out

snatched from their houses, were rounded up by the Russian Orthodox congregants and forced to the rim of the lake where they were to become witnesses to this ritual of atonement.

In a moment, ~~he~~ with a hail of beatings by sticks, stones, and verbal violence of anti-Semitic imprecations, Anton was driven to walk into the lake until the waters covered his head. "Such is the fate of the killers of Christ!" the priest shouted, his staff held aloft triumphantly pointing toward heaven, the Good Friday liturgy completed.

Another scene. The same century. The same planet. But emotionally, humanly, spiritually, it felt like being on Mars, 300 million light years away from Dimidivka.

The setting is St. Peter's Basilica. The date is October 28, 1965. The closing days of the third and final session of Vatican Council II. I stand in the aula of that great basilica: the only rabbi present, the invited personal guest of His Eminence Augustin Cardinal Bea, and of His Eminence Lawrence Cardinal Shehan.

A touch of humor broke the tension of the moment for me. Security at the Vatican Council was understandably strict, and each guest had to have an admission card signed by one of the Council Fathers or other Vatican official. That ~~xxxx~~ Thursday morning, one of Cardinal Shehan's aides came to my Hotel Mediterraneo on via Cavour in Rome, which I had made my headquarter

during Vatican Council II, and left an admission card in an sealed envelope for that day's historic session. After breakfast, on my way to that morning's plenum of the council in Vatican City, I picked up the envelope from the concierge. I opened it, glanced at the green card, and my face broke out in a huge smile. The card read in Italian:

"This card will admit Rabbino Marc Tanenbaum to concelebrate Mass in St. Peter's Basilica on October 28, 1965".

Later that morning, shortly after I entered St. Peter's, Cardinal Shehan came off the floor of the Council to greet me. He began in his warm, sweet way with an apology. "Marc, I must apologize for the admissions card. We ran out of cards this morning, and the only thing I had left was the card for the Mass. I hope you don't mind." Of course not, I said, I was grateful for his personal invitation, and besides the card is a charming memento of Vatican Council II. Cardinal Shehan topped the courteous exchange with a pleasurable and insightful historic perspective, "You are now ~~probably~~ probably the first rabbi in the 1,900 year history of the Catholic Church who has been ~~invited~~ invited to concelebrate Mass with the Pope in St. Peter's!"

Mass was over by the time I came into the basilica. The five Council presidents, seated at a long table at one end of the church behind a battery of microphones and folders of papers, were calling the morning session to order. A number of Council Fathers - cardinal

bishops, periti (theological experts) - from the United States, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East,* and some from third world nations, people with whom I had worked on joint projects over the years or with whom I became friendly during the three sessions of the Council kept coming by to welcome me and to make me feel comfortable. Two American priests took me on a quick tour of the basilica, making a point of indicating where the refreshments were at Bar Jonah/~~Bar and Bar Mitzvah~~ and Bar Mitzvah, some appropriate Biblical signs!

As the morning session/ came to order, I looked out over the two banks of the Council Fathers that flanked the aula of St. Peter's. There were some 2,500 Princes of the ~~Catholic~~ Catholic Church present, from the five continents of the earth, cardinals, archbishops resplendent in their multi-hued vestments and mitres and cassocks; bishops, Eastern Patriarchs; all the colors of skin of the human race, white, brown, black, yellow, red; the ~~greatest~~ greatest assembly of periti, experts on theology, Biblical studies, history, liturgy, law, sociology, ever assembled by any religious body - or any other kind of body for that matter - at one time in one place. The ~~major~~ principal issue on the agenda for that morning was The Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions, the heart of which was the attitude of the Catholic Church to the Jewish People and Judaism. My first thought at that moment, even before the discussion began, ^{even} was: if nothing else comes of it, this is the greatest ~~an~~ international seminar on Catholic-Jewish relations in human history!

Augustin Cardinal Bea, President of the Vatican Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, was called upon to introduce the text of the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions. Frail

hump-backed, golden-rimmed eyeglasses on his bony nose, his face chalky white against the colorful crimsons and ~~scrie~~ scarlets in the vast hall, the Cardinal moved to the microphones at the Presidents' table with a silent energy ~~xx~~ unexpected from a frame so bent and advanced in age.

An expectant hush filled the aula. No declaration, Cardinal Bea had told me earlier, had received as much attention at the Council and in the world at large as had the Declaration on the Jews, none, not even that of religious liberty or the church in the modern world. The late blessed Pope John XXIII had personally instructed Cardinal Bea to draft the schema on the Jews. When the Pope had served as Apostolic Nuncio to the Balkans, he had seen at first hand what the Nazi hatred of Jews could lead to, and, as he had confided to Jewish observers later, he was ~~maritix~~ mortified to see with his own eyes how otherwise faithful Catholics in Hungary, Bulgaria, and elsewhere actively took part in the savage massacre of Jews in Nazi death camps without a flick of moral or religious conscience to inhibit them. As Monsignor Roncalli, he made available baptismal certificates that saved the lives of several thousands of Jewish children who were being rounded up in the Balkans for certain death in Auschwitz' crematoria. From that encounter with demonic anti-Semitism, he was determined to struggle against it, and as Pope John, the Pope who called into being Vatican Council, he kept faith with his conscience.

Cardinal Bea was uniquely equipped to carry out the Pope's will. He was an eminent Biblical scholar, specializing in the "Old Testament" (that is, what Jews prefer to call Hebrew Scriptures,

for "old" suggests exhausted, worn out, and replaceable by the "new," rather than family continuity as between mother and daughter.) The Jesuit scholar was rector at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, and introduced a deepened appreciation of the Hebrew Bible to Catholic seminarians and scholars. (More about Cardinal Bea's views about Judaism later.) Cardinal Bea was also a German, and like Pope John, he too knew from first-hand experience what an activated anti-human explosion can take place when ~~mixed~~/racist nationalism is mixed in the ideological chemistry that contains strong, persistent infusions of the combustible traditions of Christian teachings of contempt for Jews and Judaism.

Undoubtedly, both the expectation and the quiet anxiety of the Council Fathers that awaited Cardinal Bea's introduction of the text on the Jews - for that is what it ~~is~~ was first called in its earliest versions - was an aftereffect of the perilous journey that the declaration had to make before it reached this high moment. Its pilgrimage through the Church was more hazardous than that of any other policy declaration. Arab prelates from the Middle East or from predominantly Moslem countries tried several times to kill the declaration altogether. Ambassadors from fourteen Arab countries accredited to the Holy See watched the fortunes of the declaration as if they were Saudi Arabian falcons searching for carrion. Periodically when the text seemed to be progressing well, the Arab ambassadors descended on the Vatican Secretariat of State to register forceful protests. On one occasion, while I was in Vatican City, the Egyptian and Iraqi ambassadors threatened reprisals against Catholics in their

countries, and during the following weeks they made good on their threats. Nasser's Egypt and the Government of Iraq simultaneously closed down the electricity and gas supplies to Catholic schools and hospitals. When the schools were subsequently allowed to open, the Catholic officials had to agree to allow Muslim ulemas or teachers to instruct Catholic children in the Koran.

One morning during the third session of the Council, each of the Council Fathers found a 900-page volume in his Vatican mailbox. Entitled, Il Complotto Contra La Chiese, (The Plot Against the Church), this handout was a last-minute desperate Arab effort to convince the Council Fathers that the entire action supporting the Vatican Declaration on the Jews was an international Jewish conspiracy whose antecedents were the fraudulent "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Not only was international Jewry behind this plot, but "Judaizers" within the church were conspiring from within. Foremost among the conspirators, Il Complotto declared, was Cardinal Bea who, in real life, is Augustin Bayer, son of Jewish parents!

Evidently, the Arab League states were convinced that a Vatican Declaration that would say something nice about Jews urbi et orbi, that would in fact call for an end to hatred against Judaism and the Jewish people, would ultimately benefit the State of Israel. So fierce was that conviction that empathetic theology of Judaism would result in sympathetic politics for Israel that President Nasser reportedly spent about one million dollars in cold Egyptian cash so that the Egyptian Embassy in Rome could publish and distribute this



Originals cut off

gigantic tract of trash. Not incidentally, most ~~thav~~ of the Council Fathers paid Il Complotto the tribute it deserved. The garbage mail of Vatican City and its surrounding hotels were choked with copies of the book in the week after its distribution. The late great Jesuit theologian, Father Gustav Weigel, who was a peritus at the Council until his untimely death, telephoned me on his return to New York and said he had trouble getting a copy of the book, and finally ended up fishing one out of a ~~gxaxgxx~~ garbage can in his

The more serious threat to the declaration came & not so much from the Arabs, prelates and politicians, as it did from ultra-conservative theologians. Determined not to allow a single hair of the traditionalist theology of Vatican Council I to be loosened or colored modernist, they resisted every single effort of Pope John, then Pope Paul VI and their collaborators - which meant the majority of the Church Fathers - to drag the Church in the 20th century. They ~~manipulate~~ manipulated and maneuvered and even connived, under the dexterous leadership of Cardinal Ottaviani to blunt every decent intention contained in this declaration, indeed, in virtually every other declaration. At one point, a text was prepared under the ultra-conservative influence in the Theological Commission that stood the Jewish declaration on its head. It ~~to~~ became in that version of the second session of the Council an outright call for the conversion of the entire Jewish people to the bosom of the Church!

Had that proselytizing text - or even a milder version - prevailed, it is clear that the alienation and rupture between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people would have been complete and probably irreparable. To assure that such a development

not take place, Catholic and Jewish allies in Vatican City arranged to leak that version of the text to the press. It appeared on the front pages of the International Herald Tribune, the New York Times, the French, German, and Italian press, among others, and the uproar was deafening. The ultra-conservatives were compelled to retreat; the progressives pressed their case, and between the second and third sessions a new text was prepared.

Now, on this bright and cool Roman morning in October 1965, this text was presented to the Council Fathers by this determined priest who had shepherded it through stages that at times must have seemed to him like purgatory. Standing before the microphone, his voice thin and highpitched, Cardinal Bea appeared to be the complete professor before his classroom composed of the Catholic hierarchies of the world. He began with a lengthy introduction, explaining why the Church is obligated to adopt this declaration. Pope John had said that he had called the Ecumenical Council into being in order to help the Catholic Church become free of "any stain or blemish," sine macula et ruga. Anti-Semitism in the Christian West has ~~was~~ been one of the greatest stains of all and, the Cardinal said, it must be purged and eradicated from Christian consciousness.

Then Cardinal Bea read in Latin the text of the declaration whose official translation included these phrases:

(quote text)

Now came the moment of decision for Vatican Council II. The will of the Council Fathers was to be expressed via computer technoc - placet, or placet juxta modum, or non placet. A brief interim for the referendum to be registered. Hands garbed in medieval brocs of Roman princes pushed buttons setting ~~pktx~~ policy guidelines for 600 million Roman Catholics throughout the inhabited world.

Council President Felici announced the vote. Ninety nine point eight percent voted in favor. A thunderous applause broke out, long sustained, triumphant. As wave after wave of applause mounted to the ceiling of St. Peter's, a monsignor leaned over and remarked enthusiastically, "Nothing like this has yet happened at the Council. No declaration has received such a reception."

I stood there and suddenly found myself joining in the applause. Then tears came to my eyes. One image asserted itself and wouldn't go away. There was the Russian Orthodox priest and the pectoral cross glinting on his black cossack, and the howling mob, the ~~lake~~ lake surrounded by the Jewish villagers of Dimidivka and my uncle Aaron drowning.

History in all its maddening absurdity was turning a corner and I thanked God for the privilege of helping give it a shove toward a more humane direction.

BOOK.....

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

I - VATICAN COUNCIL II - SOME UNTOLD STORIES

AUGUSTIN CARDINAL BEA - His meeting in March 1963 with Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel and myself in Cardinal Cushing's chancery in Boston, during which he confided that Pope John XXIII planned to recognize the State of Israel and establish diplomatic relations as a gesture of friendship of the Catholic Church to the Jewish people. Present policy of Vatican toward Israel, public and private realities.

POPE PAUL VI - His meeting with Rabbi Heschel on the eve of Yom Kippur 1964 during which the Pope was influenced to scratch out of the Vatican Declaration all proselytizing references about the Jews. "Do you think that it is the will of God that all Synagogues throughout the world be closed down, that Torah scrolls no longer be taken from the Holy Ark, that Hebrew prayers no longer be recited?" Rabbi Heschel said to the Pope, in an impassioned plea never recorded before.

THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY - LAWRENCE CARDINAL SHEHAN OF BALTIMORE, first president of the American Bishops Commission on Ecumenism and Interreligious Affairs his decisive intervention with the Pope at a critical moment that saved the Declarations on the Jews and on Religious Liberty from defeat or from emasculation. Cardinal Shehan's extensive exchange of correspondence with Jewish leaders, including Jacob Blaustein of Baltimore, and myself, in which specific issues were formulated that eventually became part of the Vatican text.

JOSEPH CARDINAL RITTER OF ST. LOUIS - my meeting with him

at the North American College of Bishops in Rome during which he asked me to formulate language about how I think the Church should see its theological relationship to Judaism based on New Testament texts. His use of this material the next day in his Latin intervention at the Council. The "Harry Truman" of the American Catholic Church.

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN OF NEW YORK - The Cardinal Spellman I knew is not the same person known in his public image. An account of his personal and influential interventions with Pope Paul VI. His strong condemnation of anti-Semitism in New York in 1964, and the impact of his position in Rome, precisely because he was trusted as a conservative. Quotations from his speech and private letters.

JOSEPH CARDINAL CUSHING - His spontaneous, impish statement to me in Rome the day after he met with the Pope, "I told the Holy Father that we American bishops are not going home until and unless we can bring home the bacon, and that means the statements on the Jews and on religious liberty." His talks about his Jewish brother-in-law who was "wonderful" to his sister. When his brother-in-law died, he attended his funeral in an Orthodox synagogue, wore a yarmulke, and took part in the prayer service, probably the first cardinal to do.

THE INTERVENTIONS OF CARDINAL O'BOYLE, BISHOP STEPHEN LEVEN OF SAN ANTONIO, BISHOP ARCHBISHOP HALLINAN OF ATLANTA - Marvelous, historic statements delivered before Vatican Council II which have been lost in the library files, but which deserve to be recalled today when tension is developing between some quarters of the Catholic and Jewish communities.

JOSEPH CARDINAL KROL - his unhelpful and abrasive statements at Auschwitz and in Jordan; but his good experiences in Jerusalem whi

have gone unreported. His running to be the first American Pope, backed by the owner of Mother Paul's fishworks.

CARDINAL BEA MEETS WITH FOREMOST JEWISH SCHOLARS IN NEW YORK IN MARCH 1963 - A series of questions and answers were exchanged and discussed by Cardinal Bea with major Jewish scholars that became the basis of the Vatican text that was finally adopted. A presentation of that exchange that was never published before. The Jewish scholars include. Prof. Louis Finkelstein, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, the presidents of the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements of Judaism.

RABBI JOSEPH B. SOLOVEICHIK OF YESHIVA UNIVERSITY - the defacto Chief Rabbi of Orthodox Judaism in America. His behind the scenes involvement with me in Vatican Council II. His letters of commentary and exegesis on the Vatican Declaration. The pressures on him from ultra-Orthodox Jewish quarters, and his public reneging on positions he took in private.

EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN HIERARCHY - My contacts and experiences with Cardinal Suenens of Brussels, Cardinal Doepfner of Munich, and Cardinal Koenig of Austria; Bishop Mendes Arceo of Mexico City; Msgr. Georgio Mejia of Argentina, secretary of the Latin American Council of Bishops (CELAM) and their role at Vatican Council II.

HISTORIC FOOTNOTES - Father John La Farge prepared before Vatican Council II at request of Pope John texts condemning racism and anti-Semitism; why were they suppressed?

II - OTHER PRINCES AND PRINCIPALITIES

THE REV. THEODORE HESBURGH - his plan in 1971 for regional development of Middle East by introducing fast breeder nuclear reactors; political obstacles; present moment calls for a new look; study of human rights throughout the world and community conflict - Ireland, Lebanon, Cyprus, Israel-Palestinians, Ethiopia, Uganda - proposal for Interreligious Task Force on Human Rights to anticipate and help resolve conflicts before they get out of hand. Catholic intellectual sounds me out in Atlantic City, N.J., March 31, 1975, on how Jews would react to possible candidacy of Father Hesburgh as president of the United States.

THE REV. JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J. - Sacrificed his life in drafting Vatican text on religious liberty; meetings and conversation at Villanova House in Rome during Vatican Council; earlier conversations about Catholic-Jewish relations, religious liberty, and other sundry matters during visits together at Woodstock College, Md., while strolling among Angus cows. He shows me Torah scroll in Woodstock library and Judaica library; his growing appreciation of depth of relationship between Judaism and Christianity.

ARCHBISHOP JEAN JADOT - Apostolic Delegate to U. S., a fresh Papal presence in the U. S.; his quiet effective interventions for release of hostages in Uganda; for release of Israeli prisoners in Syria and Egypt following 1973 Middle East war; his cable to Holy See to modify presentation of Vatican to UNESCO; his remarkable address before Jewish leaders in New York, Oct. 1974.

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR - His seminal influence on Protestant clergy regarding appreciation of Jews and Judaism in their own terms; our discussion of Pope Pius XII on ABC-TV that won an Emmy award. His relationship with Rabbi Heschel and Jewish Theological Seminary; his wife, Ursula Niebuhr perpetuates his attitudes and continues

THE REV. DR. BILLY GRAHAM - his direct intervention with Dr. Henry Kissinger to release Ruth Aleksandrovich from Soviet labor prison; our prayer meeting together with Ruth's mother, Billy Graham, and myself in Graham's Chicago hotel room. Our three and a half hour meeting in his home, Montreat, North Carolina, in which he talks about Vietnam, race, relationships with Presidents, then, in historic statement, indicates change in his attitudes toward Judaism and the need to evangelize the Jewish people - "God's covenant with the people of Israel is forever; it's everlasting." His meeting with representative Jewish leaders. His film on Israel, His Land; the controversy over "The Hiding Place". His invitation to me to attend his crusade at Shea Stadium, and how he modified his invitation to make a decision for Christ.

ROBERT McNAMARA - Our talks together at the Aspen Conference on World Hunger; his statement that the American people will not tolerate "a sell-out of Israel" - they would make protests against Vietnam look like child's play.

REV. KEFA SEMPANGI - black Presbyterian Ugandan minister; the Idi Amin story; discussion of realities of "third world nations" and actual attitudes of people toward Israel, Zionism, and Jews.

WORLD HUNGER, POPULATION, AND FOOD PROBLEMS - involvements in testimony before Senate and House foreign relations committees.

VATICAN

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Subtle intermingling of theological and political perspectives
- Traditional Xian anti-Judaism was based on deeply entrenched
dogmatic hostilities bet 2 communities of faith, which from
4th cent. onward was a deliberate & systematic attempt to denigrate
Jews & to lead Xians to despise & reject them.
Initial - "Xians over-cent. looked at the Jewish people from a point of view
never installed w. one-way windows."

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CATHOLIC ANTI-JUDAISM WITH A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO NAZI ANTI-S
THOUGH DUBBING WITHIN SUCH TEACHINGS WERE A NECESSARY
PRECONDITION FOR THE Holocaust



OP-ED
NEW YORK TIMES

POLES AND JEWS NEED DE-MONSTRORIZING

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

It was the first "dialogue" between Polish Catholics and Jews in the United States. It took place about seven years ago in a seminary in Oak Park, Michigan, which specialized^s in training Catholic priests of Polish origins.

As the Polish and Jewish^{ish} "delegations" began their conversations, the first exchanges quickly became intense, heated, and finally revealing. The Jews - particularly those born and raised in Poland before and during World War II - wanted only to talk about the vicious anti-Semitism that assaulted them and destroyed most of their families.

The Polish Catholics - including those born in the United States - focused almost entirely on how Polish Christians had saved Jews from the Nazis. ⁿ ~~They~~ There are ^{more} trees planted in the 'Path of the Righteous' in Jerusalem's Yad Vashem memorial ~~has more examples~~ honoring 'the Righteous Gentiles' of Poland than from any other country in Europe," several of them kept repeating.

It took three days of exhausting, often excruciating talk before the Jews and Poles were able to acknowledge the abyss in their differing perceptions of the same period of history that their peoples had experienced in "the old country."

Jews today are re-experiencing that abyss as they read the callous and shocking words of the present Primate of Poland, Cardinal Joseph Glemp of Warsaw. The cardinal, son of a Polish muzhik, inhabits a world in which the pride of the Polish Catholic church fused with the mystical nationalism of that battered country is so defensive and paranoid that he has space for Jews only as outsiders and enemies.

That is hardly a new vision in Poland's history and culture. Poland ~~is~~ has been probably one of the most battered countries in Europe over centuries. Partitioned and enslaved at least four times since the 17th century, wiped out repeatedly as a nation by foreign invaders, dismembered by the Nazis and the Soviet Union during World War II, Poles experience their identity overwhelmingly as victims of outside forces.

And through much of that threatened history, the Catholic Church has been the mainstay ⁿ defender of Polish unity, ^{nationalism,} /language and culture.

While Jews, particularly escaping German Jews of the thirteenth century, at first encountered Poland as a country of refuge, the relatively large size of Polish Jewry, their emergence as the backbone of the urban middle class lodged between the nobles and the serfs, resulted in bitter competition, envy, and finally vicious hatred.

Jews - who constituted by 1765 some ten percent of the Polish population in Warsaw and in other major cities - constructed their society as the chief world center of Judaism, with a magnificently rich religious, educational, and social life. Much of that culture was Yiddish-speaking (derived from their German origins) and led frequently to the charge that they were not authentic Poles, but a separate nation within the Polish nation.

Thus, Poles and Jews became isolated from one another. When Poles suffered from external invasions from the Mongols (13th century) and the Turks (15th century), and later from the Swedes, Austrians, ~~and~~ Prussians, and Russians (1772-1815) who dismembered Poland, the Jews ~~of times~~ ^{ful} were made the scapegoats for their frightened suffering.

The "success" of the Jews in vastly enriching Polish business, professional, and cultural life - and even sharing in the military defense of the nation against its endless invaders - was perceived irrationally and exploited purposefully by political parties such as the National Democratic Party and even more reactionary and fascist groups (such as NARA), all ~~in~~ in intimate alliance with the Catholic Church, as a threat rather than as a source of support and enrichment.

The incessant vulnerability of the Polish nation, the ancient Christian demonology of Jews as "Christ-killers" and the "anti-Christ," resulted in the most vicious riots, pogroms, blood bibels and violent persecutions that Jews experienced more intensely in

Poland than almost anywhere else in Europe. During the Nazi holocaust Jews were indeed saved by some decent Polish Catholics, but many were handed over to the Nazis or brutally killed by Polish peasants and others.

When Cardinal Glemp orates about alleged "Jewish superiority," "Jewish control over the world's mass media," and "Jewish campaigns of anti-Polish propaganda," he discloses how deeply his spirit is mired in that ancient Polish History of defensiveness and paranoia. Jews are still the outsiders and pariahs to sacred Polish nationhood.

How dare they lay claim to Auschwitz as their Armageddon?

The Carmelite nuns, in conformity with the traditions of the medieval church, are defending both the dignity of the Church Militant and the honor of Polish nationhood. That is the sum total of the present reading of Polish history from which a millenium of Jews and Judaism are excluded.

When Jews hear ~~the~~ Cardinal Glemp's provocative speeches, they reenact the horrendous experience of Jewish victimization for centuries in Poland, in which the Catholic Church was a primary fount of anti-Jewish demonology.

Should ^{these} ~~this~~ Rashomon readings of Polish history and culture continue in this "cycle of reciprocal hostility," there is small hope of any Polish-Jewish understanding, not to speak of reconciliation.

Somehow, some way, ⁵ wider, rational minds and spirits in the Polish and Jewish communities must find a way out of this deadlock of history. These palimpsests of radically contrary readings of the historical record in Poland need to become unpacked and shared with both Poles and Jews in a spirit of mutual knowledge, and finally, in mutual empathy.

It is probably asking for too much, but it would be a providential act if Cardinal Glemp in his forthcoming visit to the United States (beginning on September 17th) could see the challenge of "de-monstorizing" Polish-Jewish relations as his central mission. --Rabbi Tanenbaum, international relations counselor to the American Jewish Committee, is immediate past president of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation.

COMMENTARY (525 words)

**AUSCHWITZ CONVENT IS BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS;
IT IS NOT A VATICAN-JEWISH CONFLICT**

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

--NEW YORK

It is a positive thing that the meeting of the World Jewish Congress Executive in Montreal during early May adopted a resolution abandoning an earlier pronouncement of its American Section calling for a worldwide Jewish boycott of Pope John Paul II.

While this latest action may in time help ease the mounting tensions in Vatican-Jewish relations -- the worst I have seen during the past 30 years -- much damage has been done, and it will take considerable knowledge, experience and wisdom to correct the present troubled situation.

The core of the problem remains the presence of the Carmelite convent on the grounds of Auschwitz.

The pious, determined nuns created the problem by their unilateral transforming of a Nazi warehouse used for storing Zyklon-B gas into a convent. But some Jews, I believe, have misconstrued the stubborn Carmelite issue.

The removal of the convent to other quarters -- which has been agreed upon by all parties -- is overwhelmingly an issue

that concerns the Polish Catholic Church, the Polish government, the Carmelite Order and world Jewry.

By church law and discipline, only the Polish church has the power to remove the convent, which is under its jurisdiction. The pope and the Vatican have much influence, but not the decision-making power, and there is a basic difference between power and influence.

Last week, Cardinal Jan Willebrands, Vatican head of Catholic-Jewish relations, at a meeting with several of us, confirmed that the Polish Catholic church possesses decisive authority to move the Carmelite convent to a new center.

He said the Vatican and he personally can and will help in the transfer, but only in the background.

It is a weird irony that most Roman Catholics have a limited perception of papal infallibility (only in "Faith and Morals"), but some Jews in their naivete believe that the pope is infallible in everything in the Catholic's world.

All he has to do is snap his fingers, and the convent and the nuns would disappear. If it has not disappeared yet, obviously the pope does not want it to, therefore, boycott the pope.

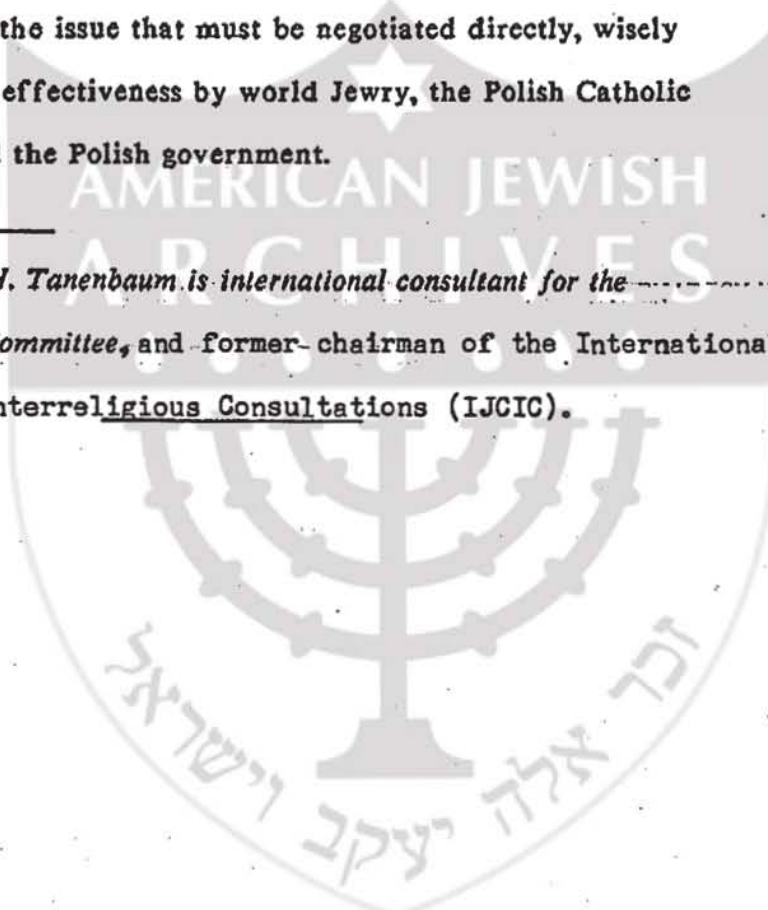
Well, the Vatican also knows how to play the boycott game. My intuition tells me -- I don't yet have hard evidence to confirm it -- that when the Vatican and the Anti-Defamation League canceled their scheduled meeting in early May, the first time to my knowledge that has happened with a Jewish group in 30 years since Vatican Council II, the Vatican was signaling that it

does not like this boycott trifling with its Holy Father. If it continues, I'm afraid there will be further reprisals.

Meanwhile, the issue remains as it was at the beginning. The convent, which distorts the meaning of Auschwitz to the Jewish people, must be removed to an interim place until the new center and convent -- which the pope committed himself to support in Vienna in June 1988 -- are constructed.

That is the issue that must be negotiated directly, wisely and with calm effectiveness by world Jewry, the Polish Catholic authorities and the Polish government.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international consultant for the American Jewish Committee, and former chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).



ARCHBISHOP TUTU AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican primate of South Africa and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is clearly the most visible international symbol of the just struggle against apartheid. He is at the same time rapidly becoming a stormy embodiment of suspicion and strain between Black and Jewish communities in many parts of the world.

Since the days of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s non-violent leadership of the civil rights movement, a majority of American Jews have been profoundly committed to justice and full human rights for African-Americans, but also for South African and other black peoples. These sensibilities, forged by prophetic values of social justice and the Jewish historic experience of anti-Semitism and persecution, leaped to vigorous life in consequence of unshakable Jewish trust in Dr. King.

Dr. King did not play semantic or political games with Jews. Jews knew they could count on him, and he knew he counted on the Jewish people. He unambiguously supported Israel's security, and advocated the human rights of Soviet Jewry and all other peoples. He opposed every form of anti-Semitism and bigotry in word and deed. He appreciated with special understanding the uniqueness of the "final solution" for the Jews and its singular horrors/under the Nazis, while not minimizing the sufferings of other peoples in World War II.

In heartfelt response, American Jews marched with Dr. King, demonstrated, were cattle-pronged, beaten, imprisoned, and did everything possible financially and politically to help the movement succeed during its long, tortuous struggle. Some Jews even sacrificed their lives.

Archbishop Tutu appears to be unraveling much of Dr. King's historic bonding with the Jews in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere. Often with beguiling humor, the Anglican divine since 1984 has been denigrating virtually everything sacred or important to Jews - religion, history, culture, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel.

For some time, many Jews - myself included - have resisted the easy temptation of characterizing Archbishop Tutu as anti-Semitic. The cause of dismantling the monstrous evils of the apartheid system is morally urgent. The archbishop is a man of stature and has made an historic contribution to this epochal struggle for freedom and human decency. His vital role should not be compromised by demagogic polemics. Indeed, most Jewish leaders I know have wanted to trust and support Archbishop Tutu and the anti-apartheid campaign as they did the late Dr. King and the civil rights movement.

But regrettably, even tragically, the archbishop himself has been compromising his role. He has been systematically undermining Jewish trust in him, and the evidence has become increasingly disturbing. Beneath his smiles and occasional "friendly" words of reconciliation between Blacks and Jews, Archbishop Tutu appears to be constructing a subtle anti-Jewish mythology.

That emerging mythos is a fusion of traditional Christian anti-Jewish themes - which he learned in his parochial mission schools to which he was confined in his early fundamentalist training - with more recent forms of a Third World radical ideology. That strange fusion of ancient religion and liberation politics stigmatize both Judaism and Zionism as racist - in the mode of the obscene United Nations resolution

The record of Tutu's statements has become lengthy, therefore, these representative citations will serve to illustrate the issues:

On Judaism as "racism"

On November 28, 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Archbishop Tutu asserted, quite incredibly, that apartheid in effect was incubated in the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated ritually Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric stated, was the earliest form of apartheid.

These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles are separated by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (which was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

But the temple courtyards also ritually separated the Israelite priests from the Levites, from the ordinary Israelites, and men from women. Did that make the early Palestinian Jews anti-Semitic?

One month earlier, on October 23, 1984, the archbishop preached a sermon at the prestigious St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Darien, Connecticut, in which he compared "apartheid with ancient Jewish practices." According to the Hartford Courant (October 29, 1984), "Tutu cited what he said was the refusal of ancient Jews to allow gentiles into the Temple in Jerusalem. Just as the Temple was destroyed because it walled out many," he said, "so the South African laws that separate blacks ~~from~~ and whites must fall."

Tutu then added, "The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God. Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings."

It would literally take a treatise to separate fact from fiction, and to correct the distortions of Temple religion and history in these off-hand statements. On the alleged Jewish "monopoly on God" canard and Jesus' anger, suffice it to say that the revolutionary concept of God as the Creator of all mankind Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the Synagogue.

On "Jewish Arrogance and Power"

Tutu rejected any criticism that these "Temple sermons" verged on theological anti-Semitism. During his November 23, 1984, address at the Jewish seminary, he responded: "This Jewish sensitivity comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support."

To his caricatures of the Hebraic religion in Biblical ~~religious~~ times, the archbishop now adds the new mix of 19th century conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a potent anti-Jewish brew of past and present hostile imagery.

The Holocaust - "Forgive the Nazis"

On July 26, 1985, the Jerusalem Post quotes Tutu as expressing his resentment against "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust," and "the Jewish monopoly on suffering."

During his Christmas 1989 visit to Israel (actually to the West Bank and East Jerusalem), the archbishop adjusted his schedule at the last minute to come to the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial. Following his visit, he offered this message to world Jewry:

"Our Lord would say that in the end the positive thing that can come is the spirit of forgiving, not forgetting...We pray for those who made it happen, help us to forgive them and help us so that we in our turn will not make others suffer."

Tutu's pious and presumptuous comments enraged most Jews and for several very real reasons. First, it was clearly a statement of the ancient polemical contrast between Christian forgiveness and alleged Jewish vengefulness. This was heard as coming from a prominent Christian leader whose classic faith has refused for nearly 2,000 years "to forgive" the entire Jewish people for the alleged single crime of the Crucifixion of Jesus, and has inflicted untold vengeance and punishment

on the Jews for two millenia.

Second, the point of the moral message seemed to be less the issue of forgiveness than to preach to the Israelis that they should not behave like the Nazis and "make others" suffer. Or put more bluntly, forgive the real Nazis, and attack the Israelis, the mythic "new Nazis."

(A Jewish religious reaction against Tutu's preachment is that Judaism requires genuine repentance by the sinner before one can realize forgiveness. Repentance (teshuvah) call for an unambiguous acknowledgment of wrong-doing, an overwhelming sense of shame for one's evil deeds, a determination to change, and then demonstration of an actual change of behavior. These are the preconditions to forgiveness - especially if the sinner participated in the attempted massacre of an entire people. Some Christian theologians would call Tutu's form of forgiveness "cheap grace," which ultimately becomes an encouragement to do more violence since there is no real accountability.)

Talking about forgiveness, strange, but the good archbishop has not appealed to the 23 million Blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of non-violence of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Ghandi, declared on January 10, 1986, in a Washington Post interview:

"You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up stones and we are fighting."

In an apocalyptic mood expressed in that interview, the archbishop warned that there could be a time of "naked terrorism" in South Africa, with "militant black attacks" on "all school buses (which) carry only white children" and "black servants poisoning the morning coffee of their white masters."

The desperate feelings of Archbishop Tutu over the frightful plight of his people are completely understandable. Having seen for myself the oppressive conditions and suffering of black people at the racist hands of many white South Africans, I empathize strongly with his fears and angers.

"My point has to do with double standards. If a Jew, and especially an Israeli, had spoken to the press about the uses of "naked terrorism" against the Arab states and PLO factions - who have repeatedly declared their intentions to destroy Israel with missiles and poison gas - I rather suspect that Archbishop Tutu would see nothing morally wrong in lecturing Jews on the evils of abandoning their historic mission of being "a light unto the nations." Self-defense for South African blacks, and every other people, is indeed morally justifiable; for the Jews and/or Israelis, Tutu preaches that it means you have "lost direction and are untrue to you/calling." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 28, 1984).

~~Thus, the only Jews Tutu seems able to comprehend are mythological but dead Jews of the Bible. Real Jews, living with all the dilemmas of the modern world, do not exist for him, and if they do, it is only because they will practice Christian forgiveness.~~

On Israel and a Palestinian state;

In his latest visit to Israel during Christmas week ~~1988~~ 1989, he assured the world that "the Jewish State has the full right to territorial integrity and security." Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately equated Israel with South Africa and called for the creation of a Palestinian state.

"I find worrisome parallels between the way the Government of Israel and South Africa react to unrest," Archbishop Tutu is quoted as saying in The New York Times (December 24, 1989.) "If I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa."

Earlier, on March 10, 1987, in a talk before British Jews in London, the archbishop said, "Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, But I cannot understand how a people with your history would have a state...that would carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from which your people suffered." ((Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 11, 1987.)

On November 28, 1984, in New York, he accused Israel of having "connived" in the massacres of Palestinian women and children in at the Sabra and Shattila refugee camps in Beirut in 1982. His conclusion contradicted the findings of the Kahan judicial inquiry which gave evidence that the massacres were carried out ~~Ria~~ by ^aPhar~~is~~gist Christians ~~again~~ against Palestinian Muslims.

Thus to Tutu, Zionism is equivalent to racism. But in fact he has gone beyond the United Nations declaration by stating in a speech at Oslo University on December 12, 1984, that apartheid against the blacks is the equal of Nazism's "final solution" against the Jews. Saying that South African blacks are "being turned into aliens in the land of their birth," he asserted that "this is apartheid's final solution just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (UPI, December 12, 1984.)

The syllogism now has taken form: South Africa's apartheid is the equivalent of Adolf Hitler's "final solution" of the Jews; Israel's "repression" of the Palestinians (dramatized by "connivance" over the Sabra and Shatilla massacres) is equivalent to South Africa's apartheid; therefore, the Israelis are carrying out Nazi-like policies of "a final solution" against the Palestinians.

Thus, the pattern of Archbishop Tutu's views toward Jews and Israel raise some troublesome and unanswered questions:

Why is he seeking to minimize, if not relativize, the Nazi holocaust's meaning for Jews? Is there an ideological calculus that the Nazi holocaust and the final solution have absorbed such massive emotional intensity in the U.S. and the Western world, that there is little space left for any comparable intensity of moral

and emotional response to the claims of apartheid?

A method would seem to be developing among Tutu, ~~xxxx~~ and some other black leaders, to relativize the Nazi holocaust and absolutize apartheid. Is it really necessary to break the so-called "Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust...and on suffering" in order to make the case that "apartheid is the final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (Oslo, Dec. 12, 1984).

Tutu drives home the relativizing of the Holocaust by saying, "some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. You don't need gas chambers; when you put children where there is no food, gas chambers would make a neater death." (London, March 10, 1987, Jewish Telegraphic Agency.)

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the "legal" system of apartheid. There is, however, one fundamental and decisive difference: the evil system of apartheid was established in 1948 to deprive 23 million blacks in South Africa of their essential human rights. The Nazis' "final solution" was conceived as a program to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself.

The same religious-ideological calculus appears to be extended to Israel by the Archbishop and others who share his strategy. Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, Tutu says, but Israel is a Nazi-like state that inflicts an apartheid existence on Palestinians and makes them into refugees. (There is never any suggestion that the Arab states and the PLO may have contributed to this tragic circumstance.) Thus, whatever moral claims Israel has on the conscience of the world is being systematically eroded by this stance.

In sum, if we understand Archbishop Tutu accurately, the Jews do not have a monopoly on God; they have lost their "chosenness" and have ceased to be "a light unto the nations;" they claim "a monopoly on suffering," they suffer from "an arrogance of power;" and the Jewish State is a mirror image of the Nazi state.

The real tragedy is that two victim peoples have been cast into competing with one another over who is the greater victim, rather than face together their

true common enemies - racism, anti-Semitism, hatred, and exclusion from the mainstreams of many societies.

Someday perhaps the prophet from Capetown will join hands with the descendants of the prophets of Israel to recognize that what should bind them together is far greater than what should be allowed to divide them.

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Rabbi Tanenbaum, ~~xxxx~~ was the program chairman of the first National Conference on Race and Religion, and was active in the civil rights movement since the 1960s.



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VATICAN-ISRAEL RELATIONS: AN UPDATE

by Marc M. Tanenbaum

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

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NEW YORK - Recent public statements by John Cardinal O'Connor, the highly-publicized Archbishop of New York, following his recent trip to Lebanon have left many in the Jewish - as well as Catholic - community puzzled by his views on Israel, the Vatican, and Middle Eastern issues.

The puzzlement grows out of the fact that the Cardinal has established a strong track record of being sympathetic and supportive of key Jewish concerns - consistent advocacy of the human rights of Soviet Jewry, opposition to anti-Semitism, empathy with Jewish victims of the Nazi holocaust.

But at his several press conferences in Beirut, Rome, and New York, he clearly seemed to tilt in a one-sided way in support of the Palestinian cause at the expense of Israel. Thus, the Cardinal said ~~him~~ publicly and to me personally, that he favored the Vatican's establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel provided three things happened first:

*Israel helps resolve the Palestinian refugee problem by establishing a Palestinian homeland;

*Israel helps establish peace in ~~Beirut~~ Lebanon; and

**Israel help secure the situation of some 8 million Arab Christians in the Arab-Muslim world.

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clear to the Cardinal that most Jews I have spoken to are distressed over his having scapegoated Israel for everything that is wrong in the Middle East. His criticisms were misplaced; they should be addressed to the Arab leaders, not Israel. It is Syria and the Shiites and Sunni Muslims who have destabilized Lebanon and massacred about 100,000 Maronite Christians. It is Yasir Arafat who rejected the peace efforts of Shimon Peres and King Hussein who have avidly sought a resolution of the Palestinian ~~tragedy~~ tragedy. And what does Israel have to do with assuring the security of Arab Christians in the Arab-Muslim world?

Among other responses, the Cardinal stated that he knew he had credibility with the Jewish community. He was now trying to establish his credibility with Arab-Palestinian world, with a view ~~eventually~~ eventually toward playing some mediating role between Israelis and Arabs.

Clearly that answer is insufficient and unconvincing from a Jewish point of view. But it is troublesome because it suggests a more ominous geo-political development that has taken place in recent weeks in Vatican-Israeli relations.

months

Some ~~weeks~~ before I made a statement to the effect that a number of Cardinals and Bishops in Europe, ~~Latin America~~ Latin America, and the U.S. told me independently that they felt the Vatican was moving toward establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. "Something is in the air in Rome," one Cardinal told me.

WALDHEIM HIJACKED THE VATICAN

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present as guest observer at Vatican Council II. He is widely regarded as an authority on Vatican-Jewish-Israeli relations.)

NEW YORK - If one were pressed to summarize the entire furor over the incredible meeting between Pope John Paul II and Dr. Kurt Waldheim into a single phrase, I suggest the following would be close to the mark:

Kurt Waldheim, the unrepentant Nazi officer, hijacked the Pope and the Vatican for his own whitewashing purposes.

When Waldheim left Rome last Friday after his audience with Pope John Paul II, he is quoted as saying to the press that his meeting with the Pontiff was "a much greater success than he had expected."

Waldheim had good reason for feeling jubilant. Despite the year-long controversy over the Austrian president's Nazi past -- and his lying about and denying that past for some 40 years -- the Pope chose not to make a single public reference to those grim facts. Instead, the Pontiff spoke of Waldheim in idealized terms of being "a diplomat and foreign minister as well as your activity in the United Nations... always dedicated to the securing of peace among all countries."

Responding, Waldheim referred to Pope John Paul II as "the conscience of mankind" as if to suggest that the Papal embodiment of the world's conscience had completely exonerated him. Thus, the worst fears of the Jewish people about this audience were realized -- Waldheim appears to have obtained instant absolution of his sins, without ever acknowledging his evil deeds in Greece and Yugoslavia as an officer in the ruthless Nazi Army Group E.

There are many implications that flow from this incomprehensible episode that call for the most serious and responsible examination by Catholics and Jews, especially by the Vatican authorities who orchestrated this morally bizarre event.

First is the moral damage that this audience may well cause to international law and order. In effect, the worldwide publicity given to this Papal reception to Waldheim exudes the message that every former Nazi, every murderer, criminal, and terrorist need never feel any guilt or remorse over their evil deeds. If they manage to lie about and deny their anti-human actions successfully, and hang around long enough, they might even obtain instant absolution through an audience with the Pope or his surrogates. Waldheim did just that.

Second is the issue of the Vatican policy of indiscriminate invitations to every head of state, regardless of personal history or moral character. If a head of state who is a Catholic wishes to enter a Papal confessional booth and repent his/her sins and ask for forgiveness, that is an entirely private matter between the Pope as universal pastor and the Catholic believer. Jews and other non-Catholics have no standing to raise questions about such religious matters, no matter how good or bad the moral character of the penitent.

It might be instructive for Jews to articulate the Jewish doctrine of "Teshuvah" ("Repentance") which is completely relevant to the Waldheim situation. Judaism requires four actions of a would-be penitent (according to Maimonides): (a) a penitent must confess explicitly one's sins; (b) he (she) must have an overwhelming sense of shame for one's evil deeds; (c) he (she) must make a firm determination to turn away from such wrongdoing; and, the crucial text^s, (d) the penitent must demonstrate changed behavior. Waldheim has met none of these penitential requirements.

The Pope-Waldheim audience also raises the questions of moral accountability for what use the head of state makes of that audience. When PLO chieftain Yassir

Arafat manipulated an audience with Pope John Paul II (not a private audience, as generally believed), his henchmen plastered the photograph of the Pope with this master terrorist all over the Arab, Muslim, and Third World press. The caption, invariably, was a version of "Pope Blesses PLO Policies."

The Vatican issued a muted clarifying statement subsequently, but it never caught up with the exploitation of that "photo opportunity" by Arafat and his terrorist band.

President Idi Amin of Uganda did exactly the same thing with a photo he took with the late Pope Paul VI. Idi Amin, whose PLO guards and Muslim tribesmen massacred nearly 500,000 black Christians, (half of them Roman Catholic), exploited that audience by having his Papal picture splashed all over the African and Muslim press with a similar caption, suggesting that the Pope and the Vatican "blessed" his murderous policies and actions.

The moral question seems self-evident: if you open the door of your apartment house to a confessed burglar or rapist, and he proceeds to rob every apartment in the building or rape its women inhabitants, is it morally responsible to say only, "All I did was to let him in the front door. Freedom of access, you know."

But the real and ultimate question is: Why did the Vatican Secretariat of State agree to this audience which they certainly knew would be controversial and possibly damaging? And the answer to that crucial question, I believe, lies buried deep in the internal politics of Austria.

Waldheim has been a major embarrassment to Austria. The Social Democrats have become increasingly vocal in attacking the People's Party, which nominated Waldheim for the Presidency, for bringing shame and political isolation to Austria. After the United States put Waldheim on "the watch list," the People's Party began a desperate effort to break out of the growing vise of Austrian isolation and

rejection by the U.S. and Western Europe.

The Vatican became the pole vault out of that isolation and the humiliation of Austria. Since Austria's population is about 87 percent Roman Catholic, and since there is a real danger of political turmoil in Austria if the Waldheim boil is not lanced, the Pope and the Vatican, responding to the People's Party entreaties, decided to help bail them out through this audience.

But the haunting question that won't go away is: Why did Pope John Paul II have to capitulate so completely on Waldheim's terms?



mon exposure to the same media of information and opinion, the picture magazines and the television programs; and so on. Minds and sympathies are being unconsciously standardized by common influence and there is plenty of conscious reaching out, too. Many Catholics, on all levels, want to be less circumscribed in their social contacts and fuller and freer in their participation in community affairs. They are sick of unnecessary suspicion, aloofness and determined separation from men of other minds and ways. They want peace among neighbors as among the nations, and for this they know that they must give as well as get."

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM—SOME COMMON BONDS

By *Robert H. Tannenbaum*

If Jews and Christians are going to meet with one another and discuss matters of deepest mutual concern, i.e., their beliefs and values, it is important for them not only to have a firm grasp of what they themselves believe and value—and this understanding will deepen and broaden as the dialogue progresses—but they should have at least some appreciation of what they have in common and what distinguishes them. This appreciation, of course, will also vastly increase with each succeeding exchange. A distinguished New Testament scholar, Prof. W. D. Davies, has identified three areas in which the faith of the Church and that of the Synagogue are "very intimate," first, he says:

"... They have the same origin in the one God who chose both. The God who speaks to Christians in Jesus Christ is the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. The voice heard at Sinai and at Calvary is the voice of the same God.

"Secondly, they have, in a real sense, an identity of aim. The yoke imposed upon both is the same—the yoke of the Kingdom of God. Just as the aim of the Gospel is to give life both in this world and in the world to come, so also the aim of the Law (of the Jews) is life in accordance with the will of God. Both Church and Synagogue pray that the rule of the Kingdom of God may come and his will be done so that the Lord may be one and his people one. In short, Judaism and Christianity share a common ethical concern.

"Thirdly, they share the conviction that the purposes of God in history are to be fulfilled through a community—the people that God uses."

Monotheism—

One of the greatest gifts the Jewish people has given to mankind is monotheism, the belief in the existence of only one God and exclusive worship of this one God. All other previous religions had many gods, or at least acknowledged the existence of gods other than the one they worshipped. Not so in Judaism, whose central religious affirmation, recited thrice daily in prayer, is, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord Our God, the Lord is One" ("Shma Yisroel, Adonai Eloheynu, Adonai Echod"). Unfortunately, both Christians and Jews may tend to forget what a tremendous blessing it was for the Jewish people to be led gradually to the realization that Yahweh is the Lord over all. Indeed, the monotheism of the Jews was nothing less than a revolution in the consciousness of mankind, for it subjected all man-made gods to the judgment of a transcendent God, before whom all human idolatries stand convicted of inadequacy.

Christians share this blessing of monotheism with Jews. Their belief in the trinity of persons in the one God does not weaken their affirmation of the oneness of God:

*You are one God, one Lord
not in the oneness of a single person
but in the Trinity of one substance,*

*For what we believe from your revelation
concerning your glory
the same also do we believe of your
Son and of the Holy Spirit
without difference or distinction.
So that in confessing the true and
everlasting Godhead
we adore distinction in persons
unity in substance
and equality in majesty.*

How these three divine persons can exist in one God without destroying the oneness of God is no less a mystery with Christians than it is with Jews; Christians simply believe they do so exist and Jews do not. Still, both share the greatly-to-be-treasured, unequivocal affirmation of the oneness of God.

Some Greek philosophers also developed a philosophical monotheism, that is, they thought there had to be some sort of first principle, some prime mover in the universe. But this "god" was not worshipped. "It" was not a person, a "She" or "He," rather it was a kind of vague force or abstract principle that had to be postulated philosophically to explain the existing world. But this is not the God of Israel, or of Christianity. The God of Israel and Christianity is personal; He has a name. In fact, He has many names, but they all refer to the one God. Our God is not a vague universal force, or the great watchmaker who wound up the watch of the universe and then forgot about it, as the eighteenth-century Deists thought. Rather He is, as Blaise Pascal once shouted in delirious joy, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. He has shown himself in history, in time; and these manifestations, these revelations, are recorded in the Scriptures.

Scripture—

The Scriptures are another treasure Christians and Jews hold very much in common. Christians divide the Bible into the Old Testament and the New Testament, whereas, for Jews, the so-called "Old Testament"—which Jews prefer to call the "Hebrew Scriptures"—alone is the Bible. Hence, at least the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament) is held jointly by Jews and Christians to be a sacred book, inspired by God to transmit his message to man.

Of course, one ought not to say "at least" the Hebrew Bible is held jointly by Christians and Jews, for the Hebrew Bible is a very great thing indeed. The Council Fathers at Vatican II said of it: "These books, therefore, written under divine inspiration, remain permanently valuable . . . (They) give expression to a lively sense of God, sound wisdom about human life, and a wonderful treasury of prayers . . . The disciple of Christ, then, ought to read them carefully, particularly since they give excellent expression to a vivid sense of the most holy and most merciful God." (From the *Declaration on Divine Revelation*.)

Even though Jews do not accept the New Testament as an inspired sacred book, it is nevertheless very much a Jewish book, and Christianity is very much steeped in Jewish origins. The whole manner of thinking and speaking of Jesus, of the first Christians, of most of the New Testament, is Jewish. All of the basic Christian concepts—like Messiah, faith, grace, justification—are rooted in the Jewish tradition and are not understandable unless seen within a Jewish context. The very fact that the Jews thought in historical, personal terms, rather than abstract, universal ones gave Christianity its peculiar thrust. It is the obscuring of this historical, personalistic approach that has often been the cause of so much distortion within Christianity; the recovery of these approaches is at the root of the present Christian renewal. A dialogue with Jews vitally living their own tradition will only reinforce and enrich this renewal.

Jesus—

Besides the Hebrew scriptures and other values held in common with Jews, Christians have an additional linkage to Judaism in the person of Jesus and of his Mother, of all the apostles and most of the first Christians. Jesus Christ was a Jew. Since Christians believe Jesus is God become man, they believe that God incarnate is a Jew. Christians, in other words, worship a Jew. And Jesus was not some lukewarm or deracinated Jew. As his genealogies show, he was of Jewish stock; he read the Scriptures, studied and prayed with the Rabbis in the Synagogue, and believed passion-

ately in God's promises. He certainly was squarely in the center of the Jewish tradition of prophets. Christians, of course, believe he was more than a prophet—but this in no way made him less Jewish. Jesus himself said: "salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22).

The Covenant—

One last thing should be mentioned—although many, many more might well be enumerated and discussed—which binds Christians to Jews: Christians believe they participate in the same covenant, that is, agreement, with God as the Jews. Christians, and Jews, have often been told that God made a second covenant—with the Christian Church—and that since the first covenant, with Israel, has been fulfilled, faithless Israel is now rejected—by her own action. But if anything is clear from the Scriptures it is that God's pledge is an unconditional agreement, or covenant, which depends solely on the faithfulness of one pledging party—God. And God is faithful. His promise to Israel is like the commitment of a mother to her babe. It is unconditional. The mother does not expect the infant "to do its part, 'or else.'" Indeed, God himself described his relationship to Israel with the image of mother and infant. "Did Sion complain, 'the Lord has forsaken me, my own Master gives me never a thought?' What, can a woman forget her child that is still unweaned, pity no longer the son she bore in her womb? Let her forget; I will not be forgetful of thee" (Isaiah 49:14, 15).

If this is all so, then God has not gone back on his original covenant, but continues in faithfulness to it to this very day; He has not rejected the Jews. This basic Catholic—and

Christian—position is made clear in a penetrating essay in *The Ecumenist* (May-June 1965) by the theologian, Father Gregory Baum:

"... the apostle tells us that the Jews of the Synagogue 'remain dear to God for the sake of the fathers' (cf. Romans 11, 28). Their election stands. Why? Because God is faithful, 'his gifts and call are irrevocable' (Romans 11, 29). His election cannot ultimately be undone by a human decision against it.

"What does this mean for the understanding of the Jews of our day? Giving this Pauline theme its weakest meaning, it asserts that God continues to be present and to address Jewish believers in their Synagogue services. The testimonies of God's mercy in the past as celebrated in Synagogue worship remain a way of divine action, for 'his gifts and call are irrevocable.' We have here the answer to a question crucial to the Jewish-Christian dialogue. What is the present Synagogue worship before God? Is the Christian forced to regard present Jewish worship as an empty form, as words and gestures without meaning? Or is he able to acknowledge in Jewish worship the presence of the living God? The Conciliar text answers this question by the adoption and use of the Pauline theme. God remains present in his gifts to Israel."

This suggests too that the Christian Church is not dependent on a second covenant made with it alone, but on the single original covenant in which, by the grace of Jesus Christ and the hard labor of the Apostle Paul, the Church enjoys a share—along with the Jewish people.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM—SOME BASIC DIFFERENCES

In a statement of his philosophy of dialogue, the late Martin Buber* set forth the two basic movements of man which form the basis of genuine dialogue. The first of these two movements Buber calls "the primal setting at a

distance," the second "entering into relation." The first movement is the precondition for the second, because we can enter into relation only with that being that has been set at a distance from us and thereby has become an independent opposite. In human life together, it is the fact that man sets man at a distance and makes him

* *The Knowledge of Man*, by Martin Buber, edited by Maurice Friedman, (Harper & Row).

independent that enables him to enter into relation, as an individual self, with those like himself. Through this "interhuman" relation, men confirm each other, becoming a self with the other. Buber adds that the inmost growth of the self is not induced by man's relation to himself, but by the *confirmation* in which one man knows himself to be "made present" in his uniqueness by the other.

In the Catholic-Jewish dialogue, as we have seen, there are numerous bonds which Catholics and Jews have in common. It is also essential for the truth of the dialogue relationship that we recognize the basic differences which form our respective uniqueness. At no point is the dialogue intended to compromise these differences or to result in a relativism or indifferentism. Rather the dialogue has as its purpose the recognition and understanding of these differences, enabling us to confirm each other in the fullness of our independent selves.

The "basic differences" in the Jewish-Catholic encounter cluster around (1) theological or religious questions; (2) civic or social questions.

SOME BASIC RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

The religious differences around which Catholics (and many other Christians) and Jews stake out their ultimate and differing commitments can be subsumed roughly under these categories:

- (a) The Messianism of Jesus;
- (b) The Law and the Gospel;
- (c) The Doctrine of Immortality and Resurrection;
- (d) The New Testament.

The Messianism of Jesus—The Jewish concept of Jesus as the Messiah can be understood only if one understands Judaism's conception of Messianism. In the days of Paul, Jewish teaching proclaimed that the course of history was divided into three different epochs succeeding each other.

"It was taught in the school of Elijah," declared an ancient teaching of the Rabbis, that "there are three epochs: two thousand years of

chaos, *tohu va'vohu*; two thousand years of Law (*Torah*), beginning with the revelation on Mount Sinai; two thousand years of the Messianic age; which will be finally followed by that world which is wholly *Shabbat*, the rest in the life of eternity." There is, thus, not a perpetuity, but "a period" of the *Torah*. If the "Days of the Messiah" had commenced, those of the *Torah* had come to their close. On the other hand, if the Law, the *Torah*, still retained its validity, it was proclaimed thereby that the Messiah had not yet appeared.

As the late Dr. Leo Baeck points out in his study of "The Faith of Paul" (from his book, *Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 162ff), "The primary question which Paul's faith had to face was: which 'period' was it, that of the *Torah* or that of the Messiah? . . . By preaching the new 'epoch' the 'days beyond the law,' Paul did not step out of the Jewish compass and the Jewish purview. He was strongly convinced that he was, and remained, within the Jewish sphere . . . What separated Paul from the Jewish people was the question of fact—the problem whether the Messiah had, finally, been manifested, whether his kingdom had come in truth."

The Jewish messianic tradition that existed during the inter-testamental period upheld a number of clear-cut realistic expectations of the messianic age. This age was to bring a decisive end to Roman oppression, together with peace on earth under the victorious scepter of the royal Messiah descended from King David, as well as the supernatural miracle of the cessation of all sin. The people who did not accept Jesus as the Messiah rejected the claim because the expectations of the new order of things, the Kingdom of God, which was anticipated hourly, did not materialize.

The Jews did not reject the God concept of Jesus, for that was Jewish in essence and Jesus based it on the *Torah* in which he was nurtured. There was nothing in Jesus' doctrine of repentance and the approaching Kingdom which the Jews of his day needed to reject in defense of their faith. There was nothing in it which endangered their faith. The critical issue for Jews, as Joachim Schoeps points out in his

"*The Jewish-Christian Argument*" (p. 23) is the Christian belief that God has become man and has allowed his only-begotten son to suffer sacrificial death as a propitiation for the sins of mankind. In Judaism, the royal Messiah was expected to be a human being (the postexilic name among Jews for the Messiah was *ben Adam*, "son of man," which was formed, based on the Book of *Daniel*, in contradistinction from ideas of a "Son of God" common among contemporary non-Jews.). As Paul rightly says, this Christian doctrine remains a "stumbling block" for the Jews. In Judaism, with its emphasis on strict transcendental monotheism, God is without form and cannot be incorporated in any shape, no matter how fashioned. The belief in a divine messiah who is God incarnate detracts from God's sovereignty and absolute otherness, according to Judaism.

Nevertheless, Maimonides, the great 12th century Jewish philosopher, and other Jewish spokesmen, regarded Jesus (as well as Mohammed) as divine instruments in preparing the way for mankind's universal conversion to faith in the one true God. Maimonides, in a sense the Jewish Thomas Aquinas, wrote: "All these teachings of Jesus the Nazarene (and the Ishmaelite Mohammed who arose after him) were intended to pave the way for the coming of the King Messiah and to prepare the whole world to worship God together as one."

In present-day Judaism, traditional Jews continue to await the coming of a personal Messiah, and pray daily for his arrival. In the liberal forms of Judaism the person of the Messiah has given way to an expectation of an earthly *kingdom* expected for the messianic age, in which universal justice and peace will prevail and "the Lord shall be King over all the earth; In that day shall the Lord be One, and His name one." (*Zachariah*, 14:9).

The Law and the Gospel—The respective differences in conceptions of the Law and the Gospel by Christians and Jews have been at the heart of much of the conflict between both communities across two millenia. Paul was ambivalent on the subject of the law, and the effect of his ambivalence was to denigrate its sanctity in the eyes of the Jews and to nullify it com-

pletely for the Gentiles. On the one hand Paul affirms that "the law is holy, and the commandments holy and just and good" (*Romans* 7:12); on the other hand, he denounces the Law, "Where there is no law, there is no transgression" (*Romans* 4:15).

As is known from *I Corinthians* 9:2 and other Gospel sources, Paul himself practiced the ethical and ceremonial laws of Judaism. But in his passionate desire to bring the gospel to the Gentiles in the Roman Empire, he found that the demands of the Law—Sabbath observance, circumcision, the dietary regulations, the laws of purity—were too exacting and tended to discourage many pagans from accepting the faith. As Paul saw it, the Law was the "stumbling block" to the conversion of the Gentile world to Christianity.

The "burden of the Law" was regarded by loyal Jews not as a burden at all, but as a wholesome discipline. As Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver points out in his book, *Where Judaism Differed*, (p. 102), "The purpose of the Law was to increase personal holiness and to refine the spirit of man." To Jews, the law of the Torah was given, not to make the Jews righteous and acceptable before their Father in heaven, but precisely because it proclaims the holy will of their Father in Heaven. The rabbis' praise of the law can be understood only in the sense of fulfilling God's will, and never in the sense of some ethics of merit (in Luther's conception of "justification by works.")

There has always been a debate among Jews as to the extent to which one is free to interpret the Written Law and by what technique, and whether the Oral Law is binding and to what extent. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Jews have continued the debate to this day. But no organized Jewish religious group ever maintained that the Law could be dispensed with altogether, that the Law was a curse or that faith alone was sufficient.

The Christian Church itself soon came to have laws—ceremonial laws—of its own, and in time they were codified into canons of religious and ecclesiastical practices: baptism, the eucharist, the sacraments, communion feasts, fasts and Sunday laws, penance and unction,

priesthood and confession, ecclesiastical regulations and privileges, tithes, pilgrimages and shrines, rituals, incense and vestments—an *Halachah* (Hebrew for religious law) quite as meticulous as that of the Scribes and Pharisees. The Church, too, came to acknowledge the importance of canons in the regulation of faith and discipline.

One of the practical effects of this Law versus Gospel contrast, has been a practice of expounding Christianity by making unjust and inaccurate comparisons with the Jewish faith. Occasionally, in religious textbooks, in the classroom, in sermons and articles, gratuitous slurs at Judaism are introduced to heighten the contrast to Christianity. In consequence Judaism emerges as a legalistic religion concerned with external observances, devoid of love, mercy, and compassion. The Pharisees, who for the most part were saintly, devout and courageous men on whose moral and scholarly interpretations normative Judaism rests today, are frequently described as inhuman, and without true religious motivation. As Dr. Robert Gordis has pointed out, "Every competent scholar knows that the Old Testament conceived of God in terms of love as well as of justice, just as Jesus' God manifested Himself in justice as well as in love, for justice without love is cruelty and love without justice is caprice."

This discussion of the "law and the gospel" also raises the important question of the need for Christians to recognize that Judaism did not come to an end with the Old Testament. Just as a non-Catholic does an injustice to Catholicism by failing to take into account the significance of tradition and Church teaching in addition to Scripture, so do non-Jews distort Judaism by failing to recognize that modern Judaism is the product of a long and rich development of post-Biblical thought, devotion, and piety that the great Rabbis and Sages of the Jewish people developed over the past 1,500 years.

Modern Judaism possesses a normative tradition embodied in the *Mishnah* and the *Talmud*, as well as the *Responsa* and the Codes of the post-Talmudic period. By the side of

this dominant strand are the aberrant tendencies, sectarian and heretical, that were never without influence and cannot be ignored. These include the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature, recently enriched—and complicated—by the sensational discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Middle Ages, building upon their Biblical and Talmudic antecedents, created the strands of philosophy, mysticism, legalism and Messianism, all of which contributed to the character of Modern Judaism. In the modern era the various schools conventionally subsumed under the headings of Orthodoxy, Conservatism and Reform, do not begin to exhaust the variety of religious experience and approach which are competing for attention in the market-place of ideas in the Jewish community. With regard to the Christian partner in the dialogue, there is no need to spell out the ramifications of viewpoint and emphasis that constituted the multicolored spectrum of contemporary Christianity.

It is therefore clear that if we reckon with the full dimensions of Judaism and Christianity, the substance of the dialogue between the two faiths is immeasurably complicated, to be sure; but without such an understanding the enterprise is stultifying. Men were not promised that the truth would be simple—only that the truth would make them free.

Judaism and Immortality—Contrary to most religions of the Near East and the Greco-Roman world in which death was a central preoccupation, Judaism was primarily concerned with life. The *Torah* is called *Torah Hayim*, a *Torah* for life, and the laws of the *Torah* are a preparation for life. The supreme privilege of the Jewish faithful was "to walk before God and to see the goodness of God in the land of the living" (*Psalms* 116:9; 27:13).

As the Reform Jewish scholar, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, noted: "It is remarkable to note the extraordinary reticence of the Bible and the *Mishnah* on the subjects of death, resurrection, immortality, the Hereafter, the Judgment Day in the afterlife, Heaven and Hell, and the Messiah." He adds that "Resurrection is mentioned once in the *Mishnah*, when it is announced as a dogma;" again when it is referred to in the

daily Eighteen Benedictions; and once again in the *Talmud* where Rabbi Phineas ben Yair asserts that the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead and that the latter will come through Elijah. There are no descriptions of the world to come in the *Mishnah*, and none of the symbolic projections characteristic of an apocalypse.

Rabbi Silver concludes that "the strong-willed faith of a robust, life-loving people, directed toward a full and creative human existence, could not have been centered in death." The Rabbis of the *Talmud* advised men not to speculate too much about the future life, not to try to penetrate beyond the boundaries of this world, but to concentrate on this world and how it can be made a good place for men to dwell in. "Better is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than the whole life of the world to come," said the Rabbis.

The Kingdom of God, which mankind with the help of God is to build, is in Judaism's view definitely of this world, and all of man's tasks are centered here. In Christianity, the Kingdom meant the Future World—the Hereafter ("My Kingdom is not of this world," Jesus declared—*John* 18:36).

The Judaism of the Bible does not rest upon the dogmas of resurrection and immortality. The ideas of resurrection and other eschatological concepts did gain headway among the Jewish people toward the beginning of the common era, and an otherworldly interpretation was given to the concept of the Kingdom of God, which also included reference to the resurrected dead. Jewish scholars regard these, however, as "occasional late references" (*Isaiah* 26:19; *I Samuel* 2:6; *Daniel* 12:2). They are not key ideas with the Hebrew prophets. For a thousand years throughout Judaism's greatest creative period, these beliefs were not regarded as essential doctrines.

The uncompromising monotheism of the Jews could not be reconciled to a concept of the resurrection which was everywhere in the Iranian and Hellenistic world linked up with ancestor-worship or necromancy. Nor could they incorporate into Judaism a doctrine of immortality which in many minds endowed the soul with

some form of divine status. Man's destiny and God's are not identical. Man does not become one with God through ecstasy in life or when death overtakes him. To emphasize this thought some Rabbis declared categorically, "The Shechinah (Presence of God) never descended to earth, and Moses and Elijah never ascended to Heaven, as it is written, 'The heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth He gave to the sons of men.'"

All this said and done, it must be noted that Dr. Solomon Schechter, the founder of Conservative Judaism in the United States and perhaps its greatest theologian, in writing on *The Dogmas of Judaism* underscored the fact that Maimonides, "the first Rabbinate who formulated the dogmas of the Synagogue," incorporates "the belief in the resurrection of the dead" and "in the coming of the Messiah" among the Thirteen Articles of Faith which constitute the creed of Judaism.

The New Testament—There are a range of Jewish opinions regarding the New Testament and they are reflected to some degree in the following opinions of Jewish scholars:

After commenting on the fact that the authors of the Synoptic Gospels used exegetic devices and "conducted their disputes in quite the Jewish manner," Dr. Joachim Schoeps (*The Jewish-Christian Argument*, p. 22 ff) observes, "... to a degree that cannot be overlooked, they contribute to the reading of the New Testament as *Haggadah*. Long passages of the New Testament are, indeed, actually nothing less than *new and different exegesis* of the Jewish Bible, the difference being determined by belief in the divine sonship of Jesus. It is thus already a 'justification' of the Scriptures."

Much earlier in time but in a similar vein, Dr. Solomon Schechter, the great Rabbinic scholar, noted in his essay, "On the Study of the Talmud" (from his book, *Studies in Judaism*), "The impression conveyed to the Rabbinic student by the perusal of the New Testament is in parts like that gained by reading

certain Rabbinic homilies. On the very threshold of the New Testament he is confronted by a genealogical table, a feature not uncommon in the later Rabbinic versions of the Old Testament, which are rather fond of providing Biblical heroes with long pedigrees." The essay goes on to document parallels in Rabbinic narratives and those of the New Testament and proves a treasure-trove of insight into the Jewish background of the gospels.

Dr. Samuel Sandmel, a leading Jewish authority on the New Testament, writes in his latest work, *We Jews and Jesus*, "To us Jews, the Gospels are not sacred. When we read them (if we do) we read them as literature, not as Scripture. We inescapably respond, or fail to respond, to them in a way comparable to our responding, or not, to other literature. So frequently are the passages, especially in connection with the death of Jesus, anti-Jewish, that it can be very difficult for us Jews merely to read them."

The observation by Dr. Sandmel regarding the negative portrayal of "the Jews" in the New Testament should not lead to the false conclusion that Jews are asking Christians to revise the Gospels for the sake of good-will. Those who have any understanding of Scripture and religious tradition are no more prepared to ask Christians to rewrite their Gospels than Jews would be prepared to accept any suggestions from non-Jews that the Hebrew Scriptures or the *Talmud* be rewritten or modified for reasons of good relations.

However, since present-day Jews are the living descendants of "the Jews" who are referred to repeatedly in the Gospels, and in light of centuries of persecution of Jews by people who called themselves Christians, what many Jews do raise as a question before the conscience of their Christian neighbors—especially Biblical and theological scholars—is whether there are not resources in Biblical exegesis and related scholarship that would enable Christian teachers, priests, and the average Catholic parent to interpret in proper context those passages of the New Testament which are most easily open to distortion.

SOME BASIC SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND CIVIC DIFFERENCES

In addition to the differences between Catholics and Jews that grow out of basic theological or religious divergencies, there are differences that both communities hold in relation to the civic and social order. As will be indicated, these social-civic differences are not unrelated to historical and theological influences.

A preliminary observation is in order. As noted by Richard Robbins, the decline in bigotry, and the related decline of minority group insularity and the "ghetto mentality" on the part of Catholics and Jews especially, have created a situation in which the major religious blocs feel no longer hemmed in by ethnic conflict. Within a social milieu of mutual tolerance, the major faith communities are released to engage in open, legitimate, functional, institutional controversy. Today, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews are paradoxically "freed to fight" on such issues as: divorce, birth control, federal aid to private schools, censorship, religion in the schools, sexuality, etc.

Church and State—

Most Jews take a strong position in support of the separation of church and state. In the popular mind this often leads to a conclusion that Jews are against religion (or Christianity), and are therefore in league with the secularists. This view does not take into account, first, that there is a multiplicity of positions within the Jewish community, as there is in the Catholic and Protestant communities, and therefore unqualified generalizations are as unfair as they are inaccurate. Second, a great many Jews do uphold a strict separation of church and state because of the Jewish experience for the greater part of the past 1,500 years. Alliances between throne and altar and the status of the Jews in sacral societies invariably resulted in persecution and denial of elementary human rights for the Jewish masses. The enlightenment and the emancipation brought about by the American and French Revolutions gave the Jews their

first experience of genuine civic and political equality, and therefore Jewish antennae are extremely sensitive to any move that might suggest a tampering with the basic institutions which have given them cherished securities and freedoms. In addition, many Jews observe that the Catholic Church has flourished in this country as nowhere else, and therefore, from a pragmatic viewpoint, why should anyone want to alter these conditions which have helped lead to this wonderful result?

Many Jews would like to see Catholic parents helped in some way as they carry heavy financial burdens in educating their children, but wonder out of deep conviction whether federal aid will not spell some form of governmental interference in religion and the eventual breakdown or erosion of church-state separation. Many Catholics, possibly reinforced by a tradition that has welcomed close alliances with temporal powers, do not have these anxieties. Most Jews, who have had radically opposite histories, are not prepared to take such a great risk.

Jews also appear to differ with many Catholics on religion in the school and on public morality questions (evil books, censorship, etc.), also for rather basic reasons of religion and history. As noted elsewhere in this document, the Jewish home and Jewish family life have exerted powerful religious and moral influences on the child. For centuries, Jewish parents have been charged with the highest moral obligation to give their children an authentic and rich Jewish education through home ritual and instruction in synagogue schools. Therefore, Jews as parents today are unwilling to have the public school assume these functions which properly belong to the parent. It goes without saying that no public school or public school teacher is competent to give a Jewish child anything approximating basic instruction in the beliefs and practices of Judaism. In a real sense, Jewish parents by and large are reacting in the present debate over religion in the schools in much the same way that Catholic parents reacted in the 1840's when they were being pressed to expose their children to Protestant Bible-reading and in-

struction in the public schools. After a number of Catholic churches and convents were burned or destroyed in the fray, Catholic parents abandoned the public school system and took to building a Catholic parochial school system. Obviously, times have changed, especially with the growth of ecumenism and Christian-Jewish understanding. This discussion is held here simply to indicate the need for empathy and genuine understanding when the shoe is on the other fellow's foot.

Public Mortality—

Strong Jewish family ties and a long tradition of moral education of children are also behind what might appear as a lack of realistic concern on the part of many Jews for the rise in crime and delinquency among youths, for the breakdown in sexual morality, for the growing distribution of smut literature. Jewish parents have generally tried to keep their children off the streets in the first place, and, until Jews began to feel they were co-partners of America, had a notion that Jews did not own the streets; the streets belonged to those who claimed this as a Christian society. In a Christian society, let Christians carry the responsibility for policing their streets and cracking down on the smut literature in their mail boxes. The emergence of a genuine Judeo-Christian alliance in America has contributed to a growing sense on the part of many Jews that they have duties as well as rights in the common struggle to raise the level of public morality in our pluralist society. Paradoxically, Jewish social scientists have been in the forefront of research and social action devoted to combatting these social evils.

The strong personal friendships and co-operation between Christian and Jewish organizations in the common effort to achieve civil rights and overcome poverty, to advance the cause of peace, are vital forces that are increasing interreligious understanding on a broad range of social, cultural, and civic concerns. The mutual trust and respect that already has grown out of these relationships are making it possible for Catholics and Jews and Protestants to learn to disagree agreeably.

HANUKAH: A GLOWING SYMBOL

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

When the pale yellow glow of Hanukah candle light spreads unevenly across the window-panes, a warm moving spirit will surge through the breasts of Jews throughout the world.

Huddled about the candleabrum, Jewish families in Boston, Buenos Aires, Hamburg, Shanghai, and Tel Aviv will usher in Hanukah 5708, with prayer book in hand and melody in heart.

Since the justly-heralded triumph of the Maccabees about 167 B.C.E., the twenty-fifth day of Kislev (this year December 7) has come to mean many things to many Jews. To most, the eight day period has been symbolized as: The Feast of Lights, The Feast of the Maccabees, The Feast of Dedication. To all, the festive Hanukah has meant inspiration, invincibility, the triumph of the human soul.

Scurrying back through the avenues of history, one finds few epochs in the annals of man so stirring, so valorous as that of the Maccabees. The breath of freedom which today sustains twentieth century man was first exhaled by the modest priest Mattathias of Moden, who with his five sons struck the first blow of resistance against the imperial fascist, Antiochus Epiphanes, king of all Syria. Incensed by the invasion of Syrian hordes who sought to execrate the Jewish religion and spirit, and to impose their decadent Hellenic culture and cult upon tiny Judea, the Maccabees organized guerrilla bands, and assaulted the formidable Syrian flanks until they reeled back in hasty flight.

But before going down in crushing defeat, the Syriac pagans triumphantly chalked up one achievement: they violated the stiff-necked Jews' sacred shrine in Jerusalem where they set up a pagan altar in the Temple. But the achievement was short-lived. Three years later, on the twenty-fifth of Kislev, 167 B.C.E., the Temple was thoroughly cleansed, then solemnly dedicated.

The dedication ceremonies lasted eight days. The splendor of lamps and torches, songs of triumph and tribute, the offering of sacrifices, and the kindling of lights in the homes, made the occasion memorable.

And as time slipped by, the Feast of the Maccabees, the Feast of Lights, the Feast of Dedication delighted the palate of the ballad singer and the raconteur who delicately wove the legend into the tapestry of Jewish history. Each in his own time and place found new meaning, laid different stress on the story of the Maccabees. This was a great military triumph, thought those who dreamed of Palestine as a re-emerging political power to be reckoned with in their world. This, the rededication of the Temple, was a powerful religious victory, thought others who saw in it that Israel's mission was only to live unmolested on the holy soil in accordance with the Torah.

But to the present day heir of this Jewish epic who stands on the banks of time and proudly observes the stream of Jewish tradition, there is a noticeable under-current which swells the tide and lends added direction. The Maccabean revolt, he sees, signifies the first instance in human history of men taking up arms to defend freedom of conscience, and the inviolable right of little people everywhere to live as they will.

Yet it is more than that. The Maccabees not only resisted oppression; they battered down the sickening cowardice of furry-minded Jews who, thinking the "melting pot" their salvation, wished Israel to cast off its traditions, lose its identity, and be reduced to an amorphous clot in the human bloodstream.

Because of the Maccabees' determination that Jews must survive as a dignified people among peoples, because they routed the first fascist herrenvolk, because they made freedom of the human soul a hallowed ideal, Jewish fathers, mothers, and children around the world this evening light the first Hanukkah candle, and jubilantly sing "Mo'oz Tsaur", a hymn proclaiming their renewal of faith in the "Rock of Ages".

To them, the candleabrum, the dreidle, the latke, the stirring melodies have become cherished symbols, gilded with memories of the glorious past, and suffused with inspiration for the challenging future.

CHRISTIAN ECUMENISM, PLURALISM, AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

How odd of God to choose the Jews

But not so odd

As those who choose a Jewish God

And reject the Jews.

That bit of theological doggerel -- which articulates a deep ironic truth -- comes to the mind of many Jews these days as they reflect on the Christian ecumenical scene and its implications for American pluralism and for Judaism. Jewish responses to the growing pattern of mergers of Christian church groups are marked by ambivalences and some bewilderment over paradoxes that hover over the Jewish-Christian field.

Modern democracy and aspects of American pluralism are in many ways the children of the Protestant Reformation (as Gooch and others have persuasively demonstrated), and most informed Jews feel a profound appreciation of the Protestant tradition for the decisive role that it has played in helping shape the American ethos of liberty and equality. In the 1950s, this distinctively American tradition of pluralism was legitimized in the widely-accepted thesis of the "triple melting pot" -- that is, as Will Herberg articulated it, Americans realize their identity by locating themselves in either the Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish communities on a peer-to-peer basis. (The Greek Orthodox Church, maturing out of its foreign ethnic minority status,

gave additional credence to the Herberg thesis, by pressing for, and obtaining, a Congressional resolution that recognized it as "the fourth melting pot."

Christian ecumenism, which seeks to unite all Christian denominations into a single church, appears to many Jews to be, at least in concept, a major and radical reversal from the "pluralist model" of the American experience to the pre-democratic model of "the corpus Christianum" or the "una sancta." of Pope Benedict of the 13th century, whose medieval models of a unified Christian society resulted in the reduction of Jews and others to "pariah" status at worst (to use Max Weber's terminology), and at best to marginality in the Christian consciousness.

Jews themselves possess a strong mystique which drives them toward unity and group solidarity ("All Israel will not be redeemed until it forms one companionship," the Rabbis taught). The commanding force of such mystiques enables many Jews to understand and empathize with that New Testament vision, that "they shall be one" that animates Christian unity. But the Jewish emphasis on unity as a precondition of Jewish salvation" is accompanied throughout Judaism by a parallel tradition which affirms that all non-Jews who abide by elementary moral principles - the "seven Noahide laws" have "a share in the world to come,"--that is, they are assured of salvation.

The Christian ecumenical movement especially in the United States has not developed thus far any meaningful body of theory supporting

such a "pluralist" view of the right to co-existence of others who do not share the Christian vision. In practical terms, the majority of church unity mergers on municipal and state levels have simply made no serious provision for cooperation with Jewish religious and communal bodies in religious dialogue or in works of social justice.

On the national level, the Catholic Church in response to Vatican Council II has established an effective secretariat to promote Catholic-Jewish cooperation, but no mainline Protestant denomination has a single person working full-time at relations with the Jewish community. Ironically, the liberal Protestant community which spearheaded the ecumenical movement, by virtue of its indifference or insensitivity to the Jewish presence in America, may well be more responsible for Jewish fervor for preserving a strict separation of church and state - a Protestant legacy - than the Roman Catholic church which has been the classic cause for Jewish concern for preventing the establishment of a particular religion. A Christian ecumenism that ignores the existence of the Jewish community may contribute far more to "the establishment of religion" in America than aid to Catholic parochial schools, and Jewish constitutional lawyers may well have been distracting the Jewish community from what ought to be its real concern over the potential erosion of its status and security.

While respecting the right of Christians to organize their internal household as their spiritual vision dictates, the Jewish question to the Christian ecumenist is now being voiced with increasing urgency: Is it

not time, perhaps past due, to begin articulating a theology of pluralism that functions as balance, complement and corrective to a theology of unity which may unite Christians but disunite American society?

Paradoxically, the Christian ecumenical problem as Jews see it may also become the basis in the not too distant future for a deep internal Christian spiritual dilemma. The very processes of Biblical and theological renewal which have made possible the development of the ecumenical movement have given birth at the same time to a group of Catholic and Protestant scholars who have rediscovered Judaism as a living faith, a permanent vehicle of truth and value to Jews, knowledge of which is regarded as essential for Christian self-understanding.

Albert Outler

These scholars and theologians now constitute a school of Christian "philo-Judaists." But there is a formidable gap between their perceptions and feelings about the importance of Judaism and those of the "civil servants" who are constructing the Christian ecumenical institutions who thus far have operated by and large as if Judaism and the Jews did not exist. It may well be that the closing of the gap between Christian ecumenists and the Jews may help anticipate and prevent an eventual intra-Christian schism between philo-Judaists and non-Judaists, which is not unlike where the first Christians and Jews were just about 1,900 years ago.

STATEMENT OF RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, WELCOMING MRS. STAPLETON'S
DECISION ON WITHDRAWING FROM B'NAI YESHUA EVANGELICAL CRUSADE TO JEWS

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The American Jewish Committee welcomes the decision of Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton to withdraw from addressing ~~the aggressive proselytizing group~~ B'nai Yeshua, whose declared purposes are to evangelize the Jewish people out of their continued historic existence. Mrs. Stapleton's action is an expression of moral courage, ~~and~~ civility and decency. It is above all an important gesture of respect for the integrity of Judaism and for the Jewish people, and thereby contributes to strengthening the American traditions of religious liberty and religious pluralism, the keystones of American democracy.

^{a group} As ^{pioneers} in the defense of civil liberties, the American Jewish Committee defends the right of every group to testify to its truth as it sees it. But that right must be compatible with the duty in a democratic society not to defame nor misrepresent the cherished beliefs and religious practices of another group. B'nai Yeshua, together with ^{18 number of} other so-called Hebrew-Christian fringe groups, have consistently offended the Jewish people by characterizing our sacred religion of Judaism as ~~an~~ "inadequate" or "unfulfilled" thereby invoking the worst anti-Jewish stereotypes of medieval Christendom. They have also ^{used} ~~abused~~ the religious traditions of Judaism, manipulating and distorting such fundamental Jewish observances as the Sabbath, the Passover, the Jewish Torah scrolls and prayerx shawls in order to mislead young Jews into believing that B'nai Yeshua is simply another Jewish sect. ~~The Federal Trade Commission requires "fair marking~~

packaging" in the selling of groceries and patent medicines; one has a right to expect that high religion should do no less.)

The American Jewish Committee is presently engaged in an extensive series of dialogues with the major Evangelical Christian leaders and institutions in the United States. Those dialogues ~~are~~ are based on relationships of honesty and full disclosure of our respective theological similarities and differences. Our opposition/ to the so-called Hebrew-Christian movements ~~as~~ such as B'nai Yeshua, therefore, is not based on any anti-Evangelical bias. On the contrary, B'nai Yeshua would have much to learn from the responsible major Evangelical leaders on how to relate to Judaism and the Jewish people in a spirit of mutual respect.

We have been heartened by the fact that such respected Christian bodies as the Long Island Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, and the ^{majority} ~~majority~~ of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical Christian theologians and religious authorities share our convictions about the moral offense that B'nai Yeshua has given not only to Jews but to Christians as well.

Mrs. Stapleton's views, as expressed in her statement, is a significant contribution to this growing spirit of mutual respect and reconciliation between Christians and Jews, which has been the hallmark of her life and work.

STATEMENT BY MRS. RUTH CARTER STAPLETON ANNOUNCING
HER WITHDRAWAL FROM SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT WITH B'NAI YESHUA

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Because I do not wish to become involved in any controversy that sets one group against another, I have cancelled the engagement I accepted some months ago to speak before a meeting sponsored by B'nai Yeshua in New York.

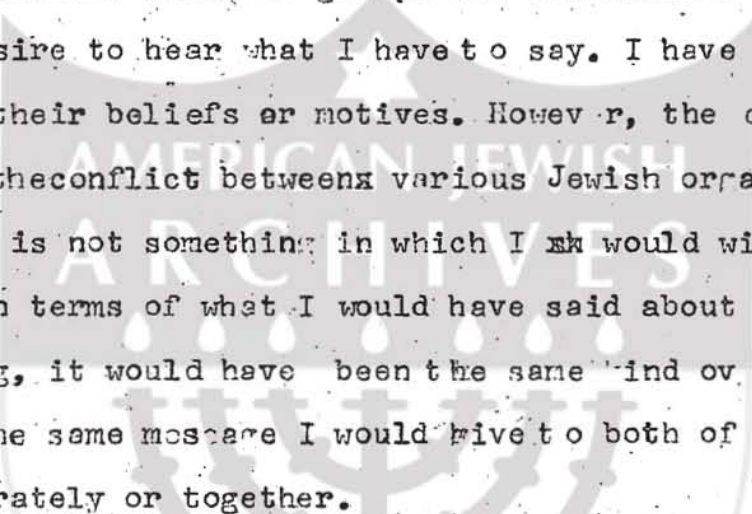
In the 17 years that I have been conducting what I call a ministry of inner healing, I have tried to be a force of reconciliation among various Christian denominations and between Christian and non-Christian faiths. In speaking ~~xxx~~ before a great variety of Protestant, Catholic, ~~xxx~~ Jewish, ~~xxx~~ Muslim and other groups, I have stressed the universality of God's concern for all of us, His children, and the possibility that all of us may draw upon inner spiritual resources provided to us through His wisdom and His love.

By understanding and calling upon these resources, we can be lifted out of our self-destroying patterns of behavior and thinking. I am a Christian and my faith stems from my perception of God's love through Jesus Christ. Yet I have never attempted in any way to ~~designate~~ the faith and practices of any ~~sect~~, however far they might be removed from my own personal beliefs, nor would I ever willingly be used by any group to attack the faith of others. ~~WITH RESPECT REGARD TO JUDAISM, THE MOTHER FAITH OF CHRISTIANITY IN WHICH JESUS WAS NURTURED, AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE THROUGH WHOM CAME THE TREASURE OF THE BIBLE, I HAVE ONLY THE GREATEST FEELINGS OF GREAT RESPECT AND GRATEFUL INDEBTEDNESS.~~

It should go without saying that in speaking before the many diverse groups that I have addressed, I did not pass judgment nor necessarily endorse the beliefs of those who invited me. In accepting the invitation to speak before the B'nai Yeshua organization, I was

simply responding to an opportunity to share with another religious group some of the ~~sw~~ psychological and spiritual insights that have come to me over the years concerning how individuals can be made more nearly whole and healthy in their totality as human beings.

I have met with all kinds of groups and individuals who have expressed a sincere desire to hear what I have to say. I have tried not to pass judgment on their beliefs or motives. However, the controversy surrounding the conflict between various Jewish organizations and B'nai Yeshua is not something in which I ~~sw~~ would willingly become embroiled. In terms of what I would have said about individual inner healing, it would have been the same kind of message to all groups, the same message I would give to both of those opposing groups, separately or together.



STATEMENT BY ROBBIE MARC H. TANENBAUM, NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS
AFFAIRS DIRECTOR, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AT EVANGELICAL-JEWISH
PRESS CONFERENCE

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The publication of the ~~new~~ book, Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation, the first of its kind to our knowledge, is without question a milestone not only in the growth of understanding and mutual respect between Evangelical Christians and Jews but is as well a significant event in the religious, cultural, social, and even political life of American society. ~~But~~ But it would be naive in the extreme, I believe, if ~~any~~ anyone were to conclude that the act of publishing this cooperative study has somehow magically or mystically dissolved the real and extensive problems that continue to exist between Evangelicals and Jews, especially on the level of peoples in the street.

In recent weeks, I had occasion to address several national and local community meetings separately of Jewish and Evangelical religious and lay representatives. I was deeply troubled to find ~~how~~ how much fear and mistrust there exists on a reciprocal basis between Evangelicals and Jewish men^{OTHERS} and women in the streets. While many welcomed the movement to improve understanding as symbolized by this book and the conference of Evangelical and Jewish leaders that was the basis for these essays, the mistrust, or at best the ambivalence, from the Jewish perspective rested on these recent "reality" developments:

*President ~~xxxxxx~~ Jimmy Carter's administration's alternating carrot-and-stick pressures against the State of Israel have contributed to that mistrust or ambivalence among many Jews toward Evangelicals generally. As a recent Christian Century poll of religion writers reported, President Carter was voted the ~~third~~ most influential religious personality in America because he ~~was~~ appeared to embody

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a new constructive involvement of Evangelicals in politics. But it is ~~perceived~~ that involvement with what appears to be a one-sided preaching of "the truth" to Israel that has become in recent months a cause for suspicion and even resentment not only against the President but for what he appears to represent as an Evangelical.

SOJOURNERS

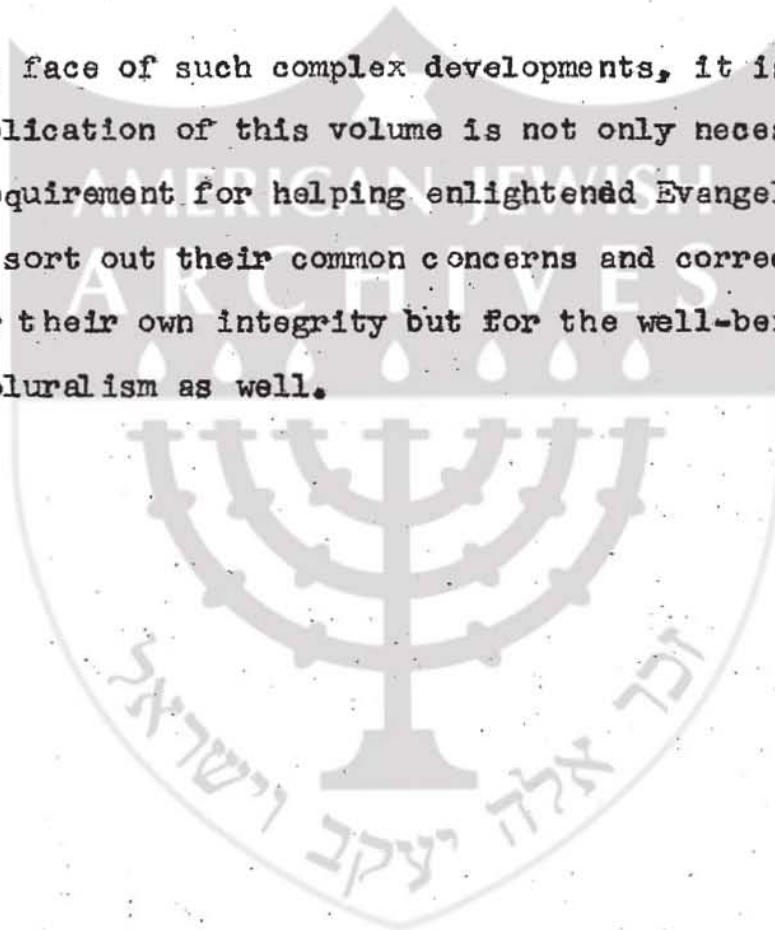
That Jewish response, however, appears to be tempered by the knowledge that there are millions of Evangelicals who are among the strongest supporters of Israel, and that therefore the actions of the President must not be attributed to the 50 million Evangelical Christians in America. The recent strong statement of support of Israel by Dr. Billy Graham on Oct. 28 in Atlanta, ~~and~~ the advertisements by Evangelicals in numerous daily newspapers opposing the Soviet-U.S. accord of Oct. 1 and favoring stronger support of Israel, the recent organization of an International Organization of Evangelicals Concerned for Israel, are all mitigating factors that have ~~far~~ sustained a positive feeling of friendship for Evangelicals among many Jewish leaders.

DR. ARTHUR OLSON -

~~The~~ On the American domestic scene, the ambivalence is also compounded of positive and negative experiences in recent months between Evangelicals and Jews. On the affirmative side, Evangelical leaders such as Dr. Jimmy Allen, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, continue to be among ~~for~~ the foremost champions of the separation of church and state, of religious pluralism, and of support of human rights, including those of ~~the~~ Jews and Christians in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. At the same time, those feelings of solidarity between Evangelicals and Jews are being subjected to strain by the growth of Christian Yellow Pages, Christian Medical and Lawyers and Businessmen's groups, ~~Christian Medical and Lawyers~~ and the recent Los Angeles Congress of the Laity, all of which exclude Jews and others

from the American mainstream. Put directly, many Jews and other Americans~~A~~ fear that an unbridled resurgence of an Evangelical Christianity that seeks to "restore" America to its pristine origins as "a unified Evangelical America" poses challenges of regression to a society which could reduce, Catholics, and others to second-class citizens.

In the face of such complex developments, it is evident that the publication of this volume is not only necessary but is an urgent requirement for helping enlightened Evangelical Christians and Jews to sort out their common concerns and correct misperceptions not only for their own integrity but for the well-being of American democratic pluralism as well.



WRFM

When Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton decided to cancel her speaking engagement with B'nai Yeshu~~ua~~, the group which specializes in proselytizing the Jewish community, her free act of conscience was welcomed by the Jewish community, but also by ~~many~~ in the Christian community. There were several Christian responses that were unhappy about her decision,

One negative response appeared in the conservative publication, National Review, which wrote in an editorial on June 23, that she was bullied into denying her Christian right to evangelize. The second negative reaction appeared in a syndicated column distributed by King Features, written by Jeffrey Hart. Mr. Hart took essentially the same line as the National Review, saying that Mrs. Stapleton had "caved in to these cultural pressures" and was thereby distorting her own religious commitment to evangelize.

Both the National Review and Mr. Hart also seemed not why to understand ~~why~~ ~~an~~ efforts at wholesale conversion of Jews away from Judaism strike at the very foundation of Jewish survival and the continuity of faith and of a people.

If the Ntional Review and Jeffrey Hart had taken five minutes to read the text of the statement that Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton had invited me to make at her press conference, I think they would owe both the American Jewish Committee and myself ~~personally~~ an apology. More important, they would owe ~~their~~ their readers ~~their~~ an apology for misleading them about an important issue of freedom of conscience and where we actually stand. In my statement which was issued to every member who attended that packed press conference, I made clear my position in these words:

"The American Jewish Committee defends the right of every

to testify to its truth as it sees it. But that right must be compatible with the duty in a democratic society not to defame nor misrepresent the cherished beliefs and religious practices of another group."

That is not a new position for us invented for the purpose of this controversy. That has been the fundamental position of the American Jewish Committee since its founding in 1906, and my own during the past 25 years of service in the field of improving relations between Christians and Jews. We take the same position as did Vatican Council II, the late ~~Cardinal Ruffini~~ Pope John XXIII, the World and National Council of Churches, and the American Catholic hierarchy. That position is that there is a basic distinction between mission, testifying, and proselytizing.

Everyone has right to testify to the truth by word and deed as he or she sees it. That's what Emerson meant when he wrote: "What you are speaks out so loud, I cannot hear what you say." If people live out their ideals, their values, and their truths in everyday life, they in fact testify to what they stand for. And in that sense, Jews testify by their words and deeds as much as do Christians.

But our objections are two-fold: Even though we affirm the right of Christians and others to seek to convert others to their beliefs, we sincerely believe that there are convincing theological and pragmatic reasons to abandon the traditional evangelical approach toward Jews and Judaism. Few more persuasive cases for such giving up of proselytizing the Jewish people has been made than that made by the Catholic priest, Father Michael B. McGarry, in his book, Christology after Auschwitz. A theological pluralism, Father McGarry writes, would grant and account for a Christ who is Messiah for

Christians and for the abiding validity of the Jewish tradition for Jews. Christian doctrine, Father McGarry adds in his study, ~~xxxxxx~~ properly understood, does not see Judaism as only preparatory to Christianit , as destined to disapeear from the earth. Rather it sees Judaism as one of God's ways of speaking fo his world through his continued election of the Jewish people in terms which Christians can understand. Neither the National Review editorial nor Jeffrey Hart, I am afraid, befect even a glimmer of understanding of this emergent new Christian theology of Judaism and the Jewish people .
~~xxxxx~~

Our objections to these Christian mission to the Jews such as B 'nai Yeshua have far more to do with manipulation~~x~~ and deception than with theology. B'nai Yeshu~~x~~ does not present itself openly as a Christian movement forthrightly attempting to convert Jews. It is packages itself as a "Jewish movement" ~~Thexxx~~ Many members of B'nai Yeshu~~x~~ wear yarmulkas, skull caps, peform Hebrew group songs and Israeli and Jewish folk dang~~as~~, ~~xxxxx~~ announce public celebration of the Jewish Sabbath, the Passover seder - in short they appeal to Jewish young people on the basis of their Jewish identity, not to their identify as Christians. It is almost as if a goup of evnagleical Protestant Christians wanting to seek converss from the Roman Catholic c mmunity wer to put on Roman collars, nun's habits, wear cruffixies, c~~ab~~brate the rucharist, and call themselves followers of St. Mary.

That's why we object to B'nai Yeshua and Jews for Jenu~~s~~, and that's why Ruth Carter Stapleton, when she found out about their unfair packaging, dec~~ad~~ded not to legitim~~ae~~ their ~~xxx~~ approach.

THE TEXT OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF POPE JOHN PAUL WAS SENT TODAY TO HIS EMINENCE JEAN CARDINAL VILLOT, VATICAN CITY, AND TO ARCHBISHOP JOHN QUINN, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

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The American Jewish Committee is deeply saddened by the news of the untimely death of Pope John Paul I, and extends to millions of our Catholic neighbors our sincere and heartfelt condolences.

The thirty four days of his Papacy were tragically brief, but they were remarkably like a sudden and brilliant comet that illumined the skies over the human family through his spontaneous warmth, his compassion, and his contagious friendship toward all people.

In particular, the Jewish people in America, in Israel, and elsewhere will ^{mourn} ~~grieve~~ the loss of Pope John Paul. From the days of his mother's close friendship with a Jewish family in Venice, Albino Luciani expressed a deep respect for the Jewish people, a reverence for Judaism, ^{an abhorrence of anti-Semitism} and later, a profound understanding of the meaning of Jerusalem and of Israel to the Jewish people. One of his last significant acts was to pray on the eve of the Camp David summit meeting for "the security of Israel."

We hope and pray that the humane convictions that he expressed and the noble example of spiritual and civic virtue that he embodied will continue to serve as an inspiration to his successor, as well as to all people of good will whose hearts were warmed by his all too brief presence in our midst.

Richard M. Was, President
Rabbi Mordechai Tannenbaum
Vice Pres. MTAS District

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

When the United States Post Office recently issued a commemorative stamp honoring the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, the respective responses of Lutherans -- and Protestants generally -- and Jews disclosed what profoundly contrary places Luther holds in Lutheran and Jewish history and contemporary perceptions.

As I experienced some of those responses, Lutherans tended to feel a sense of pride, an appropriateness, in the honor bestowed by that commemorative stamp. Jews reacted with either disbelief or outrage.

Those disparate perceptions are not unique to Lutherans and Jews. The German Catholic scholar, Prof. Joseph Lortz, in his book, The Reformation in Germany (1968), writes of an analogous problem in Catholic-Lutheran relations. He uses the term "bilateral confessionalism" to describe the existence of "the Luther legend" among Lutherans and many Protestants; namely, "the preconceived sympathy for the hero of the Reformation," expressed in "sentimental and uncritical praise of Luther." Lortz acknowledges that there exists a Catholic legend of Luther which has assumed in the past "an antagonistic and adversary position" expressed in "hatred of the disrupter of Church unity and a condemned arch-heretic."

"It was from the first Luther legend that Reformed polemic, as well as the Catholic reaction to it," Lortz adds, "acquired its churlish tone throughout the centuries; and for the same cause, for 400 years right down to the present day, historical study of the Reformation has been largely unable, to arrive at accepted conclusions. Here as everywhere, bilateral confessionalism, i.e., a one-sided attitude of antagonism, has proved its fundamental fruitlessness."

If "bilateral confessionalism" has been a problem in the Catholic-Lutheran encounter, it has nothing less than bedeviled the Jewish-Lutheran encounter over the past 400 years. Only since the end of World War II, in the wake of the Nazi holocaust, have Lutheran leaders begun to confront

the dark anti-Jewish side of the "Luther legend" and have undertaken significant efforts to purge Lutheran teaching and culture of that destructive inheritance. And here I want to acknowledge with appreciation the strong moral leadership provided in this self-purification process by the Lutheran World Federation, particularly its Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, as well as the Division of Theological Studies of the Lutheran Council of the U.S.A.

Welcome as has been that progress in the past four decades, no person of conscience can remain content with such efforts in the face of the magnitude of the religious and moral challenge that the anti-Jewish writings of Martin Luther continue to represent. Above and beyond that, there is a danger that if we concentrate our entire attention on Luther's anti-Judaic polemic alone, we will be diverted from the far more fundamental spiritual and human threat. Put simply, that threat is the far longer and more pervasive tradition of the demonologizing of Jews and Judaism that has existed in Christendom from the first century until our present age.

What have been the major features of that Christian tradition toward Jews and Judaism? In what ways have Martin Luther's teachings been related to that 1500-year-old legacy which he inherited? What were the special features of Luther's "contribution" to that anti-Judaic culture? What was the impact of Luther's anti-Jewish preaching and teaching on the response of German Lutherans in the face of the Nazis' barbarous assault against the Jewish people? And finally, what can we learn from this soul-searching for our life together today?

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE JEWS

The problem of understanding the medieval attitude toward the Jew is necessarily complex, for just as today, a variety of factors operated during the Middle Ages to complicate Christian-Jewish relations. These included:

- a) The anti-Jewish tradition stemming from the Gospels themselves;
- b) The dogmatic enmity of the Church Fathers and the Constantinian Church, underscored by the religious and cultural nonconformity

of the Jewish people within what was essentially a unified, and in many ways, a totalitarian civilization;

c) Economic rivalry and the sometime superior -- or at any rate -- strategic economic position of Jews spread throughout the Diaspora;

d) The gradual evolution of new social balances of power and the political struggle it entailed. This was especially true in Germany where there was a ceaseless struggle of the Holy Roman Emperor to exert authority over the papacy and to impose imperial domination over the fiercely independent princes. "The history of the Germans," Louis Snyder has written, "has been the struggle for a working compromise between uniformity and disruption" for more than a thousand years;

e) The emergence of the national spirit which eventually dissolved the medieval unity of European Christendom.

Christendom's hostility toward the Jews reached its apogee in the period of the Crusades. It had been gathering force through many centuries. But the widespread social unrest, the rising menace of Islam (with the Turks, after conquering Constantinople in 1453, carrying into Europe an authority neither Christian nor European and making the Eastern Mediterranean the headquarters of the infidel threat to the West), the spread of heresies (scriptural, anti-sacramental, and anti-clerical) that marked the eleventh and twelfth centuries and continued unabated for several hundred years while the Renaissance and the Reformation-to-be slowly germinated, called forth the greatest energies of the church to combat its enemies from within and without. Crusades and inquisitions were among the most powerful instruments for preserving the unity of Christendom. It was inevitable that such a period of social and religious stress, especially noteworthy for a marked intensification of zealotry and fanaticism, should witness also a heightened antagonism toward the Jews -- the most notoriously "heretical" and non-Christian force in Europe, living in the midst of the citadel whose security was being threatened from every side. The antagonism was not new, but the form and intensity it assumed as a result of the stressful circumstances of the period were.

on the other hand, saw no reason at all why that elimination could not equally well be achieved by the physical annihilation of the unconverted. In the Chanson de Roland, the famous epic which is the most impressive literary embodiment of the spirit of the First Crusade, the new attitude is expressed quite unambiguously:

'The Emperor has taken Saragossa. A thousand Franks are sent to search thoroughly the town, the mosques and synagogues...The King believes in God, he desires to serve him. His bishops bless the water and the heathen are brought to the baptistry. If any one of them resists Charlemagne, the King has him hanged or burnt to death or slain with the sword.'

In the eyes of the crusading pauperes, Prof. Cohn writes, the smiting of Moslems and the Jews was to be the first act in that final battle which was to culminate in the smiting of the Prince of Evil himself. Above these desperate hordes, as they moved about their work of massacre, there loomed the figure of the Antichrist. As the infidels were allotted their roles in the eschatological drama, popular imagination transformed them into demons. But if the Saracen long retained in the popular imagination a certain demonic quality, the Jew was portrayed as an even more horrifying figure. Jews and Saracens were generally regarded as closely akin, if not identical; but since Jews lived scattered through Christian Europe, they came to occupy by far the larger part in popular demonology. Moreover they occupied it for much longer -- with consequences, Dr. Cohn states, which have extended down the generations and which include the massacre of millions of European Jews in mid-twentieth century.

Based on his detailed historic and theological studies, Prof. Cohn asserts that "official Catholic teaching had prepared the way" for establishing the demonic image of the Jew which dominated the imagination of large parts of the Christian masses in the Middle Ages and beyond. Catholic historian Malcolm Hay similarly declares, "The machinery of propaganda was entirely in the hands of the Church officials -- preaching, chronicles, mystery plays, and even ecclesiastical ceremonies were the principal agencies available for the dissemination of hate. Preachers dwelt with a morbid and sometimes sadistic realism upon the physical

sufferings of Christ, for which they blamed all Jews of the time and all their descendants. For many centuries the Bishops of Beziers preached a series of sermons during Holy Week, urging their congregations to take vengeance on the Jews who lived in the district; stoning them became a regular part of the Holy Week ceremonial."

The Church, Prof. Cohn observes, had always tended to regard the Synagogue as a dangerous influence and even as a potential rival and had never ceased to carry on a vigorous polemic against Judaism. For generations the laity had been accustomed to hear the Jews bitterly condemned from the pulpit -- as perverse, stubborn and ungrateful because they refused to admit the divinity of Christ, as bearers also of a monstrous hereditary guilt for the murder of Christ. Moreover the eschatological tradition had long associated the Jews with Antichrist himself.

Already in the second and third centuries theologians were foretelling the Antichrist would be a Jew of the tribe of Dan. Born at Babylon, he would grow up in Palestine and would love the Jews above all peoples; he would rebuild the Temple for them and gather them together from their dispersion. The Jews for their part would be the most faithful followers of the Antichrist, accepting him as the Messiah who was to restore the nation. And if some theologians looked forward to a general conversion of the Jews, others maintained that their blindness would endure to the end and that at the Last Judgment they would be sent, along with the Antichrist himself, to suffer the torments of Hell for all eternity. In the compendium of Antichrist-lore which Adso of Montier-en-Der produced in the tenth century and which remained the stock authority throughout the Middle Ages, Antichrist, while remaining a Jew of the tribe of Dan, has become still more uncanny and sinister. Now he is to be the offspring of a harlot and a worthless wretch and moreover at the moment of his conception the Devil is to enter the harlot's womb as a spirit, thereby ensuring that the child shall be the very incarnation of Evil. Later, his education in Palestine is to be carried out by sorcerers and magicians, who will initiate him into the black art and iniquity.

Significantly, when the old eschatological prophecies were up by the masses of the later Middle ages, all these phantasies were treated with deadly seriousness and elaborated into a weird mythology. For just as the human figure of Antichrist tended to merge into the wholly demonic figure of Satan, so the Jews tended to be seen as demons attendant on Satan. In medieval drama, some passion plays, and pictures, they were often shown as devils with the beard and horns of a goat, while in real life ecclesiastical and secular authorities alike tried to make them wear horns on their hats. Like other demons, they were imagined and portrayed in close association with creatures which symbolize lust and dirt -- horned beasts, pigs, frogs, worms, snakes and scorpions. Conversely Satan himself was commonly given Jewish features and was referred to as "the father of the Jews." The populace was convinced that in the synagogue Jews worshipped Satan in the form of a cat or a toad, invoking his aid in making black magic. Like their supposed master, Jews were thought of as demons of destruction whose one object was the ruin of Christians and Christendom -- *dyables d'enfer, enemys du genre humain*, as they were called in French miracle plays.

And if the power of the Jews seemed greater than ever, their evil-doing more outrageous, their sorceries more baleful, that was but one more sign that the End was indeed at hand. Even the ten lost tribes of Israel, Whom Commodianus had seen as the future army of Christ, became identified with those hosts of Antichrist, the peoples of Gog and Magog -- peoples whom the Pseudo-Methodius described as living off human flesh, corpses, babes ripped from their mothers' wombs, and also off scorpions, serpents and all the most disgusting reptiles. Medieval dramas were written showing how the Jewish demons would help Antichrist to conquer the world until, on the eve of the Second Coming and the beginning of the Millenium, Antichrist and the Jews would be annihilated together amidst the rejoicings of the Christians. During the performance of such works armed force was needed to protect the Jewish quarter from the fury of the mob. Popes and Councils might insist that, although the Jews ought to be isolated and degraded until the day of their conversion.

they must certainly not be killed -- subtleties such as these made little impression on turbulent masses swept by eschatological hopes and fears and already, as they thought, embarked on the prodigious struggles of the Last Days.

Hatred of Jews has so often been attributed to their role as money-lenders that it is worth emphasizing how slight the connection really was. The phantasy of the demonic Jews existed before the reality of the Jewish money-lender or usurer whom indeed it helped to produce by debarring Jews from any gainful economic, civil, or military functions through exclusionary civic and ecclesiastical laws.

When Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was commissioned by Pope Eugenius III in 1145 to preach the Second Crusade, he gained many recruits by announcing that the killing of an infidel would merit a place in heaven. Rudolph, or Ralph, a Cistercian monk who left his monastery at Clairvaux in order to enlist recruits in Germany for the rescue of the Holy Land, told the German masses it was their duty first to kill the enemies of Christ in their own country. Ralph told his congregations that these infidels, violent men, and well armed, were a long way off, and that it was much safer, and equally meritorious to kill unarmed Jews at home. The doctrine was readily accepted by the populace, whose minds for generations, says Malcolm Hay, had been prepared for such ideas by ecclesiastical propaganda. The massacre began, without regard to age or sex, at Spire, Cologne, Mainz, and many other cities in Germany. "Many ecclesiastical historians," writes Malcolm Hay, "have treated the whole affair (of the massacre of the Jews in Germany) as if it had been merely an unfortunate incident, due to the ignorant fanaticism of single individuals and not as in fact it was characteristic and inevitable in the world of the twelfth century" and subsequent centuries.

That demonology which has fixed the image of the Jew as Anti-Christ dominated the medieval world into which was born Martin Luther in 1483. In that medieval world, there was an unending piling up of vile epithets and accusations and curses, the consistent representation

The consultation urged LWF member churches "to make a fair and correct presentation of Judaism in all their teaching and preaching." It said, "The Old Testament is indispensable for a full understanding of the significance of the person and ministry of Jesus and for explicating the life of the community of faith."

Of surpassing interest and importance was a statement issued by the Evangelical Church in Germany, a group of regional Lutheran, Reformed and United churches in the Federal Republic of Germany, which declared on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's assumption of power on January 30, 1933, the following:

"...We wish to state in all seriousness that we cannot simply dismiss our history and forget about it. Things which are repressed are bound sooner or later to reassert their power.

"Today we again repeat, unreservedly, the confession of guilt made immediately after the war by the members of the EKD Council then in office: 'Through us endless suffering has been brought to many peoples and countries ...We accuse ourselves for not witnessing more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously and for not loving more ardently.'

"To the older people in our midst we say: Please do not close your mind to the truth of what happened. To the younger generation we say: Do not stop facing up to this truth. You are not responsible for what happened then; but you are responsible for how those events affect our further history.

"It seems to us that in regard to our historical and political consciousness the most important thing for us to do is to work responsibly through our recent past and come to terms with it.

"We wish to warn against attempts to use historical parallels with the National Socialist dictatorship as weapons in the day-to-day political battles of the present. Our modern State and its institutions can in no way be compared to the oppressive regime of the Third Reich.

"To the politicians, however, we add a word of warning: Be mindful of your responsibility. Injustice and want, the burden of unemployment and an unjust peace settlement were the breeding ground in which the National Socialist party thrived. The selfishness and disunity of the democratic parties brought Hitler to power. This is why it is essential to preserve social peace and also why the common commitment to a democratic, constitutional state must stand above all argument, however necessary.

"To all our fellow citizens we say: Do not allow yourselves to be persuaded again into a new hate. Hitler's rule was also based on hate. This is why hatred must have no place among us, whether it be of external enemies, or of foreigners or other classes, groups or minorities. Lastly, to our own parishes and congregations we say" Resist the heresy of believing in salvation in this world. Hitler's victory was also a victory for heresyWe cannot remember this day without giving thanks to God who in his goodness and mercy has brought us safely through the disasters of our people and who wants us to forgive our guilt.

"In the words of our predecessors at the end of the war we too acknowledge that 'Our hope is in the God of grace and mercy that He will use our churches as His instruments and will give them authority to proclaim His word and to make His will obeyed among ourselves and among our whole people.'"



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THE NEW YORK TIMES

ARCHBISHOP TUTU AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican primate of South Africa and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is clearly the most visible international symbol of the just struggle against apartheid. He is at the same time rapidly becoming a stormy embodiment of suspicion and strain between Black and Jewish communities in many parts of the world.

Since the days of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s non-violent leadership of the civil rights movement, a majority of American Jews have been profoundly committed to justice and full human rights for African-Americans, but also for South African and other black peoples. These sensibilities, forged by prophetic values of social justice and the Jewish historic experience of anti-Semitism and persecution, leaped to vigorous life in consequence of unshakable Jewish trust in Dr. King.

Dr. King did not play semantic or political games with Jews. Jews knew they could count on him, and he knew he counted on the Jewish people. He unambiguously supported Israel's security, and advocated the human rights of Soviet Jewry and all other peoples. He opposed every form of anti-Semitism and bigotry in word and deed. He appreciated with special understanding the uniqueness of the "final solution" for the Jews and its singular horrors/under the Nazis, while not minimizing the sufferings of other peoples in World War II.

In heartfelt response, American Jews marched with Dr. King, demonstrated, were cattle-pronged, beaten, imprisoned, and did everything possible financially and politically to help the movement succeed during its long, tortuous struggle. Some Jews even sacrificed their lives.

Archbishop Tutu appears to be unraveling much of Dr. King's historic bonding with the Jews in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere. Often with beguiling humor, the Anglican divine since 1984 has been denigrating virtually everything sacred or important to Jews - religion, history, culture, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel.

For some time, many Jews - myself included - have resisted the easy temptation of characterizing Archbishop Tutu as anti-Semitic. The cause of dismantling the monstrous evils of the apartheid system is morally urgent. The archbishop is a man of stature and has made an historic contribution to this epochal struggle for freedom and human decency. His vital role should not be compromised by demagogic polemics. Indeed, most Jewish leaders I know have wanted to trust and support Archbishop Tutu and the anti-apartheid campaign as they did the late Dr. King and the civil rights movement.

But regrettably, even tragically, the archbishop himself has been compromising his role. He has been systematically undermining Jewish trust in him, and the evidence has become increasingly disturbing. Beneath his smiles and occasional "friendly" words of reconciliation between Blacks and Jews, Archbishop Tutu appears to be constructing a subtle anti-Jewish mythology.

That emerging mythos is a fusion of traditional Christian anti-Jewish themes - which he learned in his parochial mission schools to which he was confined in his early fundamentalist training - with more recent forms of a Third World radical ideology. That strange fusion of ancient religion and liberation politics stigmatize both Judaism and Zionism as racist - in the mode of the obscene United Nations resolution.

The record of Tutu's statements has become lengthy, therefore, these representative citations will serve to illustrate the issues:

On Judaism as "racism"

On November 28, 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Archbishop Tutu asserted, quite incredibly, that apartheid in effect was incubated in the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated ritually Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric stated, was the earliest form of apartheid.

These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles are separated by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (which was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

But the temple courtyards also ritually separated the Israelite priests from the Levites, from the ordinary Israelites, and men from women. Did that make the early Palestinian Jews anti-Semitic?

One month earlier, on October 23, 1984, the archbishop preached a sermon at the prestigious St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Darien, Connecticut, in which he compared "apartheid with ancient Jewish practices." According to the Hartford Courant (October 29, 1984), "Tutu cited what he said was the refusal of ancient Jews to allow gentiles into the Temple in Jerusalem. Just as the Temple was destroyed because it walled out many," he said, "so the South African laws that separate blacks ~~from~~ and whites must fall."

Tutu then added, "The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God. Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings."

It would literally take a treatise to separate fact from fiction, and to correct the distortions of Temple religion and history in these off-hand statements. On the alleged Jewish "monopoly on God" canard and Jesus' anger, suffice it to say that the revolutionary concept of God as the Creator of all mankind Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the Synagogue.

On "Jewish Arrogance and Power"

Tutu rejected any criticism that these "Temple sermons" verged on theological anti-Semitism. During his November 26, 1984, address at the Jewish seminary, he responded: "This Jewish sensitivity comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support."

To his caricatures of the Hebraic religion in Biblical ~~religious~~ times, the archbishop now adds the new mix of 19th century conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a potent anti-Jewish brew of past and present hostile imagery.

The Holocaust - "Forgive the Nazis"

On July 26, 1985, the Jerusalem Post quotes Tutu as expressing his resentment against "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust," and "the Jewish monopoly on suffering."

During his Christmas 1989 visit to Israel (actually to the West Bank and East Jerusalem), the archbishop adjusted his schedule at the last minute to come to the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial. Following his visit, he offered this message to world Jewry:

"Our Lord would say that in the end the positive thing that can come is the spirit of forgiving, not forgetting...We pray for those who made it happen, help us to forgive them and help us so that we in our turn will not make others suffer."

Tutu's pious and presumptuous comments enraged most Jews and for several very real reasons. First, it was clearly a statement of the ancient polemical contrast between Christian forgiveness and alleged Jewish vengefulness. This was heard as coming from a prominent Christian leader whose classic faith has refused for nearly 2,000 years "to forgive" the entire Jewish people for the alleged single crime of the Crucifixion of Jesus, and has inflicted untold vengeance and punishment

on the Jews for two millenia.

Second, the point of the moral message seemed to be less the issue of forgiveness than to preach to the Israelis that they should not behave like the Nazis and "make others" suffer. Or put more bluntly, forgive the real Nazis, and attack the Israelis, the mythic "new Nazis."

(A Jewish religious reaction against Tutu's preachment is that Judaism requires genuine repentance by the sinner before one can realize forgiveness. Repentance (teshuvah) call for an unambiguous acknowledgment of wrong-doing, an overwhelming sense of shame for one's evil deeds, a determination to change, and then demonstration of an actual change of behavior. These are the preconditions to forgiveness - especially if the sinner participated in the attempted massacre of an entire people. Some Christian theologians would call Tutu's form of forgiveness "cheap grace," which ultimately becomes an encouragement to do more violence since there is no real accountability.)

Talking about forgiveness, strange, but the good archbishop has not appealed to the 23 million Blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of non-violence of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Ghandi, declared on January 10, 1986, in a Washington Post interview:

"You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up stones and we are fighting."

In an apocalyptic mood expressed in that interview, the archbishop warned that there could be a time of "naked terrorism" in South Africa, with "militant black attacks" on "all school buses (which) carry only white children" and "black servants poisoning the morning coffee of their white masters."

The desperate feelings of Archbishop Tutu over the frightful plight of his people are completely understandable. Having seen for myself the oppressive conditions and suffering of black people at the racist hands of many white South Africans, I empathize strongly with his fears and angers.

My point has to do with double standards. If a Jew, and especially an Israeli, had spoken to the press about the uses of "naked terrorism" against the Arab states and PLO factions - who have repeatedly declared their intentions to destroy Israel with missiles and poison gas - I rather suspect that Archbishop Tutu would see nothing morally wrong in lecturing Jews on the evils of abandoning their historic mission of being "a light unto the nations." Self-defense for South African blacks, and every other people, is indeed morally justifiable; for the Jews and/or Israelis, Tutu preaches that it means you have "lost direction and are untrue to you/calling." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 28, 1984).

~~Thus, the only Jews Tutu seems able to comprehend are mythological but dead Jews of the Bible. Real Jews, living with all the dilemmas of the modern world, do not exist for him, and if they do, it is only because they will practice Christian forgiveness.~~

On Israel and a Palestinian state;

In his latest visit to Israel during Christmas week~~end~~ 1989, he assured the world that "the Jewish State has the full right to territorial integrity and security." Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately equated Israel with South Africa and called for the creation of a Palestinian state.

"I find worrisome parallels between the way the Government of Israel and South Africa react to unrest," Archbishop Tutu is quoted as saying in The New York Times (December 24, 1989.) "If I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa."

Earlier, on March 10, 1987, in a talk before British Jews in London, the archbishop said, "Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, But I cannot understand how a people with your history would have a state...that would carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from which your people suffered." ((Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 11, 1987.))

On November 28, 1984, in New York, he accused Israel of having "connived" in the massacres of Palestinian women and children in at the Sabra and Shattila refugee camps in Beirut in 1982. His conclusion contradicted the findings of the Kahan judicial inquiry which gave evidence that the massacres were carried out ~~by~~ ^a by Phalangist Christians ~~against~~ against Palestinian Muslims.

Thus to Tutu, Zionism is equivalent to racism. But in fact he has gone beyond the United Nations declaration by stating in a speech at Oslo University on December 12, 1984, that apartheid against the blacks is the equal of Nazism's "final solution" against the Jews. Saying that South African blacks are "being turned into aliens in the land of their birth," he asserted that "this is apartheid's final solution just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (UPI, December 12, 1984.)

The syllogism now has taken form: South Africa's apartheid is the equivalent of Adolf Hitler's "final solution" of the Jews; Israel's "repression" of the Palestinians (dramatized by "connivance" over the Sabra and Shatilla massacres) is equivalent to South Africa's apartheid; therefore, the Israelis are carrying out Nazi-like policies of "a final solution" against the Palestinians.

Thus, the pattern of Archbishop Tutu's views toward Jews and Israel raise some troublesome and unanswered questions:

Why is he seeking to minimize, if not relativize, the Nazi holocaust's meaning for Jews? Is there an ideological calculus that the Nazi holocaust and the final solution have absorbed such massive emotional intensity in the U.S. and the Western world, that there is little space left for any comparable intensity of moral

and emotional response to the claims of apartheid?

A method would seem to be developing among Tutu, ~~xxxx~~ and some other black leaders, to relativize the Nazi holocaust and absolutize apartheid. Is it really necessary to break the so-called "Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust...and on suffering" in order to make the case that "apartheid is the final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (Oslo, Dec. 12, 1984).

Tutu drives home the relativizing of the Holocaust by saying, "some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. You don't need gas chambers; when you put children where there is no food, gas chambers would make a neater death." (London, March 10, 1987, Jewish Telegraphic Agency.)

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the "legal" system of apartheid. There is, however, one fundamental and decisive difference: the evil system of apartheid was established in 1948 to deprive 23 million blacks in South Africa of their essential human rights. The Nazis' "final solution" was conceived as a program to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself.

The same religious-ideological calculus appears to be extended to Israel by the Archbishop and others who share his strategy. Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, Tutu says, but Israel is a Nazi-like state that inflicts an apartheid existence on Palestinians and makes them into refugees. (There is never any suggestion that the Arab states and the PLO may have contributed to this tragic circumstance.) Thus, whatever moral claims Israel has on the conscience of the world is being systematically eroded by this stance.

In sum, if we understand Archbishop Tutu accurately, the Jews do not have a monopoly on God; they have lost their "chosenness" and have ceased to be "a light unto the nations;" (they claim "a monopoly on suffering," they suffer from "an arrogance of power; and the Jewish State is a mirror image of the Nazi state.

The real tragedy is that two victim peoples have been cast into competing with one another over who is the greater victim, rather than face together their

true common enemies - racism, anti-Semitism, hatred, and exclusion from the mainstreams of many societies.

Someday perhaps the prophet from Capetown will join hands with the descendants of the prophets of Israel to recognize that what should bind them together is far greater than what should be allowed to divide them.

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Rabbi Tanenbaum, ~~in~~ was the program chairman of the first National Conference on Race and Religion, and was active in the civil rights movement since the 1960s.



PASSION PLAYS - AMERICAN IMPACT

by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

"Why all the fuss about the Oberammergau Passion Play in Germany?" Some Jews ask me that question after reading my last column on the subject.

For many people, Oberammergau is "over there," distant, remote. Why bother? Well, it turns out that the anti-Semitic impact of the Bavarian Passion Play is not confined to that picturesque village.

First of all, between now and September, an estimated 150,000 Americans will see the play out of a total audience of about 500,000 Europeans, mostly non-Germans.

But its fall-out of negative, anti-Jewish imagery also strikes into the American heartland. About a year ago, I commissioned a young Rabbinic student, Samuel Weintraub, to do a study of Passion Plays in the United States. That study, made possible by George and Arlene Hecht of Sarasota, Florida, revealed that there are at least a dozen American-produced Passion Plays, many of which are traveling road companies.

It turns out as a result of a careful reading of their scripts or seeing their productions in Florida, Georgia, South Dakota or New Jersey, that most of the American plays are based entirely on the Oberammergau Passion Play. ~~not Bavaria~~.

The demonological poison brewed in Bavaria is now being regularly exported to pious audiences in our own country. The prescription for healing this disease must be the same for Bavaria as for Macon, Georgia - exposure to public light of its vicious anti-Semitism, and pressure on fair-minded Christians to avoid supporting these plays by staying away from them.

IV RESPONSE OF CHRISTIAN GROUPS TO ARAB INITIATIVESChurch Center at the United Nations

The Church Center at the United Nations, an ecumenical and interdenominational Protestant center, has been recommending the Arab propagandist, M. T. Mehdi, to church agencies and parish churches for their study programs on the Middle East as "a voice (the Church Center) staff had come to respect."

Dr. Mehdi, secretary general of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, was twice deported by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service as a professional agitator.

Commenting on Mr. Mehdi's application for permanent residency in the U. S., P. S. Esterdy, district director of the U. S. Immigration Service, told the New York Times, (Feb. 10, 1969), "since he has been such an agitator, the question comes if, as a matter of discretion, residency should be granted. Should this kind of man,--a doreigner agitating and creating trouble between brother and brother here-- be made a resident of this country?"

One of the Protestant colleges which received the recommendation of Mehdi as a ppeaker from the Church Center at the U. N. was the Methodist-affiliated Iowa Wesleyan College. The college president, Dr. Franklin H. Littell, observed, "If they can respect Mehdi they should have been more respectful toward Sturmer and Bormann!"

CHAPTER III

"ONLY ONE MAN CAN SAVE MY RUTHIE"

(25 pages; 5 photos)

Rivka Aleksandrovich is a short, squat dynamo of a woman. Born in Riga, Latvia, some 48 years ago, she taught English during her later residence in Moscow. She was allowed to leave for Israel in the late 1960s when Russian opened its gates for large Jewish emigration.

In May 1971, Rivka came to the United States on a mother's mission of mercy. Her 23-year-old daughter, Ruth, a trained nurse, was imprisoned in the brutal Potma Prison by the KGB. She was charged with an "anti-Soviet act" -- buying a Hebrew Bible on the black market. Ruth was suffering from asthma and nephritis. Her mother feared that Ruth would die unless she could be released shortly from that dank hard labor camp.

In a New York hotel room, Rivka confronted me forcefully. "My Ruthie will die in months, maybe weeks, unless we can get her out. Only one person can save her." She held up her forefinger in my face. "The number one man in the United States, only he can save my Ruthie." And, she added in words that both commanded and implored, "You must get me to him."

The "him" was President Richard Nixon. And the only door to Nixon, Rivka was persuaded, was Billy Graham.

This chapter begins with the narrative of how the author arranged a meeting between Rivka Aleksandrovich and Billy Graham in the Chicago Hilton Hotel. It describes their moving "prayer meeting" together, and then tells how Graham reached Henry Kissinger with Rivka's appeal for her daughter. Kissinger interevenes with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrinin. Six months later Ruth Aleksandrovich is released from Potma Prison and is reunited with her parents in Israel.

CHAPTER III (2)

The middle part of this chapter describes a series of episodes in which Billy Graham made personal efforts to help endangered Jews. It details meetings that the author helped arrange for Billy Graham with Jewish leaders in Hungary (Sept. 1977); his dramatic visit to Auschwitz (Nov. 1978) and his encounter with the remnant Polish Jewish community; his controversial visit to the Soviet Union (May 1982) and his dialogue with Russian Jewish leaders.

It also reports on his efforts to help save other Russian Jews (1972); Iraqi Jews (June 1969); his actions to release Israeli POWs in Egypt and Syria (1973); and his participation in a memorial service in San Francisco for Israeli athletes killed by PLO terrorists in the Munich Olympic games.

(Photos of Graham with Soviet Jews; Hungarian Jewish leaders; in Auschwitz, in the USSR.)



us into the Pope's reception room. The orchestrated ceremonial signs of respect seemed to suggest ^{some} compensation for the indignities visited on our ancestors by the Pope Paul IV's of the bitter past.

4) Then Pope John Paul II, dressed in his simple white vestments, demonstrated in gestures and words his rejection of that anti-Jewish past and his desire to build a new future between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people based on shared values and genuine mutual respect. After shaking hands with each of us with the welcome of "Shalom," the Pope joined our semi-circle. ~~and expressed his concern~~ In the wake of the Saldheim explosion, the Jewish delegates had informed the Vatican earlier that Miami was to be a ceremonial occasion, but that it required a "substantive" discussion with the Pope and the Holy See.

The Pope agreed readily, "No speeches, real discussion, free and open and uninhibited." He began the discussion with these words:

"Today is September 1, 1987. This is the 48th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland. I know what the Nazis did to my Polish nation. I know what suffering the Nazis inflicted on the Jewish people." Later, before a small group of us gathered around him, he added, "The monstrous evil of the Shoah must be overcome by the good."

That was the Pope's metaphorical way of responding to the pain the world Jewish community felt over his honoring the former Nazi officer, Kurt Saldheim, now president of Austria, with a Papal audience.

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

CASTEL GONDOLFO - The meeting between Pope John Paul II and nine Jewish leaders on September 1st at this Papal summer residence was unprecedented.

During my 25 years of involvement in Vatican-Jewish relations, I cannot recall a single occasion when a Pope put aside the long-established ritual of reading prepared speeches, and engaged directly with Jewish representatives in an "open, free, and uninhibited" conversation. (There have been such talks with Israeli government officials on geo-political issues, and one such dialogue between Pope ~~John~~ Paul VI and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel in 1964; this was the first time with representatives of world Jewry.)

~~The Pope~~

After shaking hands with each of us with the welcome of "Shalom," the Pope joined our semi-circle and invited us to speak about what was on our hearts and minds. With great mutual respect and civility, we ~~presented~~ presented to him our deeply-felt concerns over the issues that have vexed world Jewry and that threaten to agitate the atmosphere of next Friday's Papal meeting with American Jewish leaders in Miami.

On the Kurt Waldheim audience:

CARDINAL LUSTIGER: "HONOR OF THE CHURCH" IS AT STAKE

by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

In last week's column, I reported on the poignant story of two elderly Polish Jews, Mr. and Mrs. Leon Erlichster, who have been agonizing since the end of World War II over trying to see their son, Lolek. As a result of an accident in Warsaw in 1943, Lolek lost a leg. He was cared for in a Catholic hospital, then ferreted off by a Catholic nun of the Order of St. Paul. The nun had him baptised as a Catholic and he was raised as a Catholic monk.

For nearly 40 years, the Erlichsters made repeated visits to Poland to try to find their Lolek but Catholic and civil authorities denied them that right. At their request, I wrote to Cardinal Lustiger, the Archbishop of Paris and Primate of France and asked him to intervene. Born himself of Polish Jewish parents who perished in Auschwitz, and converted as a youth to Catholicism, Cardinal Lustiger, I reasoned, would understand better than most.

This week I received a reply from the Cardinal: "Your letter raises a matter that seems to me to be particularly grave. I can assure you that I shall do everything to enable Mr. and Mrs. Erlichster to find their son, Lolek. ~~xxxx~~ I understand that the parents wish before their death to see again their son who was lost for forty years. It involves the ~~xxxx~~ honor of the Church to do everything to make this possible."

Cardinal Lustiger, now in Rome to receive his red hat, added: "After my arrival in Rome, I shall transmit a copy of your letter to Cardinal Glemp, the ~~xxxx~~ Archbishop of Warsaw

STATEMENT BY MRS. RUTH CARTER STAPLETON ANNOUNCING
HER WITHDRAWAL FROM SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT WITH B'NAI YESHUA

Because I do not wish to become involved in any controversy that sets one group against another, I have cancelled the engagement I accepted some months ago to speak before a meeting sponsored by B'nai Yeshua in New York.

In the 17 years that I have been conducting what I call a ministry of inner healing, I have tried to be a force of reconciliation among various Christian denominations and between Christian and non-Christian faiths. In speaking ~~xxx~~ before a great variety of Protestant, Catholic, ~~and~~ Jewish, ~~and~~ Muslim and other groups, I have stressed the universality of God's concern for all of us, His children, and the possibility that all of us may draw upon inner spiritual resources provided to us through His wisdom and His love.

By understanding and calling upon these resources, we can be lifted out of our self-destroying patterns of behavior and thinking. I am a Christian and my faith stems from my perception of God's love through Jesus Christ. Yet I have never attempted in any way to ~~denigrate~~ the faith and practices of any ~~sect~~, however far they might be removed from my own personal beliefs, nor would I ever willingly be used by any group to attack the faith of others. WITH ~~RESPECT~~ REGARD TO JUDAISM, THE MOTHER FAITH OF CHRISTIANITY IN WHICH JESUS WAS NURTURED, AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE THROUGH WHOM CAME THE TREASURE OF THE BIBLE, I HAVE ONLY THE GREATEST

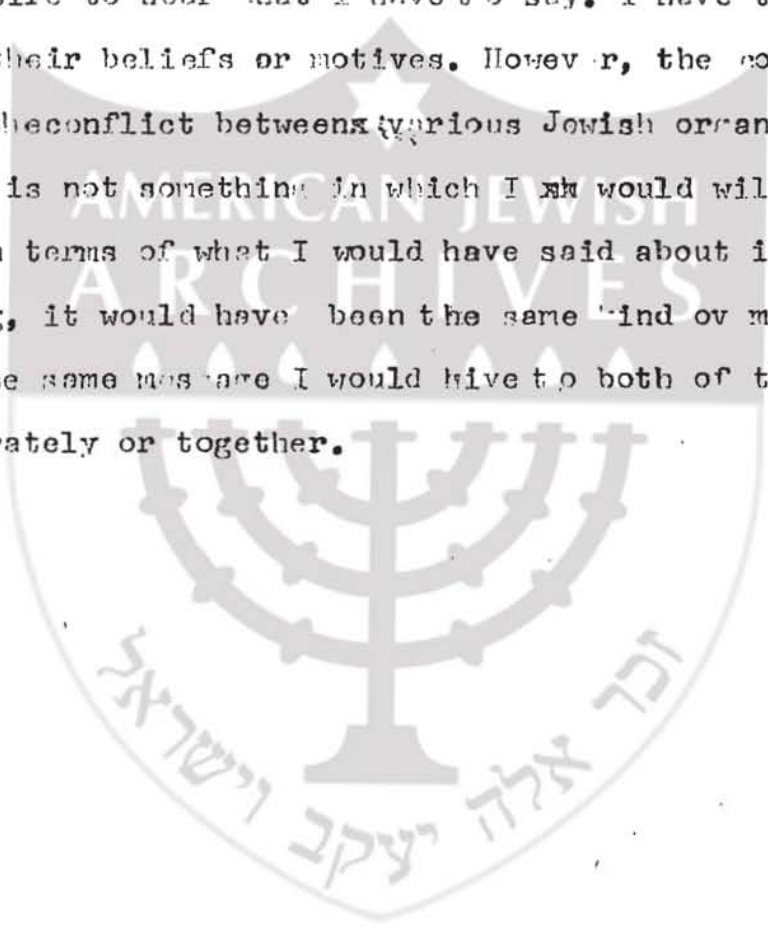
FEELINGS OF GREAT ~~RESPECT~~ RESPECT AND GRATEFUL INDEBTEDNESS.

associate myself with any effort that would seek to undermine the survival of the Jewish People distinct two religious-ethnic group

It should go without saying that in speaking before the many diverse groups that I have addressed, I did not pass judgment nor necessarily endorse the beliefs of those who invited me. In accepting the invitation to speak before the B'nai Yeshua organization, I was

simply responding to an opportunity to share with another religious group some of the ~~my~~ psychological and spiritual insights that have come to me over the years concerning how individuals can be made more nearly whole and healthy in their totality as human beings.

I have met with all kinds of groups and individuals who have expressed a sincere desire to hear what I have to say. I have tried not to pass judgment on their beliefs or motives. However, the controversy surrounding the conflict between various Jewish organizations and B'nai B'rith is not something in which I ~~am~~ would willingly become embroiled. In terms of what I would have said about individual inner healing, it would have been the same kind of message to all groups, the same message I would have to both of those opposing groups, separately or together.



WRFM

When Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton decided to cancel her speaking engagement with B'nai Yeshu~~aa~~, the group which specializes in proselytizing the Jewish community, her free act of conscience was welcomed by the Jewish community, but also by many in the Christian community. There were several Christian responses that were unhappy about her decision,

One negative response appeared in the conservative publication , National Review, which wrote in an editorial on June 23, that she was bullied into denying her Christian right to evangelize. The second negative reaction appeared in a syndicated column distributed by King Features, written by Jeffrey Hart. Mr. Hart took essentially the same line as the National Review, saying that Mrs. Stapleton had "caved in to these cultural pressures" and was thereby distorting her own religious commitment to evangelize.

Both the National Review and Mr. Hart also seemed not to understand ^{why} ~~why~~ ~~an~~ efforts at wholesale conversion of Jews away from Judaism strike at the very foundation of Jewish survival and the continuity of faith and of a people.

If the Ntional Review and Jeffrey Hart had taken five minutes to read the text of the statement that Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton had invited me to make at her press conference, I think they would owe both the American Jewish Committee and myself ~~personally~~ an apology. More important, they would owe ~~their~~ their readers ~~their~~ an apology for misleading them about an important issue of freedom of conscience and where we actually stand. In my statement which was issued to every member who attended that packed press conference, I made clear my position in these words:

"The American Jewish Committee defends the right of every

to testify to its truth as it sees it. But that right must be compatible with the duty in a democratic society not to defame nor misrepresent the cherished beliefs and religious practices of another group."

That is not a new position for us invented for the purpose of this controversy. That has been the fundamental position of the American Jewish Committee since its founding in 1906, and my own during the past 25 years of service in the field of improving relations between Christians and Jews. We take the same position as did Vatican Council II, the late ~~Cardinal Ruffini~~ Pope John XXIII, the World and National Council of Churches, and the American Catholic hierarchy. That position is that there is a basic distinction between mission, testifying, and proselytizing.

Everyone has right to testify to the truth by word and deed as he or she sees it. That's what Emerson meant when he wrote: "What you are speaks out so loud, I cannot hear what you say." If people live out their ideals, their values, and their truths in everyday life, they in fact testify to what they stand for. And in that sense, Jews testify by their words and deeds as much as do Christians.

But our objections are two-fold: Even though we affirm the right of Christians and others to seek to convert others to their beliefs, we sincerely believe that there are convincing theological and pragmatic reasons to abandon the traditional evangelical approach toward Jews and Judaism. Few more persuasive cases for such giving up of proselytizing the Jewish people has been made than that made by the Catholic priest, Father Michael B. McGarry, in his book, *Christology after Auschwitz*. A theological pluralism, Father McGarry writes, would grant and account for a Christ who is Messiah for

Christians and for the abiding validity of the Jewish tradition for Jews. Christian doctrine, Father McGarry adds in his study, ~~xxxxxx~~ properly understood, does not see Judaism as only preparatory to Christianit , as destined to disapeear from the earth. Rather it sees Judaism as one of God's ways of speaking fo his world through his continued election of the Jewish people in terms which Christians can understand. Neither the National Review editorial nor Jeffrey Hart, I am afraid, befect even a glimmer of understanding of this emergent new Christian theology of Judaism and the Jewish people .
~~xxxxx~~

Our objections to these Christian mission to the Jews such as B 'nai Yeshua have far more to do with manipulation~~x~~ and deception than with theology. B'nai Yeshua does not present itself openly as a Christian movement forthrightly attempting to convert Jews. It is packages itself as a "Jewish movement" ~~Thexxx~~ Many members of B'nai Yeshua wear yarmulkes, skull caps, peform Hebrew group songs and Israeli and Jewish folk dangas, ~~xxxx~~ announce public celebration of the Jewish Sabbath, the Passover seder - in short they appeal to Jewish young people on the basis of their Jewish identity, not to their identify as Christians. It is almost as if a goup of evnagleical Protestant Christians wanting to seek convert~~s~~s from the Roman Catholic c mmunity wer to put on Roman collars, nun's habits, wear crufixies, c~~ab~~brate the rucharist, and call themselves followers of St. Mary.

That's why we object to B'nai Yeshua and Jews for Jenns, and that's why Ruth Carter Stapleton, when she found out about their unfair packaging, decaded not to legitim~~ae~~ae their ~~xxx~~ approach.

AMERICA IS NOT A CHRISTIAN NATION

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Should Americans really worry about the creeping "Christianization" of our country? Would a "Christian America" be a true threat to American democracy, its pluralism, and its freedoms?

Evidence mounts daily that the Fundamentalist strategy to "convert" America into an ideologically monochromatic "Christian nation" is deadly serious. Since I wrote the earlier part of this book proposal, look at what has been going on in our pluralistic country:

- An investigative reporter discloses that the American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV), led by the major Fundamentalist preachers and politicians, has created a "talent bank" whose goal is the placement of 3,000 "qualified Christians" in appointive offices and 3,310,000 in the U.S. Civil Service. As spelled out in their literature, the "talent bank is intended to provide assistance to Christians who would like to find positions in public service. If 25 percent of the public is (born-again) Christian, and shares our values, then we'd like to see that percentage in the Civil Service."

The House of Representatives Subcommittee on Civil Service announced plans to investigate whether the talent bank violates civil rights laws which prohibit religiously exclusive personnel agencies. Chairperson Pat Schroeder (Democrat of Colorado) expressed concern over "the religious right's attempt to 'politicize' the U.S. Civil Service. Herb Ellingwood, chairman of the Civil Service Merit Systems Protection Board, was active in establishing the Christian personnel agency. "He is supposed to be the neutral judge of the merit system and competitive selection. For him to be engaged in the talent bank would be outrageous," said a subcommittee spokesman.

- A U.S. Department of Education official uses Government funds to mail a speech that charges "godlessness is now controlling every aspect of our society," and then asks, "How can these things be happening in America, this land of freedom, this Christian nation? What has happened to our Christian system of values?"

The government-funded speech then adds: "In the last few

"In the last few years, Christians have waked up to the desperate need of a truly Christian educational system for their young people. I'm excited to see the growth of the Christian textbook and curriculum ministries!"

At the same time, the U.S. Department of Education has proposed regulations to restrict funds for the Magnet Schools Assistance Program for teaching secular humanism. A similar restriction involving the prohibition of secular humanism has already been passed in the Education for Economic Security Act. Nowhere is the term "secular humanism" defined.

- Since May 1982, there have been at least 30 instances of bombing, firebombing, and arson at abortion clinics. These have been manifestations of a growing guerilla warfare campaign by "pro-life" forces who are mainly Fundamentalist Christians and traditional Roman Catholics. While criticizing violence against abortion clinics, President Reagan told a "pro-life" rally on January 23, 1985, "I feel a great sense of solidarity with all of you." He added that he supported the paramount human life amendment with no compromises that would not permit abortion even to save the life of the mother.

- Sen. Jesse Helms (Republican, North Carolina) announced in Jan. 1985 the mounting of a campaign to encourage "one million conservative investors" to buy \$1 billion in CBS stock in order to seize control of the network and become "Dan Rather's boss." Helms's new group, "Fairness in Media" said it seeks to change what it considers the network's "liberal bias in its news coverage of political events, personages and views."

- The Internal Revenue Service has undertaken an investigation of the National Council of Churches to determine if it has misused its tax exempt church contributions for political purposes. The IRS has been quietly asking conservative Christian bodies for materials that would document the National Council's opposition to U.S. policies in Central America.

A group called Citizens for Reagan recently filed formal complaints against several church groups, including the Quaker-sponsored American Friends Service Committee.

The data on the growing, systematic effort to Christianize America accumulates every day. There is clearly a Fundamentalist strategy to take over and transform every aspect of American life in conformity with their vision of a "Christian nation" - government, politics, education, culture, media, social action.

Why should that concern us? Don't Fundamentalists have the same rights as other Americans to present their views on the kind of America they want to live in?

I contend, as I have on numerous occasions publicly, that Fundamentalists and conservatives have as much right as any other American to exercise their constitutional rights in presenting their positions. Their rights to do so are not at issue. What is at issue is the content of their position, their ideology, as well as their methods in advocating their views.

This book will argue that the ideology of America as "a Christian nation" is fundamentally unhistoric and untrue. Further, it will seek to make the case that this ideology and the politics that it gives birth to are intrinsically anti-democratic and anti-pluralistic in their consequences.

The Fundamentalists continually appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the Pilgrims and the Founding Fathers as the source of their vision and validation of America as a "Christian nation." They suppress or selectively ignore such facts as those documented in the "Puritan Oligarchy" by T. J. Wertenberger who writes (p. 76):

"As for religious toleration, the Puritans sought religious freedom for themselves but did not believe in religious toleration for others. 'Tis Satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration," declared Thomas Shepard, while Urian Oakes denounced freedom to worship as one chose as 'the first born of all abominations.'

"After their arrival in New England they insisted upon orthodoxy, and as early as 1631 the General Court passed a law declaring that 'to the end the body of the Commons may be preserved of honest and good men...no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the Churches.' Before the end of the century the fr

This is the vision of a "Christian America" that ~~xix~~ I am persuaded most of the leading Fundamentalist preachers and politicians carry around in their heads today. It is an intolerant vision. It is a fanatic vision that if allowed to be translated into political and social reality will erode the pluralistic character of American democracy which has made this nation the bastion of individual civil and ~~political~~ liberties in the world.

This book will also seek to analyze the "new religious right" as the most recent form of what Dr. Robert Jay Lifton has called "ideological totalitarianism." This section will deal with the psychology of human zealotry, thought reform, milieu control (that is, the control of human communication), and ~~the~~ their polarizing effects on the individual and the society.

Finally, this book is based on a deeply-felt conviction that most Americans have only the vaguest notion, fleeting images, of what the Fundamentalist right is up to in this country. This is an effort to put all those pieces of data into perspective in order to help thoughtful Americans know the facts and understand the seriousness of the potential threats of these movements to our open, tolerant, democratic country.

It will also suggest steps that can be taken to expose these Fundamentalist strategies to public view, and then how to ^{for countering} organize those anti-democratic moves before they become too firmly established.

This book is really about how to save the democratic soul of America while there is still time.