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AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

and

THE ROLE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

A Special Memorandum

prepared

by

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23 January 1963

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Gershon Jacobson, well known journalist and staff correspondent of the Day-Jewish Journal has visited Rome on his sojourn to Europe and covered the Ecumenical Council, where he interviewed a number of Cardinals and Vatican officials regarding a number of vital problems and the Jewish problem in particular.

In the following series of articles, Mr. Jacobson reports on the role of Jewish organizations at the Ecumenical Conference - their achievements and their failures.

The articles are given here in order as they appeared originally with the same titles and subtitles. With the exception of an unimportant phrase here and there, they are translated literally.

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This is an intra-organizational memorandum, prepared exclusively for the use of AJC lay members and AJC staff. It is not intended for general distribution.

DR. VARDI WHO WAS TO REPRESENT WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS AT THE
ECUMENICAL COUNCIL "SUDDENLY TURNED JOURNALIST" AND APPEARED
IN ROME

Day Jewish Journal - October 26, 1962

As early as October 26, this paper carried front page report by Gershon Jacobson on the Ecumenical Council in Rome and the role of Jewish organizations, reporting that Jewish observers who carefully watched developments at the Council have expressed skepticism regarding the possible resolution against anti-Semitism by the Cardinals in spite of many appeals that this should be done. Mr. Jacobson states: "Because of a number of reasons the Jewish question would not be on the Agenda". Some Jewish leaders believed that the Jewish problem would be discussed as a result of prior negotiations carried on among the Catholic hierarchy in connection with other religions. But there is, at present, no Jewish observer, and official Jewish organizations have no representation at the Council. Instead, Dr. Hyam Vardi, expert on religious problems from the Israeli Religious Ministry, who was to represent the World Jewish Congress at the Ecumenical Council is there not as an official Jewish observer but only as a journalist covering the Council.

Mr. Jacobson states further that Dr. N. Goldmann who was at one time negotiating the possibility of being invited to the Ecumenical Council as a Jewish observer was compelled to give up the negotiations because Jewish religious leaders were opposed to this and orthodox rabbinical organizations have adopted a resolution against representation. In addition, the Arabs warned the Vatican that if a Jewish observer is to be an Israeli - it may involve the Ecumenical Council in a controversy concerning the recognition of Israel; as a result of these two developments the Council decided not to invite Jewish representatives and not to place the Jewish problem on the Agenda. Thus, "since Vardi is not a credited observer, he turned into a journalist receiving a press card which gives him the possibility to contact Catholic leaders", writes Mr. Jacobson.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM THAT TWO THOUSAND PRIESTS DON'T KNOW
HOW TO SOLVE

Will the Catholic Church change
its attitude to Jews and Judaism? -
What continues to be a Jewish problem
to Catholicism.

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Day Jewish Journal - December 6, 1962

Europe buzzes with the Jewish problems and in Rome where two thousand priests are convening one encounters every once in a while a discussion of Jewish problems. Jewish religious leaders from all over the world have their own 'Jewish problems'. The Jewish problem that troubles Catholic and Protestant priests and urges them to find a solution is the following: 'What is to be done with Jews?!'

A priest that came to the Ecumenical Council formulated (for me) the problem in the following way: "Actually the present Ecumenical Council was called to solve the problem of the twentieth century. We have lived until now in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only. A number of concepts which have become obsolete were on our agenda. The Vatican has invited Catholics and their brethren, Protestant and Orthodox, and among the problems to be taken up is also the Jewish problem: Our attitude towards Jewry; Jewish people, Jewish religion and Jewish philosophy".

This formulation was given to me by a 58-year old priest A. Renard, Bishop from Versailles. On the surface one cannot detect from the majority of Catholic priests that Jews and Judaism are discussed behind closed doors at the Vatican, but they become sensitive when one makes mention of these problems.

This is not only a question of theory or theology on how to deal with the Jewish dilemma but a matter of practical concern. Does the Catholic Church still need to proselytize Jews? What is to be its attitude concerning anti-Semitic outbreaks? Is there a plan to take an active stand against anti-Semitism or will the Church remain passive? What is to be done in cases where the Jewish religion is being persecuted? Should the Jewish religion be put on an equal basis with other religions or should it be considered 'non-conforming' since Jews repudiated Christianity and don't consider Jesus of

religious importance.

"As far as the Christian dogma is concerned, all of these questions have been settled. 'Jews are a sinful people, who must pay the price for ignoring Jesus's teachings'. But present day priests can no longer maintain such a view. Therefore they are faced with a colossal problem - how to solve it?

There are different opinions among these religious leaders. One encounters a conservative group consisting of elements which in no way care to deviate from the old - established concept by the Church in regards to Jewry. There are some among them that could easily be defined as pathologically anti-Semitic. There are some Cardinals who are not extremely conservative but at the same time they are not ready as yet for radical changes. Then there is a third category of priests who are considered liberals who have a very friendly attitude toward Jewry. This group would like to see a Christian hierarchy come out openly declaring that persecution against Jews maintained by Christians during a period of generations is a severe, unjust crime and must be corrected in the future.

"The Jewish question is not placed on the long list of the Agenda at the Vatican because of a number of reasons I will deal with later. But the questions which are on the Agenda may include a discussion of the Jewish problem.

Besides the religious aspect of the Jewish problem the Vatican also considers the Jewish people as a political problem.

The founding of the Jewish State and the fact that the former territory mentioned in the Bible which has now been declared a Jewish State has, in addition created for the Kingdom of Christianity a political problem.

First arises the conflict between Arabs and Jews. There exists within the Vatican a greater friendly attitude towards Arabs if not because a Jewish State is not acceptable because of the historical teachings of the Church but because there are a large number of Christian Arabs in the Arab countries. And if Rome is to display friendship toward Israel it would immediately arouse the ire of the Arab countries

whose representatives come to the priests with a threat to take away their rights to have Christian centers on Arab territory. The Vatican's interest in Israel is, practically speaking, of lesser importance than its interest in the Arabs. This should give an idea why the Ecumenical Council is so cautious in expressing any positive attitude in regards to Jews and to the State of Israel. They are simply afraid of any political consequences. As a result of this, Jews are not only considered as a religious problem but also as a political problem.

"DOCUMENT" WITH WHICH THE CARDINALS ARE ATTEMPTING TO "SOLVE" THE JEWISH QUESTION.

The Document was prepared by a well-known Cardinal - what the Document deals with.

Day Jewish Journal - December 10, 1962

Even before the Ecumenical Council opened in Rome one of the most enthusiastic Cardinals at the Vatican who prepared the Agenda for the Council decided that this conference should try to solve the Jewish problem. The name of this Cardinal is Augustin Bea. Months before the meeting of the Council Cardinal Bea declared to one of his associates, Priest Stransky, that "it is impossible to overlook the Jewish question". The Cardinal prepared a lengthy document concerning the role of Jews in the Catholic Church in which he made a number of recommendations as to how the Church could do away with a thousand year old suspicion that Jews maintain toward Catholicism. Now we have this document locked up in Cardinal Bea's desk drawer. Only a few people at the Vatican know the contents of this "Jewish Paper", but there are some people at the Ecumenical Council who, while they themselves did not see the "Document" they, nevertheless, know the highlights of its contents.

During my interview, I asked Cardinal Bea about the content of the "document" and he replied that he cannot discuss this matter with an outsider. He told me openly that until the time when the priests will take up this matter and will decide how to act in regards to its content, the "document" has no value whatsoever.

- "When will this "document" be discussed"?

- "Is it slated to? - as it has been reported that the

Cardinals have decided to have the Second Session of the Ecumenical Council in September 1963. It became clear during the last two months that the business of the Ecumenical Council moved slowly and even if those documents already taken up return to the document committees a final vote will have to be taken on recommendations whether certain paragraphs should be included in the Constitution of the Catholic Church, therefore, Cardinal Bea hopes that the "Jewish Document" will be taken up at the Second Session of the Ecumenical Council but he is not altogether certain.

Practically speaking the Jewish "document" will be a way out regarding the Jewish problem. I dealt with this in my previous article in the Day Jewish Journal of October 26, 1962. The liberal priests are of the opinion that if the document is resolved it will constitute a revolutionary achievement. The liberals, however, are afraid that the conservative priests will either delay this document and refuse to accept Cardinal Bea's recommendations or else they will censor it, so that the content will hardly serve the purpose of solving the Jewish question, as far as the Catholic priests are concerned.

I have succeeded in digging up from three separate sources "segments" of the highlights of the prepared Paper concerning Jews.

The first source came from a converted Jew - a Catholic - who is recognized as one of the experts on orthodoxy -(oriental Christian church)- and whose name is Father Gregory Baum. Baum is a Professor of Theology at St. Michael's University in Toronto, Canada. He was invited to the Council as specialist on the oriental church.

During my long conversation with Father Baum (we met several times), I learned that this former Jew from Berlin is also an expert on Jewish-Christian affairs. Baum told me that the "Jewish Document", takes up, first of all, the matter of pathological anti-Semitism that Christians have displayed towards Jews during a period of hundreds of years and its seeds have penetrated Christian religious teachings. In other words, the anti-Jewish slanders received their nourishment from the church, and Christianity created a favorable atmosphere for the cruel persecution of Jews that Jewish history reflects so tragically. On this basis - the "Document" recommends that the Catholic leadership should find a way in the future that the church should not serve the interests of anti-Semitic elements.

The second point in the "Document" concerns itself with the Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. Through a large amount of theological, historical and sociological proof, the "Document" points out that it is unjust to accuse the whole of the Jewish people for the "killing" of the Nazarene. It says, however, that if Jews did have a part in the death of "God's Son", the responsibility for this concerns only individuals, and not all Jewish people, who have nothing to do with the matter.

"The "Document" is a long scholarly study dealing with the above two mentioned points. It also deals with many other matters concerning Jews. Besides Father Baum, this was also confirmed by the German Catholic priest and philosopher Hans Koenig, and Zachariah Shuster, Director of the American Jewish Committee's European Bureau in Paris.

The pro-Jewish elements among the priests at the Ecumenical Council are trying to solve the Jewish problem through this "document". Will they succeed? - This is a question that only the future will tell.

It has been reported a number of times in recent months about a serious controversy among American Jews as to the role Jews should or should not have played in regards to the Ecumenical Council.

I have learned in Rome a large number of well-known and also unfamiliar details concerning this matter and in forthcoming articles I will report on them. Meanwhile I like to comment only upon one important fact and that is, that the majority of the priests with whom I talked with are under the impression that "Jews and their leaders tried to help the Catholic Church solve the Jewish problem".

"...all the negotiations, statements and interventions, resolutions, and memos were looked upon by the Catholic leaders as an international attempt by Jewish leaders to come to their aid".

The consequences of all this tumult are outlandish; a degrading and unpleasant situation for both priests and Jews; Arab interventions and intrigues and anti-Jewish utterances on the part of a number of members of the "Osservatore Romano", the Vatican government, and the conclusion by Cardinal Bea - that Jews have betrayed him.

PRIESTS AT THE VATICAN SCARED BECAUSE OF THE JEWISH
"CONSPIRACY"

Decision not to put Jewish
problem on the Agenda at the
Ecumenical Council. - Why the
Cardinal who was for it felt
disappointed.
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Day Jewish Journal - December 17, 1962

The decision not to bring forth the Jewish
problem on the Agenda at the Ecumenical Council did not
come as a surprise to Cardinal August Bea who was one
of the central figures at the Council.

In talking to him the Cardinal openly declared:
"I expected something like this would happen. The tumult
around this was too great"...

The order came from Cardinal Otaviani. A few
weeks before the opening of the Council he called in
Cardinal Bea and told him: "We do not care to have Jewish
observers here. We need not have the Jewish problem on
our Agenda. It will be better for us if we do not deal
with this problem altogether."

Otaviani also stated: "You can see the result of
having been bothered with it."

Bea accepted this order since it came from someone
who is holding the most important position in the Vatican
hierarchy. Cardinal Bea realised that even if he were to
disagree with Otaviani, nothing would come out of it since
Otaviani is the power behind the "Osservatore Romano" and
has all the support of the priests. Cardinal Bea, however,
felt disappointed.

It was clear to me - even though Bea did not say
it - that he is holding some Jewish leader responsible for
this unpleasant situation in which he found himself. His
aides, the priests Stransky and Galili have told me that
Bea was greatly angered and they told me what took place
behind the scenes.

After the U.S. newspapers and those in other countries had reported that Dr. Hyam Vardi from Israel had been appointed by the World Jewish Congress as an observer at the Ecumenical Council, the Arab ministers protested this matter.

Nine representatives came to Cardinal Cicognani complaining that Dr. Vardi's nomination is a "zionists' conspiracy" to smuggle in Israel's influence into the Ecumenical Council. The Arab representatives threatened the Foreign Ministry of the Catholic Church that the Vatican's rich treasures in the Arab countries will suffer if an Israeli will be the Jewish representative at the Ecumenical Council. Dr. Vardi is an Israeli citizen. He is Specialist for Christian Affairs in the Israeli Ministry. He took a leave of absence from the Israeli Ministry in order to become a Jewish observer at the Vatican which news the Arabs made use of reporting it in the "Osservatore Romano" which never has displayed too much love toward the State of Israel. It widely popularized the Arab protest as a "Jewish danger" which threatened the Ecumenical Council.

Cardinal Cicognani, the Foreign Minister and Otaviana, the Chief of the Holy Offices, have decided to give the order to Cardinal Bea to put a stop to all matters that have to do with Jews and Jewish problems. Cardinal Bea claims that he was unaware concerning the plan to appoint an official Jewish representative as observer at the Council.

Bea admits meeting Dr. N. Goldmann with whom he spoke regarding a number of questions but that the Chairman of the World Jewish Congress and President of the World Zionist Organization never mentioned Vardi's name to him.

The priests at the Vatican who were busy making preparations also did not ignore this tumult. They received from America a full text of the debate and rift concerning Jewish participation or non-participation at the Ecumenical Council.

They got hold of a resolution that was adopted last summer in Miami at the Histadrut Conference of Rabbis against sending a Jewish observer to the Council and which received serious attention at the Vatican; the priests considering this decision "as an unfriendly attitude" on the part of American Jewish religious leaders.

The result of this was that the Jewish question and other matters relating to Jewry were not officially placed on the Agenda for the forthcoming Council. The Committee at the Council dealing with non-Christian religious matters decided to include the Jewish question in a general discussion about religion outside of Christianity, and it was Bea who later prepared the "Jewish Document" with which the priests could solve their "Jewish problem".

Now that the Ecumenical Council has finished its first session, and the priests have left for home, a large number of them are of the opinion that it was a good thing that there was no Jewish representative at the sessions.

A baptized Jew, expert on oriental religion, told me in Rome that if there would have been a Jewish representative, we would have had a problem of differentiating between Jewish observers and Christian observers. "We would have been unable to put Protestant and Orthodox observers on the same level as Jewish observers. After all the former two are still Christians. We would have been compelled then to differentiate between the observers, and this is a complicated matter. One cannot make a distinction between people who all have the status of observers, and yet have category one, two and three. Therefore, it is better that it turned out to be the way it did." This was said by Father Gregory Baum, and Cardinal Bea agreed with him.

He added: After all there are no observers representing the Buddhist, Shinto or Moslem faiths.

Otaviani told me that: "...if we are to find a solution to the Jewish problem and if the Catholic Church has to make revisions in its historical and theological attitudes to Jewry - it is our own affair. Only we can attempt to solve it and we do not need any Jewish helpers to solve this problem for us..."

To say that there was not any Jewish influence at the Vatican during the first session of the Ecumenical Council would not be true. Most of the Priests, Cardinals and Bishops with whom I was able to talk did not fail to express their enthusiasm at Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel's memorandum to the Ecumenical Council which left a deep impression on the Catholic leaders. At the subsequent debates and discussions which took place at the Vatican after the formal session, Professor Heschel's important "document" about the relation of Jews to Catholicism was mentioned more than once. Professor Heschel spoke to the priests in a language to which they are not accustomed to hear from a Jew. He spoke to them in a language which captivated them and made them, at the same time, feel ashamed.

In November, 1961, the American Jewish Committee sent Professor Abraham Heschel to Rome. The Professor spent a few days only there but left "a tremendous impression". So much so that even now the Catholic priests talk about him.

Professor Heschel met Cardinal Bea, with whom he had a number of lengthy talks and left "a colossal impression upon the Cardinal " as the Cardinal told me. Professor Heschel, as we know, is Professor of Jewish Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and the author of a large number of religious and philosophical works.

Professor Heschel met Cardinal Bea, accompanied by Mr. Zachariah Shuster, and Dr. Horkheimer of Frankfurt. They discussed many problems facing the religious world today and Professor Heschel took up with Cardinal Bea a large number of moral, theological, social, and particularly historical events that brought about the discord and rift between Christianity and Judaism.

They discussed the interpretation of the "Song of Songs", since the Cardinal is a well-known Biblical scholar but so is Dr. Heschel and this made a fertile exchange of views.

The American Jewish Committee sent a memorandum to the Ecumenical Council, which is a scientific study concerning all sorts of historical commentaries and references found in Christian teachings and which particularly gave rise to the anti-Jewish feelings on the part of Catholics. The Committee later on sent a second memorandum and Dr. Heschel himself sent a third one. The reason why Dr. Heschel submitted one is that Cardinal Bea asked him personally to put down on paper the highlights of their discussion.

During the meeting between Cardinal Bea and the Jewish thinker the question came up concerning certain Catholic priests that support and supply prejudices to anti-Semitic groups. Heschel told the Cardinal that there is such a priest in Argentina, an ideologue of the anti-Jewish Tacuara movement there.

Cardinal Bea's face suddenly assumed a very stern appearance. He stood up - walked over to his library from where he took out a volume of Christian Studies and in a dry voice declared:-

"You see, he (the Argentine priest) is misconstruing everything written in this book. His prejudice is anti-Christian".

Bea immediately called out one of his associates and asked him to send a telegram to the priest's Bishop in Argentina that he should not be permitted to be present during the prayers at the Church.

During their meetings Cardinal Bea told Professor Heschel: "I am inviting you to come to be present here whenever you wish. You will be my personal guest". Professor Heschel thanked him for the invitation and his friendliness.

This was interpreted to mean in Jewish circles that this is an invitation to the Vatican for a Jewish representative.

But Professor Heschel has a different approach about Jewish participation at the Ecumenical Council and he therefore did not make use of the personal invitation.

The enthusiasm of the priests concerning Professor Heschel is not surprising. Here they met a Jew who spoke to them in terms that they expected to hear from every Jewish representative. When one talks to the Cardinals and Archbishops about Jews and Judaism, one feels that they hope that there will come a day when the great dialogue between Christianity and Judaism will take place on a high level of historical debates like those which took place in the Middle Ages between Jewish religious representatives and Christian representatives. The priests are somehow eager that such a theological contest should take place in the Twentieth Century.

With Professor Heschel's coming to Rome, the Cardinals saw a well-fitted representative to participate in such a religious dialogue.

When Professor Heschel sent his memorandum to Cardinal Bea's Committee, it was first studied with great caution and later, when Cardinal Bea prepared his "Jewish Paper" for the Ecumenical Conference he cited great parts from Professor Heschel's memorandum in order to show the Jewish attitude regarding Catholicism.

Contrary to the enthusiastic comments that the priests gave from the meeting with Professor Heschel, they now felt uncomfortable as a result of the sharp and clear statements that Professor Heschel marshalled on behalf of Judaism when addressing Catholic priests and leaders; but he did it in a way that it gained even more respect and appreciation on the part of Catholic leaders in regards to Jews and Jewish values.

To compare this with the attack that Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath made on the Ecumenical Council which was referred

to by the Vatican as a "vicious slur" whereas Professor Heschel's shart statements were considered as proper and fully justified.

Rabbi Eisendrath, the leader of Reform Jews in America during a speech made recently in Baltimore sharply attacked the Ecumenical Council for "ignoring Jews", and for "not inviting Jewish observers to the Conference".

Eisendrath's speech was translated into Italian and French in Rome and was distributed among the delegates at the Ecumenical Council. This was done by the conservative elements from the Osservatore Romano, who aimed to illustrate the non-friendliness and opposition of Jewish leaders to the Ecumenical Council.

I will end by quoting the words of the Chief Rabbi in Rome, who told me: "...we must never forget that our world is not their world: - these are two separate worlds- separated by a two-thousand-year-old-wall of persecution, prejudices, attacks, and the murder of six million Jews. We were being burned and they sat by with their hands folded!"

CATHOLIC CARDINAL, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE DEALING WITH JEWISH AFFAIRS AT THE VATICAN, TO ARRIVE FOR A LECTURE TOUR IN THE U.S.

Day Jewish Journal - January 12, 1963

Above newspaper carries front page report by Gershon Jacobson stating that Cardinal Augustin Bea is to arrive in the United States. Cardinal Bea is the Chairman of the committee at the Vatican dealing with Jews and Jewishness. He is to deliver a series of lectures at Harvard University where he expects to meet with a number of American leaders.

Cardinal Bea is considered one of the great authorities on Jewish problems at the Vatican. Many Jewish representatives appealed to Cardinal Bea that the Ecumenical Council should take up a number of questions which might result in easing the tensions between Jews and Catholics.

While it only became known the other day of the Cardinal's visit to the U.S. some Jewish organizations in New York have already discussed the matter of what reception to give to this important Catholic leader and scholar.

Before the opening of the Ecumenical Council at the Vatican, Cardinal Bea met with Dr. N. Goldmann, Professor A. J. Heschel, Zachariah Shuster, and other Jewish representatives, and only two weeks ago a delegation of the American Jewish Committee stopped over in Rome from a visit to Israel where they were invited by Ben-Gurion, and called upon Cardinal Bea.

"I have learned the other day that there is a fear that the eagerness of Jewish leaders to chase around after Cardinal Bea may bring about an avalanche of statements and publicity," states Mr. Jacobson.

Cardinal Bea has the most friendly attitude amongst the Catholic Cardinals towards Jews. He recently stated that, "Jews were given a raw deal by the Church".

Cardinal Bea's visit to the United States is the result of an invitation that he received from Cardinal Cushing of Boston. Cardinal Cushing made a statement the 14th December, that Cardinal Bea's lecture tour in the U.S. would "greatly help to improve relations between Catholics, Protestants and Jews".



CIVIC UNITY AND FREEDOM UNDER GOD

Address by His Eminence Augustin Cardinal Bea
For the Agapé, New York, April 1, 1963

I am truly grateful to be able to address a few words to this gathering, organized by the American Council for the International Promotion of Democracy Under God. I want to express my deep joy in seeing such a large number of distinguished personalities from the civic, cultural, social, economic and religious pursuits. It is a very promising sign of our times that such people gather in serene and fraternal conversation on the theme: "Civic Unity And Freedom Under God." Whoever has followed national and international life will admit without hesitation that such a gathering inspired by such a theme would hardly have been possible but twenty or thirty years ago. It is a sign that the men of our own time are more deeply reflecting on the profoundly spiritual basis of human existence, in order to build upon this foundation a future strong enough to resist the serious dangers that threaten us.

The theme, "Civic Unity And Freedom Under God," is well-chosen. From the title one almost instinctively realizes that here the two most profound tendencies and anxieties of modern man are touched upon: the anxious striving for unity and the equally profound desire for liberty. There is a polarity to these two concepts, that makes for a constant tension between them. In a certain sense, a large part of the problems of mankind today can be reduced to the difficulty of harmonizing in practice these tendencies towards unity and towards liberty, without doing harm to the one or sacrificing

the other. The difficulty is simply the practical conciliation of the innate dignity of the human person with his social nature, for according to the biblical expression, "It is not good for man to be alone!" In fact, nature itself inserts the human person, from the first moment of his existence, not only into the family or into the various religious or civic forms of society, but also into the great Family of Nations, into the whole of humanity.

1) Today the inclination or the drive toward unity is particularly strong, and seems based on the very direction and built-in logic of the modern world. The quick and easy travel possibilities that bring us daily into contact with so many people; mass communications that keep us informed of events which take place in every part of the world; the repercussions of events in one country on the rest of the world, and the increasing interdependence caused by political necessity, by cultural, economic and scientific developments--all this is drawing the world together into a conscious community of mankind. Our large cities best illustrate this drive towards unity and the tensions of this thrust -- as in the rush-hours, when all are pushing and colliding against each other in airports, streets and subways -- each running after his own job and each pursuing his own interests.

This last image also illustrates the fact that the mere increase in physical contacts among men does not suffice to create a deep and authentic unity. The experience of the most murderous of all wars, and the more or less persistent threat of a still more devastating war are clear proof that the means that are bringing people

and nations closer to one another physically can certainly be instruments for those who want to create unity. But these means cannot create unity by themselves; in fact, they can become the instruments of our own destruction.

Why is this? Because the unity of which I speak is not the unity of many well-oiled wheels and parts of a machine. The unity in question is essentially and pre-eminently a human work. It is the conscious, free decision of responsible persons to unite with other responsible persons, in order to live together in peaceful harmony. It is the conscious encounter of free men, the mutual exchange in giving and receiving what each one has, not merely of material goods, but also, and above all, of spiritual riches. This exchange is at the same time a symbol of selfgiving as is witnessed in every authentic friendship, especially in the true love of man and wife.

2) In order to build up this unity consciously we cannot be lulled by the mere repetition of the words "unity" and "liberty". We must penetrate into their profound meanings.

a) First of all, liberty. Liberty is the human right to be oneself and freely to decide one's destiny according to one's own conscience, without the interference of others. Conscience, of course, excludes anarchy, and confirms the existence of a whole world of moral obligations and thus also of man's duties regarding his fellow-men. After all, man carries out these obligations in order to

obey his own conscience. Thus, since there is question of fulfilling his obligations in a conscious and free way, it is clear that man has the duty to seek the truth in order to know his obligations, and to form his conscience correctly. Only if liberty of conscience is understood in this way will it be resolved in profound unity. This liberty requires every person and society as a whole to respect the free decision of others. Let me add at once an obvious point: the destiny of a person, so essentially, profoundly autonomous, cannot be merely earthly, momentary and transitory.

b) On the other hand, just as man appreciates more and more his innate gift of freedom, no less is he becoming aware of his innate desire for unity. Man, inserted into society since his birth, can only develop in society, that is, in a reciprocal giving and receiving with other persons who are as free and autonomous as himself, as individuals, or as united in society. In this receiving from other persons and from society, and in making his own contribution, man enriches himself, develops his own personality, and contributes to the complete development and full manifestation of the immense potentialities latent in himself and in humanity. In this development and manifestation, all nations and races, with their specific characteristics, their varied creations of human intelligence, and their distinct cultures have a place. All are working together, inserting thread after thread in that magnificent carpet which is the human family, on the way towards its proper development and its proper destinies.

3) What is the law that governs these mutual exchanges, the law of the promotion of unity? Pope John the Twenty-Third once said that in his own life, he always tried to emphasize what tends to unite men, to accompany every man as far along his way as possible without betraying the demands of justice and truth. The law for creating unity is truth, justice -- and we can add - charity, or more generally, that law which is written in man's heart, prompting him to do what is good and to avoid what is evil. Each of us, in fact, experiences daily that internal law of tension mentioned by the ancient poet, Ovid: "Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor" -- "I see what is good and approve it, yet often I am following what is wrong." By this we confess our awareness that some things, from the specifically human point of view of the conscience, are good and other things are evil; and that the obligation lies with us to opt for the good things and to perform them, and, on the other hand, to avoid what is evil. A liberty that does not conform to this law is no liberty, it undermines unity and creates anarchy. This is the very cause of mutual destruction. A unity that does not respect this law may eventually create a certain form of unity, but it is a unity not of free and responsible men, but of slaves.

4) What I have said so far has not yet exhausted the rich reality of the relations that are possible to man with other free men. When man retains and develops the salutary, original freshness of his existence, when he keeps a spontaneous and profound vision of the whole dimension of life, not distorted by blunders or by

alleged philosophical or scientific claims, then he has the sense and the awareness that his personal relations reach beyond and above the level of human society.

You bear witness to this fact, gentlemen, you who represent in a way the whole world, also the most ancient cultures and religions. The sciences, especially history and ethnology, also bear witness with you. All testify that man is aware of his deepest relations -- relations that cannot be disregarded -- to a Supreme Being who is personal, paternally grave, but still, benevolent, infinitely more wise and good than all human fathers.

This Being stands at the origin and at the end of temporal human existence. To him man appeals in his most solemn moments, in hours most compelling and desperate; and he appeals to him as the Almighty Guide of human events and destinies. This Supreme Personal Being is, at the same time, the ever present witness to man's actions, a witness who approves, praises, and rewards the good action, who reproves and condemns the evil one. Moreover, according to the well-known phrase of the non-Christian poet quoted by St. Paul in the Aeropagus of Athens, "for we are God's offspring" (Acts 17:28), man feels himself somehow related to this mysterious personal Supreme Being, for man is made into the likeness of God. Therefore, man knows that between himself and God there exist those mutual exchanges in giving and receiving, somewhat similar to those reciprocal exchanges he has with his fellow-men. When man

is aware that he stands under the paternal and grave authority of this Supreme, Personal Being, and respects his own liberty to decide his own destinies under this authority and according to it, then man is also aware that all his actions, be they right or wrong, have good or bad repercussions on his relations to God, his Supreme Authority. It is by this faithful awareness that man's destiny in the hereafter is shaped and decided.

Seen in this light the law of unity, the reciprocal exchange of material and spiritual riches with his fellow-men -- this law of truth, justice and charity -- is not an abstract law, suspended in the air. No, this law rests on the paternal and grave authority of a Personal God.

* * * * *

In conclusion, there is no need to belabor the point that we urgently need to strengthen "Civic Unity in Freedom Under God". The urgency is clear enough. If ever there existed the anxiety and need to establish the basis for peaceful living, it is here in the city that is graced by the United Nations.

In order to emphasize how much I appreciate the difficult work of this organization, it suffices to make my own, the words from the radio-message of Pope John the Twenty-Third with reference to the Cuban crisis: "To promote, favor and accept negotiations, at every level and at any time, is the norm of

wisdom and prudence that draws forth heavenly and earthly blessings." Surely you, who are, so to say, continually engaged in the struggle to free humanity from the grip of the exhausting and terrorizing armaments race; surely you will understand how important and necessary it is that your work be supported by a strong and efficacious will for peace, a desire widely spread throughout the nations represented here.

The American Council for International Promotion of Democracy under God, which arranged this gathering, constitutes, I believe, an important beginning, sponsored by the American Council and other National Councils -- the International Pro Deo University in Rome -- makes its own contribution to support the movement for peace, to promote the meeting of all men of goodwill of every nation and religious conviction, who accept the platform: "Civic Unity in Freedom Under God."

I have tried to sketch what can be the basis of such an encounter. I leave it to the speakers who follow me to develop its various aspects. I conclude by expressing the wish that the idea of such fraternal encounters -- whatever may be their concrete forms -- may spread rapidly in the world. It is a question here of an extremely important and urgent work. In fact, not only the material peace of the world is involved, but also an orderly and harmonious development of humanity toward its natural and supernatural destiny.

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August 6, 1963

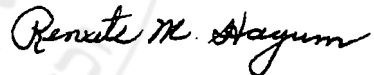
Dear Miss Baron,

This is just a hasty note to tell you that Monsignor Oesterreicher was so very pleased and grateful for your call. He is eagerly looking forward to Rabbi Tanenbaum's statement.

Monsignor thought you might have missed his letter in response to the "Newsweek" article, so he asked me to enclose tear sheets for your files.

With renewed thanks and kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Renate M. Hayum".

Renate M. Hayum, Sec'y

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LETTERS

Rocky, Barry, and Unity

“The Block-Goldwater Movement in the GOP” (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, July 22) is an excellent piece of reporting—we conservatives now know exactly where we stand.

So Governor Rockefeller is “off the unity kick.” May this old-timer inquire just when he ever was “on or with the unity kick”?

Let's be practical in the “groggy old party” for once. In Goldwater, we have the most attractive potential candidate since Teddy Roosevelt. The Republican Party must get with him before it vanishes from politics entirely. And if it means having Rockefeller go off the reservation, so be it. We will muddle through without him and with some success, I predict.

H. HAYES LONDON
Longmeadow, Mass.

►Rockefeller is an educated liberal. He knows, as Mark Twain knew, that “if you can't answer the conservatives' arguments, don't despair.” You can always call them names.

C. L. MCGIMSEY
Chairman
Nevadans for Goldwater
Las Vegas, Nev.

The Jews and the Council

In the July 15 issue (RELIGION), NEWSWEEK attributes to me a view foreign to my thought. I am supposed to have insisted that a “schema” prepared for the Second Vatican Council “dealt only generally with ecumenical relationships between Christians and Jews.” The “only” and the “generally” are not of my making.

What I insisted on was, first, the fact that the church had condemned anti-Semitism several times in the

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LETTERS

past and that her condemnations stand. In 1928, for instance, the Holy Office declared that as the church rejects all envy and jealousy among nations, thus she condemns especially hatred against Jews. Again in 1938, Pius XI denounced anti-Semitism as a "revolting ... movement in which Christians may have no part," since it warred against their spiritual descent from Abraham. "Spiritually, we are Semites," the Pope added.

The second point on which I insisted was the inspiration Pope John gave to the Council. The Council is to open windows. It cannot content itself with decrying the undeniable wickedness of man; rather it must remind him of his native dignity as a person and his supernatural calling as a child of God. Thus the Council began its work with a solemn proclamation of the worth of every man regardless of his origin, looks, or standing, and with a plea for a sincere realization of the brotherhood of man. In this spirit I hope the Council will have something to say on the special bond that ties Christians and Jews to one another.

The Rt. Rev. JOHN M. OESTERREICHER
The Institute of Judaeo-Christian

Studies

Seton Hall University
Newark, N.J.

Interviewee

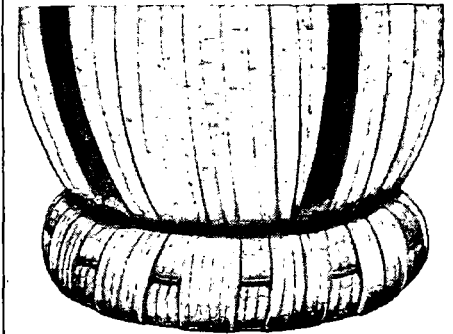
I never realized before how nervous my subjects must get when I am working on them; but frankly if I had been you, I might well have been much rougher on me than you were in your very flattering piece (PRESS, July 22). One small error which was, no doubt, an oversight: I did not make the Bobby Darin remark originally. I was quoting Hy Gardner of The New York Herald Tribune but thank you very much for showing me how it feels to be on the other side of the fence.

RICHARD GEHMAN
Carmel, N.Y.

Politics and the NEA

You mention the "politicking" that took place during the NEA convention which led to the watered-down version of a resolution to support the Utah teachers (EDUCATION, July 15). May I elaborate a little. The main politicking activity consisted of administrators, especially superintendents, calling caucuses of the teachers who work under them and in no uncertain terms telling them to vote against the support resolution. I, as a delegate, could hardly believe this was a convention in democracy. How would any teacher voice-vote with his superintendent monitoring the voting? The administrators won this time but wait till the September NEA membership subscription and see who "wins" then.

WILLIAM A. RUPPERT
Albuquerque, N.M.

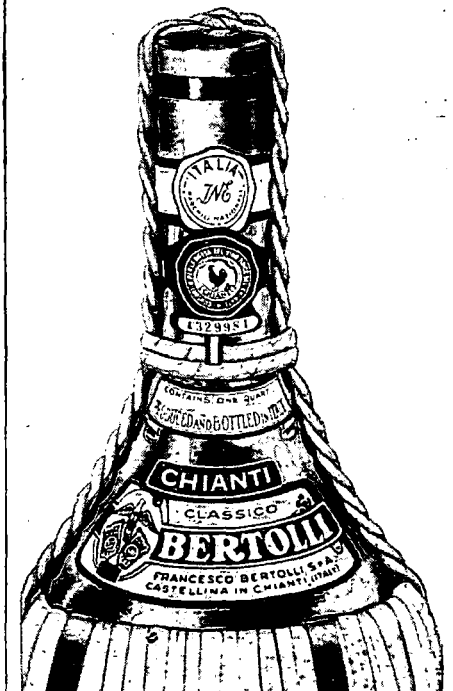


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Paris Office: 30, Rue La Boetie, Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris • Zachariah Shuster, European Director

August 23, 1963

Dr. Simon Segal
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Simon:

The London Catholic Herald prominently featured a significant dispatch by their Rome correspondent, who reports that he received definite assurances from Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity that the statement prepared on the Jewish question is incorporated into the 17 schemata which will form the basis of the discussion at the forthcoming Ecumenical Council.

As you will notice, the article also refers to Father Weigel's statement and my article in the Observer of August 11.

The same issue of the Catholic Herald published an article by Jesuit Father Thomas Corbishley, commenting on my article in the Observer.

Copies of both articles in the Catholic Herald are enclosed herewith.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Zachariah Shuster

Enclosures
cc/Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig

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Catholic Herald, 67 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4

VATICAN II TO HELP JEWS

Gathering of world religions proposed

ANTI-SEMITISM ON AGENDA

By Our Rome Correspondent

WEDNESDAY.

I CAN categorically deny assertions that pressure from Arab States will stop the Vatican Council from discussing anti-Semitism, and the relations of Jews and Christians. The Council's second session opens next month.

I learn this week, from Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity, that it has definitely prepared a statement on Jewish questions. This has been incorporated into the 17 new *Schemata* which will form the basis of the session's debates.

Moreover, Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, is reported to have said recently that, only a few weeks ago, a suggestion was raised in connection with the Council that a conference of all the great world religions should be called—the first of its kind in history.

Speaking at a conference of Austrian students, the Cardinal is also reported to have said that the first steps towards such a gathering were under way.

After a visit to Rome, Mr. Zachariah Shuster, director of the European Office of the American Jewish Committee, has made a statement in Paris echoing Mgr. Oesterreicher's dissent from a comment made by the American theologian, Fr. Gustav Weigel, S.J.

Fr. Weigel had told a Jewish audience in Atlantic City that fear of offending the Arabs would prevent the Council from taking a stand on anti-Semitism. But Mr. Shuster has declared: "The position of the Vatican on this question has not changed, and the obstacles mentioned by Fr. Weigel are not going to block discussion of this subject."

Vatican sources had assured him that there was no authority behind Fr. Weigel's remarks, and that they were not in accordance with the facts.

STATEMENT

Earlier this year, Cardinal Bea had personal talks with two prominent Jewish leaders, and assured them of the Church's stand against anti-Semitism.

In a recent interview with the Italian paper *Vita*, Cardinal Tisserant, Dean of the Sacred College, declared that the Council must take a stand against anti-Semitism.

It is known that Cardinal Bea prepared a statement for the Council on Catholic-Jewish questions after the Vatican Council invited world Jewish leaders to send in their views in 1960; and that, in 1961, the Council's Central Preparatory Commission discussed the charge of ~~deicide~~ which has been imputed to the entire Jewish people.

Whatever the truth about Arab pressure putting the block on this early effort, there is no doubt that the issue will come up now.

The article by Mr. Zachariah Shuster in the *OBSERVER* at the weekend echoes current suggestions that some Catholic theologians are coming to take a more sympathetic view about the guilt of the Jewish people in regard to the death of Our Lord; and that this has come about as a result of a reappraisal of Scripture interpretation. The *CATHOLIC HERALD* has invited Fr. Thomas Corbishley, S.J., to comment on this.

OUR DEBT TO JUDAISM

IN the light of an article which appeared in last Sunday's *Observer*, it is timely to re-examine the attitude of Catholics towards the Jewish people as a whole.

It seems unlikely that Catholics as a body are markedly more prone to anti-Semitism than any other Gentile group.

What we may have to confess is that, to some extent, a latent anti-Semitism may well be made explicit by what may be called the conventional interpretation of one or two Scripture texts, to say nothing of Memorabilia of now abandoned liturgical phraseology.

The historical origins of what we call anti-Semitism are not altogether clear, but it seems probable that they pre-date the Christian era.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that, in the pagan Roman Empire, the Jews were treated with contempt and hostility, whilst the phenomenon of the "pogrom" was certainly not unknown in the Levant before Christianity had become established there.

What is unfortunately true is that Christians, instead of remembering that, in the words of Pius XI, "spiritually we are all

Semites," exacerbated the situation.

This was, no doubt, partly due to the early persecution of Christian by Jew, with the common human reaction on the part of Christians, when they came into power. Accusation and counter-accusation built up a regrettable spirit of mutual hatred, and the Christians, on their side, sought to justify an unjustifiable attitude by appealing to Scripture.

"His blood be upon us and upon our children," they quoted,

By Fr. Thomas
Corbishley, S.J.

to suggest that the whole Jewish nation, having called down upon themselves this terrible curse, were naturally doomed to suffer till the end of the world.

But, apart altogether from the fact that Our Lord Himself prayed for forgiveness for his executioners — Romans, primarily, though with Jewish connivance — it is unhistorical to argue that the mob who howled for Our Lord's crucifixion necessarily represented the Jewish nation.

Why should they be taken as more representative than the

group of women who wept for Him, than the Galileans who remained faithful, than the thousands who, within weeks of the Crucifixion, joined the Church.

More and more, scholars are coming to recognize the strong Jewish element in early Christian teaching and practice. It is high time we recognise our debt to Judaism, fully and frankly, and abandoned for ever any lingering traces of resentment or selfishness.

Against the text quoted above from St. Matthew, we should set St. Peter's words, spoken on the first Pentecost: "This promise is for you and for your children and for all those, however far away, whom the Lord our God calls to himself."

And again, echoing Our Lord's prayer for pardon, he says: "I know that you, like your rulers, acted in ignorance."

If we claim to have the spirit and the truth of Christ, if we desire to maintain our loyalty to the teaching of the Apostles, we must lead the way in a movement for complete fellowship with the Jews, to whom we owe so much.

Anti-Semitism is not merely a betrayal of our origins; it is a denial of Christ Our Lord and His Blessed Mother, who were, and are, in every sense of the word, the purest of Jews.

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JACOB GREENBERG
1730 East 55th Street
Brooklyn 34 N.Y.

September 1963

TO HIS EMINENCE
CARDINAL AUGUSTINE BEA
Vatican City Italy

Your Eminence:

The entire civilized world is looking forward with great anticipation and hope to the resumption of the deliberations of the Ecumenical Council. I understand that you, as the head of the Secretariat for Christian Unity in the Vatican, are arduously working on a special document to be presented to the Council for adoption.

It is universally known that you are anxious that the Council express itself unequivocally on the position of the Roman Catholic Church towards Anti-Semitism. I respectfully submit that one of the most urgent matters for consideration of this August Body is the refutation of the false teachings relating to the Crucifixion of Jesus. This blasphemous distortion of the true historical facts of the Crucifixion has been responsible for many centuries of inquisitions, programs and genocide of the Jewish people.

In the name of Divine Justice, I urge Your Eminence to exert every effort to influence the Council to redeem Christianity's long overdue debt to the Jewish people by denouncing the falsity of the story of the Crucifixion. The entire God-loving, civilized world will bless and applaud your courageous action, and the adoption by the Council of such resolution would be a most significant step in the direction of brotherhood and peace and would reflect everlasting glory upon the Ecumenical Council.

I would appreciate the acknowledgement of my letter.

Respectfully yours,

JACOB GREENBERG

jg:gs



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Paris Office: 30, Rue La Boetie, Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris • Zachariah Shuster, European Director

September 2, 1963

Dear Marc:

The Jerusalem Post, in a recent issue, published an extensive summary of the two articles which appeared in the Observer. A copy of this item is enclosed herewith.

You'll be interested to know that the Council of Christians and Jews in Great Britain has purchased 10,000 copies of the Observer pamphlet for distribution. The officers of the Council have asked me to address them on the situation at the Ecumenical Council.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Zachariah Shuster

Enclosure

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

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CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

THE second session of the Ecumenical Council is due to open next month to resume the deliberations suspended last December. As before the first session, a number of Jewish organizations are discussing the possibilities of having the Catholic attitude towards Jews raised.

The Council deals essentially with doctrinal matters so there is no question of Jewish participation or discussion on such subjects as recognition of Israel. But in the doctrinal sphere a number of beliefs have remained enshrined in the Catholic creed which — it is felt also among liberal Catholic circles — have harmed Jewish-Christian relations and may have been important in fostering an anti-Semitic mentality.

The late Pope expunged certain anti-Jewish references from the Catholic liturgy but there are various other aspects calling for reform, such as the entire attitude towards the crucifixion, still traditionally blighted on the "perfidious Jews."

Changes to such deep-rooted attitudes will not come easily and the conservative elements in the Catholic hierarchy are still strongly entrenched. It may be premature and over-optimistic to hope for anything concrete to emerge from this Council, and perhaps we will have to be satisfied with the fresh winds that have begun to blow from Rome but which will need time before they clear away all the ancient dust.

Arab Action

The London newspaper, "The Observer," has been devoting some of its columns to Jewish-Catholic relationships. One of its correspondents reports a meeting in Switzerland of the European presidium of the World Jewish Congress to discuss, among other items, Jewish-Christian relations. He maintains that the subject will be raised at the Council, although there is no confirmation of this surmise from Rome. The correspondent adds that a Schema on the topic was prepared for last year's meeting but that the Holy Office (the most conservative element in the Vatican) was reported to have incited the Arab States to make representations to the Holy See, and as a result the matter was shelved.

Two feature articles in "The Observer" pursued the subject. The first was by Zechariah Schuster, European director of the American Jewish Committee, and was headed "Removing the stain of guilt". Mr. Schuster posits as a major cause of anti-Semitism the belief that the Jews were largely — if not entirely — responsible for the crucifixion and consequently must be condemned to dispersion and suffering until the Second Coming.

Popular Beliefs

Although the theological validity of the condemnation of Jewry is a matter of argument among Christian divines, the Christian (Protestant and Catholic) catechisms and textbooks in many Western countries continue to attribute guilt and punishment to the Jews. Many leaders of the Church are now beginning to realize the harm wrought by this doctrine and are stating that the New Testament doctrine on the Jews has been misrepresented. It cannot be counteracted by verbal and general condemnations of anti-Semitism: no real achievement will be made until the popular beliefs and misconceptions are rooted out.

Expressing his hope that the Ecumenical Council will take up the matter, Mr. Schuster suggests (rather optimistically) that the Council could lay down that the popular beliefs about Jews and Judaism are wrong from a dogmatic point of view; that it is erroneous to saddle the Jews with the major responsibility for the crucifixion; that this belief has no Scriptural support; and that belief in the accusedness of the Jews is not in accordance with the spirit of Christian dogma. This, he believes, is in accordance with pronouncements by a number of Church leaders.

He goes on to ask whether the rejection of these negative attitudes will suffice? Even if statements stressing tolerance are added, would the traditional notions concerning the Jews be changed? Some maintain that a fundamental change can result only if Christian leaders affirm the common background of both religions and that Western civilization is a fusion of Judaism and Christianity. What is needed is a re-examination of the concrete and positive relationships between the two religions.

"Goodies, Baddies"

A second article appeared last week by a Catholic writer, the distinguished economist Barbara Ward Jackson ("The Observer") is to reprint the two articles together in pamphlet form. She agrees that the Christian attitude to Jews is all too often determined by an over-primitive reading of the Gospels according to which the various elements are divided into "goodies" and "baddies", as a result of which the Jew is unconsciously identified with evil. This in turn influences attitudes of distrust and dislike, while the Jew in turn adopts a set of hostile or defensive reactions, which

confirm the original Christian dislike. Myth takes over — and anti-Semitism is confirmed.

Mrs. Ward Jackson stresses how remote all this is from Christianity's true doctrine: a belief in collective guilt handed on from generation to generation makes nonsense of the fundamental Christian concepts of the redeeming compassion of God and the personal moral responsibility of His creatures. Many Christians advocate urgent reaction and the World Council of Churches (a Protestant body) called on all member Churches in 1961 "to denounce anti-Semitism as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith".

Fatal Myths

Even if the Ecumenical Council issues a similar pronouncement, it could only be a starting point. The groups we are told to love and not hate will remain alien, says Mrs. Ward Jackson. For action to be effective, the old fatal myths have to be hunted down where they have really sunk their roots.

The first need will be for Christians and Jews to conduct the search together, she suggested, through careful cooperative work by scholars, regular discussions between leaders, wide dissemination of agreed findings, organized encounters, etc. It is hard to say what will emerge but, says Mrs. Ward Jackson, without the encounter the myths will remain.

She is encouraged by the universal response to Pope John's initiatives in the direction of unity. "Today in an age crying out for unity, the witness of both Jew and Christian to the common fatherhood of God surely provides a context of faith and respect within which each can search out the other's

meaning". She adds that the theme of a shared humanity may be even more potent as a purifier of the imagination: the narrow turning of the crucifixion story against the Jews means missing its most universal message. "Indeed, the last tragedy of Jewry in Europe is a crucifixion on such a scale that it should have burned out for ever any complacent confidence among Christians that, had they confronted the dilemmas of a Caiaphas or Pilate, they would have avoided their ignominy".

Oct 2/1963

Greetings!

The enclosed copy of a letter sent to His Holiness Pope John XXIII is mailed to you as well to Bishops, Archbishops that will be accredited to participate in the Ecumenical Council in Rome.

This is a personal message and it is submitted for your thoughtful consideration and possible action.

The favor of your reply is requested.

Yours for Peace,

Jacob Greenberg
1730 East 55th Street
Brooklyn, 34, N. Y.

T 9.9300

"Davar", last Sunday, urged the Vatican Ecumenical Council to examine the problem of anti-Semitism, determine what role the Church has played in fostering "this shameful blight" and work to stamp it out in the spirit of Pope John's call for tolerance and understanding.

The organ of the powerful Israel trade union federation, controlled by Premier David Ben Gurion's Labor party, said Jewish hopes that the Council would have the strength to "put right a 2,000-year-old wrong and abandon the sadling of the Jewish people with collective responsibility" for the death of Jesus, are apparently unfounded. "However," the paper said editorially, "it is our right and duty to demand, with all the moral force of the victim of injustice, that members of the Council devote their attention to the blight of anti-Semitism. Let them investigate what part the Church has played in fostering the sentiment of hatred, by acts of omission and commission; what part it has played by misleading its flock, and what has been the role of the shepherds themselves — not only in days gone by, but at this very time. Let them examine, for example, whether the Church has contributed to the struggle against anti-Semitism in a country like Argentina where its influence is paramount."

The Church, acting in the spirit of the Pope's opening remarks at the Council, could play a great role in stamping out anti-Semitism, the paper said.

It is a known fact that the crucifixion story has played a crucial role in the persecution of Jews by the Christian world. This role continues till this very days and is aided and abetted by some of the Christian churches and schools that continue to foster anti-Jewish feeling through the repetition of the crucifixion story in the liturgy and in the school textbooks. This is particularly true of the Catholic Churches and parochial schools.

The Ecumenical Council now assembled at the Vatican could do a great deal to attenuate if not erase anti-Semitism throughout the Christian world by correcting the crucifixion story so as to exculpate the Jewish people of the blame of deicide. The Council has great power in matters of Catholic belief and it could exercise these powers

(Continued on page 2)

News and Views

(Continued from page 1)

to lift from the Catholic Church the awesome responsibility of spreading anti-Semitism.

Nor does the Council, in its fight against anti-Semitism, have to limit itself to the revision of the crucifixion story. The Council could, if it wished to, go much further and solemnly warn all Catholics through the world, particularly the clergy, against lending their prestige and influence to the engendering and spreading of anti-Jewish hatred. It is true that occasionally some enlightened Popes of modern times have spoken out against anti-Jewish bias, yet the Ecumenical Council has a status of its own, and it behooves the Council to address itself anew to the task of eradicating anti-Semitism from the Christian heart and mind.

October 2, 1962
1730 East 55th Street
Brooklyn 34, New York

TO HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN XXIII
VATICAN CITY, ROME

The entire religious world is anxiously awaiting the forthcoming Ecumenical Council of Christians of all denominations.

The most burning problem, as part of universal peace is the eradication of prejudice and hate so prevalent in the form of Anti-Semitism. This cancerous disease has been responsible for centuries of inquisitions, pogroms and murder of the Jewish people. The most heinous crime against humanity of all ages was committed by a so-called Christian civilized nation in the form of Genocide, sending six million men, women and children to concentration camps and gas chambers for extermination.

One of the most crying appeals at the present time, is for the immediate refutation by your august assembly of the false teachings relating to the Crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews. What blasphemy it is to paint the Jews as the destroyer of religion, when the Jews are really its creator.

In the name of true Christianity and the Almighty God, redress Christianity's debt to Jews! The entire civilized world will bless and applaud your affirmative action on this abominable falsehood. The publishing of an Encyclical by Your Holiness on this grave issue, so long overdue, would help bring about a greater measure of understanding and peace and earn you the eternal gratitude of a long suffering people.

May your Historic Assembly go down in history as a most praiseworthy and Holy Conclave.

Respectfully yours,

Jacob Greenberg
Jacob Greenberg

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C O P Y

Congregation Beth El
Woodward at Gladstone
Detroit 2, Michigan

August 19, 1963

Mr. Zachariah Shuster
American Jewish Committee
30 rue la Boetie
Paris 8, France

Dear Mr. Shuster:

Many thanks for your letter of August 16 just received and for the very interesting and well-formulated article you wrote for the London Observer. It ought to be widely reprinted. It poses the central questions with which Jews are concerned.

Some of these matters I took up with Father Thomas Stransky, though not as pointedly nor as directly as you have outlined them in your article. I presume you have sent him a copy of the article. He spoke highly of your presence in Rome and values your counsel.

My conversation with Pope Paul is described in the enclosed clipping from the Detroit Free Press of August 17, 1963. I reported to Fr. Stransky the substance of the conversation. Msgr. Carrew (?) of the Secretary of State's office in the Vatican was my interpreter, and though I did not need to use him, I made sure he had the substance of my conversation with the Pope. Fr. Stransky was particularly delighted with the reassurances that Pope Paul gave me and the encouragement this seemed to indicate for the work of Cardinal Bea's Secretariat.

I had lunch one day last week with Archbishop John Dearden of Detroit and told him about my audience. He filled me in on some of the background of the coming Ecumenical Council as well as the background of Archbishop Montini whom he knew well in Milan. Dearden will be in Rome for the Council and will be staying at the Hilton Hotel. If you have occasion to look him up, please mention my name. I think you will find him helpful.

In the enclosed clipping, there appears elsewhere a story on Father Celestin J. Steiner. He happens to be a very close friend of mine and was the one who put me in touch with Cardinal Bea. They are old friends in the Jesuit order.

Again my apologies for missing you in Paris. I did not have your home telephone number; otherwise I would surely have called you when I was there over the weekend. I was in Paris to preach at the Liberal Jewish Congregation Friday evening, July 26. Mr. Greilsammer, the president of the congregation, was my host. Do you happen to know him? He is active in the work of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and I am too.

Warmest and kindest regards.

Most cordially,

s/Rabbi Richard C. Hertz

C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations

165 EAST 56TH STREET NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue la Boétie

Paris VIII

August 22, 1963

Dr. Simon Segal
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Simon:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a letter I just received from Rabbi Richard C. Hertz regarding his recent visit to Rome; as well as a photostatic copy of the article published in the Detroit Free Press on Rabbi Hertz' visit.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

cc: Rabbi Tanenbaum

Zachariah Shuster

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Detroit Free Press - Aug. 17, 1963.



Pope Paul VI receives Detroit Rabbi Richard Hertz

AMONG JEWS, CATHOLICS

'More Friendship,' Pope Tells Hertz

Dr. Richard C. Hertz, senior rabbi at Detroit's Temple Beth El, recently was received by Pope Paul VI in a private audience. Here Dr. Hertz gives an account of his visit.

BY DR. RICHARD C. HERTZ

Pope Paul VI expressed to me his hope for a continuation of positive Catholic-Jewish relationships begun by his predecessor, Pope John XXIII.

In a brief private audience with Pope Paul VI and in other conversations with Vatican officials, I came to the conclusion that despite efforts of the conservative wing of the Catholic Church there is a definite effort being made at the Vatican to improve relationships with Jews and with other non-Catholics.

My audience had been arranged for me and my family through the good offices of the Most Rev. John F. Dearden, archbishop of Detroit.

Swiss guards ushered us into the Throne Room with much pomp and ceremony. There we found about 100 children from Czechoslovakia, dressed in their native Bohemian costumes, waiting to be received by the Holy Father.

IN A FEW MOMENTS, the Pope came in, surrounded by a bodyguard of tall Swiss guards. He walked slowly, moving his arms in apostolic blessing, climbed to the red throne and waited for the clapping and singing of the children to end.

After the conclusion of his brief greeting to the children, the Pope came down from the throne and made his way toward us. He extended his hand, knowing we were non-Catholics, and shook hands with us as we remained standing.

"Your Holiness," I said, "I bring you the greetings and blessings of Archbishop Dearden in Detroit, and I come to you as a rabbi with a two-fold message. I hope and pray you will continue the dialogue of Catholic-Jewish communication that Pope John inaugurated, so that better relationships can develop

between Catholics and Jews. And secondly, I hope that the coming Ecumenical Council in September will bring about better relationships between Catholics and non-Catholics, especially Jews, than ever before."

I PAUSED to see if he understood my English, and the Pope shook his head and said, "Ah yes, you mean friendship, more friendship between Catholics and Jews. Yes, that is what we need. The world needs more friendship."

He shook hands with Mrs. Hertz and with our daughters, Nadine and Ruth, patting the children several times on the head in a tender paternal gesture. "Blessings on you and your lovely family," he said to Mrs. Hertz.

I thanked him for the privilege of these few words and for reaffirming the new Vatican policy of encouraging the dialogue of friendly communication between Catholics and Jews that could only make for better feelings all over the world.

LATER, after the Pope had left the Throne Room, a woman on the other side of the rail came over to me and said, "Do you speak English?"

"Yes," I said, "What can I do for you?"

"Tell me," she said, "How do you get on the other side of this railing to talk to the Pope?"

I smiled, realizing that she probably had stood for hours in a general audience for a glimpse of the Pope. "I guess you have to be a rabbi."

Disciples Pick Detroit For 1965

Detroit's Cobo Hall will host the 1965 International Convention of Christian Churches.

The convention will bring more than 12,000 visitors to Detroit, the Rev. R. L. Jordan, pastor of the United Christian Church, Sixteenth and Forest, said Friday.

The convention, which meets this year in Miami, Oct. 11, is the annual meeting of the 1.8 million Disciples of Christ in North America.

Previously Cobo Hall has been host to Episcopalians, American, Conservative and Free Will Baptists, Lutheran Church in America, National Sunday School Association, and other groups. National Baptists, Missouri Synod Lutherans, Southern Baptists also plan national meetings in Cobo Hall in the next three years. The National Council of Catholic Women and the National Catholic Education Association have also met there.

Church Unit Opens Parley Here Monday

A national Negro organization belonging to the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of

Christ), will hold a convention in Detroit, starting Monday and running through next Sunday.

More than 1,200 delegates from 27 states are expected at the opening assembly of the National Christian Missionary Convention of Christian Churches 7:15 p.m. Monday at the United Christian Church, Sixteenth and Forest.

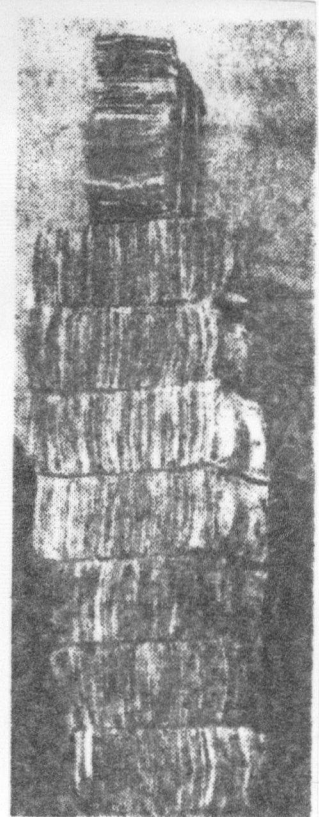
The Rev. Charles H. Webb, of Chicago, convention president, gives his report at the opening session.

"The group retains its racial identity to provide a basis for fellowship among Negroes particularly in the south," says the host pastor, the Rev. R. L. Jordan. Its members, however, serve on the denomination's integrated national boards, he said.

Pastor Takes Job With NAE

The Rev. Paul A. Graham, pastor of the Warrendale Church of the United Brethren for 16 years, has resigned to become director of the Great Lakes Region of the National Association of Evangelicals, with offices at 22123 Grand River.

He will be succeeded by the Rev. Martin Magnus, of Stevensville.



Father Steiner: 1

Matter of

UD Fund Drive Secret

His face is quite appropriate. That's where the Rev. picture was put once by Detroit students to acknowledge

place of George's on a 12-foot dollar bill on a homecoming float.

That was 10 years ago. But Father Steiner, once UD president, now chancellor, still belongs on the dollar bill more than ever.

UNIVERSITY officials have announced that Father Steiner has raised \$5.5 million in a year and a half toward the university's new development fund. That's more than half of the \$10 million he was expected to raise over a full five years.

"I am convinced we will get \$7 million by the end of the second year," which is Dec. 31, he says.

FATHER STEINER talks calmly and friendly about money.

He's called on 125 top businessmen in the Detroit area, and has not had a clearcut refusal, although five or six have hedged about and asked him to come back some other time. He, of course, doesn't get a dime himself.

He believes in and loves youth, and though he talks with a bunch of tough old men at times, it's the vision of youth and the challenge of the university that keeps things bright for him.

HE GIVES these rules for

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

November 13, 1963

Dear Colleague:

On November 4, I sent you a memorandum by A. M. Sonnabend, President of the American Jewish Committee, and a reprint from the New York Times which described the highlights of the events relating to the Vatican Council and its proposed action on a schema repudiating the accusation of "deicide" against the Jewish people, abjuring anti-Semitism, and reaffirming Christianity's indebtedness to Judaism and the Jewish people.

As you know by now, this past Friday Augustin Cardinal Bea introduced the decree to the 2,400 Council Fathers. We are informed by the European Director of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Zachariah Shuster, who has been in Rome throughout these eventful weeks that the decree may be discussed and voted upon during this second session.

In light of the historic importance of these developments, it seems to me that Rabbis can make a particularly useful contribution by preaching sermons during the next week or two in which these events can be interpreted to our people in their proper historic and religious significance. The enclosed background memorandum and the reprint of my article in the New York Herald Tribune may provide some helpful source material upon which you may wish to base your sermons. Public expressions of tribute to the late Pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI, and Cardinal Bea, if made available to the press in your community, would make for a constructive contribution to a positive atmosphere between Catholics and Jews in your community.

Would you please send me copies of the sermons, articles, or news clippings that may appear in connection with your public statements? With warmest good wishes.

Cordially,

Marc H. Tanenbaum
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Dept.

MHT/ps

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NEWS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

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◀ This is the American Jewish Committee:

◀ Founded in 1906.

◀ Pioneer American organization combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere.

◀ Chapters and units in more than 80 principal cities; members in more than 600 American communities.

HAROLD STEINBERG
Director of Publicity

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Nov. 8, 1963

Vatican Council II and the Jews; Activities of the American Jewish Committee

The introduction by Augustin Cardinal Bea at Vatican Council II of the decree on Catholic attitudes toward Jews and Judaism is regarded as an historic event by Jews everywhere. Unquestionably, the adoption of the decree by the assembled Church Fathers would be hailed by Jews the world over as a significant turning point in Catholic-Jewish relations.

This memorandum highlights what we consider the significant aspects of the decree, and sets forth the historical background against which we think its importance should be assessed. Accordingly, we concentrate for the most part on those elements in the decree which deal with deicide and anti-Semitism.

The Church has expressed its abhorrence of anti-Semitism on previous occasions.¹ What is particularly significant about the decree is that it strikes directly at the heart of

¹ In 1928, for example, a decree of the Holy Office, confirmed by Pope Pius XI, condemned "in an especial manner the hatred against the people, once chosen by God, that hatred, namely, which nowadays is commonly called anti-Semitism." In 1938, Pope Pius XI, addressing a group of Belgian pilgrims, declared, "anti-Semitism is a repugnant movement in which we Christians can have no part...Spiritually we are all Semites." In 1958, Pope Pius XII expressed similar views to a delegation of the American Jewish Committee.

a concept that has served to sanction hatred and persecution across the centuries: the invidious charge that the Jews are a deicide people -- "Christ killers," rejected and punished by God, and burdened with the same guilt in each successive generation. That the charge of deicide has been used throughout the centuries to justify persecution of Jews and indifference to their fate has been acknowledged by Catholic theologians and scholars. Father George H. Tavard has written:

The idea that Jews are cursed because their ancestors crucified the Lord stands in contradiction to the Gospel...It is furthermore opposed to the Catholic doctrine on mankind's collective responsibility in sin....Nevertheless, the idea is still often met with among people who are counted good Catholics. To the mind of anti-Semitic bigots, it even explains a great deal of history. God would periodically "visit" the murderers of Christ and incite them to penance through persecution. All the anti-Semitic excesses of times past and present can thus be cheaply excused. They are freely granted the blessing of Providence...²

Though fully aware that anti-Semitism has various causes -- political and economic as well as religious -- scholars and social scientists, both Jewish and Christian have long considered the deicide charge a major source of anti-Jewish attitudes. According to these experts, this concept not only encourages stereotyped thinking about Jews, but may actually create an expectation of, and psychological conditioning for, persecution of Jews. Yet the charge is deeply imbedded in a considerable part of traditional Catholic teachings from the early Church Fathers down and still finds frequent expression in textbooks, sermons and liturgical commentaries.

After the late Pope John XXIII, in 1959, called for the convening of an Ecumenical Council, the American Jewish Committee was invited by high Church officials to submit suggestions and findings based on scholarly studies in the area of Christian-

². The Church, the Layman and the Modern Man New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959, pp. 79-80.

Jewish relations.

Greater interreligious understanding has been a major goal of the American Jewish Committee since its establishment. As part of this effort, the Committee has long sought to bring objective, scientific study to bear on the question of prejudice against Jews, and its possible communication through Christian teachings. Through its efforts, Protestant and Catholic self-studies of religious educational materials were initiated at Yale Divinity School and St. Louis University, respectively. These comprehensive investigations, carried out by Christian educators, have provided important insights into prejudice in religious textbooks, as well as into available theological resources for combating such prejudice. (Parallel studies of Jewish textbooks have also been undertaken, at the Committee's initiative, at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.)

Drawing on these studies, on substantial research by its own staff, and on the expertise of eminent scholars and theologians representing Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Jewish viewpoints, the American Jewish Committee prepared three comprehensive, scholarly memoranda for the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, one of the preparatory commissions of the Ecumenical Council. These documents were submitted at the invitation and with the encouragement of Catholic authorities with whom Committee representatives consulted on several occasions.

The first memorandum, entitled "The Image of the Jews in Catholic Teaching" and submitted on June 22, 1961 analyzed how the Jews are represented in the textbooks most widely used in parochial schools throughout the United States. It was later supplemented by examples taken from educational materials used in Europe and South America, supplied by the Committee's offices in Paris, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.

The memorandum analyzed in detail specific derogatory aspects of these educational materials:

1. The notion that the Jews are a cursed people, exclusively and collectively responsible for the death of the Son of God.
2. Partiality in the use of the term "the Jews." In many instances, this term was applied to the enemies of Jesus, but not to his friends and followers, though they also were Jews. Often, the collective term, "the Jews," was used in describing situations that actually involved only a few Jewish individuals.
3. Unjust and inaccurate comparisons between Christianity and Judaism. For example, Christianity was often described as a religion of love, Judaism as a loveless religion of law.
4. Invidious use of language, including such phrases as "carnal Jews" and "blood-thirsty Jews."
5. Omission of facts that would serve to mitigate generalized judgments. For example, the Jews of the Middle Ages were described as moneylenders, without the corrective information that they had few other ways of supporting themselves, being barred from the craft guilds and forbidden to own land.

The memorandum pointed to the likelihood that such statements would produce prejudice in the impressionable minds of students. It also pointed to theological and doctrinal sources in Catholicism (such as the Catechism of the Council of Trent³)

3. "It was the peculiar privilege of Christ the Lord to have died when He Himself decreed to die, and to have died not so much by external violence as by internal assent....Should anyone inquire why the Son of God underwent his most bitter Passion, he will find that besides the guilt inherited from our first parents the principal causes were the vices and crimes which had been perpetrated from the beginning of the world to the present day and those which will be committed to the end of time....In this guilt are involved all those who fall frequently into sin; for as our sins consigned Christ the Lord to the death of the cross, most certainly those

(Footnote 3 con't. following page)

which could provide effective antidotes to biased notions of this sort.

The second memorandum, entitled "The Jews in Catholic Liturgy" and submitted on November 17, 1961, called attention to certain passages in Roman Catholic liturgy reflecting hostility against Jews, and to even more hostile liturgical commentaries and homilies based upon these passages. The American Jewish Committee's document acknowledged with appreciation recent changes in the liturgy⁴, but expressed profound distress that in liturgical commentaries published in 1947 and 1950 the term "deicide" was still being applied to Jews.

The third document, prepared at the suggestion of the American Jewish Committee by the distinguished theologian, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, examined tensions between Catholics and Jews from a religious viewpoint, and offered proposals for relieving these tensions. This memorandum was prepared at the invitation of Cardinal Bea, following an audience granted in Rome in November 1961 to Rabbi Heschel, Zachariah Shuster, European director of the Committee, and Dr. Max Horkheimer, the Committee's consultant

(Footnote 3 con't.)

who wallow in sin and iniquity "crucify to themselves again the Son of God, as far as in them lies, and make a mockery of Him" (Hebrews 6:6). This guilt seems more enormous in us than in the Jews, since according to the testimony of the same Apostle: "If they had known it, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory" (I Corinthians 2:9); while we, on the contrary, professing to know Him, yet denying Him by our actions, seem in some sort to lay violent hands on Him..."(Article IV.)

4. Such as: The specification by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in 1948, that the expressions perfidis Judaeis and Judaica perfidia may be translated as signifying simply a lack of faith in the Christian revelation; the elimination of the words perfidia and perfidis by Pope John in 1959, and the subsequent authorization of this change by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

in Germany. It was submitted on May 22, 1962.

These concerns, together with Jewish hopes for constructive action by the Vatican Council, were also communicated to Cardinal Bea during his visit to the United States in March 1963. A meeting between Cardinal Bea and a group of outstanding Orthodox, Conservative and Reform leaders, in their capacity as individuals, was held at the Committee's Institute of Human Relations. Members of Cardinal Bea's entourage and officers of the Committee were also present. The American rabbis who attended the meeting, under the Chairmanship of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, were: Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Rabbi Theodore Friedman, President, Rabbinical Assembly of America; Rabbi Joseph Lookstein, President, Bar-Ilan University; Rabbi Julius Mark, President, Synagogue Council of America; Rabbi Albert Minda, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The American Jewish Committee has collaborated with or drawn upon the expertise of scholars and leaders who have made important contributions to the cause of Christian-Jewish relations. Among them are: the late Dr. Jules Isaac and Father Paul Demann, both of France; Father Gregory Baum of Canada; Dr. James Parkes of Britain; Mme. Claire Huchet Bishop of France and the United States; and Dr. Eric Werner, Latinist, of New York. The Committee also has worked closely with organizations devoted to Christian-Jewish amity in France, Spain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and several South American countries.

Cardinal Bea's powerful expression of friendship at the Ecumenical Council is regarded as an effective indication that he and his Secretariat wish to write an end to the animosities of past centuries. It underscores his earlier statement at a "fraternal agape," sponsored by Pro Deo University in Rome in

January 1962: "It is the primordial duty of groups of mankind to unite for the purpose of overcoming hatreds of the past". The American Jewish Committee joins with men of goodwill everywhere in acclaiming Cardinal Bea's declaration as an important step toward that goal.

Vatican Move—A Boon to Jewish-Catholic Dialogue

Vatican sources suggested yesterday that the "Jewish" declaration proposed by Augustin Cardinal Bea (Jews should not be made scapegoats for the Crucifixion) may be acted on before the end of the current session of the Ecumenical Council. Jewish and Protestant leaders, here and abroad, hailed the declaration as a major step toward eliminating friction between Catholics and Jews. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the Department of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee who has worked with Cardinal Bea's secretariat, here writes the meaning of the declaration in terms of the way it might be worked out practically in this country.

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

While Pope Paul VI was still Archbishop of Milan, the president of the Milan-Jewish community drew his attention to anti-Semitic references in a book being presented to boys and girls on the occasion of their Confirmation. Cardinal Montini promptly ordered the withdrawal of the imprimatur and of the book itself.

When Pope Paul VI received a delegation of Jewish leaders last month in the throne room of the Vatican, he declared: "We have a common Bible and common God, a common affinity for the Old Testament as a source of divine revelation which I use every day in thought and prayer. Therefore, we pray together so that the Almighty guide, comfort, and bless us . . . These bonds are what we would like to strengthen."

These two incidents illustrate vividly the religious and human relations implications contained in the decree regarding the Jews that Augustin Cardinal Bea introduced to the Vatican Council Friday. Should the Council fathers adopt this decree—as millions of Jew throughout the world devoutly hope and pray they will—Pope Paul VI's example, both in deed and in word, might be seen as providing decisive guidance to the world's 550 million Catholics as to how the substance of the decree is to be translated into daily practice.

The decree, which condemns it as "unjust and injurious to call the Jewish people a deicide one" and which declares as "anathema" anti-Jewish attitudes and practices, represents the capstone effort of Catholic authorities to repudiate an ancient charge which has resulted in untold suffering and martyrdom for the Jewish people. Catholic scholars and writers in the United States, Europe and Latin American have long emphasized that the Jews should not be made a scapegoat for the sins of all mankind.

Unfortunately, despite such statements, the charge of Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus and their consequent rejection and punishment by God is still found in Catholic textbooks, sermons and liturgical commentaries. The importance of Cardinal Bea's decree, if it is approved, is that it will give the highest level of support and encouragement to the efforts of Catholic scholars, theologians, clergymen, teachers, religious journalists, professional and lay officials of international and national Catholic bodies to make this humane and enlightened viewpoint permeate the entire Church, from the Vatican to the parochial school classroom. It cannot but help as well to influence beneficially other multiple sources that lead to anti-Semitism, which involve the complex inter-action of the home, school, peer group, neighborhood and mass media.

The implementation of the decree, quite obviously, rests entirely in the hands of the Church and can be understood as part of the Church's vast and impressive effort of renewal and reform. It is neither fitting nor proper for non-Catholics to comment regarding the procedures which the Church may choose to adopt for implementing the decree. Unquestionably, however, individual Jewish scholars and competent Jewish organizations devoted to the promotion of inter-religious understanding stand ready to cooperate with Catholic authorities should their co-operation be requested.

The growth of dialogues between Catholics and Jews within recent years must be acknowledged as a remarkable tool for promoting this inter-religious understanding between Catholics and Jews, as well as between Christians and Jews generally. Such dialogue has proceeded on every level, from scholarly exchanges between the most eminent theologians of both faiths—such as Cardinal Bea and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America—to consultations between Catholic and Jewish laymen in local communities, mutually exploring solutions to community problems and seeking co-operation and joint action across religious lines. We believe that such dialogues have been enormously beneficial, for both Catholics and Jews who have learned better to understand one another, but also for the common good of the community as a whole.

Impressive as the growth of these mutual exchanges has been, only a small proportion of Catholics and Jews has been touched by the experience. The walls of misunderstanding, built over many centuries, have not yet given way to permit a completely free flow of ideas between the two communities. Imagine the kind of intellectual and spiritual flowering that might result if the dialogue process were extended to areas of exchange that have not yet been affected by it. Imagine, for example, a meeting between Catholic teaching nuns and Jewish teachers discussing their mutual misperceptions. Imagine a volume on the history of relations between Christians and Jews jointly co-authored by outstanding Catholic and Jewish scholars. How many misconceptions, exaggerations, and historical absurdities might be finally laid to rest!

Those of us who have been privileged to be related to this process of Catholic-Jewish dialogue have been enriched and enlightened by it. We can only hope that the Vatican Council decree on Jews and Judaism, in its essence and through its implementation, will multiply these opportunities for Catholics and Jews everywhere, and will help translate into reality the vision of the late Pope John XXIII of blessed memory for "a new order of human relations."

Reprinted from

New York Herald Tribune

November 10, 1963

VATICAN II TO HELP JEWS

Gathering of world
religions proposed

ANTI-SEMITISM ON AGENDA

By Our Rome Correspondent

WEDNESDAY.

I CAN categorically deny assertions that pressure from Arab States will stop the Vatican Council from discussing anti-Semitism, and the relations of Jews and Christians. The Council's second session opens next month.

I learn this week, from Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity, that it has definitely prepared a statement on Jewish questions. This has been incorporated into the 17 new *Schemata* which will form the basis of the session's debates.

Moreover, Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, is reported to have said recently that, only a few weeks ago, a suggestion was raised in connection with the Council that a conference of all the great world religions should be called—the first of its kind in history.

Speaking at a conference of Austrian students, the Cardinal is also reported to have said that the first steps towards such a gathering were under way.

After a visit to Rome, Mr. Zachariah Shuster, director of the European Office of the American Jewish Committee, has made a statement in Paris echoing Mgr. Oesterreicher's dissent from a comment made by the American theologian, Fr. Gustav Weigel, S.J.

Fr. Weigel had told a Jewish audience in Atlantic City that fear of offending the Arabs would prevent the Council from taking a stand on anti-Semitism. But Mr. Shuster has declared: "The position of the Vatican on this question has not changed, and the obstacles mentioned by Fr. Weigel are not going to block discussion of this subject."

Vatican sources had assured him that there was no authority behind Fr. Weigel's remarks, and that they were not in accordance with the facts.

STATEMENT

Earlier this year, Cardinal Bea had personal talks with two prominent Jewish leaders, and assured them of the Church's stand against anti-Semitism.

In a recent interview with the Italian paper *Vita*, Cardinal Tisserant, Dean of the Sacred College, declared that the Council must take a stand against anti-Semitism.

It is known that Cardinal Bea prepared a statement for the Council on Catholic-Jewish questions after the Vatican Council invited world Jewish leaders to send in their views in 1960; and that, in 1961, the Council's Central Preparatory Commission discussed the charge of deicide which has been imputed to the entire Jewish people.

Whatever the truth about Arab pressure putting the block on this early effort, there is no doubt that the issue will come up now.

The article by Mr. Zachariah Shuster in the *OBSERVER* at the weekend echoes current suggestions that some Catholic theologians are coming to take a more sympathetic view about the guilt of the Jewish people in regard to the death of Our Lord; and that this has come about as a result of a reappraisal of Scripture interpretation. The *CATHOLIC HERALD* has invited Fr. Thomas Corbishley, S.J., to comment on this.

OUR DEBT TO JUDAISM

IN the light of an article which appeared in last Sunday's *Observer*, it is timely to re-examine the attitude of Catholics towards the Jewish people as a whole.

It seems unlikely that Catholics as a body are markedly more prone to anti-Semitism than any other Gentile group.

What we may have to confess is that, to some extent, a latent anti-Semitism may well be made explicit by what may be called the conventional interpretation of one or two Scripture texts, to say nothing of memories of now abandoned liturgical phraseology.

The historical origins of what we call anti-Semitism are not altogether clear, but it seems probable that they pre-date the Christian era.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that, in the pagan Roman Empire, the Jews were treated with contempt and hostility, whilst the phenomenon of the "pogrom" was certainly not unknown in the Levant before Christianity had become established there.

What is unfortunately true is that Christians, instead of remembering that, in the words of Pius XI, "spiritually we are all

Semites," exacerbated the situation.

This was, no doubt, partly due to the early persecution of Christian by Jew, with the common human reaction on the part of Christians, when they came into power. Accusation and counter-accusation built up a regrettable spirit of mutual hatred, and the Christians, on their side, sought to justify an unjustifiable attitude by appealing to Scripture.

"His blood be upon us and upon our children," they quoted.

By Fr. Thomas
Corbishley, S.J.

to suggest that the whole Jewish nation, having called down upon themselves this terrible curse, were naturally doomed to suffer till the end of the world.

But, apart altogether from the fact that Our Lord Himself prayed for forgiveness for his executioners — Romans, primarily, though with Jewish connivance — it is unhistorical to argue that the mob who howled for Our Lord's crucifixion necessarily represented the Jewish nation.

Why should they be taken as more representative than the

group of women who wept for Him, than the Galileans who remained faithful, than the thousands who, within weeks of the Crucifixion, joined the Church.

More and more, scholars are coming to recognise the strong Jewish element in early Christian teaching and practice. It is high time we recognise our debt to Judaism, fully and frankly, and abandoned for ever any lingering traces of resentment or selfishness.

Against the text quoted above from St. Matthew, we should set St. Peter's words, spoken on the first Pentecost: "This promise is for you and for your children and for all those, however far away, whom the Lord our God calls to himself."

And again, echoing Our Lord's prayer for pardon, he says: "I know that you, like your rulers, acted in ignorance."

If we claim to have the spirit and the truth of Christ, if we desire to maintain our loyalty to the teaching of the Apostles, we must lead the way in a movement for complete fellowship with the Jews, to whom we owe so much.

Anti-Semitism is not merely a betrayal of our origins; it is a denial of Christ Our Lord and His Blessed Mother, who were, and are, in every sense of the word, the purest of Jews.

C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue la Boétie
Paris VIII

August 19, 1963

Memorandum

To: Dr. John Slawson
From: Zachariah Shuster
Subj: Article in the "Observer"

I am sending you herewith a copy of the article by Lady Barbara Ward Jackson which appeared in the "Observer" yesterday. This article is a follow-up on my article which was published a week ago.

As you will notice, the "Observer" is planning to issue a pamphlet containing both these articles. I am also informed that in one of the forthcoming issues of the "Observer" in the section "Letters to the Editor" comments received on both these articles will be published.

cc: D. Danzig
S. Segal
M. Tanenbaum
R. Friedman

The Observer Aug 11, 1963

Catholics and Jews: Removing the stain of guilt

DURING the years following the Nazi catastrophe there has been a growing realisation among Christians of various denominations that among the major causes of anti-semitism and all its disastrous consequences are certain fundamental Christian beliefs about Jews which have been perpetuated from generation to generation since the beginning of Christianity.

In brief, these beliefs are that Jews bear a major—if not exclusive—responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus and that because of it they have been condemned to dispersion and suffering until the end of time.

The problem, it must be stressed, is one of Christian attitudes towards Jews as an ethnic and religious entity, towards Judaism as a body of religious principles. It does not concern attitudes towards the State of Israel. The distinction is essential. For, it is known, there are apprehensions in the Arab world as to the possible effect of an Ecumenical Council statement concerning Jews on the conflict between Arab States and Israel.

No politics

The problem of the attitude of Christianity towards Judaism is, centuries old, predates and affects Jews throughout the world. It is not political in nature. Those circles in Rome which deal with this matter fully recognise the distinction; the State of Israel on the one hand and consideration of Judaism at the Ecumenical Council on the other are clearly seen as two entirely different subjects.

There have been many theological discussions as to whether these beliefs are founded in the basic Scriptures and dogmas of the Church. It has been pointed out by some Christian scholars that the Gospels lend themselves to various interpretations with regard to the attitude toward Jews. But no matter what the dogmatic position is, the major fact of overriding importance is that these beliefs have taken root in the minds of followers of Christianity.

Even now, following the years of the Nazi cataclysm, Protestant and Catholic catechisms and textbooks in many countries of the Western world continue to assert these beliefs in the crudest and sometimes most vicious and sadistic forms. Studies of catechisms have been made in France, Germany, the United States and other countries by both Protestant and Catholic bodies, and all of them confirm that the thesis of guilt and punishment attributed to Jews is permeating Christian teaching.

Animosity

No deep psychological studies are necessary to demonstrate that, when a group of people is constantly being charged with such accusations which are implanted in the minds of children in the course of their religious training, these minds become influenced for life with bias and animosity toward this group.

This is now being recognised, albeit with some resistance, by leaders of the Church. To cite only one example, the *Ecumenist*, a quasi-official Catholic publication, stated in its issue of February/March, 1963:—

Christians have been led to examine their attitudes toward Jews. They have carefully analysed their teaching and their liturgy to see if these have in any way contributed to the movement of hate in the world. The result of this

A turning-point in the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Jews may be reached when the Ecumenical Council re-assembles in Rome next month. One of the main questions now being considered in preparing the Council's agenda is how to carry out Pope John's wish to bring about a fundamental change in the Church's attitude towards the Jews. Here the European Director of the American Jewish Committee argues the case for not only condemning anti-semitism but acknowledging the Church's historic debt to Judaism.

by Zachariah Shuster



A medieval plea for tolerance: God bestowing the Seven Gifts of the Spirit on Church and Synagogue—detail from a twelfth-century window at Saint-Denis.

examination has been devastating. Christians, of all the Churches, have discovered that in popular preaching, in certain liturgical formulas, and often even in serious theological studies, we have misrepresented the New Testament doctrine on the Jews. We have drawn a picture of the Jews which arouses contempt and misrepresents their role in the Scriptures.

It is also being realised that this core of anti-semitism cannot and will not be eliminated by some general statement condemning anti-semitism as a social evil and proclaiming the principle of tolerance. Such condemnations have been issued in the past, but without any visible effect. It also cannot be counteracted by some maxim as the one pronounced by Pope Pius XI, which has been reiterated so many times, that "Spiritually we are all semites."

All this does not go to the root of the matter. For as long as the popular beliefs and misconceptions are not done away with in an historic and fundamental way, which would begin a basic process of reinterpretation and reconstruction of Christian teaching about Jews, the evil of two millennia will continue to be as effective as before.

An even greater opportunity is now before the Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church, which is to resume its second session on September 29, and which, it is hoped, will deal with this historic problem in a basic fashion. The reason for this hope is that this council was conceived by the late Pope in a spirit not only of dealing with internal matters of the Church, but of facing great world problems affecting humanity at large.

Pope John XXIII, in his address

opening the council, called for a "new order in human relations." On October 10, 1962, in his address to Government representatives, he spoke of the duty of the Church to promote the teaching of brotherly love among all, including those of divergent religious views. Cardinal Augustin Bea, head of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, indicated that although the obvious objectives of his efforts are primarily the promoting of unity among Christians, the interest of the council extended to other groups as well.

There are indications that Pope Paul VI intends to follow in this as in other respects the general line of attitude and policy taken by his predecessor. The very fact that one of his first acts after the coronation was to proclaim the continuation of the Ecumenical Council, and his strong statements on peace and understanding among peoples, testify that the successor to Pope John XXIII is imbued with the same spirit with regard to the major problems before the council.

One line of thought is that the Ecumenical Council could state as a matter of principle that the popular beliefs about Jews and Judaism are wrong from a dogmatic point of view; that it is erroneous to say and believe that Jews carry the major responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus; it could state definitively that this belief is not supported by Scriptures and tradition; it also could state that the belief about the accursedness and affliction of Jews is not in accordance with the spirit of Christian dogma.

Indeed, some highly stationed ecclesiastic leaders have recently pointed out that these beliefs are based on misinterpretations of

texts in the New Testament and they emphasise the principles enunciated by the council of Trent that no particular group bears responsibility for the crucifixion; and that it could be said that the belief about the punishment of Jews is contradicted by various passages in the New Testament.

But even if these negative beliefs are rejected as emphatically as possible, will this be sufficient to eliminate the roots of the anti-Jewish beliefs and prejudices? Can a rejection of the negative, at this late date, really do away with the patterns that have become part of the body of Christian belief and in which Jews have always been portrayed as culprits and sinners and adversaries? Even if to this denial of the negatives there were added statements regarding tolerance toward others—and it must truthfully be said that there are now great leaders of the Church who proclaim that respect for other creeds is an essential part of the Christian spirit—would this be sufficient to eradicate the notions about the actual responsibility of Jews and alleged punishment inflicted upon them?

Basic beliefs

There are others who believe that a fundamental change can occur only when the leaders of Christianity reaffirm the common background of both religions; when the heads of the Catholic Church make known to the world that Judaism is not only a precursor of Christianity which has been surpassed but that both derive their fundamental belief from the same source and that Western civilisation is a fusion of both Judaism and Christianity in their basic beliefs.

In brief, to put it in the words of a contemporary French theologian, "Where would we be without the Jew, without the Old Testament, without the belief in monotheism and the Ten Commandments, without the Prophets and the Divine purpose that we have derived from Judaism?" Can the ancient anti-Jewish bias be overcome without such a positive affirmation of the affinity with Judaism and of an appreciation of the vitality of Judaism throughout the ages, pre- and post-Biblical?

Brotherhood

In short, would merely a condemnation of the misrepresentations be enough to clear the ground for a new epoch of understanding and brotherhood without a re-examination of the concrete and positive relationships between the two religions, one of which is the source and root of the other?

Questions of dogma and interpretation of text are within the realm of each religion; but the general purpose and trend of various creeds involves all of us. What should be the expectations of Jews from the Ecumenical Council? What are we entitled to hope of this second Vatican Council in terms of fundamental changes of attitudes towards Jews and Judaism? These are the questions that should engage Catholics, Protestants and Jews, all those who feel the significance of the influence of religion upon the mental state of men, at least in the Western world. Is Christianity, and at this moment the Catholic Church in particular, ready to make this great historic revision *vis-à-vis* Jews and Judaism?

Next week

BARBARA WARD JACKSON
gives a Roman Catholic point of view

The Observer
Aug 18, 1963

Christians and Jews: Rooting out the fatal myths

AS THE MEMORY of Auschwitz and the gas chambers fades, is there a chance that such horrors could recur? This is a question of particular and urgent force in Europe for, whatever the reactions of anti-semitism in other lands and other cultures, only in Europe was the apocalyptic climax reached in which six million people were exterminated for being Jews.

No one can be sure of the answer to this question unless another is asked: have all the roots of the old anti-semitism been finally torn from Europe's conscious and unconscious mind? And this is a question of particularly poignant force for Europe's Christians since, whatever other sources there may be of anti-semitism, one immensely strong tap-root has been the historical antagonism between Church and Synagogue and a tragically perverted "Christian" interpretation of the biblical role of the Jews.

"Interpretation" is in fact much too weak a word. Christian attitudes to the Jews are all too often fixed in childhood by a reading of the Gospels in almost primitive terms of "goodies" and "baddies." The Jews reject Jesus. Caiaphas cynically hands Him over to Roman power, Judas betrays Him for money, the crowd howls that His blood will be on them and their children. These simple images of treachery and violence invade the childish mind with the force of myth. Unconsciously, the Jew is seen as evil.

This in turn influences attitudes—of distrust and dislike; these then induce in the Jews a set of hostile or defensive reactions which confirm the original Christian dislike. All too often, there is no later re-examination of early attitudes. Myth takes over, anti-semitism is confirmed.

Compassion

It need hardly be underlined how fantastically far removed is this myth from Christianity's true doctrine. At the universal level, to believe in the possibility of a collective guilt, handed on, generation after generation, to innocent people wholly removed from the original tragedy, is to make nonsense of two fundamental Christian concepts—the redeeming compassion of God and the personal moral responsibility of His creatures.

At the particular level, the tragedy itself had nothing to do with any collective Jewish reaction. At a time when a very large part of Jewry lived outside Judea, a few Jewish leaders, co-operating—in ways which are likely to remain for ever obscure—with the dominant power of imperial Rome, contrived to get rid of an embarrassing local "prophet." Jewry was never involved since Jewry knew nothing about it.

Yet the myth persists. Inquiries in France within the last decade have uncovered children's catechisms which still paint the Jewish community in terms of collective guilt. It is only in the last two Pontificates that the Good Friday liturgy has been modified to remove such dangerous discourtesies as its contemptuous reference to "perfidious Jews."

It is for this reason that many Christians wonder whether there may not be urgent need for much more specific Christian action to undo the old myths and establish a new context for Christian-Jewish relations. The World Council of Churches, meeting in Delhi in 1961, did in fact solemnly call on

If Pope John's wishes are posthumously fulfilled, next month's meeting of the Vatican Council could mean the beginning of a new era in the relations between the Christian Church and the Jews. Here a Roman Catholic writer puts the case for a positive approach which would attack the causes of anti-semitism by stressing "a sense of common humanity."

by Barbara Ward Jackson



Quod Moyses velat Christi doctrina revelat.
Denudant legem qui spoliunt Moysen.

(What Moses saw through a veil, the teaching of Christ revealed.
They strip law of its value who strip Moses of his vision.)

all member Churches "to denounce anti-semitism as absolutely irreconcilable with profession and practice of the Christian faith." The reopening of the Vatican Council this autumn could offer Catholic Christianity a similar opportunity to restate with the utmost emphasis and solemnity its rejection of anti-semitism and its condemnation of every myth making of the Jews a species of cosmic villain in the divine drama.

But, clearly, such solemn declarations would be only a starting-point. External statements of principle, however valuable, do not necessarily work at the level of the imagination. The groups we are told to love and not hate remain alien to us. The reasons for switching from distrust to sympathy touch no more than the surface of our being. If love and respect are to become the true context of the dialogue, fears, prejudices, ignorance, the old fatal myths have to be hunted down where they have really sunk their roots. The problem is not simply the enlightenment of Christian minds. It is Lear's old question. What will "sweeten" the imagination?

This is a question which it is probably impossible to answer in any abstract sense. The first need is for Christians and Jews to be ready, in a new and concrete way, to conduct the search together. In a sense, the method is no different from the methods necessary to the whole ecumenical encounter—careful co-operative work by

scholars, regular discussions between leaders, wide dissemination of agreed findings, organised encounters at various levels to bring more and more people face to face as men of good will, trusting in each other's good faith and attempting to discern God's purposes and man's response.

Ignorance

Clearly, it is hard to say in advance what results would flow from such a confrontation. It is precisely for the lack of it that we are still in the age of myth and ignorance. We can only say that without the encounter, the myths will remain, still fed from the depths of the same unreformed imagination.

Yet it is perhaps possible to guess at one or two potentially liberating approaches. If one asks how it was that John XXIII made so profound an impression on so many in so short a time, the most likely answer is that he was able to articulate some of the deepest thoughts and hopes of contemporary man. There can be no doubt of the themes to which he returned most readily—the theme of the unity of the whole human species and the theme of a common human substance shared by all the children of God. And these two great *lieux communs*—of unity and humanity—have surely an especial relevance in any more sustained dialogue between Christians and Jews.

It can be argued that it was the Jews who first conceived with total

commitment the unity of the human race. Leaving behind the god of the tribe, rejecting the earth mother worshipped under a score of titles, they proclaimed the single universal Godhead, Creator of the universe, Father of all men. Then comes the paradox. The people whose vision of divinity was universal became, in the process of defending it—through defeat and captivity and dispersion—enclosed, exclusive, separated, apart. The crisis and tragedy of the Gospels is, from the Christian point of view, the inability of Jewry to encompass the full universal implications of its own vision of God.

But over the last two millennia it has remained perfectly faithful to this vision. Fidelity has flowered again and again in the sanctity of Jewish sages, the wisdom of Jewish writing, the heroism of Jewish suffering.

Today, in an age crying out for unity, the witness of both Jew and Christian to the common fatherhood of God surely provides a context of faith and respect within which each can search out the other's meaning. And it should be said that, even though such an approach may seem strange to those reared in the atmosphere of latent anti-semitism, it is profoundly in keeping with St. Paul's great meditation on Jewish destiny in his Epistle to the Romans. There he sees the failure of the Jews to realise their common sonship with the Gentiles as only a stage in the unfolding of human destiny. Jew and Gentile alike are under the grace and mercy of God and are destined to discover an ultimate and common salvation.

Betrayal

The theme of a shared humanity may be even more potent as a purifier of the imagination. So much of the evil arises, as we have seen, from the incredibly primitive attributions of good and evil at the climactic point of Christ's trial and execution. But any serious study of the events puts humanity on trial—not Jewry, not Roman power, not even this or that Jew or Roman.

Christ is betrayed by attitudes and reactions which everywhere and always betray mankind—the cowardice of His own disciples, the retreat from objective justice by a governor who does not want to jeopardise his career by a local disturbance, the hostility of a religious "establishment" confronted with new and disturbing spiritual inspiration, the fear felt by respectable people everywhere for those who dispel their complacency with the reminder that the poor will inherit the earth.

To turn so sharp and illuminating a spectacle of humanity's general weakness into an indictment of a particular group at a particular point in history robs it of its deepest religious significance, its insistent reminder that we all behave thus, that all with power are tempted to its abuse, all with religious authority to a failure of spiritual awareness, all with comfort and wealth at stake to the closed eye and the hardened heart. Indeed, the last tragedy of Jewry in Europe is a crucifixion on such a scale that it should have burned out for ever any complacent confidence among Christians that, had they confronted the dilemmas of a Caiaphas or a Pilate, they would have avoided their ignominy.

A vision of unity, a sense of common humanity—these perhaps provide a starting-point for a new dialogue between Christians and Jews and with it a new understanding and a new respect.

A pamphlet reprinting this article, and last week's by Zachariah Shuster, will be available shortly, 9d post free, from Pamphlets, The Observer, 22 Tudor Street, E.C.4

R E L I G I O U S N E W S S E R V I C E

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1964

JEWISH LEADER CITES REPORTED EFFORTS
TO ABANDON COUNCIL STAND ON JEWS

By Religious News Service (5-29-64)

PITTSBURGH (RNS) -- A stirring call to editors of Catholic publications to let their "editorial voices be heard" in vigorous protest "against reported efforts to abandon the Jewish decree at the third session of the Ecumenical Council, or to empty it of meaning by removing the explicit condemnation of the false deicide charge" was made here by a noted Jewish leader.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of New York, national director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, addressed an editorial session of the 54th annual national convention of the Catholic Press Association. Theme of the session was "Catholic-Jewish Relations in the Light of the Council."

"Failure on the part of the highest Council of the Catholic Church to adopt a strong decree that once and for always lays to rest one of the demonic bases of anti-Semitism," Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "would be tantamount to the United States Congress declining to adopt the civil rights legislation. The long, hot summer of militant, if not violent, protest that would inevitably follow in race relations would be paralleled by a long, hot debate, if not more, of embittered and resentment-laden Catholic-Jewish relations."

Observing that "most Jews want the Jewish decree passed, but they do not need it," Rabbi Tanenbaum said:

"The Jews have lived and endured in the Christian West for 1900 years under the shadow of the deicide charge and its derivative, anti-Jewish excesses. Under God's providence, Jews will continue to survive as a creative people, loyal witnesses to the Covenant, regardless of what happens in Rome.

"To the degree that the passage of the decree would help purify the atmosphere in contemporary life by helping to overcome the historical ambivalences of Christians toward Jews, to that degree are many Jews eager that the Jewish decree not be mutilated and be allowed to emerge as the clear conscience of the Church and the Catholic community."

Rabbi Tanenbaum called the decree on the Jews "necessary for the Catholic Church and for Christians generally as much, if not more, than it is for the Jews."

"There will be no realization," he said, "of Pope John's injunction that the Church must be 'sine macula et ruga' -- without spot or blemish -- unless and until it rids itself decisively of the seeds of anti-Semitism.

"Unless and until the Church, and Christians generally, overcome the scandal of racial pride that feeds prejudice against the Negro and religious arrogance that breeds the anti-human attitudes and practices toward the Jews, the history of the Church will remain in flagrant contradiction to its theology.

(more)

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1964

"Church teaching, mainly that formulated in that first four centuries, created the myth of the Jews as 'eternal Judas', fated to be banished and suffer punishment under the mark of Cain across the centuries; and Church teaching must rectify that mythic perception of the Jews that has fatally impregnated Western civilization."

"The Catholic Church, and Christians generally," Rabbi Tanenbaum added, "need the Jewish decree and especially the clarification of the deicide issue, in order to restore unambiguously the Biblical and prophetic mode of Christian life and thought."

"Christianity is in constant tension pulled by its Graeco-Roman inheritance in one direction and by its Jewish inheritance in another direction. Judaism, which is a powerfully anti-pagan, anti-idolatrous force in Christianity, helps to preserve Christians from succumbing to the idolatrous and demonic pulls of Graeco-Romanism."

"When the clear Jewish prophetic impulse is subdued or suppressed, the result can be the frightening, demonic heresies. Nazism, fascism and communism represent embodiments of this Christian heresy which began with Marcion and culminated with Nietzsche's proclamation of the death of the Jewish God."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said it is for this reason "that reports that the Jewish decree, firstly will be mutilated by removing condemnation of the deicide accusation, and secondly may be placed within the secretariat for non-Christians have led to such great misgivings among many thoughtful Catholics as among Jews."

The Catholic editors responded to Rabbi Tanenbaum's talk with enthusiastic and long applause.

Similar apprehension over the fate of the Council's statement on the Jews was voiced at the session by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher of the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, Newark, N.J., and Dr. Joseph L. Lichten of the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith.

The session was moderated by Father Edward H. Flannery of the Providence Visitor.

June 26, 1964

John Slawson

Lucy Dawidowicz

Attached an editorial in
Viewpoint, June 19, 1964,
periodical of the Orthodox
National Council of Young
Israel, criticizing the AJC --
without mentioning it by name --
for its intercessions with the
Vatican regarding the proposed
schema on the Jews.

cc: David Danzig
Judy Hersheopf
Marc Tenenbaum ✓

VIEWPOINT

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Kashrus endorsement.

Traffic Jam At The Vatican

With all the Jewish secular leaders vying for audiences with the Pope, the vatican must be subject to a virtual traffic jam. One would think all this pressure would result in positive action towards the Jewish people by the Catholic Church. We regret that thus far, no real dramatic action has been forthcoming. Most of the glorious talk concerning a better understanding of the Jewish people, which would result in less hatred from the non-Jew to the Jew, has bogged down. We have heard that the powers that be, in the Vatican, do not want to show a justified and more favorable attitude is long overdue, for fear of antagonizing the Arab countries. We learn that the positive attitude toward the Jewish people has been postponed and hung up in the committee. To say the least this is not a novel technique for killing and burying.

The fact that the Vatican officials act this way is not surprising. We feel, however, that the excessive humbleness before the Pope is not helping the Jewish cause. Firstly, the Catholics probably realize that the Jewish representatives do not come with the proper credentials. For in effect, they are laymen speaking to clergymen. By in large, they represent the non-religious community, non-religious philosophy speaking to a religious philosophy. Not only are we not winning a point, but what is worse we are losing our prestige and dignity. We are begging and pleading for something which is rightfully ours. Surely, such an attitude can bring forth only contempt and scorn from the non-Jewish world. We feel, therefore, that the time has come to stop this nonsensical, non-productive bowing to the Pope.

July 1, 1964

Dear Rabbi Feuer,

I am commenting on your statement as it appears in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin on June 22, 1964, relative to the efforts on the part of a Jewish organization to effect the elimination of the deicide charge and its relative "themes of contempt" against the Jews as found in Catholic literature (teaching materials, liturgy, homilies, etc.)

We have already made our observations on the point of view expressed by some Rabbis at the convention of the Rabbinical Council of America held on June 22, 1964. I am attaching our statement for your information.

You state that anti-Semitic outgrowths of Christian teachings are a Christian problem, and hence a direct approach to Catholics to remove references to the deicide charge is "an obsequious appeal" and "revolting to the Jewish spirit and an insult to the memory of Jewish martyrdom."

Certainly it is true that anti-Semitism is a Christian problem. As a matter of historic fact, the American Jewish Committee has pioneered in studies proving that prejudice is a problem of the bigot and not of the victim.

But though anti-Semitism is a Christian problem, it remains a problem that very much concerns Jews. In combatting prejudice, the victim, though he be in the right, certainly should use all the tools at his command, to assist the discriminator in divesting himself of his distorted views. Prejudice damages the prejudiced and him against whom it is directed. It is well that all should seek to eradicate it by all reasonable means in all its unreasonable forms.

Through the years, the American Jewish Committee has made use of a variety of tools -- documentation, discussion, social action, scientific analysis -- in its efforts to combat anti-Semitism in its many aspects. Our strategy and efforts have always been pursued in the best "Jewish spirit," in the hope of preventing future generations from being subjected to "Jewish martyrdom."

It is our contention that the effort to eliminate from Christian literature the concept of the collective guilt of the Jewish people for the death of Jesus constitutes probably the most important step that can now be taken in behalf of the dignity and welfare of world Jewry. It is easy to agree, as you say, that "such an act of atonement on the part of the Church is long overdue and should need no special pleading on our part." But the fact remains that for close to 2000 years this concept has proved to be a stubborn and persistent cause of anti-Semitism.

The theological consideration involved is, of course, that of Christendom. But the achievement of a human relations and inter-group insight with regard to the consequences of the retention and continued teaching of this precept is certainly the right -- nay, the responsibility -- of Jewish leadership.

For the benefit of the total society, I believe it is right and proper that each -- Christian and Jew -- should encourage the other in steps toward understanding without giving effect to questions of pride, prior responsibility and ceremony.

Sincerely yours,

Morris B. Abram

Rabbi Leon Feuer, President
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Collingwood Avenue Temple Shomer Emunim
2335 Collingwood Avenue
Toledo, Ohio

MBA/ps
Enc. -

P.S. Since your statements were widely quoted in the general press, I am sending copies of this letter to the press, but limiting this to the Anglo-Jewish press.

CC: Rabbi Sidney Regner

July 1, 1964

Dear Rabbi Regner,

I have today sent a letter to Rabbi Feuer in response to his statement to the press regarding the role of Jewish agencies, like the American Jewish Committee's involvement with the Vatican Council.

For your personal information I am enclosing a copy of our letter.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Morris B. Abram

Rabbi Sidney Regner, Executive Vice President
Central Conference of American Rabbis
790 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

July 8, 1964

Mr. Morton K. Blaustein
Blaustein Building
Baltimore, Md. 21203

Dear Mr. Blaustein:

Rabbi Tanenbaum is presently on vacation. I spoke to him on the phone this morning, and he has asked me to send him a copy of your letter and your correspondence with Rabbi Morris Lieberman. I am sure Marc will be in touch with you in the near future.

In the meantime, however, he suggested that I send you copies of Morris Abram's letter to Rabbi Leon Feuer, President of CCAR, and of our press release defending our program in relation to the Ecumenical Council.

If I may be of any further assistance in Rabbi Tanenbaum's absence, please let me know.

Cordially,

Judith Hersheopf, Assistant Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

JH:as
Encs.

CC: M. Tanenbaum ✓
BC: J. Slawson

MORTON K. BLAUSTEIN

BLAUSTEIN BUILDING
BALTIMORE, MD. 21203

July 6, 1964

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

Dear Marc:

I would like very much to have your reaction to Rabbi Morris Lieberman's June 29 response to my June 23 letter, copies of both of which I am enclosing.

You need not bother with the NCRAC/LCBC issue; but as to Morris' views concerning the Ecumenical Council, I feel that I should probably respond rather forthrightly to his letter without waiting for an opportunity to talk the matter over with him. What do you think?

Sincerely,

Morton

Morton K. Blaustein

MKB:ltg
Enclosures

MORTON K. BLAUSTEIN

BLAUSTEIN BUILDING

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21203

June 23, 1964

C O P Y

Rabbi Morris Lieberman
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation
7401 Park Heights Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21208

Dear Morris:

I am rushing off on a business trip to Texas, but feel that I must comment to you briefly on two points deriving from last night's meeting of the Baltimore Jewish Council.

First, I felt that - when you were explaining your concern about the power or absence of power of the Council to enforce its decisions - you might have sensed what it is that has been bothering the American Jewish Committee all these years about the NCRAC and the LCBC. I am sure you realized that the position which you were taking - with which, as you know, I agree - was exactly the same position that AJC has been maintaining over the years in connection with "super bodies" which have, or feel that they have, the right to enforce their decisions on an independent organization. The difference, of course, is between a voluntary type of super-body and bodies which have an organization (NCRAC) and/or nature (LCBC) which precludes the voluntary concept.

Incidentally, there have been some recent developments in connection with AJC vis-a-vis NCRAC and LCBC which I am sure will be of interest to you; Frank Kaufman is more informed as to these matters than I am, and I am sure that he will be glad to bring you up to date. I am sending him a copy of this letter.

Secondly, I can hardly tell you how astonished and dismayed I was to hear your comment concerning the part that certain of the Community Relations Agencies - which, of course, specifically includes the American Jewish Committee, which has made a great contribution - have played in matters relating to the Ecumenical Council. I really must register my very strong dissent with you on this point. Among other things, Morris, as you of course know, the American Jewish Committee is without question the most experienced agency of any kind in the Jewish community with regard to interreligious matters affecting relationships between Catholics and Jews. As a matter of

June 23, 1964

fact, when the American Jewish Committee first began to work with the Catholic hierarchy on interreligious matters, other Jewish organizations - including Rabbinical organizations - scoffed at the idea, saying that it was nonsense and that nothing could be accomplished. The great record of progress in this field over the last couple of decades is, in itself, eloquent testimony to the soundness of AJC's initial and continuing work in the area. As a matter of fact, I think it is perhaps not too bold to say that the Schema presently under discussion would never have been introduced without the work of the Committee and, even if there is doubt as to that, there can certainly be no doubt that the unanimous support of the Schema on the part of the Catholic hierarchy in America is substantially due to the work initiated and continued by AJC which, helpfully, has in recent years been joined in this effort by other groups.

I just do not at all understand your feeling that matters concerning the Jewish relationship to the Ecumenical Council should be left to the Rabbinical organizations. Frankly, if you will forgive me for being so blunt, I am going to say what I really feel, namely, that the very idea is so ludicrous as to be humorous.

Having said all the above, let me add that, as you of course know, I love you dearly. But, as I have told you before, I do regret that your views, as a former key person in the American Jewish Committee, have apparently moved so far from those of the organization.

Perhaps, over the summer, we can sip a mint julep some evening on your lawn or ours and discuss these matters further. If we do this, I think I will try to bring a small army of supporters - because I have learned, from previous experience, that your arguments are both forceful and effective.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

MKB:ltg

Morton K. Blaustein

cc: Mr. Frank A. Kaufman

bc: Mrs. M. Peter Moser

R A B B I M O R R I S L I E B E R M A N

BALTIMORE HEBREW CONGREGATION

7401 PARK HEIGHTS AVENUE

BALTIMORE 8, MARYLAND

June 29, 1964

Mr. Morton K. Blaustein
Blaustein Building
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

Dear Morton:

Your letter reaches me just before going on vacation, and I regret that the opportunity to talk will have to be deferred until some time in August. I take your writing to me, however, as an act of friendship. I feel that our relationship is strong enough on a personal basis so that we can talk to each other with the utmost frankness.

On your first point, my insistence that the synagogues are sovereign, I have also felt that the members of the NCRAC and the LCBC were also independent and sovereign. I do not feel that the joining of the Committee with these groups would in any way diminish the independence of action which every constituent rightly claims. I have heard some rumblings about a closer relationship between the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League with the NCRAC and the LCBC. I would welcome this development very much. In regard to the second matter which you raise, I must say that what may seem to you to be so ludicrous as to be humorous, seems to me so unfortunate as to be almost tragic. I am not happy about the approach of the Committee to the Catholic hierarchy about the Schema. I think the Committee's approach has been entirely in terms of public relations; from my viewpoint, the issue is one of historical truth and religious integrity. Were the Schema to be proclaimed, I would not be impressed by the exoneration of the Jewish people from a crime which they never committed. The question is one for the Catholic Church to face as a matter of truth. The Jews have been victimized by one of the greatest lies in all history. This is the testimony of many outstanding Christian scholars.

Beyond this, I am troubled by what seems to be the reluctance of the Church, despite the approaches which have been made, to issue a forthright statement. I think that the Jewish groups which have taken the initiative will bear a very heavy burden of responsibility if after such urgent solicitation, the statement is still withheld. Silence now on the part of the Church will be construed as a reaffirmation of the charge of deicide.

I may say to you that this subject was discussed at our recent rabbinical conference. Though I gather that you are not deeply impressed by rabbinical opinion, I think that the rabbis have at least an equal insight into the problem with the American Jewish Committee and perhaps a greater right to speak for the Jewish community.

I would be very happy to discuss these questions with you at length upon my return. I hope that such an evening can be arranged.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,



Morris Lieberman

ML:vl

cc: Mr. Frank A. Kaufman

DRAFT

Rabbi Theodore N. Lewis
Progressive Synagogue
Ocean Avenue at Avenue I
Brooklyn 30, N. Y.

Dear Rabbi Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of August 14th.

While I respect your point of view with regard to efforts of the A J C to confront the historical basis of anti-Semitism in distorted Christian teaching, obviously ^I ~~you~~ do not share your point of view. When strong and influential elements of the Catholic Church is finally prepared to confront the structural ^{of} anti-Semitism and to do something about irradicating the hostile and mystic persecution of the Jewish-Christian teaching, I believe that it is short ~~sighted~~ sighted in the utmost ~~not~~ to see the historic opportunities in such a moment and to seek to exploit them for the benefit of our people and the future physical well being. Apparently, there is a Jewish "backlash" toward the Catholic liberal which in many ways is not dissimilar with the Negro backlack. Paradoxically, it seems to me, the Jews have become so accommodated to having as an object of our hostility, an anti-Jewish Vatican or anti-Jewish Catholic hierarchy that it beeomes difficult to want to give up such a familiar object of relationship. Many Jews, including the State of Israel, and the World Jewish 'ongress and the Conference of Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, have accepted a working relationship with a "new Germany" even though the holocaust is still fresh in our memories. Why is it so ~~emotional~~ emotionally disorientating to try to achieve a working relationship with what is clearly and demonstratively a "new Church?"

During the Fourth Lateran Council in the 13th century, Isaac Beneviste led a Jewish delegation to Rome in order to deal with impending ecclesiastical legislation that would be harmful to the Jews, the Vaad Arba Ha'arotzot carried on negotiations with the Vatican in order to influence a condemnation of the blood libel calumny.

I think it is an illusion as well as an evasion of responsibility to say let the Christians deal with this problem themselves. Anyone who has the least contact with Catholic theologians or clerics suddenly becomes aware of how terribly ignorant they are by and large of the Jewish historic experience in the Christian west, not to speak of their virtual amnesia of Jewish religious life and thought from the Old Testament down to contemporary times. In many ways, this terrible but real situation is paralleled by the white Christian and Jewish societies virtual total illiteracy about the Negroes social, cultural and religious history in America. How can this be? The fact is that such is the case. And a darn good part of the white man's reaction to the Negro grows out of this ignorance and his substitutions of myths, sterotype and misrepresentation ~~for~~ for truth. The Negro has painfully learned that he has had to take ^{his} destiny in his own hands and move as well as persuade the white society to act on his pro of principles. The analogy of the Jewish situation in the Christian world is very close. Christians literally have to be reeducated about Jews, Judaism, and what Christians have done in the past to the Jews. And while there are a number of Christians, pitifully few,

who have reached the point of understanding that they are able to communicate something of this perspective to their fellow Christians, the fact remains that the living confrontation between a Jew and a Christian on this basis has proven ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ thus far to be the most effective.

If you have the time, I could demonstrate this thesis by showing you textbook after textbook, article after article, growing numbers of nuns and priests who are coming to synagogues and temples to learn first hand about Jews and Judaism, to the response of their awareness of the evil of anti-Semitism which we have helped sensitize them to as well as their recognition of the indebtedness of Christianity to Judaism.

I am ~~not~~ unsympathetic to the sentiment which says this is a Christian problem and let the Christians work out their own solution. This as, as we all well know, a utopian illusion in the real world of knowledge and ignorance, and practitioners in this world who want to see things get done rather than hope they will be done have opted to seize this historic moment and see that its potential for good is realized.

Obviously I do not expect you or any of my colleagues who have for so long nursed, with much obvious historic and moral justification, an anti-Christianity, anti-goyism, as the Jewish polemical response to anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism. Nor do I think I can persuade any of my colleagues who consciously hold to the necessity of anti-Semitism as a theory of Jewish survival. I grant you the integrity of your position; I only ask that you give me the equal benefit of the doubt that I am

persuaded that after years of work and study of this problem that I am acting in good faith, C'shem shamayim and for the benefit of k'lal yisroel. I have not the least doubt that Jewish history when it records this period based on a serious examination of what the A J C has done and the responsible and statesmanlike way in which it has done it will record our contribution to our people and our faith as a blessing.

If you have the time, I would welcome your visiting me so that we could discuss this at greater length. I would welcome an opportunity to discuss this entire question with you privately or perhaps before your congregation. I have found these discussions in synagogues and temples around the country and of genuine importance to an understanding of the seriousness of this problem.

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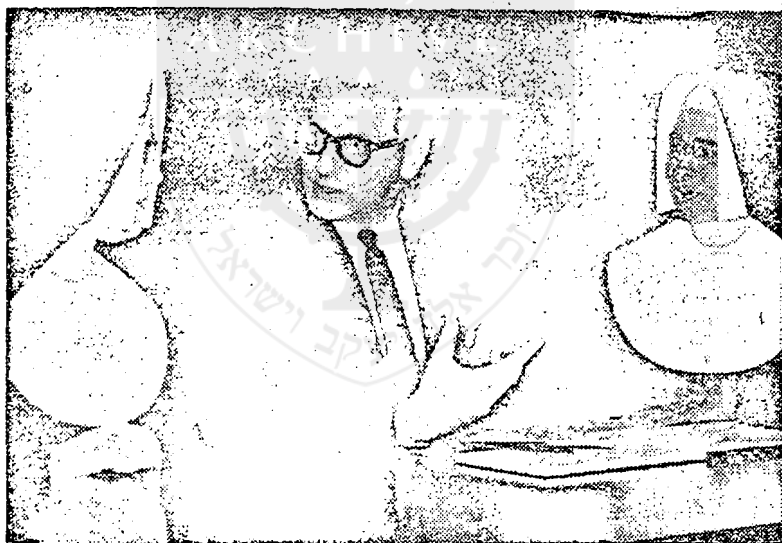
Rabbi attacks critics of 'Jewish chapter'

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT—New York

"It would be a mistake on the part of the responsible Jewish leadership to look upon the 'Jewish chapter' before the Ecumenical Council as a matter of do or die." So widespread is the movement among Christians towards eliminating antisemitism in texts and liturgy, including the deicide charge, that, even if the chapter is not approved in Rome, "the revolution has now begun and it would take a counter-revolution to stop it."

This is the opinion of Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the national director of the Depart-

ment Conference at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This was his second year as a member of the international faculty of the conference, which serves the spiritual and intellectual



Rabbi Tanenbaum in discussion with nuns at the Pius XII Religious Education Centre at Monroe, Michigan

ment of Inter-religious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, who has been closer to the efforts for rapprochement between Christian and Jew, both here and in Rome, than any other Jew in America, possibly in the world. He was referring to the chapter concerning relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews in the Schema on Ecumenism.

Rabbi Tanenbaum was interviewed by your correspondent on his return from the Sister Forma-

needs of 170,000 teaching nuns in America.

He told the nuns, as he had told the International Ecumenical Conference and Medieval Studies Institute at Western Michigan University the week before, of the considerable concern and anxiety over the fate of the "Jewish chapter."

To your correspondent, he criticised the "shooting-from-the-hip syndrome of many of my col-

Continued foot of column 3

Tanenbaum defends Vatican

Continued from column 2

leagues, rabbis and other Jewish leaders. Emotional, impulsive, uninformed statements are being made in the public press in this country and abroad which are not grounded in any understanding of developments in the matter of the "Jewish chapter."

Rabbi Tanenbaum declared that these leaders "apparently fear their capacity to inspire Jews to retain their identity and commitment to Judaism without the external crutch of antisemitism."

He attacked press criticism of the efforts of the American Jewish Committee in this field as a *Chillul Hashem*, based on "complete ignorance of what is being done."

"We know for a fact," he said, "that these statements of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform) were used by antisemitic elements in the Vatican and by the Arab States to prove that religious Jews are hostile to Christians, that they are not interested in the 'Jewish chapter,' and that, therefore, Cardinal Bea and those who share his viewpoint are unnecessarily getting the Catholic Church into trouble."

The "Jewish chapter" would be the climax of a series of efforts involving many Christians of goodwill in many parts of the world over a period of time going back at least to the end of the Second World War, Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

Asked whether the failure to adopt the "Jewish chapter" in Rome would set back the work of improving relations with Catholicism, Rabbi Tanenbaum replied that it might lead to caution for a period of time.

But he said the wish to improve relations "is so deep and widespread among the enlightened elements among the priests, bishops and sisters that I think they won't be dissuaded from the effort."

Defensive efforts

A great deal of the efforts towards understanding so far had been "defensive," devoted to identifying the problems and themes around which antisemitism had developed across the centuries. "Now we've begun to move into a new and more constructive phase—the preparation of new materials which not only do not contain the conventional anti-Jewish references but present in non-polemical and in an affirmative fashion the rootedness and indebtedness of Christianity to Jews and Judaism," he added.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is 38, is a graduate of both Yeshiva University (Orthodox) and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Conservative), where he was ordained, and a former executive director of the Synagogue Council of America (Orthodox, Conservative and Reform).

NATIONAL Jewish Post and Opinion

"If You Let The People Know, They Can Act Intelligently"

NEW YORK EDITION

Friday, September 11, 1964

VOLUME XIX NO. 53

Portions of Document

Here are the two segments of the reported new document which have so greatly disturbed the Jewish community.

In place of the exoneration of the Jews for the Crucifixion, as in the first draft, is this sole reference:

"Equally, all should be on their guard not to impute to the Jews of our time that which was perpetrated in the Passion of Christ."

The statement involving conversion reads:

"It is also worth remembering that the union of the Jewish people with the Church is part of the Christian hope. Accordingly, and following the teachings of the Apostle Paul, the Church expects in unshakeable faith and with ardent desire the entrance of that people into the fulness of the people of God established by Christ."

Adenauer, Brandt Say They'll Urge Action Legislation Promised On Scientists in Egypt

NEW YORK (P-O) — Konrad Adenauer and Willy Brandt, the leaders of West Germany's two major political parties, have told an American Jewish representative they will urge legislation which would curtail the activity of German scientists on Egyptian armaments.

Rabbi Schולם Rubin, honorary president of the Council of Young Israel Rabbin, said he had gotten personal assurances when in West Germany from both leaders on this matter. Rabbi Rubin said Brandt had specifically recommended a law which would not only prevent Germans from going to Egypt or other unfriendly nations in the future to work on armaments, but which would have an ex post facto application on those scientists presently in Egypt.

The proposed law would state that no German can be employed to work on armaments in a foreign country except if it is a NATO nation.

There were differences of opinion on what punishment should be meted out to those scientists in Egypt presently who do not return. Some want only to take away their passports. Opponents of this proposal say that the scientists don't really care about this, and they are offering instead that they be tried in absentia on charges of harming the prestige of the German Government. Advocates of

Anti-Israel Position By Cyprus is Doubled

LONDON — Despite talks between Cyprus' Archbishop Makarios and Egyptian President Nasser which could conceivably result in an arms pact, Cyprus is unlikely to adopt an anti-Israel position, Kenneth MacKenzie reported in the London Observer.

While the close ties between Israel and Cyprus have suffered, Cyprus still realizes that the Israeli tourist trade is too lucrative to risk alienating the Jewish state, MacKenzie wrote.



WILLY BRANDT
To Offer Legislation

this would propose this in the legislation.

Rabbi Rubin said that he had received indications from many Germans, including Brandt, that pressure from Jewish organizations would have a highly beneficial effect on the proposed legislation. He said he'd been told the Government leaders were very embarrassed by the presence of the scientists in Egypt and were thus open to entreaties by Jewish bodies.

Rabbi Rubin also said that Chancellor Erhard had been on vacation when he was in the country, but that he would have also been available to the rabbi, had he been able to await his return. Rabbi Rubin said that he was planning to confer with knowledgeable people in the field on whether he should return to West Germany to press the issue further.

Adenauer is a leader of the Christian Democrats. He told Rabbi Rubin that he would recommend his party "carefully examine what might be done to remove the source of Israel's concern over the presence of German scientists in the United Arab Republic."

Brandt, a leader of the Social Democrats, officially told the rabbi that the scientists' activities in Egyptian armament industries "must be sharply disapproved."

New Vatican Draft Splits U.S. Jewry

By GARY GOBETZ

NEW YORK (P-O) — The American Jewish organizational community was split by the disclosure that the Vatican Ecumenical Council's draft declaration would not specifically absolve Jews of the deicide charge and would stress the objective of converting Jews to Catholicism.

Orthodox leader Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik and his followers were virtually isolated in their appraisal of the new draft. Rabbi Soloveitchik opposed the far more liberal document which was drawn up but not proposed at last year's Ecumenical Council session. He said it was more dangerous than this new draft in that its evangelical intent was hidden.

"Now," he said, referring to the present document, "we know with whom we are dealing."

Rabbi Soloveitchik said that the premise in both schemas is that the Jews paved the way for Christ and have no role in the world for not recognizing him. The natural consequence of this is that the Church expects the Jews to accept Christianity, he said.

Rabbi Soloveitchik said that when deicide is spoken of, it has a theological connotation referring not to the physical killing of Christ but to the rejection of him. In that, he said, "we are Christ-killers for rejecting him."

Rabbi Soloveitchik said that the type of action needed to combat anti-Semitism rooted in the so-called deicide charge was at the "human relations level, not the theological level."

None of the other major religious leaders contacted shared Rabbi Soloveitchik's view in welcoming the new draft as a clarification of the Church's intent.

"The flames of anti-Semitism are fed by Catholic theology," said Rabbi Max Routtenberg, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative). "Rabbi Soloveitchik's position is unrealistic in that you can't have human relations with people who teach, 'You killed our God.'"

Dr. Abraham Joshua Heschel, a theologian and professor of Jewish mysticism and ethics at the Jewish Theological Seminary who has played a leading role in discussions with Catholic prelates on Jewish-Catholic relations, said that the declaration is addressed to the Catholic community and must be in theological language.

Dr. Heschel said that the new draft as reported was "not only ineffective, but also profoundly injurious."

"The omissions, attenuations and additions are so serious that, if adopted, the new document will be interpreted as a solemn repudiation of the



DR. ABRAHAM HESCHEL
Calls Schema "Repudiation"

desire which, to quote a distinguished American Archbishop, intended to 'right the wrongs of a thousand years,'" Dr. Heschel said.

Most of the leaders were pessimistic on the effect the draft would have on Jewish-Catholic relations, if passed.

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, director of Interfaith Activities at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), said that the document's passage would make Jewish-Catholic relations more difficult on the lay level. He said there would be a "dissidence to begin these relationships."

Rabbi Routtenberg agreed, saying there would be "resentment and disillusionment among Jews."

Dr. Heschel said that Jews throughout the world will be "dismayed by a call from the Vatican to abandon their faith."

Probably the organization most greatly surprised by the new draft was the American Jewish Committee, which has made open approaches to the Vatican for a schema repudiating the deicide charge. It has been criticized from many quarters for its action, primarily by Rabbi Soloveitchik.

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, director of Interreligious Affairs at the Committee, conceded that there would be an organizational backlash at Committee. However, he stoutly defended his group's activities and attacked the contention that it had no business making representations to the Vatican.

"I am disturbed by the manifest logic, if not the hypocrisy, of the rabbinate who are foisting upon the Jewish community the following?" he said.

"First, the public and emotional criticism of the American Jewish Committee for getting involved in this problem because it's a secular agency."

"Second, that the Committee is not qualified to deal with theological questions."

"Third, that the Jewish community should not be related to

the Vatican except through religious representatives.

"Fourth, that Jews should not become involved with the Vatican on theological matters but should deal on the human relations level."

"The effect of this logic is that no one can do anything," Rabbi Tannenbaum said. "The secular groups SHOULDN'T do it and the religious groups CAN'T do it."

Dr. Heschel defended Committee, saying the accusations laid against it were not justified.

Others were less encouraging. Rabbi Routtenberg said that he now felt Jewish organizations should be silent until after the Vatican Council but should work with liberal Church elements on the community level. He said he felt this work could better be done by rabbis and qualified lay leaders.

Rabbi Jay Kaufman, UAHC vice-president, said in a prepared statement that "it is our proper role to be interested but non-participating observers."

Several leaders saw a Catholic backlash if the document is passed as it now stands. They saw it as signifying to a certain Catholic element the repudiation of earlier efforts to exonerate the Jews from the deicide charge.

Rabbi Tannenbaum noted that professional anti-Semites "would make hay of this, especially in Latin America." He said this connotation would be repudiated by American bishops in this country.

Rabbi Brickner noted another potential repercussion.

"Certain Jews will use this new draft as a pretext for justifying their feeling of hostility toward Catholics," he said.

Rabbi Tannenbaum, however, said that passage of the document was by no means assured.

"I feel the American Catholic hierarchy won't let the new degree stay as it is," he said. "It is a cause of great disappointment to them. They have the machinery to drastically revise the text of the document in the Council."

Israel Signs Pact To Increase Schools

JERUSALEM — Israel's Ministry of Education has signed an agreement with ORT whereby ORT will double its number of vocational schools within the next five years.

ORT hopes to have 50,000 vocational school students within that five-year period.

During the past school year, 57 per cent of secondary school students took academic courses while 43 per cent took vocational or agricultural programs. Those respective figures for the next school year will be 52 and 48 per cent.

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Current Anti-Semitic Activities Abroad

A SURVEY

**The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N.Y.**

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The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is a national organization which seeks to combat bigotry, protect the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advance those rights for all people of all religions and races.

INTRODUCTION

In all the lands between the Atlantic and the Ural Mountains, there are fewer than four million Jews. Over half live in the Soviet Union. Before World War II, Jews in the same countries numbered nearly 10 million.

Today, 20 years after Hitler converted prejudice into mass murder, it seems almost incredible that anti-Semitic activity should persist—here or anywhere in the world. Yet, throughout Western Europe, Nazi-minded organizations are again openly promoting hatred of Jews and transmitting their warped ideologies to members of a new generation. Though these groups are small and for the most part politically powerless, they may have a potential which we dare not disregard.

Equally disturbing are recent developments in Latin America, where over 600,000 Jews have their homes. In some of the South American countries, rocked by grave economic problems and seething with political discontent, small but virulent anti-Semitic organizations are conducting Nazi-style terrorist operations.

Although these scattered movements lack central planning and direction, they have established a degree of informal international cooperation, particularly for propaganda purposes. Their publications promote one another and carry advertisements for counterparts all over the world. Subscribers to one such journal quickly find themselves on the mailing lists of half a dozen others in as many countries. Occasionally, campaigns are visibly coordinated; thus pamphlets in defense of Eichmann, similar enough to suggest a common source, appeared simultaneously in Italy, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist groups have sought to take advantage of unsettled political conditions and to infiltrate organizations of disaffected citizens. In France, for example, they injected anti-Semitic ideology into Pierre Poujade's anti-democratic movement. Later, anti-Semites gained a foothold in the Secret Army Organization, the terrorist group established to prevent Algerian independence.

In sum, the neo-Nazis have managed to keep anti-Semitic ideas alive in many parts of the free world, hoping that some political or economic cataclysm may provide them with new opportunities. Where prosperity reigns, as in Western Europe, no such opportunities are within sight, and the anti-Semites' following seems actually to be declining. But where conditions are unsettled, as in Latin America, Nazi-like movements and ideas may exert a dangerous appeal.

Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union, anti-Semitic measures are officially sanctioned. Soviet spokesmen keep reiterating that their country's Constitution guarantees religious freedom and explicitly forbids "any restriction of the rights of citizens on account of their race or nationality" as well as "any advocacy of racial or national hatred and contempt." Yet the Government abridges the religious and cultural rights of Jews, restrains Jewish community life ever more tightly (even prohibiting the baking of *matzah* for Passover), publicizes the Jewish backgrounds of persons on trial for economic crimes, and singles out Jews for capital punishment in such cases. Allowed neither to assimilate nor to live Jewish lives nor to emigrate, the Jews of the Soviet Union today are trapped in a desperate predicament.

The present survey deals with organized anti-Semitism. It is concerned with overt activity — not with underlying psychological or sociological factors. Some opinion-poll figures are cited merely as background information.

The material presented here was gathered and analyzed by the American Jewish Committee's offices and representatives in New York, Paris, Frankfurt, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.

WESTERN EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN

Until the summer of 1962, when disorders were provoked in London's Trafalgar Square by anti-Semitic harangues, Fascist groups in Great Britain had attracted no significant attention, despite their efforts during the previous decade. According to the Board of Deputies of British Jews, 24 Fascist meetings took place in Trafalgar Square from 1959 through 1961, but were virtually ignored by the public.

On July 1, 1962, Colin Jordan's National Socialist Party staged a meeting under the slogan, "Free Britain from Jewish Control." It was the first such gathering to receive advance publicity in the national press. Jordan and John Tyndall, his national secretary, called for the expulsion of Negroes and, in effect, the murder of Jews. An angry demonstration broke up the meeting. The police helped Jordan and his followers flee the crowd. Similar outbreaks took place at subsequent outdoor meetings called by Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement and Andrew Fountaine's British National Party. Finally, the Government barred the use of Trafalgar Square for the summer.

The three organizations that agitated these disturbances, numerically small and at odds with each other, are today the main active Fascist groups in Britain. Mosley's Union Movement is by far the most important.

The Union Movement

Formed in the 1930's, the Union Movement had its heyday in 1936, when it gained substantial strength. Many splinter Fascist groups cropping up in Britain at various times have been offshoots of the Union.

Unlike similar, now defunct, organizations of the pre-war era such as the Imperial Fascist League formed in 1929 by Arnold Leese, which followed the Nazi line in its anti-Jewish themes, and the National Socialist League founded by the notorious William Joyce, who broadcast for the Germans as "Lord Haw-

Haw" and was hanged as a traitor, Mosley's Union has managed to survive. But according to Alan Rogers, reporter of the London *Daily Herald*, who during 1962 succeeded in joining the movement for 10 weeks, its membership is only a fraction of the 40,000 claimed by Union officials.

Rogers found that immediately after the Trafalgar Square riot involving the Mosley party in July 1962, membership rose rapidly for a few weeks; however, by November, enrollments tapered off to about 40 a week. Rogers also reported that the movement's branches included about 14 in the London area, four in Manchester and several recently revived or set up in Sheffield, Middlesbrough and other northern towns. The organizing secretary, Barry Ayres, told Rogers that in towns having no branch about three-quarters of the new members left almost immediately. Apparently the tendency to quit is widespread once people grasp the nature of the movement.

Conversations with Sir Oswald's son, Max Mosley, led Rogers to believe that no one of importance was on the secret list of supporters. "But they have promised support if ever we are near power," Max Mosley said. Minimum annual expenses are estimated at about \$50,000, with membership subscriptions paying about one-third. Top contributions seem to be about \$600 a year; a \$3,000 gift is considered exceptional. Rogers is convinced that Mosley himself makes up the annual deficit.

The Union's publication is *Action*, a journal appearing sometimes fortnightly, sometimes monthly, and at times disappearing for several months — depending, it may be assumed, on the movement's financial condition.

Rogers' exposé in the *Daily Herald* characterized the Union Movement as a myth, not a menace, and described Mosley as "a bad joke," with no future even in the event of an economic slump, and no one to re-

place him when he dies. The proper answer to any disturbances stirred up by the Mosleyites, Rogers suggested, was not counter-demonstrations, which would only give them free publicity, but stronger laws against inciting race hatred.

The British National Party

At the start of 1960, two Fascist groups which had appeared on the scene several years earlier formed a coalition. One was the National Labour Party, founded by John Bean after his expulsion from A. K. Chesterton's League of Empire Loyalists, an organization launched in 1954 to "preserve the British Empire against treacherous elements," especially "international finance." The other was the White Defence League, a group created by Colin Jordan in 1959. Bean's group, with Andrew Fountaine as honorary president, now joined with Jordan's to form the British National Party.

An elite unit called "Spearhead" was set up within the new party as a means of appealing to the youngest followers. Members of "Spearhead," Jordan wrote, were expected "to march on in the spirit of the Storm Trooper of the '30s." They wore special uniforms and were the party's street-fighters. But Bean and Fountaine disapproved of the total identification with nazism advocated by Jordan, and the alliance broke up in February 1962. Jordan thereupon formed his British National Socialist Party on avowed Nazi lines, while Bean and Fountaine retained control of the British National Party.

Following the split, BNP kept the party paper, *Combat*, replacing its Sun Wheel insignia with the Celtic Cross. BNP leaders demand steps against the "biological extermination of the white race." They assert they will not pass any anti-Semitic laws, should they come to power, but will create a climate in which Jews will not want to live. By forming a "Committee for Preservation of Free Speech," they pose as defenders of democracy in opposing legislation that would curb expression of racial and anti-Semitic hatred.

BNP's enrollment is believed to be quite small. In 1961, before Jordan's withdrawal, the party claimed 5,000 members, all "of pure Northern racial ances-

try." About a fifth or tenth of that figure was probably nearer the truth. After the breakup of the coalition, BNP retained the bulk of the membership, leaving Jordan with a following whose estimated size varies from twoscore to three or four hundred.

The British National Socialist Party

Colin Jordan is considered the spiritual heir of Arnold Leese, leader of the pre-war Imperial Fascist League, whose widow gave Jordan her house in Notting Hill, plus some financial support. After his split with BNP, Jordan kept the Leese house and control of the *Northern European*, organ of the Northern European Ring, an international neo-Nazi group with which the BNP-Jordan coalition had been affiliated.

Unlike BNP, Jordan calls for a boycott of elections and expulsion of Jews and colored peoples from Great Britain. He defines Christianity as servility to Jews. Democracy is to be abolished. And, as noted, he believes in storm-troop action.

A raid by Scotland Yard on the organization's headquarters yielded uniforms, flags and other paraphernalia revealing the existence of the "Spearhead" group. The Government began legal proceedings on August 17, 1962, against Colin Jordan and three other members of his National Socialist Party for violation of Section 2 of the Public Order Act of 1936, which forbids members or supporters of groups to be

... organized and trained or organized and equipped either for the purpose of enabling them to be employed for the use or display of physical force in promoting any political object, or in such manner as to arouse reasonable apprehension that they are organized and either trained or equipped for that purpose.

On October 15, after an 11-day trial, the first of its kind under this Act, Jordan and his three supporters were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms up to nine months.

In a separate action, Jordan and Tyndall were tried for their roles in the July 1 Trafalgar Square riot. Both were found guilty, and Jordan was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for violating the Public Order Act by using insulting language likely to cause disorder. But on September 4, 1962, a court of appeals acquitted him on the ground that his speech was only "very, very near the borderline," not over it.

The police now appealed the case to the High Court, in order to determine how far officers of the law might go under the Public Order Act in dealing with insults against racial or religious groups. On March 19, 1963, Lord Parker, Lord Chief Justice, ruled against Jordan, stating that guarantees of free speech did not give anyone the right to vilify others — to “threaten, be abusive or insult them in the sense of hitting them by words.” The case has been returned to the London courts for restoration of the conviction and determination of the sentence.

Jordan, a teacher at the Stoke Secondary Modern School at Coventry, had meanwhile been suspended from his position, with full pay, until December 31, when he was dismissed. Recently released from prison, he still faces charges of unprofessional conduct before a committee of the British Union of Teachers.

Legislative Curbs on Hate Groups

During the late summer of 1962, after the outdoor meetings called by the Fascists had led to counter-demonstrations and resulted in about 200 arrests, the Government justified its temporary ban on the use of Trafalgar Square on the ground that “it would not be right to allow these meetings at a time of year when there were likely to be holiday-makers and other visitors in the square.”

Under present British law, action against hate groups can be taken on two grounds. The first, as Home Secretary Henry Brooke reminded the House of Commons on November 3, 1962, is sedition, for which prosecution is rare; but if the Common Law were invoked, the penalty could be imprisonment for an unlimited period or a fine in an unlimited amount, or both.

The second ground is afforded by two legislative measures — the Public Meeting Act of 1908, which imposes a penalty not exceeding £5 or imprisonment up to one month for creating disorder at public meetings; and the Public Order Act, which imposes a fine not exceeding £50 or imprisonment up to three months or both, for the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words, or behavior with intent to provoke a breach of the peace in a public place or public meeting. Home Secretary Brooke, in his statement before

the House of Commons, recognized that the scale of punishments laid down in the Public Order Act was inadequate.

Lord Parker's decision in the Jordan case has become a major factor in the debate about the need for additional legal curbs. On March 24, 1963, Brooke told the Anglo-Jewish Association that the decision tended to prove the adequacy of existing laws. He also reaffirmed an earlier promise that “we shall seek to increase the penalties provided by the 1908 and 1936 laws.” On the other hand, several Members of Parliament who had introduced bills against racial discrimination and incitement of race hate, as well as for strengthening the Public Order Act, announced they would continue to press for new legislation.

Neo-Fascists and Elections

On various occasions, members of the Fascist groups have tried to win seats in municipal, county and national elections. In the last general election, in 1960, Sir Oswald Mosley made an all-out campaign in the North Kensington district, confidently expecting a third of the vote but getting 8 per cent. In November 1961, at a parliamentary by-election in Moss Side, Manchester, the Union Movement's candidate, Walter Hesketh, obtained 5.2 per cent of the total vote in a very low poll, in an area where the entry of colored people had been accompanied by community tensions.

In the London County Council elections of 1961, Union Movement and British National Party candidates in six districts won 8 per cent of the total vote, on the average. Early the same year, in borough elections in a Leeds ward, the BNP polled less than 4 per cent, while Union Movement candidates in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Watford polled 4.5 per cent. At Sheffield, in June 1961, the Union Movement obtained 2 per cent, and at Birmingham, in December, even less. During the autumn, the party entered two by-elections in the Islington area of London. In one, a two-sided fight, it won 18 per cent; in the other, a five-cornered contest, just over 5 per cent.

In 1962, Mosley's followers contested 60 municipal seats in London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Middlesbrough, claiming about 5 per cent on the average.

An analysis of the results by the Board of Deputies of British Jews concludes:

In general terms it can be stated that in spite of the fact that most of these elections have been held in areas where colored immigration has been a problem, in no way can their campaign claim to be successful.

Appraisals of Racism in Great Britain

K. L. Little, Reader in Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, writing in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (January 1963), commented at length on racism in Great Britain. While many Britons consider themselves superior to other peoples of any and all races, he said, they do not turn their habitual vague xenophobia into a doctrine and have no use for racial philosophies. Therefore, Mosley's group and the British National Party do not influence the public, despite the publicity they have received, Professor Little asserted. Yet he went on to warn:

On the other hand, the existence of a nucleus of egotistical individuals having the means to diffuse racist propaganda is a permanent source of disorder. It might constitute a real danger for the well-being and security of colored people and Jews if one day the slightly xenophobic attitude were to change and become national intolerance with regard to foreigners.

Professor H. R. Trevor-Roper of Oxford, author of

The Last Days of Hitler, declared in the *London Sunday Times* (August 12, 1962) that any comparison with the German experience was absurd. The essentials of German nazism — long-established nationalist and racist movements, plus the effects of economic depression, plus Hitler's positive policies — were lacking in Great Britain, he argued, and therefore British Fascists need not be taken seriously. The thing to do, Professor Trevor-Roper concluded, was "not to resist them but to reduce them to their proper dimensions. And that means, emphatically, not resisting them."

Taking the contrary view, the *Sunday Telegraph* (August 12, 1962) asserted that the middle classes did display "the classic preconditions for mass Fascism":

The fact of evaporated British world power has now percolated throughout the nation; equally the fact of our relative economic decline. After years of inflation the middle classes have fallen well behind the workers. . . . And throughout the nation the sense of crisis and insecurity breeds a general edginess. All that is lacking is mass unemployment — so far . . .

But, the article concluded, "the British Fascist neurosis expresses itself in ways directly opposite to pre-war Fascism — in extreme individualism."

FRANCE

"Why has avowed and organized anti-Semitism never succeeded in really implanting itself [in France since 1945]?" asks Jacques Nantet, in *Le Monde Diplomatique* of January 1963, a special issue devoted to racism. "The various military-fascist groups that appeared in 1951, multiplied in 1954 and made themselves talked about in 1958-61 — why didn't they team up directly with that anti-Semitism for which, theoretically, they constitute such an excellent breeding ground?"

Nantet gives several answers. First, in the years immediately after World War II, with the horrors of Hitlerism exposed, anti-Semitism became virtually inadmissible. Second, the creation of Israel greatly enhanced the image of the Jew in the public mind. And

third, racist tendencies of late have in part been deflected from Jews and directed against former colonial peoples. True, the Algerian war provoked some extremist attacks on Mendès-France and other Jews in public life who favored a negotiated peace with the Algerian Front of National Liberation; but the chief scapegoats in recent years have been Arabs, Algerian Moslems and, to a lesser extent, all non-whites.

While various anti-Semitic incidents have occurred during the past decade — scribbblings on subway and street walls, desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries, the swastika outbreak of 1959-60 — no group has succeeded in effectively exploiting whatever latent anti-Semitism may exist in France. On two occasions, anti-Semites have managed to insinuate them-

selves into political movements having impetus and public appeal, but neither has prospered for long.

The first was the meteoric tax-protest movement headed by Pierre Poujade. In January 1956, Poujade gained international prominence when his movement won 53 seats and 11 per cent of the vote in the parliamentary elections. He lacked any real ideology, and anti-Semitic elements hastened to give him one. But today, having failed to deliver the economic improvement he promised, Poujade is discredited. His newspaper, *Fraternité Française*, does not appear to have any sizable circulation now.

The second occasion was during the Algerian conflict. In 1958, right-wing groups hailed the downfall of the Fourth Republic as proof of the weakness of democracy and the validity of their own theories. But when de Gaulle came to power, his policies disappointed right-wingers who were striving desperately to keep Algeria French. By that time there had appeared an openly anti-Semitic activist movement, Jeune Nation; its publication of the same name boasted of its anti-Semitic ideology, its members were largely responsible for anti-Semitic inscriptions and desecrations, and one of its leaders — Jean Susini — was to become one of the top leaders of the terrorist Secret Army Organization (OAS). Both the movement and the publication were suppressed by the Pflimlin government in the last few days before the Fourth Republic fell, reappeared under the name of the French Nationalist Party, and were banned again. Likewise barred, at the time, were three other political splinter groups with clear anti-Semitic tendencies. Today Susini is in exile and, except for the Poujade remnant, there are no organized political parties fomenting anti-Semitism on the French scene. What is more, every passing day reduces the likelihood of a successful OAS putsch which could throw France into the kind of anarchy that might bring anti-Semitic elements into power.

The leaders of OAS are far from unified in their attitudes toward Jews. For example, Georges Bidault and Jacques Soustelle, both now in exile, have not only avoided but denounced anti-Semitism; in fact, Soustelle was the leading sponsor of a group devoted

to fighting racism and anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the extremist ex-Colonel Antoine Argoud, recently captured by the French police, was supported by Belgian and international neo-Nazi groups whose anti-Semitism is notorious.

The arrival of a large number of Jews from North Africa — about 100,000 from Algeria alone during 1961 and 1962 — does not seem to have stepped up anti-Semitism, as was feared in segments of France's Jewish community. To date, metropolitan Frenchmen have treated the Jewish newcomers like all the others. Even usually xenophobic groups have emphatically welcomed all refugees, including Jews, from Algeria.

Anti-Semitic Groups and Publications

Though there are no open political threats on the horizon today, some old-time, well-known anti-Semitic movements and publications still exist. Their influence has long permeated large segments of French society — royalist, ultra-Catholic, Fascist-intellectual and Vichyite collaborationist. The views set forth in such weeklies as *Aspects de la France*, *Rivarol* and *La Nation Française*, and the monthly, *Défense de l'Occident*, are the most typical. In addition, a new monthly, *Europe Action*, was launched in January 1963; it carries advertisements of all the other anti-Semitic publications.

Until recently, the anti-Semitic publicists concentrated their fire on de Gaulle and gave relatively little attention to Jews. Once or twice they tried to link Jews with de Gaulle, but the attempts carried no real conviction and were quickly dropped. But since the end of the Algerian conflict, anti-Semitic articles have appeared again; thus, Xavier Vallat, editor of *Aspects de la France*, who was Commissioner for Jewish Affairs in the Vichy regime, attacked "Jewish racism," and *Rivarol* devoted almost a page to anti-Semitic fulminations.

Rivarol, the largest of the anti-Semitic publications, prints about 50,000 copies each week — about 20 per cent more than four years ago. *Aspects de la France* has remained constant at about 25,000. *La Nation Française*, a more extreme offshoot of *Aspects*, has overtaken the parent publication and now turns out about 30,000 copies, as against 20,000

in 1958. No doubt there is much duplication in the circulation of these journals.

Aspects has lost its leading editor, Georges Calzant, and seems to be having financial as well as editorial difficulties. The group connected with the paper holds occasional political meetings in cafés, and sponsors a summer camp for young people; these activities are carried on under the name Mouvement Restauration. The camp, held annually in improvised locations, is devoted partly to sports, partly to ideological indoctrination; participants are believed to number 20 or less per season.

During the past few years *Défense de l'Occident*, whose editor, Maurice Bardèche, is a veteran anti-Semite active in various neo-Nazi internationals, has devoted a large part of each monthly issue to cultural matters and philosophical analyses of political de-

velopments from a Fascist point of view. It recently announced that with the departure of certain contributors and the addition of others, it intends to become more of a political magazine. Its circulation is much smaller than that of the other publications.

The public is perhaps more inclined to anti-Semitism than the limited circulation of these journals might indicate. Long-standing anti-Jewish attitudes undoubtedly persist — notably those perpetuated by distorted teachings about the Crucifixion. But efforts are afoot to dry up the sources of prejudice in religious teaching; and the experience of the past decade suggests that whatever hostility toward Jews may exist is not strong enough to lead to action. Overt manifestations, such as the swastika daubings of 1960, usually have met with decisive condemnation by public opinion.

BELGIUM

Bitterness about the fate of the Congo and the struggle over Katanga have provided the main focal points for increased right-wing and anti-Semitic activity in Belgium during the past few years. Belgian extremists have had close relations with the French OAS, both groups sharing a common outlook with regard to ex-colonial territories. A common frontier helps make communication easy.

In postwar Belgium, neo-Nazis and avowed Hitler supporters took refuge mainly in two organizations—the Mouvement Social Belge, presided over by a former SS member, Jean-Robert Debbaudt, and the Flemish political party, Volksunie, which polled 182,000 votes in the 1961 elections, increasing its representation from one to four seats. Volksunie's main appeal has always been its advocacy of Flemish separatism in Belgium.

Several movements of more recent vintage are associated with French anti-Semites. These include the Parti National Belge, the Union National des Indépendants, and — most active at the present time — the Mouvement d'Action Civique. Poujadism, too, has

had its reflection in Belgium. A notary public, Sneyers d'Attenhoven, founded a Parti Indépendant which managed to win 38,000 votes in 1961, just failing to gain a seat. Later, the Parti Indépendant was absorbed by the Liberal Party.

The Mouvement Social Belge (MSB)

Debbaudt, the leader of MSB, is somewhat out of favor with his Fascist friends because he concealed a brief past as a Communist. He has always proclaimed his fidelity to Belgium's leading Nazi collaborator, Léon Degrelle, now living in Spain. The MSB is connected with the Malmö neo-Nazi international founded by Sweden's Per Engdahl; its monthly, *L'Europe Réelle*, has correspondents in Switzerland, Canada, Italy and Germany.

MSB advocates a corporative regime for Belgium plus a United Europe along corporative lines, and calls for a struggle against monopolies, capitalism and communism. According to competent observers, the party has practically no political influence. In 1954, the only year it entered an election, it drew less than 500 votes.

The Parti National Belge

A Brussels lawyer, Gerard Hupin, formed this party in March 1961, issuing a paper, *La Nation Belge*, most of whose French correspondents were contributors to the French anti-Semitic papers, *Aspects de la France* and *La Nation Française*. Today the party's most prominent member is General Emile Janssens, former commander of Belgian forces in the Congo. In the 1961 elections, the party received 4,700 votes in Brussels and 10,000 throughout the country, but failed to obtain any seats. The paper's circulation is said to be only about 400.

The Union National des Independants

Founded in 1958 by Roger Chevalier, who had briefly tried to issue a Belgian edition of the French anti-Semitic paper, *Rivarol*, the Union received 12,000 votes in its first year.

Mouvement d'Action Civique (MAC)

This group started in July 1960 as the Comité d'Action et de Défense des Belges d'Afrique. It then sought to rally former Congo colonials to a program stressing anti-parliamentarianism and intervention by the Belgian Army in the Congo, but met with little success. In September 1960 the organization was joined by Jean Thiriart and Paul Teichman, who gave it new vigor and its present name.

Thiriart, 40 years old, owns a chain of optical shops. He was a member of the Friends of the Great German Reich and was imprisoned for collaboration. Teichman, 34, on one occasion represented Poujade in Belgium and later was reported to be a key contact between the OAS and the MAC. Another member of the MAC directorate, Henri Moreau, was responsible for much of the anti-Semitic material in the MAC paper, *Nation Belgique*, now revamped under the name *Jeune Europe*.

The MAC adopted as its symbol the Celtic Cross of the French extremist movement, Jeune Nation. It sought the support, with some success, of members of two small extremist student groups, the Etudiants Nationaux and Les Jeunesses Nationales.

In the 1961 elections, the MAC unsuccessfully tried to organize all the right-wingers. Most important,

however, it rapidly became the principal agent of the OAS in Belgium, publishing OAS communiques there. In 1962, when the Belgian police raided MAC headquarters, it was clearly established that the OAS and Moïse Tshombe of Katanga had been financing the MAC, and these funds were then blocked.

Thereafter, Thiriart reorganized the MAC, which became part of the international Jeune Europe organization. His newspaper, originally called *Nation Belgique*, then *Nation Belgique et Jeune Europe*, recently renamed itself *Jeune Europe*. It now features articles, in a variety of languages, from Joven Portugal, Giovane Europa, Joven Europa and similar groups abroad. In an editorial in the last issue of 1962, Thiriart wrote: "In a few days MAC is going to totally disappear together with *Nation Belgique*. [The last few years] were a colorful and rich period USEFUL, finally, for their negative teachings." This editorial, and others, made the point that instead of remaining an emotional, ineffective organization, such as the Poujadists and Colons de Roi, Jeune Europe was going to become an assemblage "of cold-thinking monsters." Its membership requirements would be "intelligence, discrimination, physical courage and effectiveness. We shall make a science of politics, a science applied BY US."

According to Michel Géoris-Reitshof, a Belgian journalist who has published a detailed description of "The Extreme Right and Neo-Fascism in Belgium," Thiriart's newspaper had a circulation of about 7,000. About 1,000 were sold and 2,000 distributed free in Belgium. The remaining 4,000 were sent, under covering envelope, to France, where the publication was forbidden. In Géoris-Reitshof's opinion:

Thiriart's group is at present the only serious and organized Fascist movement in Belgium. Its hold on student youth and the bourgeoisie makes it a dynamic organization. The fact that it refuses to play the parliamentary game, unlike the other small groups of the extreme right, can bring it the support of Poujadist elements, middle classes deceived by traditional politicians, and . . . others.

True, as far as Belgium's present democratic regime is concerned, the organizations described represent no threat. Thiriart's movement is probably handicapped rather than helped by its onetime OAS connections, and its size is small; the membership is

believed to consist of about 150 ex-colonials and a handful of ex-parachutists, plus some 60 students at Brussels University, plus as many again at Louvain University and in a few Brussels high schools—total-

ing about 500 in the whole country. Still, the very existence of any tough and energetic neo-Fascist group, especially one trying to stimulate like-minded partners abroad, is necessarily a source of concern.

ITALY

There is no entrenched tradition of political or social anti-Semitism in Italy. Racial laws and policies instituted there during the war years, largely under German pressure, met with widespread ridicule and resistance. Still, Italy was the birthplace of fascism, and segments of the people remain imbued with the authoritarian concepts of the Mussolini era. Today such ideas find expression chiefly in the Italian Social Movement — the only neo-Fascist party in Western Europe with a sizable following and some influence. There is reason to believe that similar concepts also linger unexpressed in the minds of citizens not currently active in politics.

The MSI

The Italian Social Movement (MSI) represents about 5 per cent of the country's electorate. In the parliamentary elections of 1953, it received 1,600,000 votes and 38 seats in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies combined. In 1958, its vote dropped to 1,400,000 and its representation to 32 seats. But in the municipal elections of 1962, the MSI regained ground. In the city council of its stronghold, Rome, it added one seat to its previous 12; in the Naples city council it increased its seats from three to four. And in the 1963 parliamentary elections, the party almost duplicated its 1953 showing, with close to 1,600,000 votes. It now has the largest number of parliamentary seats in its history: 15 in the Senate and 27 in the Chamber of Deputies. However, its proportionate parliamentary strength is about the same as before, since the Chamber has been enlarged.

The first MSI group was organized at the end of 1946, largely by diehard Fascists of the "Salò Republic" formed by Mussolini under German protection toward the end of the war. They advocated drastic

social changes which, they claimed, fascism had originally planned to introduce. These "social revolutionaries" were joined by more conservative old-time leaders of the Fascist hierarchy released from prison. The latter argued that the revolutionary philosophy would alienate the bourgeoisie, and that therefore the party line should concentrate on super-patriotism and anti-communism. By 1950 these "pragmatists" were in the majority; since 1952 they have been in undisputed control. A third, smaller wing, which has almost disappeared from the MSI proper, advocated racist theories like those of Julius Evola, who helped write Mussolini's racial laws.

Control by the conservative wing has led the more fanatic elements to break away — providing a convenient alibi for the MSI, which seeks to portray itself as a respectable party dissociated from the anti-Semitic, anti-democratic agitation of its affiliates and other splinter groups.

The MSI got its postwar start in the depressed parts of Italy, the central and southern regions where its primary strongholds are still — but by no means exclusively — to be found. It absorbed much of the old *Qualunquist* (Everyman) movement, and attracted onetime minor Fascist functionaries, some returned prisoners of war, minor white-collar workers, hard-pressed small landowners, and a number of high-school and university students to whom Italian democracy seemed weak and negative.

Students form the bulk of an affiliated organization, *Giovane Italia*, whose estimated strength is presently between 5,000 and 10,000. Its members have been involved in anti-Semitic incidents in the Jewish quarter of Rome, and in scrawling swastikas and other anti-Semitic symbols in Milan, Genoa, Florence and

Naples. They do much of the street fighting and dirty work, trying to break up meetings of opposing parties and student groups, while their party elders profess ignorance of such acts. They have been most active before elections; thus, in May 1962, a month before the municipal elections, there were 40 such incidents. On February 19 and 20, 1963, a congress of neo-Fascist youth groups, held at Bari, was marked by clashes with the police.

Since 1952, when Arturo Michelini became Secretary-General, "respectability" has been one of the MSI's aims. Under his regime, the party abandoned its plan to make itself the core of a wider right-wing bloc which would absorb the Monarchist Party, then become the right-wing party in Parliament, and eventually take over the government. Instead, its main objective has been to join the government coalitions formed around the Christian Democrats.

The Christian Democratic Party is itself a conglomeration of disparate elements, some more willing than others to do business with Fascists. For years the party, even when hard pressed for votes, flatly rejected MSI's overtures. Finally, in July 1960, Premier Fernando Tambroni, representing the Christian Democrats' right wing, appeared ready to come to terms with MSI. Flushed with anticipated success, the MSI decided to hold its annual congress that year in Genoa, former stronghold of the Italian Resistance. But public reaction was so violent that the congress was never held, and Tambroni's downfall as Premier followed.

Both the aspirations of the MSI and the "direct-action" approach of its affiliates, which have operated for years with impunity in the knowledge that no serious governmental measures would be taken against them, have lately been frustrated by the "opening to the Left" — the coalition of the Christian Democrats and Nenni Socialists — which is currently the main feature of Italian political life. The outcome of the 1963 parliamentary election showed some slight opposition to the alliance on both the Right and the Left, and the MSI managed to capture part of the right-wing opposition vote — presumably at the expense of the Monarchist Party, whose share of the total vote

dropped from 4.8 to 1.7 per cent. But meanwhile, the continued existence of the "opening to the Left" appears assured.

Why MSI Survives

Fear of communism is probably the underlying reason why a neo-Fascist party has been able to become a political force. Italy today is the only Western European country where the Communists have enough political leverage to overthrow the government, provided they can find Socialist allies. In the 1963 election, the Communist Party polled 25.5 per cent of the total vote. Thus, the ruling political forces have been reluctant to oppose the anti-Communist MSI with real vigor. Christian Democratic governments, while refusing to let the MSI join a coalition, have not outlawed it.

The party could be banned under Article XIII of Italy's Constitution, which forbids "reorganization of the former Fascist party in any form whatsoever." Furthermore, according to Italian law No. 645 (June 20, 1952), the "dissolved Fascist party shall be considered as having been reconstituted if any association or movement pursues anti-democratic aims characteristic of the Fascist party, by advocating, threatening or using violence as a means of political action . . . disparaging democracy, democratic institutions and the ideals of the resistance movement, or engaging in racial propaganda."

A bill to outlaw the MSI was presented by Socialist Senator Ferruccio Parri, Italy's first postwar Premier, in December 1961. During a three-day debate, the MSI was compared with the Fascist party, and evidence that MSI members participated in anti-democratic provocation was produced. Nonetheless, members of the Liberal, Social Democrat and Christian Democratic parties joined with neo-Fascist supporters to defeat the proposal, 124 to 93. One Christian Democratic Senator declared that "the Senate, as a political body, cannot decide whether a political party is violating the Constitution. Only the Constitutional Court is competent . . ." The Minister of the Interior, Mario Scelba, termed the Parri bill "juridically illegitimate" for the same reason.

The Courts

In the postwar era, the courts, as well as the Government, have maintained an attitude toward the Fascists of "no recrimination for the past" — in part, no doubt, because many high-ranking judges were hold-overs from the Mussolini regime. The courts have interpreted Article XIII very narrowly. Over a decade ago, they ruled that the MSI was entitled to exist, referring to a law of December 3, 1947, which declared that a reorganized Fascist group was not subject to dissolution unless it had been "reconstituted for the purpose of launching a military organization and exalting the use of violence."

A new court action against the MSI, brought by a small group in Cuneo, is now pending. But whether there is a judge in Italy today who is ready to outlaw the MSI remains to be seen. Similarly, despite a law forbidding calumny against any religion, passed in February 1948, the courts have been far from vigorous in protecting Jews against insult. Perhaps the most serious case was a suit brought against Giovanni Durando, a Turin magistrate and editor of a journal, *La Voce della Giustizia*, which published an unsigned article on May 6, 1961, attacking the Eichmann trial. The anonymous author wrote:

The Jews, by not recognizing the divine innocence of Christ, must be considered deicides even today. . . . The unconscious and permanent authors of the crucifixion of Christ must be deprived of the possibility to judge those not belonging to their progeny . . . Jews are totally lacking in morality.

The president of the Turin Jewish community, Ugo Levi, and more than 50 other individuals sued Durando for calumnies against Judaism and defamation of Jews as a group, asking damages of 500,000 lire to be paid to the Association of Deportees to Nazi Concentration Camps. The public prosecutor demanded an 11-month jail sentence and a fine of 50,000 lire. Durando denied having written the article, but refused to divulge the author's name and assumed full responsibility for the contents, which he termed a statement of religious principles. After two hours of deliberation, the court acquitted Durando of both charges, declaring that "the fact in question [disparaging the Jewish religion] does not constitute an offense," and that defamation of Jews as a group was

not established "because of lack of evidence." The public prosecutor took the case to the Genoa Court of Appeals, which upheld the acquittal. A final appeal to the highest court, the Corte di Cassazione, is pending. Meanwhile, Durando has been suspended from his judgeship, and *La Voce della Giustizia* has ceased publication.

Italy's Jews have been gravely disturbed by the verdict and the attitude of the courts in the Durando case. For years, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities has been trying to obtain legislation which would outlaw anti-Semitism; but these efforts have invariably elicited the response that existing laws are adequate.

The importance of Durando's article and his trial probably lies not so much in the Fascist themes as in the charges of deicide against Jews. Catholicism is all-pervasive in Italian life; Catholic teachings that Jews are "guilty" of Jesus' death, and therefore doomed to suffer eternally, have undoubtedly encouraged anti-Jewish sentiments, latent or otherwise. Fortunately, the Church's teachings are undergoing re-examination, to a greater or less degree, in many European countries and, with the added impetus provided by the recent deliberations of the Ecumenical Council, the outlook for eliminating prejudice-producing ideas from religious education is encouraging.

Neo-Nazi Groups and Activities

The most openly anti-Semitic group in Italy at the present time is Ordine Nuovo, an offshoot of the MSI. The leaders, Pino Rauti and Paolo Andriani, take their "spiritual leadership" from Julius Evola; their slogan is "neither war nor peace, but revolution," and they consider themselves the commando force of that revolution. Membership of Ordine Nuovo, which publishes a paper of that same name, is about 1,000.

At the time of the Eichmann trial, Ordine Nuovo units issued pamphlets hailing Eichmann as a hero, a victim of "international Judaism . . . Western democracy . . . and Marxist barbarism." The organization also is believed to be behind a rehash of the in-

famous forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, entitled *Complotto contro la Chiesa*, which was distributed exclusively to the 2,800 delegates to the Ecumenical Council at an estimated printing cost of \$8,000. The author, Maurice Pinay, is believed to be one of the Ordine Nuovo leaders. There are reliable reports that the Nasser government financed this scurrilous publication. It may be said to have boomeranged because it inspired pro-Jewish articles by the Church.

The total membership of all anti-Semitic splinter groups, including Ordine Nuovo, is estimated at about 2,500. Among them are the Mussolini Legion, led by Mussolini's nephew, Count Theodorani, and the National-Social Study Center founded by Ernesto Massi, who broke away from the MSI because he thought it too conservative. Neo-Fascist sheets include *Prima Fiamma*, *Giovane Nazione*, *Minoranza*, and others, all with insignificant circulation. However, some influential journals, such as the weekly *Borghese*, also display bigoted and anti-democratic trends.

On November 3, 1961, a Florence court acquitted a defendant charged with painting swastikas on houses,

on the ground that "the fact in question does not constitute an offense." A disturbing incident of another kind occurred in Rome on February 22, 1962, when a clearly racist and anti-Semitic text was assigned for translation in the state qualifying examination for teachers of Spanish. Following a protest by the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, the Minister of Public Education apologized and the examining commission resigned.

How do Italians evaluate the prospects of fascism in their country? Three statements, all printed recently in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* of Turin, indicate that opinion is far from unified. Giorgio La Pira, mayor of Florence, says the Fascists "belong to a period that is finished . . . They are old, they are silly . . . they are dead people." And Vittorio Foà, secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Workers, believes that "fascism today does not represent a grave danger because it no longer constitutes an alternative. Today, the right seeks other solutions." But Senator Emilio Lussu of the Socialist Party warns: "Let's have no illusions. Fascism still is lively enough as an extreme tendency among the bourgeoisie. The last proof of this was furnished by the OAS . . ."

WEST GERMANY

A belief widely held in West Germany today is that the neo-Nazi and right-radical groups are not a significant force, having no real influence or following among the German people. Barring a reversal of present political, economic and social trends, these groups are not considered a threat.

This view is shared not only by those who might be expected to discount ultra-nationalist manifestations in Germany, but also by citizens who are vigorously fighting neo-nazism, dealing frankly with the Nazi past, and seeking to build up democratic institutions.

Shadows of the Past

To be sure, several disturbing features are evident in German life. First, authoritarianism persists in many quarters, particularly in the ministries and the

government bureaucracy, where large numbers of former Nazi civil servants hold posts. Only now, 18 years after the war's end, are real efforts being made to remove judges and prosecutors with an unacceptable Nazi past. Some have been allowed to decide when to retire, but not all of them have taken this opportunity. No doubt the presence of these men on some tribunals has influenced public attitudes toward the trials of war criminals.

Second, despite the country's democratic constitution, there still is a tendency to treat opposition and criticism of the government as if it were treason. How such attitudes contaminate the political atmosphere is strikingly illustrated by the recent case of the magazine *Der Spiegel*, involving the arrest of the publisher and editors who had sharply criticized West Germany's defense program.

Third, the major political parties have tended to make concessions to rightist elements. In the opinion of qualified observers, this policy has served to undercut ultra-nationalist groups, such as the party organized by refugees from the East, but it has also weakened the major parties' commitment to democratic ideals.

Finally, Germany still retains a deep psychological reluctance to come to grips with the Hitler past, unless forced to do so by some jolt such as the swastika epidemic of 1959-60. To name one illustration of this reluctance: early in 1963, the Christian Social Union in Bavaria selected a former Himmler aide, Max Fraundorfer, as a candidate for the Federal Parliament. That a high-ranking ex-Nazi should have been automatically disqualified did not seem to occur to the party chiefs; not until loud public protests were heard did they drop the man of their choice.

Signs of Progress

But there also are positive factors. A new generation has grown up since the war and is now entering careers in education, administration and the legal profession, including the judiciary. Though these younger people perhaps are not firm democrats, they certainly are not Nazis and have nothing to hide or apologize for in their past. Meanwhile, efforts are being made to improve education about the Nazi period, and to provide for adequate civics and social-science courses in the school curriculum.

In the field of public affairs, the challenge of ultra-rightist groups as a political entity has waned. War criminals and Nazi murderers are at last being flushed out of their hiding places and prosecuted, regardless of the effect on the image of the new Germany.

Perhaps the most important change is that during the last year or two public opinion has been growing into a force to be reckoned with. In a year-end survey of 1962, the liberal *Frankfurter Rundschau* said the *Spiegel* affair had revealed "unsuspected democratic forces bestirring themselves when the rule of law appeared to be in jeopardy." It was too early, the paper said, to speak of a democratic awareness among the masses, but dedicated minorities were making a greater impact than formerly. According to the *Rundschau*,

public opinion, aroused by the high-handed methods used against *Der Spiegel*, brought down a Defense Minister said to have "an ambivalent attitude toward the law . . . and unbridled ambition"; moreover, it challenged the State Secretaries, "an entrenched clique of powerful bureaucrats . . . most of whom had served the Nazis."

Neo-Nazi and Ultra-Nationalist Organizations

Openly neo-Nazi groups and parties declined in voting strength during the 1960's. In the Federal elections of September 1961 the most successful of these organizations, the Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP), received 263,000 votes — less than 1 per cent of the total vote and 40,000 less than in 1957. The party's organ, *Der Reichsruf*, conceded that the Reichspartei "had failed to capture the national opposition vote."

In December 1961, dissension between the party chief, Heinrich Kunstmann, and the Lower Saxony state chairman, Adolf von Thadden, led to a split: Thadden became head of the party, and Kunstmann left to form a new group, named the Deutsche Freiheitspartei.

In the 1962 state elections, held in Hesse during November, and in Bavaria during December, the Reichspartei ran no candidates, citing "financial reasons" and announcing that it would concentrate instead on the next year's elections in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate. It had shown strength there in the past — notably in the 1959 provincial elections, when it polled 87,000 votes, or more than 5 per cent of the total. The party's registered members in the country as a whole were then believed to number between 17,000 and 20,000; about one-fifth had previously belonged to the neo-Nazi Sozialistische Reichspartei, outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1952.

Another neo-Nazi group, the Deutsche Gemeinschaft, received 27,000 votes in 1961. Its candidate for the Federal Parliament was August Haussleiter of Munich, a veteran of Hitler's unsuccessful "Beer Hall Putsch" in 1923. The Deutsch-Soziale Union, presided over by Otto Strasser, a Nazi who broke with Hitler in 1930, could not meet the financial requirements for placing a candidate on the ballot.

The ultra-nationalist refugee party, the Gesamtdeutsche Block-Bund der Heimatvertriebenen, showed a marked decline in the 1961 Federal elections. For electoral purposes, the refugee party was aligned with the right-wing Deutsche Partei in a coalition called Gesamtdeutsche Partei. In 1957 this coalition polled 2,380,000 votes, 8.5 per cent of the total; in 1961, its vote fell to 870,000, less than 3 per cent. Former supporters of the refugee party, as well as other discontented refugees, have been absorbed by the three major parties — most by the Christian Democrats or the Free Democrats, and some by the Socialists.

Two additional neo-Nazi groups were organized in the summer of 1962. On July 29, the pre-war Deutsch-nationale Volkspartei was re-established in Kassel under the leadership of a farmer, Walter Schmidt, and about 1,000 persons joined. This party, which sponsored the coalition government of 1933, with Hitler as Chancellor, now calls itself "the conservative conscience of the German people" and plans to become the "true national opposition." In September, former holders of Hitler's highest war service medal (*Ritterkreuzträger*) met at Bad Godesberg to form a new organization, which they claimed had no political aims but was merely a mutual-welfare association.

As the various neo-Nazi and ultra-nationalist forces have lost support, they have reacted in diametrically opposite ways. Some have become more extreme; Kunstmann, for example, took his followers out of the Reichspartei on the grounds that it was too conservative and was in effect following NATO policy. But others are replacing out-and-out extremism with what looks like infiltration tactics. Thus, in the 1961 Federal election, SS veterans' groups and some ultra-right newspapers, among them the *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung*, supported not only neo-Nazis but all "reliable German nationalists" — even including a few candidates who favored Germany's affiliation with NATO.

Analyses of Rightist and Neo-Nazi Trends

In March 1962 and again in March 1963, the West German Government reported on extreme rightist and anti-Semitic trends in the Federal Republic. Ac-

cording to these reports, neo-Nazi organizations are becoming more and more fragmented, while their overall membership strength is shrinking. Statistics show a steady rise in the number of groups and a progressive decline in total enrollment:

Number and Combined Membership (in Parentheses) of Extreme Rightist and Anti-Semitic Groups

	1959	1961	1962
Parties	8 (17,200)	9 (12,300)	15 (11,500)
Youth groups	18 (2,300)	13 (2,100)	19 (1,000)
Others	35 (36,500)	40 (20,800)	46 (14,900)

Extremist youth organizations were reported to be far from unified in point of ideology or sociological character, and suffering from heavy membership turnover. Each of the two largest ultra-national youth groups — the Bund Vaterländischer Jugend and the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend — was said to have split, and both had virtually stopped functioning because of government restrictions.

Ultra-rightist publications, on the other hand, were found to have grown steadily; their combined circulation jumped from 129,500 in 1959 to 160,000 in 1961 and 191,700 in 1962 — about 10 per cent of it outside the country. During the same years, ultra-rightist publishing houses numbered 25, 24 and 32. While the reports do not identify publications, there is reason to believe that most of the circulation belongs to *Der Reichsruf*, the Reichspartei organ, and the weekly *Deutsche Nationalzeitung* (formerly *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung*), a veterans' paper now seeking a broader audience.

The neo-Nazi parties' combined income was estimated at about \$55,000, most of it from dues and contributions of the faithful.

The Government reports also traced connections between German neo-Nazi organizations and their international counterparts — the Belgian Jean Thiriart's Jeune Europe, the World Union of National Socialists recently founded by Colin Jordan of Great Britain, and others. The influence of the international groups was dismissed as insignificant; the 1962 report credited them with only 350 followers in all of West Germany. (No figure was given in the later report.)

In 1962, it was suggested that neo-Nazi groups, though weak and divided, might gain ground in the event of political or economic tension. A year later, no such deterioration having occurred, the Government was able to state that the extreme right had made no significant impact at the polls in the states of Bavaria, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia or Schleswig-Holstein. Nevertheless, the report went on to warn that "among the population of the Federal Republic there may slumber right-radical attitudes which do not find expression in the membership figures of rightist extremist groups or in the election statistics of nationalist parties . . ."

The Government's analyses deal only with known, overt, aggressive neo-Nazi groups; they do not evaluate the Nazi potential or gauge the influence of Nazi ideas in more "respectable" organizations, such as certain veterans' societies or the associations of former Iron Curtain refugees with their millions of members. Indeed, the reports do not even state just which groups were analyzed — whether, for example, so dubious a body as the Reichspartei was included or not. However, two excellent book-length studies, by Manfred Jenke and Hans Helmuth Knütter, serve to fill this gap.¹

Jenke lists all groups to the right of the Christian Democrats and describes the early success of neo-Nazi groups like the Sozialistische Reichspartei, as well as the self-serving dealings of many politicians with former Nazis. Knütter deals primarily with the ideologies of neo-Nazi parties. Both authors conclude that neo-nazism so far has been unsuccessful, but question whether Germany's democratic base is firm enough to withstand a more critical situation. In other writings, Jenke has expressed concern about the major parties' concessions to the ideas and demands of rightists.

Attitudes Toward Jews

There are some 35,000 Jews in West Germany today — less than one per 1,000 in the population. Most are elderly people, concentrated in West Berlin, Frankfurt and a few other cities.

¹Manfred Jenke, *Verschwörung von rechts*; Hans Helmuth Knütter, *Ideologien des Rechtsradikalismus in Nachkriegsdeutschland*. Both were published in 1961.

Over the last decade, German public-opinion polls have continually tested attitudes toward Jews. Despite inevitable technical imperfections, which permit respondents to feign a pro-Jewish stance, these polls are of some informative value. Two questions follow, with the responses tabulated in percentages:

1. "Would you say it would be better or not for Germany to have no Jews?" (Asked by Allenbach Institute)

Year	"Better"	"Not Better"	Undecided or no answer
1952	37	19	44
1956	28	36	36
1959	22	38	40
1961	16	43	41
1962	14	49	37

2. "Do you think that Jews must consider themselves partly responsible for what happened to them under the Third Reich, or not?" (Asked by DIVO)

Year	Yes	No	No opinion or no answer
1951	21	53	26
1961	12	58	30
1962	10	61	29

As both sets of replies show, anti-Semitic sentiment has ebbed during the decade; but the large figures in the "undecided" column leave little doubt that much latent anti-Semitism still exists.

A recent survey, taken under UNESCO sponsorship as part of a still unpublished study of youth, indicates that about one-quarter of West Germans would reject almost any relationship with Jews, not only as friends or relatives by marriage, but even as fellow workers or neighbors.

Other polls, taken by the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt at the initiative of the American Jewish Committee, indicated that Germans were thoroughly aware of the Eichmann case (some 95 per cent, an extraordinarily large proportion, knew why Eichmann was being tried and, later, 67 per cent knew what the verdict was), but that the proceedings in the Jerusalem court had virtually no effect on Germans' attitudes toward Jews.

War Crimes Trials

With numerous war criminals currently on trial in West German courts, the record of mass killings, deportations and other horrors is daily fare in German papers — much more so than five or six years ago.

Seemingly respectable citizens — a city councilman, a high-school teacher who has built up one of the best student choirs in Germany, a police chief — are brought to book, their past deeds come to light, and they are revealed as murderers.

Within a single month, January 1963, a former Lieutenant Colonel in the SS, Martin Fellenz, was sentenced for his part in the murder of 40,000 Jews while he was Police Chief of the Cracow District; two police officers involved in the murder of several hundred Jews in Lithuania in 1941 were retried; a court in Frankfurt was weighing the fate of three former Nazis charged with helping to kill thousands near Pinsk; the West German Foreign Office requested Chile to extradite a former SS leader, Walter Rauff, who had been responsible for the construction of gas wagons; and in Bonn 12 former SS men stood accused of the murder of 180,000 Jews in the Kulmhof annihilation camp.

The trials have done much to spread knowledge; no longer can any German claim, as many used to, that he did not know of the Nazis' deeds. But the sentences are often so disproportionately light as to amount to exoneration. Fellenz was sentenced to a mere four years in prison, with credit for time served in detention before trial. One of the two men involved in the killing of the Lithuanian Jews was released and the other sentenced to only two years — on the grounds that they had "merely" stood guard during the murders. The three Nazis brought to book in Frankfurt were released on bail for "lack of evidence."

Punishments so far removed from fitting the crime have cast doubts on the role of the judiciary. In June 1961, following prolonged embarrassing publicity about the Nazi background of many judges and prosecutors, a law was passed permitting those who had officiated during the Nazi period — specifically, between September 1939 and May 1945 — to retire prematurely on a pension. In September 1962, the Federal Ministry of Justice revealed that 149 of West Germany's 11,500 judges and prosecutors had availed themselves of this provision. Only eight judges and four prosecutors said to have "participated in irresponsible and inhuman death sentences" had declined the opportunity. However, the number of jurists with

an unacceptable Nazi past is at least 400, according to informed unofficial estimates cited by the Wiener Library on January 15, 1963.

Sometimes the Nazi records of jurists crop up in ways highly uncomfortable for the Government. Thus, when the leaders of the Association of Victims of Nazism (Verein der Verfolgten des Nazismus), said to be a propaganda bureau for the Communist Party, were being tried, the defense showed that the judge, Fritz Werner, had been a storm trooper in 1933 and had written an apology for nazism in 1934.

Education for Democracy

Throughout the past 15 years, education for democracy has been caught in a conflict. Germans have been, and continue to be, notoriously reluctant to face the past; many still profess to see a Communist plot in every charge of nazism. But on the other hand, the press, trade unions, certain government leaders and state agencies have long recognized that democracy must be strengthened through education.

Today a central agency of the Federal government, the Bundeszentrale für Heimatsdienst, operates an extensive program of publications to promote informal training in democratic values and encourage voluntary civic action. A federally sponsored Conference of State Ministers of Education frames measures for improving civic training and recommends them for adoption by the states, which carry the actual responsibility for the schools. Thus, in February 1960, after the swastika outbreaks, it was recommended that "candidates for all types of schools [should be required] to prove that they were acquainted with the political system based on law" and possessed a "knowledge of German history in our century and awareness of the main facts which, during the Nazi era, led to the destruction of the political system based on law. . . ." On July 31, 1962, the Conference recommended that the period since World War I and the causes of Germany's present situation receive greater emphasis in history courses; that textbooks condemn totalitarian trends as "decisive threats to our world"; and that the differences between democracy and totalitarianism be discussed.

To help prepare Germany's youth for political democracy, the American Jewish Committee in 1960 ini-

tiated a program for bringing German educators to the United States and familiarizing them with American methods of civic education. So far, five missions, representing a total of 30 secondary school teachers and staff members of teachers' colleges, have visited this country. The program is now financed by the West German government in collaboration with private foundations, German and American.

Other trends favorable to democratic education are evident in Germany's social framework. One is a growing desire for better relations between Christians and Jews. Several groups are energetically promoting this cause — including a coordinating council with branches in over 30 cities, which has sponsored an annual Brotherhood Week with considerable success; the central conference of the Lutheran Church, known as Evangelischer Kirchentag; and a Catholic group which works through published bulletins (*Rundbriefe*). The last two operate with the encouragement of leading individuals in their respective hierarchies.

AUSTRIA

Stability has been the outstanding feature of political life in Austria since the war, as it has been of the Austrian economy. A coalition of the Popular and Socialist Parties governs the country. There also is a so-called *Freiheitspartei*, or Freedom Party (formerly known as League of Independents), whose right wing has been closely associated with neo-Nazi elements, but it has never played a major role.

The two major parties divide 90 per cent of the total vote between them, and their strength is practically equal; in each election only a few parliamentary seats shift from one to the other. In 1959, for example, the Popular Party took 79 seats, the Socialists 78 and the Freedom Party 8; in 1962, the corresponding figures were 81, 76 and again 8. After every election there is a squabble over the division of cabinet posts, but both major parties are determined to maintain the coalition.

The Freedom Party's principal strongholds are in the provinces of Vorarlberg, Salzburg and Carinthia

Campaigns for better relations between Germans and Jews, conducted by Erich Lüth, an official in Hamburg, have attracted wide attention over the last few years. Half a dozen new books on nazism and the persecution of Jews were shown at the 1962 Frankfurt Book Fair. At the same time, interest in Israel continues to mount; in 1962 more than 7,000 Germans, mostly students and members of youth groups, set out on their own initiative to tour that country.

To the Germans, as has often been pointed out, democracy is not a system that has worked for generations, not part of the collective national experience. It is still psychologically linked with discouragement and defeat: discouragement because of the Weimar Republic's failure, defeat because democratic government was re-established in a vanquished Germany by the victors. The new political forms and institutions have not yet undergone any real test or crisis. Still, the varied forces striving to strengthen West German democracy afford a measure of hope.

(the province with the largest electorate); in 1962, the party's share of the total vote in these three was 14, 12 and 11 per cent, respectively, whereas in the country as a whole it was 7 per cent. In Vorarlberg the Freedom Party's vote was larger than in 1959 (19,400 as against 14,800); elsewhere it decreased slightly.

Old Nazis and New Nazi Groups

Both major parties as well as the Freedom Party have energetically wooed former Nazis. In an article, "Neo-Nazis in Austria," the London *Economist* (April 7, 1962) stated:

Numerically, the Nazis in Austria are an insignificant minority. But the political parties are so evenly balanced that the Nazi voters are in a position to tip the scales. Awareness of this has led to many nods and winks in their direction by both the main parties.

Over the years, thanks to these nods and winks, neo-Nazis and ultra-nationalists have become "re-

spectable" and have been received back into the country's social, political and economic life. Because of the universal willingness to overlook the Nazi past, potential rather than overt neo-Nazi groups are the chief cause for concern. It was with a view to such groups that the Minister of the Interior, Josef Afritsch, warned in February 1962 "not to underestimate Nazi subversion in Austria."

One potentially troublesome mass organization is the Turnerbund, successor to the defunct Deutscher Turnerbund which was a Nazi fifth column previous to the absorption of Austria by Germany in 1938. The Turnerbund has some 60,000 members; many of its present leaders belonged to the pre-war group. A large veterans' organization known as Kameradschaftsgruppe IV is similarly suspect. The number IV in its name stands for the four branches of the Nazi armed services: the Army, Air Force, Navy and SS. Veterans of the SS have significant influence within the association.

As for openly neo-Nazi groups, estimates of their total membership range from 4,000 to 8,000. "Kein Volk, kein Reich und viele Führer" ("No nation, no Reich and many Führers") was how *Forum*, a magazine published in Austria by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, characterized these movements in 1960, parodying the old Nazi slogan, "One nation, one Reich, one Führer." Even the police, wrote *Forum*, had trouble keeping track of the various mergers and splits, as the same persons kept turning up in new formations like cards in a deck. The description still applies; altogether about 50 separate organizations have been counted in the decade before 1963.

The Ring Volkstreuer Verbände, headed by Dr. Roland Timmel, united various neo-Nazi and pan-German elements in academic circles, as well as in certain activist organizations seeking the return of the South Tyrol to Austria. The Austrian chapter of the European Social Movement, an international neo-Nazi federation based in Sweden, exists mostly on paper. Headed by Wilhelm Landig, it has never had more than about 60 members.

Occasionally, when overt neo-Nazi activities threaten to become embarrassing, the Government takes action. Thus, in 1958, the authorities disbanded the

Social Organic Movement of Europe, an international body organized by an old Nazi, Theodor Souček.

Youth Organizations

The chief cause for concern in present-day Austria is not so much the old Nazis themselves as what Chancellor Alfons Gorbach has termed "sustained attempts by incorrigible old-timers to pervert the young."

The Government has dissolved a network of youth groups established by former Nazis during the 1950's, under the name Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationaler Jugendverbände, as well as their subsequent regroupings, such as the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend. Austrian affiliates of certain Nazi-minded youth groups organized by Konrad Windisch in Germany, were disbanded in 1960. However, another neo-Nazi "youth" organization, Legion Europa, which actually includes former SS men as well as youngsters, is still permitted to function. The founder, Fred Borth, an SS volunteer at 17, describes his movement as "a herald of the new Europe."

Even more serious is the infection of student movements with Nazi ideas. Two organizations associated with the Freedom Party are of particular concern. One, the Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten (RFS), operates in colleges and universities; it has shown itself much stronger in student government elections than its parent party in general elections, polling as much as a third of the vote. The other, known as Ring Freiheitlicher Jugend (RFJ), appeals mainly to secondary school students. RFJ has absorbed some members of the banned neo-Nazi youth organizations. The bulk of its following is found in the provinces, where over 90 per cent of all teachers once were Nazi party members. A number of RFS and RFJ members were arrested in 1961 for assaults on Jewish students (including some Americans), desecration of a Jewish cemetery at Innsbruck, and an abortive attempt to bomb the Parliament; another student group, the Olympia Burschenschaft, to which the culprits also belonged, has since been disbanded.

Thus the Freedom Party, with its Nazi-tinged ideas and background, has a hold on a large portion of tomorrow's educated adults. Some current attitudes

among young Austrians are reflected in a survey, published by a youth magazine in May 1962, which found anti-Semitic tendencies — often cautiously expressed but nevertheless unmistakable — among 40

per cent of the persons questioned. Meanwhile, recent history is not yet being taught in such a way as to inform youth of the Nazis' crimes, though labor and liberal groups have called for such teaching.

S W E D E N

Neo-nazism in Scandinavia is almost entirely limited to Sweden. In Norway and Denmark it has virtually no appeal; here the memory of wartime occupation lingers, and the few neo-Nazi organizations hold mere handfuls of members. The Swedes, on the other hand, never had to endure nazism at home, and some of them do not seem completely repulsed by it.

Nazi Germany avidly cultivated Sweden. Before the war, there were about 80 Nazi and Fascist-oriented groups in the country, though none with broad popular support. Today, according to a study by the journalist Armas Sastomoinen, there are still about 20 organizations with a Nazi cast, either blatant or subtle. Some are youth groups, others are coteries of "intellectuals"; all are anti-Semitic.

Neo-Nazi Groups

The neo-Nazi organizations constantly divide and reorganize. Many are successors or revivals of pre-war associations. One thus reincarnated is the former Svensk Socialistisk Samling (SSS, Swedish Socialist Rally), a major pro-Nazi group. Its leader, Sven Olaf Lindholm, supported Hitler's Norwegian puppet, Vidkun Quisling, and the Danish Nazi, Fritz Clausen, during the war. Today's most blatant neo-Nazi group, a political party formed in 1956 and known as Rikspartiet, is the successor of the SSS. Its members wear uniforms, as did those of the SSS, and its leader, Göran Assar Oredsson, uses essentially the same vocabulary as Lindholm.

In 1960, Oredsson claimed a following of 15,000, while the police credited his organization with only 50 members. The focal point of the movement appears to be Malmö, in the south of Sweden. The party's two papers, *Nordisk Kamp* and *Bohusläns Folkblad*, are full of familiar allegations: that the murder of six

million Jews by the Nazis is a Jewish fabrication, that all the world's ills stem from international finance, capitalism and "Jewish Bolshevism," and so forth. Because of the crudeness of Oredsson's program and ideology, other Nazi-minded groups have avoided contact with his organization.

More important because it is more "respectable" is the group headed by Per Engdahl. Now 53, Engdahl has a long history of Nazi activity. He has been prominent in attempts to unite neo-Nazi groups throughout the world in the European Social Movement founded in 1951. For his domestic organization, the New Sweden League (also known as the New Swedish Movement), Engdahl claims about 4,000 members, though conceding that "sympathizers" would be a more accurate term. He also publishes a newspaper, *Vagen Framåt*, in Malmö. Like some other neo-Nazis, Engdahl denies being anti-Semitic, but his record and his writings prove otherwise; for example, he has contributed regularly to *Der Weg*, an anti-Semitic German-language publication, and the secretary of his movement, Bengt Olov Lungberg, writes for anti-Semitic publications in West Germany. Engdahl's aim apparently is to infiltrate professional, economic, political and other organizations; he has organized student cells and clubs to build up support in university circles.

Another movement of some importance is the Sveriges Nationella Förbund (SNF, Swedish Nationalist Association), with a journal, *Nationell Tidning*, that has been published for three decades. Rutger Essen is the present leader. Originally an offshoot from the right wing of the Conservative Party's youth, SNF has seemed respectable enough to reach non-Nazi groups; it maintains contacts with both the upper middle class and the nobility. The SNF be-

believes that democracy cannot bring forth the "elite" needed to run the country, and that Europe needs to be unified under the leadership of a strong Germany. It constantly minimizes the excesses of nazism and occasionally advocates anti-Semitism.

Finally, there is Einar Aberg, who for two decades has been distributing scurrilous anti-Semitic leaflets in various languages throughout the world. In 1949 the Government adopted a law to curb such publications, but penalties meted out under the "Aberg law" have been very mild, for fear of precedents which might interfere with freedom of opinion. Aberg was briefly jailed after suits brought by the Jewish community, but this punishment has not stopped him.

C. E. Carlberg (deceased 1962), a civil engineer who was known in neo-Nazi circles as "our millionaire," founded an institute in Stockholm which serves as a propaganda center and meeting place, and contains a library of standard Nazi literature, such as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the writings of Alfred Rosenberg. Meetings commemorating Hitler's birthday have attracted as many as 300 persons to the Institute. The country's leading newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, commented on the presence of high-school students at these gatherings:

It may be asked why interest in Nazi and Fascist ideas continues to be an alarming fact. Naturally,

only a small number of those "interested" are conscious of what Nazi ideology really implies. The majority have joined in the movement without knowing anything of the ideology. The motive seems instead to have been the need to shock, to taste forbidden fruit. . . . In addition there is the false romanticism in which the person concerned wraps himself. . . . If factual and thorough information about the Fascist movements is imparted in the schools this false romanticism is bound to lose its effect.

The Ministry of the Interior and the police keep close check on neo-Nazi groups, even though they do not publish their findings. But neo-Nazi organizations as such are not generally considered a serious threat, despite their number; at any rate, old-timers like Engdahl and their followers are thought to be of little importance by the majority of observers. If there is cause for concern, it is, rather, that some young people still are attracted by Oredsson and the Carlberg Institute.

Surveys by the Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Research (SIFO) have shown some latent antipathy to Jews and some stereotyped anti-Jewish attitudes. Other polls have shown some rejection of Jews among high-school students. Young people were asked whether they would object to members of 12 ethnic groups, from Scandinavian to Bantu, as classmates or friends. The average score for all groups was 6.0; Germans rated 5.7 and Jews 4.4.

L A T I N A M E R I C A

A R G E N T I N A

Since the swastika-daubing incidents of 1959-60, Argentina's century-old Jewish community has lived through the most threatening wave of anti-Semitic demonstrations and crimes in its history. Almost nothing was done to check the rising tide of violence until May 1963, when two organizations believed to be responsible for most of the offenses were at last banned by the Government.

Recent anti-Semitic activity in Argentina must be viewed against the country's turbulent political and economic conditions. The present civilian government is subject to irresistible pressures by the military; leaders of the armed services in effect control public life. At the same time, the services themselves are disunited. The economy is in deep trouble: at home inflation is severe and constantly growing worse, and abroad the peso continues to fall. Wages are low, prices high. The Government is often unable to meet its payroll, and civil servants go unpaid for months.

As a result the country is ridden with tumultuous social unrest. The workers demand a change; many of them want Juan Perón returned to the Presidency. General strikes are held from time to time to register protest. The situation is explosive.

Recent Outbreaks

Adolf Eichmann's capture and trial in 1960-61 signaled an intensification of anti-Semitic activities. During August 1961, an attack resembling a commando raid was made at dawn on a Jewish agricultural camp in a Buenos Aires suburb; several young people were seriously injured, and much property was damaged. In September, on Rosh Hashanah, a teenager leaving a synagogue was attacked by a gang wielding knives. The following day, a young man was caught placing a bomb in the entrance of a synagogue; the police released him before any charges or investigations could be made.

In Mar del Plata a public ceremony honoring Israel was nearly broken up by a group shouting anti-Semitic

slogans. Throughout the year, many Jewish organizations, synagogues and businesses in various cities were similarly attacked.

After Eichmann's execution on May 31, 1962, the outrages multiplied; ten serious incidents occurred in the first week of June alone. For example, "Molotov cocktails" were found in the entrance of the Paso Synagogue in Buenos Aires; the office of the Zim Israel Navigation Company was machine-gunned, as was that of the newspaper *Diario Israelita*. On June 21, a Jewish university student, Graciela Sirota, was kidnaped and driven to an isolated place, where swastikas were carved on her body. Jews were daily subjected to anonymous threats, provocations and personal attacks, most of which were never reported in the press. A "League for the Protection of the Rights of Non-Jews" plastered posters all over Buenos Aires scoring Jews as "anti-Argentine."

In the wake of the Sirota case, the whole Jewish community took an unprecedented step. On June 28, 1962, a 12-hour work stoppage was staged by all Jewish-owned stores and factories, as well as by Jewish professionals and students. A sign in every store proclaimed: "Closed as a protest against Nazi aggression in Argentina." Many non-Jews joined in the protest.

On July 4, 1962, following the shutdown demonstration, former Minister of the Interior Carlos Adrogué, who is considered a sincere democrat, promised action by the forces of law and order. For a time, armed soldiers were stationed at Jewish institutions. But little else was done then; the police were plainly unwilling to take the necessary steps.

Anti-Semitic Groups and Their Friends

Many of the outrages were the work of Tacuara, a neo-Fascist, ultra-nationalist organization of upper-class youth in Buenos Aires. Another group thought to have been involved was the Guardia Restauradora, a movement affiliated with a political splinter party called Unión Cívica Nacionalista. Tacuara and the

Guardia Restauradora were comparatively small, with a combined membership estimated at only 6,000. They lacked coordination, and their political appeal was narrow; in the last election, only 3,000 votes went to neo-Fascist candidates. Yet the two groups' violent methods and the impunity they enjoyed made them dangerous out of all proportion to their size.

The anti-Semitic groups had friends in respectable circles, who advised them, wrote their propaganda for them and shielded them from arrest and prosecution. At least one member of the Catholic clergy was a sympathizer: Father Julio Meinvielle, a rabid anti-Semite. (Meinvielle's book, *The Jew in the Mystery of History*, now in its third printing, charges Jews with promoting communism in the guise of capitalism.) Even more important, there are indications that certain military officers secretly and without official sanction aided the Fascists. For example, government weapons were found on members of Tacuara.

Sympathizers in the services probably were behind the police's prolonged unwillingness to take action against anti-Semitic offenses; the national police has been controlled by the Navy since the inter-service battles that marked the regime of President Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962), and some leading positions are held by anti-Semitic military officers. A somewhat tougher attitude was adopted late in 1962, when police began to remove anti-Semitic posters and scrawls as soon as they appeared, raided Tacuara headquarters and arrested a few members. But even so, no convictions had been secured by the end of 1962. Finally, on May 2, 1963, the Government took decisive action, banning Tacuara and the Guardia Restauradora on the grounds that "organizations which oppose ideological, political and religious freedom are incompatible with organized democracy."

Sources of Anti-Semitism

Widespread condemnation of anti-Semitic incidents — by the man in the street, the press, the mass media, and student movements of the Left and Right — might suggest that the bulk of Argentine citizens are free from deep-rooted hostility toward Jews. Unfortunately, this is not wholly true. To date, attention has focused on organized anti-Semitism with its sensational manifestations; but equally serious,

though less talked about, is the growth of general, non-violent anti-Jewish feeling among the people as a whole. A recent study by a leading sociologist, Dr. Gino Germani of the University of Buenos Aires, estimates that almost a quarter of the 5,000,000 people in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area are prejudiced against Jews.

The present surge of active anti-Semitism may be traced to several causes. First, anti-Jewish violence apparently serves as an outlet for the frustrations and insecurities that beset large numbers of young people under the country's chaotic conditions. Second, the Arab League and the Embassy of the United Arab Republic are carrying on a large-scale propaganda campaign which confuses Jewry in general with Israel, presumably in order to arouse hostility against both. Third, the kidnaping of Eichmann, in violation of Argentina's territorial integrity, stirred up feelings of resentment, and injured national pride. Finally, and most important, the current economic and political crisis requires scapegoats for those in power.

The basis for today's acute anti-Semitism was laid during the early years of World War II, when Argentina, though neutral, was a center of Nazi intelligence and propaganda, and her Army was being trained by German officers. Many Germans remained after the war, and the country also became a haven for escaped Nazis.

Yet anti-Semitism in Argentina antedates these influences. Particularly among wealthy landowners, industrialists and professional military men, hostility against Jews has been evident for several decades. Many of Argentina's authoritarian leaders, in their attempts to shape a national consciousness and foster patriotism, have resorted to anti-Semitism as a political weapon. In the 1930's, right-wing organizations shared a common outlook blended of fascism, exclusion of non-Catholics, anti-Semitism and a strong attraction to Nazi Germany.

In the war between Argentina's Right and its still heterogeneous Left, the middle class is caught in dead center. The Jews, being mainly of the middle class as well as a minority group, are in a doubly exposed position. The door has been opened to anti-Semitic violence, which may well recur if the perpetrators

think they can gain anything thereby. Worse, if a shrewd demagogue were to seize power and adopt an anti-Semitic stance, Argentina could become the breeding ground for a revival of nazism in the West-

ern Hemisphere. Thus, the Jewish community's physical and spiritual security depends on the survival of democratic government and the restoration of national stability.

B R A Z I L

Among Latin American countries, Brazil is probably most nearly free of anti-Semitism. One of the reasons, presumably, is the nation's multi-racial and multi-ethnic character.

A few anti-Semitic incidents occurred in 1962: Jewish cemeteries in Curitiba and Porto Alegre were desecrated on a large scale. Public opinion was shocked. The press pointed out that cemetery desecration was utterly alien to the Portuguese-Brazilian tradition, and suggested that the culprits must have been extremists from one of the numerous German or Polish communities in South Brazil. Surviving members of the defunct Integralist party, a Fascist group active in the 1930's, were also suspected; but the leaders of the Partido do Representação Popular, which consists of former Integralists, denied any complicity and condemned the vandals' acts.

The Minister of Justice, Candido de Oliveira Neto, in 1962 forbade distribution of a new Portuguese reprint of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and ordered the edition confiscated by the police. This action was based

on a law forbidding the circulation of subversive material and direct incitement to racial or religious persecution. The book also was barred from the mails by an order of the Minister of Communications, Helio de Almeida.

In January 1963, shotgun fire spattered the doors and windows of several Jewish-owned stores and a Jewish community center at Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia. No one was injured. The shots came from a moving automobile; the culprits were not identified.

The following month, painted swastikas with legends such as "Death to the Jews" and "For a Clean Brazil" suddenly appeared on many public buildings in Rio de Janeiro — including the Copacabana Orthodox Synagogue, the Federal Court of Appeals, the National Students' Union and the city's leading Portuguese community center. The daubings were quickly removed by the city government and roundly condemned by civic associations and the press.

U R U G U A Y

Perhaps the most democratic country in Latin America, Uruguay has no tradition of anti-Semitism. It is vulnerable, however, because of its proximity to Argentina, across the Río de la Plata. There is a great deal of casual commuting between the two countries, so that members of Tacuara and other Fascist groups can easily enter and stir up trouble. Also, it is generally believed that the Arab League, which seems to be actively fomenting anti-Semitic feeling all over the continent, has its Latin American headquarters in the Egyptian Embassy in Uruguay.

On four different occasions during July 1962, fol-

lowing the outrages in Argentina, swastikas were carved with knives on kidnaped persons. Only one of the victims was Jewish. Some observers thought the criminals had simply mistaken the rest for Jews; others suggested that the attacks were meant as an indirect threat to Jews. In any event, Uruguayans are convinced that the anti-Semitic knife wielders came from Argentina and fled back to Buenos Aires. A nationwide strike was organized to protest the crimes; the Uruguayan Congress and Council of State expressed emphatic condemnation and took strong measures to prevent a recurrence.

SUPRANATIONAL ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATIONS

Since the war, repeated attempts have been made in Europe to coordinate or merge the numerous anti-Semitic, racist and ultra-nationalist groups scattered through different countries into an international movement under central direction.² As far as is known, all these attempts have miscarried. Supranational anti-Semitism today is not a unified movement but a tangle of small, loosely knit alliances, torn by doctrinal squabbles, tactical disagreements and personal jealousies. What is more, these alliances lack a solid operating base — chiefly because neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi political parties such as the Reichspartei in Germany and the Italian MSI (the only one anywhere with a substantial following) have been wary of international involvements.

But though neo-Nazi organizations in different countries have not merged, they have succeeded in establishing informal liaison with one another — as well as with former Nazis and Fascists in hiding or beyond the arm of the law in Spain, Argentina and the United Arab Republic. Anti-Semitic propaganda is sent from country to country and from continent to continent; anti-Semitic journals freely borrow each other's themes and carry advertisements for one another.

The neo-Nazi internationals today are weak and divided, and likely to remain so — certainly if Western Europe's prosperity continues. Yet, if nothing else, they are keeping Nazi ideology alive, in the hope that some future political catastrophe or economic disaster will afford them the opportunities they now lack.

Historical Background

At the end of World War II, a number of wanted war criminals and collaborators eluded the occupation authorities and reached asylum outside Europe with a degree of smoothness which suggested that a cohesive, efficient Nazi underground was at work.

Within a few years, neo-Nazi and ultra-nationalist parties in the former Axis countries were gaining substantial ground at the polls; in the Austrian national elections of 1949, in the West German state of Schleswig-Holstein during 1951, and in Italian municipal and provincial contests the same year.

Even more alarming than the Nazis' actual gains was the potential size of their following. In the late 1940's, war-ravaged Europe still held millions of desperate and alienated people. In West Germany, largely a land of ruins, 11 million refugees from former German territories behind the Iron Curtain were looking for jobs and housing. Austria had some 300,000 refugees, and unemployment was high. In Italy, beset by economic difficulties, there were great numbers of disillusioned war veterans, as well as many persons disaffected through the loss of pre-war prestige and power.

Two additional circumstances combined to create a climate tolerant of Nazis and ultra-nationalists. First, the threat of communism, internal and external, seemed to overshadow every other danger. And second, large numbers of people wanted to let the by-gones of the Hitler era be by-gones. So many had been implicated in the workings of the Nazi and Fascist regimes that there was little popular desire for reckoning; politicians in search of votes readily made concessions to the tens of thousands with dubious records who were seeking re-acceptance.

European Social Movement (ESM)

Such were the conditions in 1951, when 30 representatives of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist groups in various countries met openly for the first time, in Malmö, Sweden. The theme of the meeting was sounded by its organizer, Per Engdahl of Sweden, who said "the fact that nazism suffered defeat in war proves nothing as to its actual purpose." An international federation, the European Social Movement (ESM), was formed, with a program calling for a centralized European empire built around a rearmed, completely independent Germany.

²A report by the West German Government, released in March 1962, estimates the total number of such groups at roughly 540 — about 90 of them in Germany.

Like its founder, Engdahl, the ESM has always tried to keep its anti-Semitism muted or hidden and pretends to a degree of racist intellectualism; its directorate includes men who regard themselves as political philosophers and ideologists, such as Professor Maurice Bardèche of France.

During its early years, ESM was in contact with the Spanish Falange, with Ustashi groups (successors of the Croatian-Slovenian separatist movement backed by Hitler) and with the Hungarists, the self-proclaimed heirs of the wartime Nazi regime in Hungary. Today, the group is said to be associated with some 30 organizations in 14 countries, not counting connections in the Arab world; but the major neo-Nazi parties of Western Europe, excepting Scandinavia, are not among these. The Italian Social Movement (MSI), formerly inclined toward close cooperation with ESM, has withdrawn as a result of internal disension, though certain of its members maintain personal contact with Engdahl.

European New Order (ENO)

As early as 1952, some French and Swiss members, finding ESM not sufficiently revolutionary and anti-Semitic, broke away and formed a "European Liaison Office," with headquarters in Lausanne. In 1958, this body became the European New Order (ENO), headed by Gaston Armand Amaudruz of Switzerland, with units in Germany, Austria, Italy and Belgium. An affiliated youth group is known as Jeune Légion Européenne. ENO's roster is believed to include some former members of the Secret Army terrorist organization in Algeria.

Today, ENO is reported to be virtually moribund. The extremist French sections have been suppressed by the de Gaulle regime; the leader of the Belgian section, Jean-Robert Debbaudt, has become discredited even in neo-Nazi circles; and Amaudruz himself has no followers. ENO's publication, *L'Europe Réelle*, appears only sporadically and has a circulation of about 100. Attempts to reconcile ENO with ESM have come to naught.

Other Federations

Several other would-be federations have fared no better. In Austria, for example, an old Nazi, Theodor

Souček, launched a movement during 1958; it was soon suppressed by the authorities. Another veteran Nazi, Otto Strasser, briefly figured as honorary president of a European Folk Movement, which was founded in Strasbourg, held a congress in Paris during 1959, and subsequently disappeared. In January 1961, a Northern European Ring was founded in Great Britain under the auspices of the British National Party, which then numbered Colin Jordan among its leaders. In June of the same year, the Ring invited representatives of German and Italian groups to a meeting at Narford in Norfolk; but since then, little has been heard of the organization.

More significant was a conference held in Venice in March 1962, where representatives of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist political parties met with spokesmen for other neo-Nazi groups attached to ENO. Jean Thiriart of the Belgian Mouvement d'Action Civique (MAC), believed to be one of the promoters of the conference, was present, as were delegates from the German Reichspartei, the Italian MSI, the British Union Movement, Austria's Legion Europa and Sweden's Rikspartiet. A National Party of Europe was formed, with a "liaison office" that was to convene every two months. But the plan foundered almost immediately. The Reichspartei representative, Adolf von Thadden, said his signature did not commit his party; the MSI took an evasive stand out of resentment against a resolution concerning the South Tyrol; representatives of the more extreme groups within ENO were generally critical. Thus, no effective mechanism came into being.

Thiriart has since tried to transform his MAC movement into what he hopes will be an international organization of his own, Jeune Europe. By May 1963, an Italian affiliate was holding its first meeting, in Bologna, under courteous but firm police supervision. The leader of the new unit, Pier Franco Bruschi, envisioned it as a precursor of "an overall European party." Other speakers and guests included Antonio Lombardo, the head of the Italian Ordine Nuovo; Sir Oswald Mosley of Great Britain; and Fred Borth, chief of the Austrian Legion Europa. Neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi political parties remained aloof, however; an MSI spokesman, Count Loredan, was coolly re-

ceived, and the German Reichspartei did not even send a representative.

Considerable publicity attended the formation of the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) in Great Britain in August 1962. Colin Jordan, then much in the news, was proclaimed "international leader" of the new group, and George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, was made his deputy. The founders met at a farm near Guiting Power, in Gloucestershire; only nine foreign neo-Nazis besides Rockwell got there before the meeting was broken up, following protests by local residents. Rockwell, whose arrival in Britain had been secret, was subsequently deported.

WUNS's immediate aim, according to a declaration of purposes known as the Cotswolds Agreements, is "to form a monolithic, combat-efficient, international political apparatus to combat and utterly destroy the international Jewish Communist and Zionist apparatus of treason and subversion." One of the "eventual" purposes is "to find and accomplish on a world-wide scale a just and final settlement of the Jewish problem." The declaration also specifies that "no organization or individual failing to acknowledge the spiritual leadership of Adolf Hitler, and the fact that we are NATIONAL SOCIALISTS, shall be admitted to membership in WUNS."

Nation Europa Magazine

The best-known international neo-Nazi publication probably is *Nation Europa*, a German-language monthly published in Coburg, West Germany, which features authors from all parts of the world. The magazine has been in circulation for more than 10 years and sells an estimated 8,000 copies per issue, nearly all by subscription. It is not formally affiliated with any particular organization; financial support comes from individual backers. A former SS general, Arthur Ehrhardt, is the publisher, and C. E. Carlberg of Sweden was one of the owners until his recent death. Pedantic in style and pretentiously pseudo-intellectual, *Nation Europa* does not seem to have much influence or to command any attention among the younger generation in West Germany.

Programs and Policies

Since the days of the Malmö conference, virtually all the international neo-Nazi groups have featured a "European" political outlook. Their favorite example of "European cooperation" is the international Waff-SS of Hitler days.

The international neo-Nazis want a Europe which will be fully armed and neutral — a third force holding the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Neither the Kremlin nor Wall Street," "Neither Capitalism nor Communism," are characteristic slogans. An ever-recurring thought is that the West has only now, belatedly, begun to understand the threat of communism — the implication being that Hitler was right. A "Manifesto of the European Nation," published by *Jeune Nation* in November 1962, sounds the main themes:

A Europe from Brest to Bucharest . . . Let us wipe out Yalta . . . For free enterprise against stateless finance . . . Against the party system . . . Against the sterile struggle of classes . . . Break up economic colonization of Western Europe by the dollar . . . Strong neutrality means being armed . . . We are the legitimate Europe, the European nation, the legal Europe . . .

Crimes against the Jews are consistently minimized. The persecution and annihilation of Jews are described as lesser crimes than, for example, Allied bombing of German cities; and "proof" is constantly advanced that "only" one and a half million Jews, or half a million, or none at all, perished at the Nazis' hands. At other times, anti-Semitism may be disguised in veiled references to "international stateless capitalism."

A point often stressed during recent years is that neo-Nazi organizations are, or must be, an "elite" — probably because they have failed to attract mass support. At the same time, the younger groups, such as Ordine Nuovo in Italy, Jeune Europe in Belgium, and the National Socialists in Great Britain, are embracing a vague "activism" which emphasizes activity for its own sake; in their opinion, the oldtimers have failed. Whether the younger "activists" — a minority within the small Nazi movement — will be any more successful than their predecessors and mentors remains to be seen.

THE SOVIET UNION

In November 1962, the only synagogue in Lvov, the capital of the Western Ukraine, was closed. It had served a community of about 30,000. The closing was the culmination of an intensive year-long campaign by the Communist party paper, *Lvovskaya Pravda*, which charged the synagogue with being "a shelter for idlers, speculators, parasites and moneygrubbers." In the spring of 1962, several members of the board had been arrested, convicted and imprisoned for "profiteering and hooliganism."

The identification of the synagogue with economic malpractices was purposeful, indeed symbolic. Jews have been the prime targets of a drive against "economic crimes"; of the 58 trials for such offenses held in 36 cities from the start of the campaign until March 1963, more than half have involved Jews.

"Economic Crimes"

Beginning in May 1961, the Soviet Union enacted decrees extending the death penalty to economic offenses like pilfering public or state property, counterfeiting, currency speculation and bribery. Most observers interpreted this drastic move as an attempt to wipe out the nearly universal graft and corruption in Soviet industry and agriculture. Such practices are an inevitable response to the realities of the Soviet economy: shortages of raw and manufactured goods, unrealistic production goals, a complex bureaucracy and a low standard of living. As experts on the Soviet Union have pointed out, bribery to obtain needed supplies and graft to cut through red tape are often necessary if the economy is to function under these conditions. In a wider sense, the economic offenses express a desire to eke out, by whatever means, some measure of "private" security in a tightly controlled, Spartan economy.

The death penalty is being publicized to frighten those involved in economic malpractices, and to scare off others who may be tempted by the financial rewards. During the two-year period from May 1961 to April 1963, 141 persons were reportedly sentenced to death for economic offenses. Cases of this sort are

covered more extensively in the Soviet press than others; the Government wants as many people as possible to learn that death by shooting is the ultimate penalty for economic crimes.

The barbaric severity of the punishment has shocked the outside world — witness a recent petition initiated by Henry Steele Commager, Lewis Gannett, William Ernest Hocking, Martin Luther King, Linus Pauling and Norman Thomas, and signed by 223 other prominent American scholars and clergymen. The document urged the Soviet Union to repeal the decrees on the ground that "the conscience of mankind rebels against excessive and inhumane punishment, of which capital punishment for economic crimes is a lamentable example."

Jews as Scapegoats

No less disquieting is the fact that nearly 60 per cent of those put to death for economic offenses have been Jews. The International Commission of Jurists has pointed out that the application of the death sentences shows "racial overtones," and that the number of Jewish-sounding names in the lists of the condemned is strikingly large. Observers of Soviet affairs believe that this is not accidental — that Jews, being a vulnerable minority, are made scapegoats for the bureaucrats in charge of the vast production and distribution machinery and forced to bear the brunt of public discontent with shortages or inferior quality of goods. In addition, Jews are singled out for object lessons showing how severely the state regards economic crimes.

The Soviet press emphasizes the Jewishness of the defendants in various ways. Repetition of obviously Jewish-sounding family names like Kaplan, Shapiro, Rabinovitch, Goldman, Zuckerman is most common. When the surname alone is not clearly Jewish, the first name and patronymic may be given in full instead of being abbreviated as is the normal practice; thus A. L. Kraisman appears as Abraham Lazarevitch Kraisman, and M. I. Maly as Mikhail Isaakovitch Maly.

In mass trials involving dozens of people, Jewish names appear more frequently than others. For example, of 47 defendants in a trial in Frunze, the capital of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, more than half were Jews or related to Jews — though Jews constitute less than one per cent of the population in the Kirghiz Republic. Nine named individuals "and others" were reported to have received death sentences; four of the nine bore Jewish names.³ Analysts of the press reports believe the defendants' names were presented in a manner intended to stress the high proportion of Jews.

In another trial, at Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine, 24 defendants were accused of manipulating the price of apples. Though the majority were non-Jews, only the Jews were singled out for death sentences.⁴

Jewish defendants are depicted in the crudest anti-Semitic stereotypes as manipulators of gullible non-Jewish victims. Yet in reality most of the Jews executed for economic offenses occupied relatively minor posts, whereas non-Jews, who received light sentences, often held responsible positions. For example, at a trial in Leningrad, on charges of diverting goods from official trade channels, a Jew named Kraisman was sentenced to death, though he was only an agent employed by the several trade organizations involved; the top officials, factory directors and managers received short prison terms.⁵

In some cases the press and the prosecution stressed the Jewishness of the defendants by referring to their religious observances. Apropos of Mordekh Kakiashvili, who was shot for currency speculation in Tiflis, Georgia, the local paper wrote: "Even the religious books of the Torah have been used" to hide foreign currency. Later, the paper reported that the defendant had refused to sign a statement of his testimony on a Saturday because of his religious convictions, and that "speculation went on in full swing in the Lord's temple. While praying, they emptied each other's pockets."⁶

In Vilna, four Jews were sentenced to death for currency speculation, among them the first woman convicted in a case of this nature. Here the press and the prosecution involved the synagogue and the rabbi in the proceedings. The national trade-union daily, distributed throughout the Soviet Union, claimed that the defendants had gone to the local rabbi to settle their financial disputes, and concluded with an unmistakably anti-Semitic note: "These people stood apart from our life. They were not interested in how the Soviet people live."⁷ The case was also used for an attack on religion in general. According to one report, witnesses testified about the complicity of "representatives of the clergy of different religions," specifically local Catholic priests, as well as the local synagogue.⁸

In singling out Jews for economic offenses, publicly identifying them as Jewish through emphasis on their affiliation with the synagogue (the only Jewish institution remaining in the Soviet Union), punishing them more harshly than non-Jews in more responsible positions, and shooting a disproportionate number of them, the Soviet Government practices Stalinist policies even while condemning them.

Soviet leaders consistently deny that the Government's policy toward economic offenders is in any sense anti-Semitic. Thus, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev wrote to Bertrand Russell in February 1963:

It is for the sake of justice that our people have to punish those who want to live at the expense of others, to rob our society. The attempts of reactionary propaganda to ascribe to our State pursuance and encouragement of the policy of anti-Semitism are not a new phenomenon.

Similar denials have accompanied the closing of synagogues, the arrest of congregation leaders and the ousting of congregation officials. But there can be little doubt that such acts are intended as attacks on the remnants of Jewish community structure.

The Campaign Against the Synagogue

Though all religions are subject to restrictions and hostility in the Soviet Union, Judaism is singled out

³*Sovietskaya Kirghizia*, Frunze, June 25, 27, 1962; July 22, 1962; *Izvestia*, Moscow, July 22, 1962.

⁴*Pravda Ukrainy*, Kiev, April 4, 1962; *Trud*, Moscow, March 21, 1962.

⁵*Sovietskaya Rossiya*, Moscow, January 27, March 1, August 26, November 16, 1961.

⁶*Zaria Vostoka*, Tiflis, November 26, 30, 1961.

⁷*Trud*, Moscow, January 16, 1962.

⁸*Sovietskaya Litva*, Vilna, February 3, 1962.

for special disabilities which add up to a program of planned attrition.

Jewish congregations, unlike others, are isolated; they may not form national or regional associations by which they might help one another and maintain spiritual unity. Religious leaders are not permitted to leave the country for visits with Jewish officials or institutions elsewhere, while members of other faiths have visited co-religionists, attended conferences, gone on pilgrimages and even studied abroad.

For nearly 40 years, Jewish congregations have been forbidden to manufacture urgently needed religious articles such as prayer shawls and phylacteries, whereas other religious bodies have been authorized to acquire new vestments, ikons and the like. And Jews have not been free to print religious calendars, except that during the last two years a few synagogues received permission, late in the Jewish calendar year, to produce small quantities for their own use.

While the Russian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Moslems and other creeds have been provided with facilities for training reasonable numbers of clergymen, there were no provisions for rabbinical training until recently, and there are hardly any now. In 1957, a rabbinic academy was opened in Moscow, but was never permitted to function properly. Its building needs were not met, and its enrollment, always limited to 20, has been whittled down to three or four through bureaucratic maneuvering.

Finally, a harsh discriminatory restriction is implicit in the Government's long-standing ban on the Hebrew language. Whereas most of the religions represented in the Soviet Union conduct their rituals in the congregants' languages, Judaism requires some knowledge of Hebrew for an understanding of services and prayer books; but none has been taught since 1917. During the same period, no Hebrew Bible and only one token edition (3,000 copies) of the Prayer Book have been printed. Therefore, most Jews who still attend synagogue cannot actively participate in the service. No comparable restrictions are imposed on the Moslems, who use Arabic as a special language for religious purposes; an Arabic Koran was issued in 1958.

The Ban on *Matzah*

In 1962, the Government discontinued its previous practice of providing flour, labor and facilities for baking *matzah*, the unleavened bread used during the Passover season. Householders were advised to prepare a supply at home (a method few could follow, because of technical and ritual difficulties), but at the same time the press featured semi-official attacks on private baking.

Since then, individuals who sell home-baked *matzah* have been imprisoned for conducting private businesses, violating health regulations, "illegal commercial activities" or "price speculation."

The ban on *matzah* production climaxed a policy of harassment dating back to 1957. Beginning in that year, the amounts produced by state bakeries were progressively curtailed. Synagogues were accused of making huge profits from the "illegal production" and sale of *matzah*; in 1960, the officers of the Riga congregation were charged 115,000 rubles in taxes on their alleged private profits, and elsewhere synagogue officials were forced to resign their positions.

Like other restrictions on Jewish religious practices, the campaign against *matzah* apparently is intended to separate Soviet Jews from their historical traditions. The press has virulently attacked the ancient feast of Passover, which commemorates the liberation of the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt and their emergence as a religious people. Such traditions, it is alleged, are chauvinistic; they "give rise to nationalist feelings, and poison the minds of Jews by diverting their thoughts to 'the land of their fathers' [while killing] love for the Soviet motherland."

Jewish Culture Curtailed

Unlike other minority groups in the Soviet Union, Jews are not free to carry on a cultural life in their own language. Official quarters insist that Russian Jews are culturally assimilated and not interested in Yiddish — despite the fact that in the 1959 census 20 per cent of them did name it as their mother tongue.

In 1948, all of the country's Yiddish journals and publishing houses, cultural and literary research insti-

⁹*Sovietskaya Moldavia*, Kishinev, July 23, 1959.

tutes, theaters and dramatic schools were abruptly closed, as was the large Yiddish school system. Since then, such cultural activities have been permitted to resume only on a severely limited scale. The Minister of Culture, Ekaterina Furtseva, has indicated that any Government moves in this field are merely gestures addressed to the Soviet Union's friends abroad.

Until the late 1950's, Yiddish song recitals and literary readings by old artists remained virtually the only cultural expressions permitted. The response was great; though not of a high standard, the performances attracted a total audience of 3,000,000 in 1957 alone. Today a handful of Yiddish theatrical and musical groups, all amateur, are active; they are in great demand in the major cities, but their schedules are sharply limited, and their achievements do not begin to compare with those of the Soviet Yiddish theater in the days of its professional glory.

Beginning in 1959, half a dozen Yiddish books, all by authors long dead, were reissued, but only in small editions (10,000 to 30,000), which were soon sold out. In 1961, after years of insistent pressure from abroad, the Government permitted publication of a Yiddish magazine, *Sovietish Heimland*.

Reference works and textbooks published in recent years treat Jews and their cultural achievement as virtually nonexistent. For example, a recent edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* devotes only two pages to Jews, as against 116 in an earlier edition.

Discrimination in Public Life and Education

Since World War II, Jews have been eliminated from the Soviet Union's political leadership to a striking degree. As far as is known, there are none in the upper echelons of the Communist Party or the Government, with the sole exception of V. E. Dimchitz, First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Office. Before the war, 4.1 per cent of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were Jewish; by 1958, the figure had dropped to .25 per cent. Jews are under-represented in the Supreme Soviets of most constituent republics, especially those three — Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine — where most of them live.

Careers of Jews, especially at the local level and that of the constituent republics, are markedly limited

by discrimination. For the higher executive positions the rule seems to be "last hired, first fired." Jews have virtually disappeared from sensitive areas like the diplomatic service and the armed forces. Elsewhere, for example in cultural and scientific pursuits, especially able Jewish individuals may still be found in the middle ranks; but the Jewish share of employment in higher education, science and political life has not kept up with the nation's expanding opportunities.

Voices of Protest

As the Soviet Government's anti-Semitic policies have become increasingly plain, much indignation has stirred in the outside world. To name but one protest among many: in December 1962, a telegram to Premier Khrushchev, drafted by the American Jewish Committee and signed by American religious leaders of all faiths, scored discriminatory acts against Jewish religious and cultural institutions.

Inside the Soviet Union, too, certain intellectuals have been shocked to realize that anti-Semitism is once more being actively fostered. A protest, unusually explicit by Soviet standards, was voiced during 1961 by one of the country's most popular poets, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, in a poem entitled "Babi Yar."

Babi Yar is a ravine, just outside Kiev, where the Nazis murdered about 100,000 Ukrainian Jews in 1941. No monument marks this tragic place; the Government has remained coldly indifferent to all requests for one and, indeed, has generally remained silent about the holocaust of European Jewry under Hitler. In his poem, Yevtushenko, though not a Jew, identifies himself with suffering Jews from the days of Egyptian bondage to those of Hitler, and ringingly indicts those who would carry on the evil tradition of persecution in present-day Russia. He points up the existence of a historic Jewish people, which Soviet doctrine denies.

"Babi Yar" appeared in a journal published by the Soviet Writers Union and created a sensation.¹⁰ A few days after its publication, the journal of the Writers Union of the Russian Federated Republic printed sev-

¹⁰*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September 16, 1961.

eral attacks on Yevtushenko, in which his depiction of anti-Semitism in Russia was rejected.¹¹ In the ensuing conflict between "liberal" and party-line writers, anti-Semitism became an issue; the liberals deplored it, while the adherents of the party line denied it existed.

On December 18, 1962, the Thirteenth Symphony by Dmitri Shostakovich, Russia's best-known composer, had its premiere in Moscow. The symphony contains a choral section, set to words from "Babi Yar." The day before the first performance, Khrushchev and other top members of the Soviet Government met privately with several hundred prominent intellectuals and writers; at this meeting, complaints were made that the verses would be used by "enemies of the Soviet Union" to support charges of anti-Semitism. Yevtushenko subsequently changed the text for the second performance of the symphony, in February 1963, adding Russians and Ukrainians to the Jews who lie in Babi Yar and omitting a slogan ascribed to anti-Semites ("Thrash the kikes and save Russia!"). The music was not altered.

¹¹*Literatura i Zhizn*, September 21, 1961.

"An Inextricable Vise"

The best and most recent survey of the condition of Russian Jews is "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union" by Moshe Decter.¹² The article concludes:

In sum, Soviet policy places the Jews in an inextricable vise. They are allowed neither to assimilate, nor live a full Jewish life, nor to emigrate (as many would wish) to Israel or any other place where they might live freely as Jews. The policy stems, in turn, from doctrinal contradictions abetted by traditional anti-Jewish sentiments. On the one hand, the authorities want the Jews to assimilate; on the other hand, they irrationally fear the full penetration of Soviet life which assimilation implies. So the Jews are formally recognized as a nationality, as a religious group, as equal citizens — but are at the same time deprived of their national and religious rights as a group, and of full equality as individuals

Soviet policy as a whole, then, amounts to spiritual strangulation — the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to know the Jewish past and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present, the future is precarious indeed.

¹²*Foreign Affairs*, January 1963.

CONCLUSION

Anti-Semitism has not yet been eradicated from the minds and hearts of all men. Behind the Iron Curtain, where hostility against Jews is tacitly sanctioned or encouraged by government, the outlook is dark. In the free world, the prospects are mixed, depending in large part on political and economic conditions.

Thus, in some crisis-ridden Latin American countries, neo-Nazis and neo-Fascists have gained an audience for their anti-Semitic ideas and have instigated numerous terrorist actions. In Western Europe, on the other hand, attempted revivals of nazism have usually been cold-shouldered by public opinion; sometimes, as in Great Britain, they have been emphatically rejected. Neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi groups have remained on the fringes of European society, despite all their frantic activity in recent months. Their appeal seems to be declining and, except in Italy, they have no political influence.

To help keep anti-Semitic and Nazi-minded elements from gaining or regaining strength in the countries of the free world, certain measures may be suggested.

First, there obviously is need for continued surveillance and study — careful day-to-day watch over the activities of anti-Semitic groups everywhere.

Second, anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi groups should be denied the mass publicity they crave. Lacking cohesion and numerical strength, such movements can survive only by keeping their names before the public. In the United States, quarantine methods for relegating hatemongers to obscurity have long proved useful. Similar techniques undoubtedly would help curb anti-Semites operating in other countries and at the international level.

Third, and perhaps most important, day-to-day measures of surveillance and quarantine should be supplemented with long-range programs of education concerning Jews and Judaism. Today may be the most auspicious moment in centuries for such an undertaking.

Attitudes toward Jews are undergoing a profound change, particularly in the Western European countries. The people of those nations feel a deep sense of shame over the fate of the six million Jews murdered during the Hitler era. At the same time, a quiet revolution is developing among Christians; some churches, recognizing that their own teachings have all too often served to perpetuate anti-Jewish prejudices, have now undertaken to re-examine their own practices and positions. Finally, a new image of the Jew is emerging — partly because the founding of Israel has demolished certain stereotypes, partly because the status of minority groups in general is changing all over the world.

In view of these developments, the time would seem to be ripe for a fundamental attack on long-standing anti-Jewish attitudes in the Western world. If democratically minded citizens everywhere resolve to overcome the ingrained prejudices to which the Mosleys and the Rockwells cater, the day may arrive when there will be no need to keep watch over the doings of halfpenny Hitlers and their hangers-on.

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