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Box 51, Folder 5, Vatican Council II - Schuster, Zachariah, 1962-1965.

October 18, 1962

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. John Slawson
From: Zachariah Shuster
Subj: Ecumenical Council

I am writing this in Rome, a few days after the opening of the Ecumenical Council, which I attended as a guest.

The inaugural ceremony was most unusual in solemnity, splendor and profound dignity. Tens of thousands of people -- priests, nuns, laymen from all parts of the world and of various races and ethnic groups -- crowded the Basilica and the Square of St. Peter, and were visibly dominated by a sense of awe and the importance of the historic event they were witnessing. In this report I shall dwell on developments during the first week of the Council's proceedings with regard to the subjects which are relevant to matters of our concern.

First, it should be pointed out that Pope John XXIII himself in his inaugural address, expressed the new attitude which is now prevailing among many Catholic clergymen throughout the world. The essential elements of this attitude are a realization of tremendous changes in the world situation; a turning away from the spirit of severity, austerity and condemnation of heresies; and a desire to find a way toward understanding *with non-* Catholic groups. Some of the striking passages in the Pope's address setting forth these realizations are the following:

"Divine providence is leading us to a new order of human relations... Everything, even human differences, leads to the greater good of the Church...The spouse of Christ prefers to make use of the medicine of mercy rather than that of severity...Men are ever more deeply convinced of the paramount dignity of the human person and of his perfecting, as well as the duties that this implies... The Catholic Church, raising the torch of religious truth by means of the Ecumenical Council, desires to show herself the loving mother of all, benign, patient, full of mercy towards the children separated from her..."

The intent of these passages was emphasized in most of the inspired comments which followed the inaugural address. It was succinctly summed up by a leading Italian newspaper in these words:

"The great merit of John XXIII is of having noted that anathemas are of little value and that much more productive is the dialogue, comprehension, confrontation of different points of view; and the realization that truth is one but the roads to it are infinite."

It is generally assumed that one of the major reasons for the emergence of the new spirit in Rome is the awareness of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the demographic, political and social structures of the world since Vatican Council I, 92 years ago.

Official and inspired sources spelled out this point in various ways; but stress was particularly laid on the following facts: out of more than three billion people living on this planet, only less than a billion are Christians, and of these 500 million Catholics, many of them only nominally so, and others living under regimes which are inimical to religion; every year there are born 28 million non-Catholics, only 5 million Catholics; at this rate of development, in the year 2000 the number of Catholics in the world will be only 9 to 10% instead of the present 16%.

A comparison of the composition of the two Vatican Councils accentuates the fundamental changes that have taken place in less than a century. The first Council was dominated by European Bishops and Cardinals who numbered 60% of the Council Fathers. The present Ecumenical Council consists of mostly non-European clergymen, and only 38% of the participants are Europeans, although 47% of the Catholic population of the world resides in Europe. Among the approximately three thousand Cardinals and Bishops taking part in this Council, there are 150 colored Bishops, including 60 Africans and 90 Asiatics. Among the Cardinals there is one Chinese, one Japanese, one Indian, one Philippino and one African. Of the Europeans, the Italians have the largest group, counting 313; and the rest of Europe only 400. Incidentally, the predominance of Italians, who also constitute the overwhelming majority of the Roman Curia -- or the Vatican government -- is one of the reasons for the conflict that came to the fore in the first few days of the Council.

In short, the alert and forward looking elements of the Catholic Church are clearly facing the problems of a world in which Christians are in a minority and in which the prospects for growth and influence are diminishing. It is this basic realization which is at the core of the various reforms projected with regard to internal aspects of the Church as, for example, the desire for a change in liturgy from Latin to the vernacular, authorizing laymen to perform religious functions (this is primarily owing to the fact that the 500 million Catholics are now served by less than 300,000 priests and the growing difficulties of recruiting candidates for

the priesthood), the desire for greater autonomy of the Bishops and lessening the constant control and supervision of Rome. And this is also the practical background for the spirit of rapprochement with Protestants and Jews.

* * *

Official observers invited to the Council consisted primarily of representatives of Protestant denominations, and two of the Greek Orthodox Church. No non-Christian group was invited, and thus the question of Jewish representation was eliminated. The State of Israel, though not accredited to the Vatican, was invited to send representatives to the inaugural session, as were other non-accredited states, including the United States. The representatives of Israel were: Mr. Maurice Fisher, Ambassador of Israel to Italy; Mr. Ben Tsur, Ambassador of Israel to Switzerland; and Dr. Shaul Golby, Director of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Of the Arab States, there were representatives of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and the United Arab Republic.

Mr. Fisher told me that at one of the diplomatic receptions the Pope greeted him very cordially and spent a few minutes in conversation with him. Neither the Jewish Community of Italy nor the Rabbi of Rome received an invitation to the opening session; as no invitations were extended to any private persons or non-Catholic religious group. The Jewish community of Italy, however, through its President, Sergio Piperno, took the initiative to issue a message of greetings to the Ecumenical Council, which was published in the Italian press.

During the entire period of the preparations for the Council, official Vatican sources -- except for Cardinal Bea -- have not referred to Christian/Jewish relations as a subject to be dealt with by the Council. However, immediately before the opening of the Council, references to the Jewish subject were made in some Italian publications, and they were obviously inspired by the Vatican. The gist of these comments were that the age-old accusation of deicide and the responsibility laid upon all Jewish generations for it will be probably taken up by the Council. In the various statements made by the arriving Church dignitaries, there were a great many references to the subject of Christian unity, but nothing about Jews. However, there was a singular exception, and this was the statement made by Cardinal Cushing, of Boston, on his arrival at the Rome airport, where he was received by Vatican representatives, and which was prominently featured in the Italian press. He said:

"In the United States there is a plurality of Protestant confessions, and all look with interest to this Council. No one expects the unity of the churches on this occasion, but all expect that an atmosphere favorable to reaching this unity will be created. In a more or less near future, there will be one flock, and only one pastor."

"When I speak of a favorable atmosphere" added Cardinal Cushing, "I mean that this is the occasion for Catholics, Protestants and Jews to better know each other. There are many differences, but even more things in common. I have always maintained that all those who have a common faith must form a common front against atheistic Communism. I have always asked Catholics not to close themselves in their community, and have done the same for the Jews and the Protestants. We must stay together in order to mutually love each other and know each other. The union of the Protestant Churches and the Jewish community have sent me their good wishes for our Conciliar work."

While there was little mention in public of the Jewish matter, Cardinal Bea quickly developed a large-scale plan for action on the subject. You know from my previous memorandum of the two papers that had been prepared on this matter: one, a short discussion paper; and another, prepared by Cardinal Bea for presentation to the Council as the declaration to be adopted. This document consists of a comprehensive statement which not only condemns anti-Semitism, but rejects the traditional charges of deicide and states that they are based on misinterpretation of texts in the New Testament. Cardinal Bea, however, was not satisfied with the wording of this paper, and at the last moment introduced changes which made the declaration much stronger and more binding. Another important and favorable change took place immediately before the opening of the Council, when Cardinal Bea made the decision not to present the short discussion paper, but to submit his own paper as the basis for discussion and as the final declaration for adoption.

Cardinal Bea is not only a man of great principles, but a first-rate strategist, and has a refined sense for detailed action. His proposed declaration was circulated by him and his representatives among the entire Vatican hierarchy and among the Bishops and Cardinals who have come to the Council from various parts of the world. Cardinal Bea and his staff, many of whom are young priests of keen intelligence, have analyzed the Council membership in terms of potential sympathizers, potential opponents, and indifferents. Probably most of the Council Fathers belong to the third category. Before the first week of the Council was over, many of the Bishops and Cardinals had received not only Cardinal Bea's proposed declaration, but were approached personally by Bea's representatives. I was present at some of these conversations and was impressed by the persuasive powers of Bea's emissaries.

A most pleasant surprise was the attitude of the American delegation, whose members were -- up to their arrival -- an unknown quantity as far as their attitude on the subject was concerned. Some of them had a vague idea of Cardinal Bea's intentions, without knowing the exact propositions. Cardinal Bea saw to it that they received the text of his declaration immediately, and members of his staff subsequently paid visits to prominent personalities among the almost 300 Bishops and Cardinals from the U.S. It did not take

much time before expressions of full approval of Cardinal Bea's text were given by leading members of the American group. At the caucus meetings of the American Cardinals and Bishops, as well as in private conversations with Cardinal Bea's representatives, they promised to give full support to the plan.

The leader of this movement for unqualified support was Cardinal Cushing, of Boston. I was informed by one of Cardinal Bea's representatives that Cardinal Cushing addressed his colleagues in straight and simple terms, admonishing them to do everything possible to help achieve Cardinal Bea's plan. He even said, "If it is necessary that I go to the Council in a yammuka" (he actually used this word) "in order to support Bea's plan in favor of the Jews, I shall be glad to do it." Immediately after the other Cardinals fell into line and even Cardinal Spellman, though perhaps not with great enthusiasm, said he would vote for Bea's declaration.

I discussed the attitude of the American delegation at great length with Msgr. George G. Higgins five days after the opening of the Council. He informed me that there ought to be no more concern about the position that will be taken by the American Bishops and Cardinals on Cardinal Bea's declaration with regard to Jews, and that they considered it as the most natural thing for them to do.

At the same time, Msgr. Higgins advised very strongly against doing anything which could be interpreted as pressure on the American clergymen from a Jewish group. It is for this reason that he suggested that I meet some of the American clergymen in a social way, but without trying to enter into the depth of the subject and in order not to give the impression that there is some planned arrangement between Cardinal Bea and Jewish groups.

This advice was also given to me by our friends of Pro Deo and members of Cardinal Bea's staff, with whom I have been in constant touch.

I had a most pleasant conversation with Msgr. Higgins, whom I met for the first time, and who impressed me as a man of very lively intelligence and most sympathetic to our cause. We agreed that he will arrange meetings for me with Cardinal Cushing and others, but purely on a social basis. In the meantime, a meeting has been arranged between Cardinals Bea and Cushing.

It should also be emphasized that while Cardinal Bea was carrying on his campaign to win the sympathy of the arriving clergymen, he kept continuous contact with the Vatican hierarchy and with the Pope himself who, I understand, has again expressed a positive view on the necessity of doing something important with regard to the Jewish subject.

The situation has taken such a favorable turn that, according to reliable sources in Rome, even Cardinal Ottaviani -- who is considered as the pillar of arch-conservatism -- is supposed to have indicated that he will not resist Bea's proposed declaration. The only possible strong opponent will be Msgr. Samore, but if there is no unexpected change, he will probably be in a minority.

The lineup on this question as of today is more or less the following: the clergymen from Germany, Austria, Holland, France and Switzerland, as well as those from smaller countries in Europe, will be behind Cardinal Bea in this as in all other matters which are within the competence of the Secretariat of Christian Unity. By and large, the clergymen of these countries represent what is known as the progressive wing of the Council on all matters of reform. Surprisingly, the clergymen of Great Britain are counted among the conservatives; and the Irish are as well. Cardinal Bea's representatives have been applying much effort to win them over. The Latin Americans are considered by Cardinal Bea's staff as very uncertain for two reasons: a) because of their abysmal ignorance; b) because of a general opposition to new departures, particularly in view of the struggle with the Protestant Church in Latin American countries.

The 70 clergymen from Arab countries have already made it known that they will vote against Cardinal Bea's declaration. Fortunately, neither Bea himself nor the Secretariat of State of the Vatican consider this a serious obstacle on the ground that this opposition is entirely unreasonable in view of the fact that a matter of relations to another religion has nothing to do with Israel and the Middle East ~~political~~ situation.

Much is yet unknown about the attitudes of Bishops from Africa and Asia; but Cardinal Bea's experts believe that after explaining the situation to them they will vote in favor of it for the simple reason that their general spirit is one of goodwill toward minority groups.

How will Cardinal Bea's proposed declaration be presented? About this there is at this moment no certainty; but the most authoritative advice I have obtained is that the proposal will probably come before the Theological Commission, the President of which is Cardinal Ottaviani, and before which there will be six schemata (projects) on the sources of revelation, moral order, the deposit of faith, chastity in the family, the Church, the Mother of God, and man. The major subject of this Commission will be to define the sources of revelation and to decide the relative importance of Scripture and tradition. While some theologians of the Catholic Church claim that the fundamental source of revelation are the Scriptures and that the traditions accumulated through centuries are of lesser importance and can easily be changed. Others, and this means the conservatives, insist that traditions have the same importance as Scriptures, and no changes can be made in the teachings not only of doctrine but of the interpretation of doctrine as adopted by various bodies of the Church and which form an integral part of it. For a while it was felt that Cardinal Bea's proposed declaration on Jews, if it were to come before this Theological Commission, under Ottaviani's Chairmanship, might become involved in the problem of the relationship between Scripture and tradition; and that Ottaviani and his followers might claim that any re-interpretation of ~~doctrine as adopted by various bodies of the Church~~ charges against Jews involves a change of tradition and represents an unorthodox step.

However, on the basis of the best information I obtained, Cardinal Bea developed the following method of approach on this matter. He intends to present this declaration not as any alteration in tradition, but as a re-affirmation of the permanent teachings of the Church which have been misinterpreted by non-authoritative sources. If presented in such a way, this matter would not enter in the problem of Scripture and tradition, for Bea claims that both Scripture and tradition are against the charges against Jews, and all that is required is to re-establish the true meaning of the New Testament and the tradition behind it, as opposed to erroneous interpretations.

If the proposal is presented in this way, Cardinal Bea believes that the opposition will have no basis for counterattack and even Cardinal Ottaviani will have to fall behind it. As a matter of fact, I was informed by highly stationed ecclesiastic personalities in Rome that Ottaviani is not prepared to make any real stand against Cardinal Bea in this respect. At any rate, Cardinal Bea's formula is considered by all as the most expedient in achieving the objectives while avoiding an open clash on theological matters.

The subject of religious liberty, which is also within the competence of the Secretariat of Christian Unity, is of significance to us as well. Cardinal Bea and his followers are committed to the principle that the Catholic Church proclaim the inalienable right of every religious group to adhere to its own beliefs and practices; and that plurality of religions is part of the natural order of society, as established by providence. In practical terms, this principle aims at asserting that the Catholic Church is not out to dominate any country or society by its own creed, and even in such places where Catholics are in a majority, as they are in Latin America. This would eliminate many conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in many parts of the world. At this moment, it is not certain whether this subject will be brought up before the Theological Commission or any of the other ten Commissions which are actually the working groups at the Council.

In some of my previous reports, I posed the question as to whether the Jewish matter will come up in the first session. The general expectation is that it will, and this is to be hoped for, for it is still uncertain whether there will be a second session. I had the impression that most of the participants at the Council would like to be through at the end of the year, and not have to return in the spring. However, in view of the slowness with which the Council has started its work, and the many issues that have to be discussed, it is possible that another session will be necessary. At any rate, there is no certainty as to the date when our subject will be brought before the Theological Commission.

The form in which the declaration will be presented and adopted, will be a "constitution" of the Ecumenical Council. In Vatican terms a constitution means a decree of a solemn ordinance, which becomes binding for all those who belong to the Church. The usual term used in Rome for it is "decree."

In conclusion, I should like to point out the excellent and most friendly contacts we have in Rome with various personalities who play a leading role in the proceedings of the Council, and particularly with our friends of Pro Deo, with members of Cardinal Bea's staff, and others of the Jesuit and Dominican orders, who are keeping us informed of all developments and who have displayed a spirit of broadmindedness and liberalism as one perhaps has never seen in Rome before.

cc: Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal
Rabbi Tanenbaum
Mr. Friedman



Notwithstanding the favorable outlook of the situation as it presents itself today, a word of caution against undue optimism is necessary. One cannot exclude the possibility that by some parliamentary maneuver, the proposed declaration about Jews might be relegated by the Ecumenical Council to one of the bodies that ~~will~~ will be established by it, and which will deal with implementation. It is also possible that at the last moment some unforeseen alterations in the text might be introduced which would whittle down a great deal of the Bea statement as it stands today. There is such a variety of tendencies, groups, interests and orders of priority, that it would be rash at this moment to claim with certainty a definite outcome on any of the major issues before the Council. As a matter of fact, one of the serious apprehensions in Rome is that the final results of the Council might be a great distance away from the expectations. However, these are factors which are rather independent of us and even of those within the Vatican who have been promoting the objectives we stand for.

In conclusion, I should like to point out the excellent and most friendly contacts we have in Rome with various ecclesiastic personalities, and particularly with our friends of Pro Deo, and with members of Cardinal Bea's staff, who have displayed a spirit of broadmindedness and liberalism as one perhaps has never seen in Rome before.

cc: Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal
Rabbi Tanenbaum
Mr. Friedman



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 26, 1963

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

Dear Marc:

I thought you'd be interested in reading the comments of Msgr. Willebrands -- who is as you know the Secretary of Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity -- on the two articles published by the Observer.

I am also enclosing herewith copy of a letter I received from Lady Barbara Ward Jackson.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Zachariah Shuster

Enclosures

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal

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C O P Y

SECRETARIATUS
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

Roma, September 18, 1963
Via dei Corridori 64

Prot. No.: A /63

Dr. Zachariah Shuster
European Director
The American Jewish Committee
30 rue la Boetie
Paris 8, France

Dear Dr. Shuster:

I appreciate your letter of 23 August and the sending of the articles from the London Observer. My absence from Rome prevented me from a serious reading of the two articles until now.

I read both of them, and although I agree with the author's intentions which underlie each article, I am taking the liberty to make a few frank remarks.

As to the article of Barbara Ward Jackson, I think that the main link that forms the relationship between Christians and Jews, and should bring them together in mutual understanding and esteem, is not so much the unity of the human race under God the Creator or the unity of a shared humanity, as the unity that flows from the event of the God Creator revealing Himself to the Fathers and the Prophets of the Jewish people. To this Elected People He announced in words and in signs the Redeemer, the Messiah. The Jewish religion is not only monotheistic, universal, etc., but a Revealed Gift of God to His People. It is about the question of the fulfillment of the prophecy on the Messiah and the accomplishment of the Election that Christians and Jews disagree. But the Old Covenant remains our common treasure of revelation, of prayer and of religion.

I heartily welcome the prospects and the necessity of theological encounter.

As to your own article, I appreciate very much your clear distinction between the political question of the state of Israel and the religious question of Judaism and Christianity. You acknowledge the analysis made by Catholic scholars on the origins of anti-semitism in the field of catechetics, of preaching, of liturgy. May I express the hope that there will be a more careful analysis and investigation by Jewish experts on the factors, flowing from their side, which have helped to create and to continue anti-semitism among Christians. Anti-Semitism has so many aspects, so many roots; it is surely not limited to theological factors.

With hopeful wishes for your kind consideration,

Yours, Sincerely,

s/MSGR. J.G.M. WILLEBRANDS
The Secretary

Copy

C/o Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.),
Oceanic House,
Cockspur Street,
London, S.W.1
19th September 1963

Dear Mr. Shuster,

Forgive my delay in answering your kind letter but our whole household was smitten with some kind of summer 'flu. I cannot tell you how delighted I am that you liked the article and that you feel it helped to complete your own splendid contribution - I will make you the confession that I read your article in proof before I wrote my own and found it so much to my way of thinking that it obviously helped me enormously to write mine. I cannot help feeling that possibly the times are more favourable to constructive contacts between people of different faiths and philosophies. Anyway, anything that I can do in my writing and speaking will always be directed towards this end. Thank you so much again for your letter.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Barbara Ward Jackson

(Lady Jackson)

M. Zachariah Shuster,
The American Jewish Committee,
30 rue La Boetie,
Paris 8, France.

COPY

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

Confidential

October 8, 1963

Memorandum

To: Simon Segal

From: Paris Office

Subj: Second Session Ecumenical Council
And the Declaration on Jews

The Catholic Church declaration on its attitude toward Jews is now ready, will probably be presented formally to the Ecumenical Council shortly at this current, second session, and will in all likelihood be adopted in a third Council session to be convened in 1964.

I was assured last week in Rome by most reliable authority that:

Preparation Complete - The Church declaration regarding Jews is completed and ready for formal presentation to the Ecumenical Council, when it will become an official Council document. The document is being withheld from circulation in order not to arouse opposition from Arab countries and from the Vatican's conservative element. (I expect to be able to send you in a very few days both the content of this declaration and its context -- that is, whether the declaration concerning Jews will be presented as something separate, standing by itself, or as part of a more general Church declaration of attitude toward non-Christian religions. The general tenor of the declaration concerning Jews you already know from my previous reports.)

Presentation will most probably take place in the second half of October or the first half of the month of November. There is still some uncertainty about the exact date of presentation. Part of this uncertainty is due to the fact that (for reasons that you will remember arising out of the Wardi incident) there is no place on the agenda specifically reserved for a declaration by the Ecumenical Council concerning Jews. Cardinal Bea, therefore, must find some proper opportunity for presentation in connection with one of the schemata already on the official agenda.

** Adoption, however, will in all likelihood take place at a third session of the Ecumenical Council. This will be convened in 1964, but there is still speculation in Rome as to whether it will meet in the spring or in the fall, so as to give the bishops more time to study proposed texts.

In any event:

We shall know several days in advance exactly when presentation will be made, and I shall cable you immediately;

I have been assured by responsible authorities that the declaration will most probably be adopted in the form presented.

Recent developments in Rome make it more urgent than ever that Jewish organizations presently proceed with the greatest caution and discretion. The reason for this is, essentially, the same as it has always been: the opposition to Cardinal Bea and his works by the conservative wing in the Catholic Church. The battle is a critical one, approaching a climax as the time finally comes for the Council Fathers to vote on the various schemata. Whereas last year the liberal wing had the advantage of surprise on its side, and the conservatives underestimated the liberal strength, this year both sides know very well each other's relative strengths and weaknesses, and where best to attack. In this intra-Vatican fighting Cardinal Bea is presently under the heaviest fire of his career. The slightest mistake on his part might now be fraught with painful consequence for him personally, for his Secretariat and for our work, confident though Cardinal Bea and his supporters are of victory and sure-footed as they have shown themselves in the past.

You have already had some indication of how far the opposition is ready to go in order to discredit Cardinal Bea. To cite but a few of many possible examples:

--- For well over a month reports were received in Rome of a series of rumors from England, France, Germany, Kenya, Tanganyika, Australia and New York, all of them to the effect that Cardinal Bea was old and feeble, unable to carry the weight of his office, about to retire or was being asked to retire. An article in the Sunday Times even named a potential successor. This but showed the surface of the whole iceberg of rumor. It is now known in Rome by whom and how these rumors were planted. I can tell you that they were false and tendentious; and their obvious purpose was to throw confusion into the movements associated with Bea's name, both that of Ecumenism and of Christian/Jewish relations. In fact, the Cardinal's health has in no wise changed, he has not been asked to retire

and has no intention of retiring. His own remark with regard to these rumors was:

"Let them wait until I take the floor of the Council; then they will see whether I am a weak sick old man."

A second instance of confusion purposely created by the opposition in efforts to try to discredit Cardinal Bea revolves around the formation of the new secretariat to deal with non-Christian religions. The first reports published gave the impression that such a secretariat would begin functioning soon; and indicated that the Jewish question might no longer remain within the competence of Bea's Secretariat.

The truth of the matter was that the Vatican decided in principle to establish this secretariat primarily for dealing with the great religions of Africa and Asia. The actual establishment of it, however, will not take place soon but, probably, after the termination of the second session. There was discussion in the Vatican -- bitter discussion -- over whether the Jewish subject should remain with Cardinal Bea or not. The Cardinal insisted that because his Secretariat had dealt with this matter for a considerable time and because of the special relationship of Judaism and Christianity, it could not simply be included under the general designation of non-Christian. Cardinal Bea finally brought up the matter with Pope Paul VI, who gave an official order that the Jewish subject remain where it is; and that Cardinal Bea's Secretariat was the only competent body to deal with it now and in the future. It is most generally expected that Cardinal Bea's Secretariat will become a permanent organ of the Vatican in the future, perhaps after the Ecumenical Council is closed.

Both the decision of Paul VI to support Bea in this discussion and another significant -- but little reported -- item showed that, probably, Bea's strength has not diminished with the change in Popes. The little-reported item: Paul VI recently named Cardinal Bea to be a member of the Vatican Office in which is to be found the heart of the conservative strength -- the Holy Office headed by the leader of the Church's right wing, Cardinal Ottaviani. A conservative Cardinal (Hildebrand Antonelli) was to be named a member of the Holy Office at the same time; but this was doubtless a tactical measure to soften the political blow to the right wing. Nevertheless, it remains a very real blow indeed; and if an earnest of Pope Paul's real intentions augurs well.

* * *

I was informed that Cardinal Bea is considering sending a communication -- through the AJC -- to the Jewish religious leaders in the US with whom he met during his visit in New York for the Agape. In this communication, Cardinal Bea would convey the sense and spirit of the declaration he has prepared for submission to the Council and his expectations with regard to the possible action the Council will take. I did not get the impression that Cardinal Bea intends to ask for suggestions or possible changes on the declaration; but rather that this would be a gesture of friendly

contact before the event takes place. I should like to urge you, however, not to disseminate this information, in order not to raise undue expectations. This is only a possibility, and no useful action can be taken for the time being.

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Tanenbaum



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

PARIS OFFICE
30, rue la Boétie
Paris VIII

November 16, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. John Slawson
From: Zachariah Shuster
Subj: The Ecumenical Council and the Jews

This interim report is written a few days after the Vatican announcement about the distribution of the draft declaration on attitudes toward Jews, and before the official debate on this subject by the Ecumenical Council.

1. The final text of the draft declaration was prepared by Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity for submission to the members of the Council in early October. It was planned to form the fourth chapter of the schema on ecumenism and to be introduced by Cardinal Bea himself, who had intended to deliver a major address on the subject before the Council and to publish immediately the full text of this address.

However, because of the mounting opposition of the conservative element to the entire schema on ecumenism, Cardinal Bea decided to postpone distribution of the document until a propitious occasion would arise in the course of the Council's proceedings. Such an occasion did not arise during October, and no one was in a position to predict when this document would be distributed. The situation became even worse in the first week of November, when the opposition on the part of Arab states, which had been dormant since the end of the first session of the Council, was revived by direct action on the part of those states and by a suddenly awakened campaign of radio stations in Arab countries.

As a matter of fact, on Monday, November 4, Pope Paul VI received a confidential message from one of the most influential political leaders of the Arab world, expressing in a none too subtle way, his hope -- or rather threat -- that the Ecumenical Council would not do anything to

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

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disturb relations between the Vatican and the Arab states in the Middle East. The Pope replied to this communication on Tuesday, November 5, with an assurance that no such step is intended and that the declaration on Jews was only of a religious and spiritual nature, with no political implications. As evidence, he conveyed the sense of the proposed declaration. This was not satisfactory to Arab leaders, and on Thursday, November 7, the radio stations of Cairo and other Arab capitals began to broadcast statements and discussions on the Church and the Jews, even using Hochhuth's play The Representative to "demonstrate" that the Catholic Church traditionally has been unfavorable to the Jews. This sudden development was immediately brought to the attention of Pope Paul VI, who called an emergency meeting with high Church authorities, including Cardinal Bea, to consider the text step to be taken by the Vatican. It was felt that the matter had reached a critical point, that the Church could not permit itself to be intimidated, and that the time had come to make the contents of the declaration public and official. It was then decided to submit the declaration on the morning of November 8 to the Council Fathers. This was done in a spirit of determination and urgency.

The entire apparatus of the Vatican became busy in preparing the press communique, translating it into many languages, and having it ready for distribution.

Incidentally, the publication in the New York Times of October 17 of the sense of the declaration and of various details in connection with it did not improve matters. But it would be an exaggeration to say that this was a major cause in the delay of the distribution of the document. The conservative opposition used this premature publication as another pretext in their constant attempt to postpone indefinitely the discussion of this subject; but the Pope himself and powerful elements within the Church were absolutely determined that the declaration on Jews be brought up in this session.

2. At one time the opposition of the Curia to the entire schema on ecumenism, by Cardinal Bea, became so strong that powerful intervention was urgently necessary to counteract this opposition. I was then advised by the highest authorities that intervention by various Jewish bodies and individuals throughout the world would be of great help. Following this advice, I contacted you and Jewish groups in Europe, urging such intercession.

I am glad to register here that this prompt and coordinated action had immediate results. The cables that arrived to Cardinal Bea were immediately transmitted by him to Pope Paul VI and had the effect of establishing in the mind of the Pope himself and his closest advisers the fact that Jewish people throughout the world were impatiently expecting the Council's action on this declaration during this session.

I also should like to report that the Alliance Israélite and the Consistoire of Belgium (through the intercession of Max Gottschalk) made substantial contributions to this action. Gottschalk not only was

effective in having the Consistoire send a cable to Cardinal Bea, but also had the President of the Catholic Party of Belgium intervene directly with Cardinal Suenens, one of the most influential figures in the Ecumenical Council. I know that Cardinal Suenens did reply and intervened immediately with the Pope.

Powerful support came also from the American delegation. From the very beginning of this session, the American Bishops made it clear to Vatican authorities that they would be gravely embarrassed to return home without this declaration having been submitted or discussed. Except for Cardinal MacIntyre, who was in opposition to this, as well as to any other proposal of Cardinal Bea, the American bishops were unanimously behind Cardinal Bea on this as other matters. Cardinal Spellman, though opposed to the majority of the U.S. delegation on other issues, lent his support on the Jewish subject.

3. November 8, when the declaration was submitted, was an exciting day in Rome. Not only Jews, but all those who participated in the activities of the Council, and public opinion at large, felt that the Council was beginning to address itself to great social issues, and getting away from discussing only the internal structure of the Church. There was a genuine elation among the delegations of various countries, and a general feeling that the Council is blazing new paths in human relations. The world press and radio demonstrated the importance of the declaration on Jews by featuring this subject no less than the other development on that day, namely the clash between Ottaviani, representative of the conservative element, and Frings, of Cologne, who expressed the sentiments of the majority Council members with regard to the Holy Office and the Vatican administration.

The entire Italian press gave prominent space to this announcement, and so did the French, British and the press of other European countries. (A report of the European press coverage will be forwarded to you in a few days.)

4. The text of the declaration, like all other texts submitted to the Council, is still secret. What was given to the world was a press communique. It should be emphasized that the communique conveys much less of the solemnity and the positive spirit of the declaration than the text itself. The communique has been greatly hedged by various qualifications, primarily for the purpose of eliminating misunderstandings among the Arab countries. As a matter of fact, the communique speaks more as to what the declaration is not, than what it actually is. This is the result of the open and clandestine campaign conducted by Arab countries since the opening of the Council, and according to reliable sources, in collusion with conservative elements within the Vatican. The text itself deals primarily with the relationship between the Church and the Jews in terms of origin, of the founders of Christianity, and of the common patrimony of both religions. It also emphasizes

more than the communique the need for large and long-range implementation. It not only warns preachers and authors of catechism against repeating charges of deicide, but refers to studies and discussions on the subject of Christian/Jewish relations. The condemnation of anti-Semitism and persecution is also much stronger in the text than appears in the communique. A thorough analysis of the text itself -- every sentence of which has been studied and revised during several years -- will throw much light not only on the thoughts that prevailed in the minds of the authors, but on possibilities of action in the future, both for Catholics and Jews.

It should also be pointed out that in the desire to eliminate possible objection on the part of the Arabs, the diplomatic representatives of the Arab states accredited to the Vatican and the Arab press, received simultaneously a communique in the Arab language which contains two paragraphs not included in the general text of the press communique. These two paragraphs state:

"It is clear, therefore, that both the contents and purpose of the document are purely religious. In proposing it, its authors are confident that it reflects the opinion of many Islamic leaders who are well aware of the value of a statement on the religious heritage which is shared by all those who revere Abraham and the prophets of the Old Testament (cf. The press release of the Arab Information Center of the League of Arab States, New York, July 3, 1963).

There is no foundation in the document for any consideration of relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel. In fact, it does not consider any political groups which exist among Jews. The draft cannot be called pro-Zionist or anti-Zionist since it considers these questions as entirely outside its scope. Should any political use be made of it, this would be completely unjustified and contrary to every intention of those who have composed it and presented it to the Council."

The final paragraph of the general communique referring to the WJC was entirely unexpected and is certainly sticking out like a sore thumb. This should be explained, however, by the strong feeling on the part of Cardinal Bea and his associates that the action of the WJC in announcing the appointment of an observer, and none other than a former official of an Israeli Ministry, had started a chain of hostile action on the part of Arab states and public opinion in Arab countries; and although it occurred some time ago, its lingering effects have added to the obstacles faced by the Secretariat of Christian Unity.

This, however, did not deter Dr. Nahum Goldmann from announcing, after the document was submitted to the Council, that the declaration was primarily due to his efforts during the last two years. This only increased the irritation on the part of Cardinal Bea, and all those who dealt

with the subject and knew of the role that the AJC and others played in this matter. Particularly incensed was Mr. Maurice Fischer, Israel Ambassador to Rome, who was in close touch with the situation from the very beginning.

Mr. Fischer volunteered to write me a letter clarifying this aspect of the situation on the basis of his direct knowledge, and he is doing it with the explicit advice of Cardinal Bea.

5. On Tuesday, November 12, I addressed a press conference at the Vatican, which was attended by many priests and representatives of the world press, with regard to the significance of this declaration. I was obliged, of course, to base my remarks only on the press communique. I pointed out that this document is not a declaration of goodwill and not merely a condemnation of anti-Semitism; that this document strikes at the roots of the major cause of anti-Semitism, as recognized by all those who have studied the subject. I then said that another significance of the document is that it not only seeks to eliminate once and for all the negative element in the attitude of Christians toward Jews, but establishes the affinity and the values that Jews and Christians have in common, and calls for mutual respect and esteem. Mr. Cogley, the Editor of Commonweal, also addressed the audience to give the Catholic point of view.

Many questions were put by priests and journalists present. Most of them dealt with matters of implementation, and possible methods of putting into practice the objectives of the declaration. The press conference was covered by the Italian radio, the BBC, the French radio, and many newspapers in Europe.

6. The discussion of the five chapters of the schema on ecumenism is scheduled to begin on November 18. It seems that the subjects of the first three chapters will take up the entire week of the 18th, and that our subject will not come up before the week beginning November 25. I plan to be in Rome when our chapter is discussed, and will be in touch with you from there on any further developments.

cc: Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal
Rabbi Tanenbaum
Mr. Friedman

C O P Y

CONCILIO ECUMENICO VATICANO II

UFFICIO STAMPA

Documentation

December 2, 1963

SUMMARY OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HIS EMINENCE,
AUGUSTINE CARDINAL BEA, AT THE FINAL GENERAL CONGREGATION
OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE II VATICAN COUNCIL (Dec. 2, 63)

We have now arrived at the end of this session and, more particularly, at the end of the discussion of the first three chapters of the draft "De Oecumenismo," which were proposed by our Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. What shall I say now, except above all to express the sincere and heartfelt thanks in the first place to the Great and Good God and then to all the Venerable Fathers. If by chance anyone should have led a divergent opinion up to now concerning the zeal and love of the Bishops of the Catholic Church from all over the world for Christian Unity, through this discussion he should have been able to see with the utmost clarity and be completely persuaded that this zeal and this ardent love does exist with full vigor in the Catholic Church. Already the very vote by which the first three chapters of our Schema were accepted as a basis for discussion by an almost moral unanimity -- even though from the beginning it had been clear to the members of the Secretariat that there were many things in the draft which could and ought to be perfected -- has very clearly revealed this zeal. It was out of the same loving concern that many considerations were offered for improvement of the text. In fact, the very doubts and criticisms came out in the discussions concerning various points of the draft, indicated the same love and zeal for searching out those better methods which would realize the great desire of Our Lord "that all might be one." Therefore, from my heart I express my deep thanks to all of you, Venerable Fathers.

What was brought out in the discussion will be subject to careful and diligent examination by the Secretariat. Towards this end almost two months ago Sub-Commissions were already established within the Secretariat. With regard to the proposals made in the discussion some will be incorporated into the Draft, while others will be used in formulating that "Ecumenical Directory" which the Relator of these three chapters, His Excellency Archbishop Martin, announced would be prepared. The discussion itself demonstrated as if before our very eyes that circumstances are extremely different in various dioceses and regions and that therefore the general principles of this draft -- as well as many things which will also be contained in the Directory I mentioned -- demand adaptation and prudent application to the circumstances of places and persons. A merely material and, I might say, mechanical execution would, if not create dangers, at least possibly frustrate the fruits of the ecumenical movement. Allow me then to repeat what I said in this hall one week ago: the ecumenical movement is primarily the duty of the Reverend Pastors as it is also their duty to preach the Gospel and feed the flock of the Lord. While they should preserve the principles and essential norms, their duty is also to watch over with care the ecumenical movement and its activities, to prudently direct it, to apply it to concrete situations and to give it effective stimulation. In carrying out this task, they can receive great assistance from our Secretariat for Promoting Unity and from the Secretariats which are to be established in single dioceses or regions or even nations as opportunity demands.

There have remained, however, the two final chapters of the Draft. We all regret that it was not permitted to us to have at least a foretaste of a discussion concerning these chapters also. For in this way our Secretariat would have received greater illumination towards making a definitive edition of each chapter. However, as things have turned out, I am sincerely persuaded that even this fact offers not a few useful things to us. At first sight, indeed, one could ask: could not a vote have been taken at least to admit these chapters as a basis for discussions? To this question one might perhaps answer in the affirmative. Nevertheless, I think we should be grateful to the Venerable Fathers, the Moderators, because they wished to give ample opportunity for speaking on the three fundamental chapters to prevent creating the danger that someone might say that a hasty vote was taken on these three chapters and on the two others which treat of matters that are sufficiently difficult, present something new and are of the greatest importance for the life and activity of the Church in our time. It is fitting, therefore, to meditate and ponder everything carefully over and over again, without haste and with a serene and tranquil spirit so that in the next session of the Council they may be treated and judged with mature consideration. The ancient saying applies here: "What is put off is not put away."

Therefore, the questions treated in these two last chapters remain entrusted to your study and examination, Venerable Fathers, during the months to come. The discussion which it was not permitted to accomplish here, will be held in the next session of the Council and will be properly prepared during the next months. For this reason, the President of the Secretariat earnestly asks all, even though there are very many tasks which will almost smother each one as he returns to his diocese, to give attentive consideration to these chapters and to please indicate their proposals and corrections to the Secretariat General of the Council before the middle of February. For our part, the Secretariat will diligently examine both what has already been said in this hall and what it will receive in writing, and will propose them in its presentation of these two chapters for discussion, so that at length, we may obtain what will contribute to the greater service of God and the more efficacious good of souls.

In conclusion: One year ago, the Sovereign Pontiff John XXIII of venerated memory, as he was bringing to a close the work of the first session of the Council, anticipated, as it were, the doubt which certain people might possibly have been able to utter, that the fruits of the work of that session were extremely meager and hardly corresponded to the great expectation of the faithful and the world. Against this doubt, the Sovereign Pontiff offered as the greatest and most precious fruit that fraternal discussion which took place among the bishops concerning the most important problems of the Church and of our times (cf. Oss. Rom. 11-12 Dec. 1962, p. 1). Without hesitation, I also affirm the same thing with regard to this session and with regard to what is of particular interest to me, the discussion on Ecumenism. For that sincere and open exchange, I might call it a dialogue, on the multiple ecumenical problems is, without a doubt, extremely useful for the Church. The conclusions indeed of this dialogue will be committed to paper and ink only at the proper time but we may rightly feel confident that even now they exist in the minds and hearts of the Successors of the Apostles gathered here in the Holy Spirit.

In a certain way we can say that through the ineffable mercy of God, the Episcopate of the Catholic Church has been granted somewhat the same experience as the disciple "whom Jesus loved" - to recline on the breast of the Divine Redeemer (cf. John 13, 23-25) and hear the beating of His Divine Heart from which there poured forth the earnest priestly prayer "I ask..., that all be one as You, Father, in me and I in You; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that You have sent me (John 17, 21)." The effects of this outstanding gift have already been indelibly written by the Spirit of the living God in the life of the Church and thus will undoubtedly bear fruit "in their own time." Thus, Venerable Fathers, I think all of us ought to give heartfelt thanks to the Father of Lights, from Whom "every best and perfect gift descends (James 1, 17)" for this discussion concerning the reasons for and the means of promoting Christian Unity.



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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

December 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: New York Office

From: Zachariah Shuster

Subj: Second Session Vatican Council and the Jews

The purpose of these observations is; first, to set forth the major reasons for the deferment by the Ecumenical Council of the draft declarations on attitudes toward Jews and religious liberty; and second, to try to gain a clear view of the situation as it is now and prospects for action in the future.

At the outset it should be pointed out that up to the last two weeks of the second Council session, the overwhelming majority of all those in Rome who are competent to judge -- and this includes Cardinal Bea and members of his Secretariat, leading Cardinals and Bishops of the American delegation, accredited Protestant observers as well as spokesmen of groups of bishops representing Western European countries -- were of the opinion that no serious opposition should be envisaged with regard to the substance of the draft declaration on attitudes toward Jews, and that it was reasonable to expect that the Council would at least adopt the declaration in principle as a basis for further discussion. This opinion was clearly expressed in an editorial in La Croix, the French Catholic daily, which kept in close touch with the Council. This paper said: "The luminous explanation of Cardinal Bea on the Jewish problem was received with unanimous consent with regard to substance. What remains from now on is only a question of form and opportunity: Is this the place and is this the time to speak of the problem? was the question asked by certain Fathers. We do not have the impression that all of them fully understood the unique position of the Jewish people with regard to the Church and the singular relationship between the two peoples resulting thereof..."

In retrospect, however, it seems that although during the second session the matter was handled primarily on grounds of procedure and at the last moment the official formula was that chapter four was not voted upon because of lack of time -- this was the reason given by Cardinal Bea himself in his final ad-

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dress on December 2 -- there were in reality other and much weightier factors which determined the course of this issue.

Among these factors the most important one is perhaps the renewed and invigorated opposition of the Arab states. For a time it seemed as though the Arab states had reluctantly accepted the point of view that the declaration on Jews is purely a matter between two religions, and without any political implications which would require their intervention. This impression was fortified by the statement to this effect of the Information Office of the Arab League in the U.S. in the summer of 1963.

However, this potential opposition came back to the fore early in November. At that time, Nasser himself entered into direct communication with the Pope and threatened that any declaration in favor of the Jews would gravely harm the position of the Catholic Church in the Middle East. The immediate and direct response of the Pope to Nasser was an assurance that this issue concerns only the relationship between the two religions and that there could not be any possible objection based on political or generally secular considerations.

In a desire formally to incorporate the subject into the Council's agenda, the Vatican distributed the declaration among the Council Fathers and published a press communique summarizing the main points of the draft declaration.

The Arab states, under the leadership of Egypt, reacted with a coordinated campaign through press and radio against the declaration, which was interpreted by them as an act on the part of the Church inimical to the interests of the Arabs vis-a-vis Israel and insisting that there can be no separation between the issues of Judaism and Christianity and Jews and Israel.

The representative of the Arab League in Rome sent a note to Cardinal Cicognani, Secretary of State in the Vatican, in which it was said: "The Arab League hopes that measures will be taken to withdraw the communique on relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews, and that this communique will not be included in the agenda of the Council." The note further said that "The Arab League calls the attention of the Vatican to the fact that Zionism has begun to exploit the communique of the Ecumenical Council for its own propaganda and ambitions in the desire to demonstrate that by this communique the Church takes its side (Zionism's) against the Arabs." The note adds that while the Arabs combat Zionism they respect all religions of revelation and that "up to now there have been good relations between the Arab world and the Vatican." (Reported in the Egyptian newspaper "Al Ahram.")

In Rome, the Arab opposition was manifested on two levels: one was direct intervention by ambassadors of Arab states accredited to the Vatican; the other by the bishops of Arab countries who are members of the Ecumenical Council. I know from reliable sources that the Ambassador of Lebanon visited Paul VI twice and warned him against adopting in principle the declaration with regard to Jews for this would inevitably bring about a deterioration of the position of the Catholic Church and its institutions in Arab countries. Bishop Gori, the Vatican delegate in Jordan, made similar interventions to the Pope and other Vatican authorities. At the same time, the Arab bishops of Syria, Egypt and Jordan took action on the floor of St. Peter's Basilica. They warned in

strong terms that the Church will inevitably suffer the consequences of any statement in favor of the Jews, while being careful not to discuss the substance of the matter. They reinforced their objection with the argument that if the schema on ecumenism is to treat other religions, it should also include Buddhism, Islam and other great religions, and not be limited to Jews.

The second important factor was the growing intransigence of the conservative elements within and without the Roman Curia, and particularly among the Italian Episcopate. The Italian delegation, which is the largest at the Ecumenical Council, with 300 bishops, is committed to a reactionary course on every issue before the Council. Until recently, it has concentrated its public efforts on major social and political issues, as expressed in a persistent demand that the Council reiterate the traditional stand of the Catholic Church against Communism and thus clear up any misunderstanding which might have resulted from Pope John's policies. It seems, however, that at the same time it became active behind the scene on specific ecumenical issues before the Council. It is known that during the month of November the Curia and the Italian Episcopate, under the leadership of Cardinal Ottaviani, head of the Holy Office, Siri, Cardinal of Genoa, and Ruffini, Cardinal of Palermo, have made strong demarches with the Pope against the entire schema of ecumenism which, in their view, would inevitably lead to "heresy, atheism and Communism." Their particular target was Cardinal Bea, whom they accused of advocating "fundamental heresy"; they even went so far as to demand from the Pope Cardinal Bea's removal under the threat that if this was not done they would abstain from the Council's meetings. The situation became so exacerbated that the Pope felt compelled to arrange a confrontation between these Italian cardinals and Cardinal Bea with regard to the accusation of heresy. The Pope then began to realize that the objectives advocated by Cardinal Bea and the Secretariat of Christian Unity are facing a tremendous resistance from entrenched powers within the Church. It should also be added that the Vatican administrators of the Council, particularly the Secretary General, Msgr. Felici and his entourage, have supported all along the Curia cardinals.

The determination of the Italian Church not to let the issues of ecumenism, particularly chapters four and five, come before the Council, was demonstrated in an address before the Council by Cardinal Ruffini, who made no secret of the anti-Semitic tendencies of his group. He said that if the schema on ecumenism is to treat of Jews it should also deal with the faithful of other religions "who are less hostile to Catholicism than Jews and Protestants," and even made allusions to the affinity between Jews and Communism.

A third factor was the tense political and economic situation in Italy and the pressures exerted on the Vatican by industrial and financial groups for reasons not having directly to do with the Ecumenical Council.

The second session of the Council took place at a time when Italy was in the midst of a deep crisis. For more than a month the left-wing of the Christian Democratic Party was trying to form a cabinet with the two Socialist Parties and other left of center groups, for this was the only possibility for securing a non-reactionary parliamentary majority. The long governmental instability was accompanied by a deteriorating economic situation which manifested itself in the flight of capital, the rapid rise in prices and a general uncertainty as to the economic future of the country. Anyone who stayed in

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Italy for some time was struck by the unreality of the situation. While on the one hand the so-called "economic miracle" has been continuing and the factories in the north kept on producing as before, on the other hand, there developed a skepticism as to the future, a fear of further nationalization of industry by the center-leftist regime, and a substantial slackening of long-range investments. Leading industrial and financial circles are convinced that an important element in the uncertainty is the shift of policy on the part of the Catholic Church that took place under Pope John's regime. They reason that Pope John vitiated the traditional Catholic opposition to Socialism and Communism and thus created confusion among the masses of the population who have been following for many years the Christian Democratic Party; and that this confusion is slowly driving the masses to the Socialist and Communist Parties, which have been gaining in recent elections.

It is known that these circles have presented their thesis forcefully to the Vatican authorities and to the Pope himself. In the course of this argument it was pointed out that emphasis on ecumenism and radical changes in attitudes toward other religions is helping spread confusion in the minds of faithful Catholics. While these secular conservative elements have not spoken out directly against the declaration on Jews or on religious liberty, they insisted that the introduction of new principles is part of a process which must end in catastrophe.

The convergence of these three factors -- Arab opposition, the determined resistance of the Curia and the Italian Church, and the general instability in Italy -- have created a formidable obstacle to the entire trend of renewal inaugurated by Pope John and carried on by Cardinal Bea. In addition, the Pope himself, who was in the center of these clashing forces, has not demonstrated the strong leadership that was required at this occasion. Never having been committed in principle on concrete issues, he vacillated in the face of contending elements and became inclined to yield to the advice of caution and inaction. Also, the forces behind ecumenism, including the entire American group, were not prepared for the battle. Individual interventions were made by some of the American cardinals, particularly Cardinal Mayer of Chicago, and Cardinal Ritter, of St. Louis; and some spoke out rather forcefully on the floor of the Council. But the group as a whole was rather less articulate than the conservative forces.

The Bishops of Western Europe who were in principle for the ecumenic trend, shied away at the last moment, in fear of creating a profound crisis within the Church.

When the conservative opposition realized that it had a slim chance of winning the battle on the basis of principle they began to use every trick of the parliamentary book to put through the motion that the first three chapters dealing with Orthodox and Protestant groups be separated from chapters four and five. They used, rather effectively, the argument that the problems with regard to attitudes toward Jews and religious liberty are not organically linked with ecumenism proper, which is primarily a matter between Christian religions; and the issue concerning Jews ought to be incorporated in a statement on relations with non-Christian religions.

In a desire to make some progress on the general scheme, the majority of the Council voted for the proposed separation, and chapters four and five remained hanging in the air, without any disposition as to the future course. It should be said that the American bishops were much more distressed about the fate of chapter five than about the declaration on the Jews, for they felt that religious liberty is the big issue facing them vis-a-vis the Protestant majority in the US.

After the debate on the first three chapters, the natural procedure would have been to begin discussions on chapters four and five. The conservative opposition then began to use the method of filibustering and addressing the Council on matters of general principle, without any specific reference to any points in the agenda. It was during this filibustering process that Cardinal Ruffini took the occasion to reiterate, in a dogmatic fashion, the position of the Curia. Unfortunately, the Council President and the Moderators did not display any particular energy to lead back the discussion to the subject anent.

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At the end, a formula was agreed upon. It was to the effect that Cardinal Bea would suggest further study of chapters four and five in the interim period between the second and third sessions of the Council, and ask that the bishops send in their recommendation. This was supposed to be confirmed by the Moderator of the day, Cardinal Agagianian. Cardinal Bea was the last speaker of the December 2nd session, but was not followed by any remarks of the Moderator. The Secretary General of the Council, Msgr. Felici, however, in his opening address at that session urged the Council Fathers to send in their observations on all pending schemata, until January 31, 1964, and added that "the results of the work of the Commissions will be communicated to the Council Fathers at the appropriate time, along with instructions for the third session."

The second session thus concluded with some important questions, and among them: Will Cardinal Bea's Secretariat continue to deal with chapter four, on Jews, or will it be transferred to a new Secretariat for non-Christian religions, yet to be established? Will chapter five, on religious liberty, continue to be dealt with by Bea's Secretariat or be incorporated in either the schema on "The Church" or schema 17 on "The Church and the World?" The near future will probably give some answers to these questions.

* * *

While the picture of the present situation is short of expectations, it would be entirely unrealistic to become pessimistic about the prospects, for the future. The delay constitutes in no way a decisive defeat of our objectives.

There is one basic consideration which must be kept constantly in mind, and this is that the new trends within the Church express not a personal whim of this or that personality, but represent an accumulation of social and spiritual maturations within the Catholic Church; and that the problems seeking solutions are actively in the minds of Church leaders throughout the world. The issues concerning the relationship with Protestants and Orthodox; the relationship between Church and State; and the issue concerning the attitude toward Jews -- the third great religion in the Western world -- cannot simply be put aside. These problems have been discussed, have agitated for decades the minds of Catholic leaders and laymen, and millions of words have been spoken and written about them in many countries. The Church must, sooner or later, take a stand on these issues.

It must also be remembered that the proposed declaration on Jews, whose grand architects were Pope John and Cardinal Ben, is the product of a complex historic process which is a spontaneous expression in international conferences, Christian/Jewish encounters, a tremendous collection of books and essays and, above all, is a sense of deep recantation on the part of millions of Christians in the Western world who have been realizing that the Church is partly responsible for the tragedies that occurred in our century and that it must make a fundamental revision in its attitude toward Jews.

This process cannot be blocked even by the staunchest conservative opposition, which can only repeat the myths of past centuries but not advance any ideas or plans for how to meet the needs of our time. The simple truth is that the Church in such countries as the U.S., France, Germany, Holland, Austria and other western lands is no more what it used to be. It is imbued with a new spirit and it has gained a new vitality. All that the Ottavianis and Ruffinis can do is to forcefully present again their theological bigotries, but not seriously face the contemporary world. (The last outburst of theological anti-Semitism occurred on December 3, a day before the end of the Council, when every Council Father received in his place of residence an anonymous pamphlet containing theological arguments against the declaration on Jews. A special report on this pamphlet will be forwarded to you shortly.)

It is incumbent upon us not only to continue to follow this process, but to associate ourselves closely with it; to work on various levels for its quantitative and qualitative growth until it becomes a living part of the doctrine and reality of the Church.

We must be aware that this ecumenical process is not limited to Rome and Vatican authorities. It is rather a spirit which has taken hold of vital elements of the Church in many countries, and no matter what action the Council may take in the near future, this spirit will continue to activate the clergy and laity of the Catholic Church in many lands.

I should like now to suggest some of the major general directions of our activities in this area, on the basis of which detailed plans will have to be elaborated.

1. We must intensify our efforts in Rome with the view of forcefully impressing upon the authorities there that the Church must take a forthright and unequivocal position on its attitude toward Jews and that while the delay has created some disappointment, it has not diminished our hopes and expectations that the matter will come to a favorable conclusion. Ways and means will have to be found to convince Church authorities that the forces in the western world which are determinatively awaiting a historic stand of the Church on this issue are, in the long run, of greater importance and weight than the opposition of the Arab leaders.

With this in view, we might have to seek interventions by political forces of the West for the purpose of impressing the Vatican that an indefinite delay of action on the issues with regard to the attitude toward Jews and

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religious liberty would be considered as a failure in the process of achieving cohesiveness in the western world, as a lack of nerve in facing the intimidation of pressure by Middle Eastern countries. Such interventions can be done in non-official ways, but with the objective of making the Vatican feel that at least the advanced part of the Western world is behind the position taken in the two declarations.

2. At the same time, it will have to be our task to keep the issue alive as far as general public opinion is concerned. With this in view, we shall have to elaborate plans for utilizing the large media of press, radio and television in the major lands of the west. It will be important to see to it that in reviews and analyses of the Ecumenical Council that will undoubtedly be made in various countries emphasis be given to the subjects of the Church and the Jews and religious liberty, so that the authorities in Rome should feel that at least the western world will see in the fate of these declarations a barometer of fundamental developments in Church policy.

3. Of equal importance is to maintain and intensify our contact with the Church on a local level. I refer particularly to the clergy and lay leadership of the Catholic Church in the U.S. There is no question that although the U.S. delegation at the Ecumenical Council was not as articulate and vigorous as expected, they are spiritually committed to the principles of chapters four and five. I suggest that in our dealing with them we should avoid criticism and reproaches, but encourage them to continue their efforts for the common objective. Our objective with the American clergy should be to instill in them greater determination and verve, and to make them realize their own potential which, unfortunately, they have not sufficiently used during the second session.

Discussions with the American Cardinals and Bishops and planning together with them the efforts to be made during the interim period between sessions will be most important.

Detailed plans along these lines will have to be worked out in the near future, for in order to counteract the forces of the opposition alluded to above, a concentration of efforts on political, educational and public relations lines will be of the utmost importance.

#

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal
Rabbi Tanenbaum

December 10, 1963

Memorandum

To: Foreign Affairs Department

From: Paris Office

Subj: Anti-Semitic Booklet Distributed
at Ecumenical Council

On December 3, one day before the closing of the second session of the Ecumenical Council, every bishop at the Council received at his home address an anti-Semitic pamphlet entitled "Gli Ebrei e il Concilio---Alla Luce della Sacra Scrittura e della Tradizione" -- The Jews & the Council in the Light of the Holy Scriptures & Tradition -- written by someone who signed himself Bernardus.

This is the second occasion on which an anonymous anti-Semitic document has been privately printed and privately distributed to Council Fathers alone. The first occasion was towards the end of last year when each of the Fathers at the Council received a 600-page book entitled "Il Complotto Contre La Chiesa."

The second smaller anti-Semitic pamphlet seems to us to be much more insidious and much more dangerous than the much larger volume. "Il Complotto Contre La Chiesa" was essentially a rehash of the most extreme anti-Semitic concepts and ideas, incorporating the same themes as the "Protocols of Zion." Both because of its extravagance of approach and because of its bulk -- bishops had many other things to do besides read volumes of several hundred pages -- it was largely self-defeating. Large numbers of copies of "Il Complotto," we know, wound up in wastepaper baskets. Moreover, the very publication of this anti-Semitic book helped produce a favorable reaction toward Jews and for the objectives with which we are concerned at the Council. Certain publications seized upon "Il Complotto" not only to berate its anti-Semitism, but also to present a positive attitude toward Jews.

The new pamphlet is also anti-Semitic, but with a very important difference. It does not take as the basis for its anti-Semitism

(at least to start with) supposed world Jewish plots of domination. Rather, it sets forth, in concise fashion, an accurate summary of certain Church teachings and traditions espoused on various occasions by the highest Church authorities attacking Jews and denigrating them. The pamphlet presents proudly and in capsule fashion, that Christian "teaching of scorn" so carefully documented by Jewish scholars like Jules Isaac that has been at the very root of so much modern anti-Semitism.

The new pamphlet is also more dangerous both from the point of view of size and of timing. It is short and it is easily read. It came to the Council Fathers just after Vatican II had shown its own hesitation to deal firmly with the problem of the Church attitude toward Jews. It arrives, too, at a time when Church Fathers will have somewhat more leisure for the mass of documentation that has emanated from the Council; and when they were asked to forward their views with regard to the draft regarding Jews introduced by Cardinal Bea and the Secretariat for Christian Unity. Hence, it will attract attention because pertinent.

Finally, the pamphlet is a potent one because it speaks to the bishops in a theological language and phraseology to which they are accustomed, evoking almost what may be called conditioned reflexes in its language concerning Jews, in its appeal to tradition, and in its adherence to Scripture as often widely interpreted even by leading Churchmen.

Certain classic anti-Semitic themes are introduced within this theological framework. Thus one can find in the pamphlet invented quotations purporting to come from the Talmud, and used on previous occasions by anti-Semites. Their purpose is to show that Jews hate and despise non-Jews: e.g., an invented Talmudic passage which proclaims "Only Jews can be called men. The other nations of the world do not deserve the name of men but that of beasts."¹ One conclusion of the pamphlet is that if a draft decree on Jews has been introduced into the Council, this is the work not of Catholics but, really, of Jewish forces like the B'nai B'rith, "founded in 1843...as a supreme order to which are subordinated all the other visible and occult Jewish groups like the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the World Jewish Congress etc."; and much space is devoted to "tying up the B'nai B'rith and the Masons.

Internal evidence shows that the booklet was drawn up quickly. It cites, for example, the B'nai B'rith statement by Label Katz from Washington of November 17; and gives excerpts from speeches by cardinals made only a few days before the distribution of the booklet and attacking presentation of the decree on Jews. While it may

have been drawn up quickly, however, equally obviously the booklet's appearance was calculated and meditated some time in advance. The theological reasoning is well-marshalled, and carefully supported by relevant quotations from Biblical and traditional sources. The anonymous author, therefore, is one thoroughly versed in theology, and was obviously biding his time for the proper opportunity. This is no amateur job by some petty hate-monger. Rather, one may conclude from the arguments it offers and the persons it cites with approval, it represents a point of view prevalent among Curia circles, which probably gave at least tacit support to this anti-Semitic pamphlet and may well bear the real responsibility for it.

What does the pamphlet say? A short, two-paragraph title asserts:

"On the subject of Israel according to the flesh, that is to say of Jews not yet converted to Christianity and who make up the majority of the Hebrew people, there exists a theological tradition, there has been intercession of Popes and of Ecumenical Councils, and there has been witness by the Fathers and theologians.

"It is therefore inevitable that any position taken with this regard to Israel according to the flesh must be based in the first place on this tradition."

The booklet is divided into four sections: Jews "In the Holy Scripture"; "In Tradition"; and "The Jews of Today" are the first three. The last section title reads: "A Reason that Explains the Presentation of the Fourth Chapter of the Schema De Ecumenismo"----that is, the presentation to the Council of the chapter dealing with the Church attitude toward Jews.

The first section of the pamphlet deals with the special position and vocation of Israel giving it a special relation with Christianity. Very quickly, however, the pamphlet makes a distinction between what it calls the "true Israel",---the Israel whose vocation was, according to it, the preparation for Christ's coming and acceptance of Christ---and "Israel in the flesh," that is to say the great majority of Jews who have rejected Christ. Israel "in the flesh" is described as suffering a mysterious blindness, as being something foreign, hostile and opposed to Israel's true vocation. While Israel shares a common good with the Church, and thus has a special relation with the Church, the pamphlet says this good is tied up with fidelity to Christ, "A good that the Church has received in heritage and which takes precedence over the continued infidelity, culminating in deicide, belonging to the Jews."

If, because of Israel's vocation, Christians owe friendship to the Jews, as demonstrated so generously during the last World War according to the pamphlet, by contrast they must remain particularly vigilant against a Judaism that impugns and enervates the true Christian faith. The pamphlet then goes on to argue that this distinction

between "Israel of the Holy Scriptures and Judaism" is as old as Christianity; that there is an entire tradition of unfaithfulness and schizophrenia in Judaism as regards its true vocation, even in pre-Christ times; that contrast with Judaism is a permanent feature of the Church's condition on earth since Judaism, seeing the Church as the usurper of its good, can not but plot against the Church; that the Church must struggle to the end of time against Jewish blindness, and the Jewish spiritual block, in order to bring Jews to their home, the Church of Christ.

"THE TERM DEICIDE IS IN THE SCRIPTURES" proclaims the booklet in capitals, citing St. Peter; and quotations from St. Paul and St. Thomas are marshalled to show that Israel is absolutely condemned because of its rejection of Christ.

The second part of the booklet, "In Tradition," cites various steps taken by previous Church Councils and Popes as "strictly defensive" measures to protect Christians from Jews: e.g., exclusion of Jews from posts where Christians might come under their jurisdiction; against usury; that Jews must wear distinguishing clothes or marks, etc. "Indubitably such continued activity of the Popes, over so many centuries," says the booklet, "creates a precedent that it is now impossible not to take into account if one wishes to deal with problems referring to relations between the Holy Church and the Jews."

The true purposes of the theological attack -- to denounce present-day Jewry, the Secretariat for Christian Unity and the introduction of the draft decree upon Jews before the Ecumenical Council -- becomes most glaringly apparent in sections 3 and 4 of this anti-Semitic pamphlet.

Section Three, "The Jews of Today," takes as its theme:

"Unfortunately, all the measures that the Church has taken against Judaism for the defense of Christians are as necessary today as they were in the past." What proof does it offer? The Talmud, the pamphlet says, provides the basis for any decision by Jews, according to leading Jewish theologians such as Rabbis Heschel and Finkelstein.² What does the Talmud say about Christians, according to the anti-Semitic pamphlet? That "the progeny of a foreigner is like the progeny of an animal";³ that "wherever Jews establish themselves they shall be the masters. Wherever they do not hold absolute domination they shall consider themselves as exiles and prisoners."⁴ And the pamphlet goes on to give the sources for eight or more passages in similar vein which it falsely says come from the Talmud and the Kabbala.

Becoming even more topical the pamphlet quotes in full, in support of its theme, a story about "Violent anti-Christian Manifestations in Tel Aviv: Israeli crowds assault convents and nuns." It then

gives the entire text of a story from Madrid describing in detail how "groups of Hebrew fanatics expressed in violent form their opposition to the activities of Christian schools, colleges and missions..." referring to the acts of Matarei Karta groups in Israel two months ago.

* * *

The fourth section of this anti-Semitic pamphlet merits special attention, for here the booklet comes to its primary targets when giving what it claims to be "A reason that explains the presentation of the fourth Chapter of the De Oecumenismo schema."

It begins by describing the attacks on the floor of the Council against this chapter dealing with the Church attitude toward Jews by Cardinal Gabriele Tappuni who declared that "there are various motives that render most inopportune the fourth Chapter on the Jews." It continues with remarks by Cardinal Ruffini of Palermo, a leader of the conservative Curia forces at the Council, who declared that "If the schema on Ecumenism deals with Jews, and in a form so honorable for them, it should also occupy itself...with those faithful of other religions who are less adverse to Catholicism than are the Jews and Protestants..."

The pamphlet goes on: "So great was the surprise, that many people asked themselves why a Secretariat ~~was~~ created to propitiate unity among Christians should expand its function so as to create a bridge of access for the most bitter enemies of Christ, of the Catholic Church and of all the Christian confessions." The explanation of this, according to the pamphlet, is the following:

"The text of the fourth Chapter (about Jews) added to the schema on Ecumenism has its origin the meeting of February 15, 1963, between Cardinal Augustin Bea and Dr. Label Katz, President of the international organization, B'nai Brith..." The Italian press reported, the booklet adds, ^{that} this meeting was "in a sense of other noble initiatives on the part of Jews to have the Ecumenical Council consider the problem of anti-Semitism." It then went on to mention Bea's meeting with Nahum Goldman of the WJC who "about the same time put out a statement that the Director of Christian Affairs in the Israeli State's Ministry of Religious Affairs, Mr. Chaim Wardi, would be stationed in Rome to follow the work of the Council." Following this, the booklet then cites the Agence France Presse press report from Washington of November 17 of this year concerning the B'nai B'rith:

"The Jewish organization, B'nai B'rith, has expressed the desire to establish closer relations with the Catholic Church and has presented to the Ecumenical Council a document in which it affirms the responsibility of all humanity for Christ's death, according to a statement made by the president of the international council of the organization, Label Katz."

All of this takes on a particular importance, the booklet continues, if one considers the nature of the organization and the persons mentioned. It quotes from the works of one deceased cardinal on "The Mystery of the Masons" to declare that the B'nai B'rith is a Judeo-Masonic order; it cites from the Encyclopaedia of the Masons a definition that the B'nai B'rith's purposes^{are} "to unite Jews in order to develop the greatest interests of Judaism as rapidly as possible"; it declares that the B'nai B'rith was "founded in 1843 at Chicago...as the supreme organization to which are subordinate all the other visible and occult Jewish organizations such as the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the World Jewish Congress, etc." and declares that Bernard Baruch (long a favorite target of anti-Semites the world over) was world president before Dr. Label Katz.

"Knowledge of all these facts gives rise to a series of questions about which prudence counsels clarification, before dealing with a delicate theme such as that of relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews..." Such prudence is even more called for when one realizes that some of the heads of Judaism like Dr. Goldman and the Chief Rabbi of the Rome community, Elio Toaff, have spoken of the decree concerning Jews as "repairing an injustice," the booklet goes on rather indignantly.

"Naturally, all this causes surprise, and one may ask oneself if an organization foreign not only to the Council but to the Catholic Church, such as the B'nai B'rith, can present an initiative for the consideration of the Council Fathers, it being admitted that the means for introducing this initiative was a Conciliar organ such as the Secretariat for Christian Unity," the anonymous author concludes.

Footnotes:

1. Reference given as supposed Talmud source: Talmud Baba Metzia fol. 114, col. 2.
 2. Rabbi Winkelstein (according to the pamphlet) in his volumes "The Pharisees" writes: "Pharisaism became Talmudism...but the spirit of the ancient Pharisees survives unaltered...when the Jew...studies the Talmud he is repeating in the present the arguments used in the Academy of Palestine." Rabbi Heschel is described as a professor of the Theological Seminary of America who "was chosen as one of the 120 leading Jews in the world in 1937 by the Board of the Kehillas (Tribunes of the Jewish Communities) as those who best hold aloft the light of Judaism. In his work The Jews, Their History, Culture & Religion he affirms: 'that presently...every decision regarding the Jewish religion must be based on the Talmud...' (page 1332.)"
 3. Supposed source Talmud Jebamoth Fol. 94, col. 2
 4. Talmud Bab. Tr. Sanhedrin fol. 104, col. 1
- In addition, without giving texts the pamphlet quotes the following as supposed sources showing Jewish hostility to Christians:
- Jebamoth: fol. 94, col. 2
Eben Ha Ezer: 6 & 8

Aboda Sara, 26b, Tosephot
Shabbat, fol. 89, col. 2;
Kabala ad Pentateucum, fol. 97, col. 3
Chaniga fol. 3a, 3b
Talmud Bab. Tr. Schabb, fol. 120, col. 1
Talmud Bab. Tr. Sanhendrin, fol. 88, col. 2 &
fol. 89, col. 1.

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Tanenbaum





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

December 12, 1963

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

Dear Marc:

I very much appreciate your remarks about my work in Rome. I can tell you that in spite of the disappointment with the results of the second session, the efforts we have made were not only exciting and stimulating -- though tiring -- but also very fruitful for the future.

During the course of our activities in connection with our objectives at the Council, we have managed, and by "we" I mean not only myself but you and others of the AJC who have done work of inestimable value in the US, to plant roots of comprehension and esteem between Judaism and Christianity for a long time to come. I believe that in this situation the wisest policy is the one which sounds so simple but is so true: We have waited two thousand years, we can afford to wait another few years, until we reach our objective. The Catholic Church thinks in terms of millennia, so can we, who have been here long before them.

I hope that by now you received my memorandum of December 9. I should very much like to have your comments as soon as possible. I am deeply convinced that we must work out a definite and detailed program to be carried out between now and September 14, 1964, when the third session of the Council convenes. As I indicated, the work will have to be done on several levels: Rome, Western Europe and the U.S. We have to think quickly and solidly, and start action on all these levels at the same time.

I hope you have also read my short report about Dr. Heschel's visit to Rome. I know that he left in a state of depression. Unfortunately, he happened to arrive at the lowest ebb of developments. I trust, however, that he has succeeded in overcoming his pessimism and seeing matters now in a more balanced perspective.

I shall try to obtain the text of the declaration on religious liberty, and also some background information about it; and shall forward it to

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you as soon as possible. Meanwhile, I want to thank you again for your excellent cooperation with me during the difficult months just passed.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Zachariah Shuster



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

December 16, 1963

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

Dear Marc:

As you probably recall, I discussed several times with you, during my visits to New York, the idea of preparing a volume on the background of the change in Christian attitudes toward Jews which took place in recent decades. We felt that it would be most useful to describe the new intellectual trends within the Protestant and Catholic religions on this subject and also the various conferences, encounters and dialogues that took place, as well as the literature that emerged from it.

We agreed that the most competent man to do this would be Paul Demann, whose pioneering work in this entire field is well known to you. As you know, Demann is no longer a clergyman. After he de-frocked himself, he became a free-lance writer and translator. I have been in touch with him and he told me that he is willing to do this volume for us in the near future. He believes that it should not take him more than three months to prepare the manuscript for delivery to us.

I should like you to consider and give me your views on the following aspects of this proposal:

1. Do you still believe that it would be a useful thing for us to have such a manuscript written?
2. Mr. Demann told me that he would need the sum of about \$1,500 to enable him to take off the time for the writing and preparation of this volume. Would the New York office be prepared to advance this sum for this purpose?
3. When this volume is written, how should we go about publication of it? Should it be given to an American publisher for translation and publication, with full rights for the American edition and translation in all languages; or should separate arrangements be made with publishers in various countries? Mr. Demann says that a publisher could

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be found in France to print the French original and then make the appropriate arrangements with publishers in the U.S. and other countries.

4. In case arrangements are made for publishing, how should the AJC be associated with the publication of this manuscript. Demann suggests -- and I am inclined to agree with him -- that it would be enough for the AJC to get credit in a prefatory remark or with an indication that the book was sponsored by us.

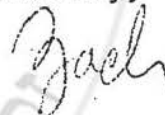
I should very much appreciate your giving this matter your immediate attention, for Mr. Demann is now in a transition period and has to make arrangements with regard to his efforts and also his income during the next three or four months. I should therefore like to let him know of our decision no later than at the beginning of 1964, so that, in case we agree with this proposal he can start working on it immediately.

I personally am very much in favor of this project and would like to see it adopted by the New York office.

I am enclosing herewith a tentative draft of the contents of this volume; but please do not consider this as a final table of contents. Demann is ready to accept our suggestions for changes, additions, etc.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and before this year is over, and with all good wishes,

Sincerely,



Zachariah Shuster

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Segal

AN AGONIZING REAPPRAISAL

Christian attitudes toward Judaism: 1945-1963

INTRODUCTION A major turning point in Christian attitudes toward Judaism and in Christian/Jewish relations. Manifestations, extent and meaning of the change.

Purpose, method and limits of this balance sheet.

CHAPTER I Historic review - The distant past. The situation 20, 30, 50, 100 years ago. Indications of the present change.
Causes of this change - General evolution of the modern world. Evolution of Judaism. General evolution of Christian thought. Modern anti-Semitism. Nazi persecution. Emergence of the State of Israel.
Stages in Evolution - From hostility and indifference to proselytism. From proselytism to the fight against anti-Semitism. From the fight against anti-Semitism to closer ties and cooperation. From closer ties to dialogue and Christian/Jewish ecumenism, with mutual respect for each other's values.

Chapter II Manifestations of this evolution in the Catholic world:
The Holy See. The Episcopate. The Council. The Biblical movement. Historical studies. Theological evolution. The pastoral domain. Liturgy and prayer. Catechism and religious teaching. Religious literature. Magazines, press and public opinion. Specialized movements and publications. Studies of Judaism.

CHAPTER III Manifestations of this evolution in a non-Catholic world:
The Ecumenical Council of the World Council of Churches. Representative organs of Protestant Churches. The Council. The Biblical movement. Historical studies. Theological evolution. The pastoral domain. Liturgy and prayer. Catechism and religious teaching. Religious literature. Magazines, press and public opinion. Specialized movements and publications. Orthodoxy.

CHAPTER IV Interfaith organizations, publications and meetings - Christian/Jewish Friendship Groups - Country by country description of their history and their work.

CHAPTER V Converging efforts on the part of Judaism.
The work of Jewish organizations. Intellectual and literary activity (particularly that of Jules Isaac).

CHAPTER VI Overall review, country by country - France and French-speaking countries, Germany and German-speaking countries, Great Britain, Italy, the rest of Western Europe, Spain and Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, North Africa, the Near East, the U.S.A. and Canada, Israel.

CHAPTER VII Evolution of relations between this movement and ecumenism.

CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE



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

December 27, 1963

Rabbi M. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Marc:

This is in reply to your memorandum of December 23 with regard to the suggestion to publish a statement by Protestant leaders and scholars on the failure of the Ecumenical Council to adopt the declaration with regard to Jews. In my view, such action would be most inadvisable and could serve no useful purpose.

Even before checking with our contacts in Rome, and particularly with Cardinal Bea and his entourage, I am convinced that they will be opposed to it for the reason that those forces which have succeeded in delaying discussions of Chapters 4 and 5 of the schema on Ecumenism will certainly not be impressed by a statement by Protestant leaders but, on the contrary, utilize it as a weapon in their struggle against the entire trend which is symbolized by the personality and actions of Cardinal Bea.

Cardinal Bea -- perhaps on solid tactical grounds -- has publicly taken the position that chapters 4 and 5 of the Ecumenism schema have been delayed only because of lack of time and that they will definitely be brought up for discussion at the forthcoming session of the Ecumenical Council. He said so in his final address before the Council on December 2 and reiterated it in an article published under his name in the prominent Catholic German publication Rheinische Merkur of December 20, 1963. In this article he said:

"The Secretariat for Christian Unity would certainly have desired that at least a beginning were made of a more detailed discussion of these two last chapters in order to make possible a vote about their adoption as a basis for discussion. However, because of shortage of time, this unfortunately has not taken place. The situation being as it is, I am firmly convinced, as I already stated at the Council, that with the lack of time, it was good that the Fathers of the Council could express themselves at least about the first three chapters of the schema on Ecumenism. One should also take into consideration that the project about the Jews was distributed among the Council Fathers, and for reasons which were independent of the Secretariat, as late as November 8, and the one about religious liberty on

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November 19. It would have been too much to expect that in this short time, and alongside the other discussions that took place simultaneously at the Council, that the Council-Fathers develop a clear view on these problems which were to most of them new and not easy to deal with. These problems are too significant and serious to be judged hastily. Because of all these reasons the expression of disappointment and discouragement voiced by outsiders is not justified. It does not correspond with the real situation when it is said that the Council did not have the courage to deal with these questions. The fear expressed by some that these two projects will be eliminated from the program is also unjustified. Anybody who knows the situation will agree that there are no solid grounds for such fears."

I believe that a public statement presenting views contrary to the ones expressed by Cardinal Bea would be not only irritating to him but also very embarrassing and may only harm the cause.

For the time being, and for some time to come, the best policy in my view is to keep silent on occurrences at the second session, and concentrate on developing a proper strategy in preparation for the third session. Of course, we may continue discussing the merits of the proposed declaration in principle, but without dealing with the actual proceedings at the second session.

In short, I believe that no encouragement be given to any public statement on this matter.

With best wishes for a happy New Year,

Yours sincerely,



Zachariah Shuster

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal

January 2, 1964

David Danzig
Harry J. Alderman

Osservatore Romano report on Z. Shuster press conference

You may be interested in the attached article which appeared in the Osservatore Romano of November 17, 1963, which just arrived in the Library today. The article deals with the various press conferences in connection with the Ecumenical Council, including one held by Zach Shuster. Following is a translation of the paragraph describing the latter:

"The document on the Jews presented recently for the examination of the Council Fathers has aroused much interest everywhere. The European Director of the American Jewish Committee, Zachariah Shuster, in a press conference held at the 'Divine Word Service', has defined the present time as 'one of the greatest moments of Jewish history' and has expressed his belief that the Jews of this generation will regard themselves fortunate to have been witnesses of this historic step taken by the Church. Shuster recalled with enthusiasm the fact that the document contains 'a total refutation of the myth that the Jews were guilty of the Crucifixion' and emphasized that 'never before has there been a declaration of such significance or an appeal of this kind regarding Jews and Judaism emanating from the highest authorities of the Catholic Church'".

cc: M. Tanenbaum ✓
S. Segal



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

March 17, 1964

Rabbi M. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Marc:

I very much appreciate your memorandum of March 12.

As you will see from the memorandum I sent you yesterday, Cardinal Bea made a statement in Cologne on Sunday on Chapter 4 of the Declaration. However, he was careful enough not to make any predictions as to the outcome.

My own view of the situation as of today is as follows: We may be confident that the leaders of the Church in France, Belgium, Great Britain and the United States will definitely support this Declaration. I also believe that our own representatives and the leadership in Latin America of the Jewish communities have acted energetically in obtaining the support of ecclesiastical leaders there. I believe that if the Declaration were to be discussed on the basis of its substantive merits, there probably would be an overwhelming majority in favor of it, and yet I would not at this moment wager that the Declaration will be adopted. And I say this for the following two reasons:

1. It is not enough for the leaders of the Church of the Western countries to express their general sympathy to the Declaration but they must make known to the highest Vatican authorities that they consider the objectives of Declarations 4 and 5 as indispensable toward the realization of the minimal objectives of the Ecumenical Council, and that the position of the Church in the Western countries will greatly deteriorate if the Council ends without the adoption of these two Chapters.

2. In the intervening period between now and September 14 when the 3rd session begins, the Curia and other elements in opposition to Ecumenism may develop new stratagems for blocking the adoption of the schema on Ecumenism, and particularly Chapters 4 and 5, on grounds of a technical nature and we, therefore, cannot afford to relax even for one moment until these matters come to the floor of the Council.

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A few days ago I informed you that the German translation of the book, The Plot Against the Church, which was distributed among the Fathers of the Council at the end of the first session, was recently sent to various Catholic Bishops in Germany.

Bishop Walther Kampe of Limburg, one of the most prominent Catholic ecclesiastic leaders in Germany, published in the popular Catholic weekly, Der Sonntag, of Sunday February 16, an article about it and a translation of which is enclosed herewith.

All the best,

Yours sincerely,

Zachariah Shuster

Enc.

cc: Dr. Slawson
Mr. Danzig
Dr. Segal



March 17, 1964

Plot Against the Church?

The Vicious Circle of Hatred Must be Broken

During the last few weeks some arbitrarily selected persons received a publication from an unknown sender abroad which has caused some consternation. Already during the sessions of the Council there were distributed by a private source among the Council Fathers some publications which were replete with attacks on individual Cardinals and Bishops and even made some veiled attacks against the Pope. As these were anonymous or under pseudonyms these publications landed in the waste-paper baskets without being read. The contents of these publications were so confused and abstruse that they could not be taken seriously. They made the impression that they were written by a psychopath who in this way was anxious to get rid of his nightmares. However, one of these pamphlets has appeared in a foreign publishing house in a bad German translation, so it is reasonable to guess that it is being spread free of charge in other languages throughout the world. The first question that comes to mind is: "Who is financing such an attack, and what forces are behind such an enterprise?" Although one should not overestimate the effects of these publications, it is not inappropriate to speak out openly about these obscure activities.

What is it about? Anyone who read the preface does not have to read more of this bulky volume. The unknown author warns of a secret plot against the Church: Communists, Freemasons and Jews have made an alliance against Christianity and want to administer to it a mortal blow through the Council. This melody is too well-known to us from the period of the Third Reich and of the muddy waters of the Ludendorff movement. The missing ones in this company are only the Jesuits and Catholics as the arch enemies of genuine belief in God. But when one reads further one sees that even this variant is not missing. It is unbelievable but true that this book says that even Cardinals and Bishops -- the so-called progressives -- are in the service of Moscow, the Freemasons and the Synagogue and that the threads even reach into the Vatican. It says that the purpose of the Council is to make the Church vulnerable to the attack of international Communism and that the Fathers of the Church are in danger of becoming the gravediggers of the real faith. But God in his wisdom will prevent it through the author of this book and the sturdy believing Catholics and a "group of idealists" who are behind him. The most dangerous thing, according to the author, is the proposed decree against anti-Semitism presented by Cardinal Bea. Because behind all these machinations there are the Jews, "the Synagogue of Satan," the worst foes of Christ. This volume attempts to show that even Popes, Councils, Church Fathers and saints were opponents of the Jews and that, therefore, the Church is contradicting itself and becomes unworthy of trust if it is today condemning anti-Semitism.

What is there to say about this material? To a large extent it is based on obscure uncontrollable sources; in parts it consists of a clever combination of data in order to prove the thesis. Still another part rests on verifiable facts but which are contrary to the thesis the author wants to demonstrate. The 2,000-year history of relationship between Jews and Christians has been written in blood and tears. Much suffering and injustice was committed against Jews by Christians who sincerely believed to be in the service of God and Christ by persecuting, robbing, torturing and killing the descendants of God's murderers. But even Jews in the course of their unhappy history have carried much hatred and animosity, revenge and desire for punishment in their hearts and in effect whenever possible. Where is effect and cause, and who carries the greater burden of responsibility? Even in hatred, Judaism and Christianity are so inextricably tied together that they cannot be torn apart. Should this vicious circle of action and reaction on both sides continue? Should not this circle be broken by what Jesus Christ wanted to bring to all human beings -- Jews as well as pagans -- forgiveness and atonement? Is it not a tragedy that the Cross which is the sign of salvation and love should have left such a trace of blood and suffering in history? And is it not Christian to give a reply of love in compensation for one's own guilt instead of reacting with hatred? How many Jews are today ready to forgive and forget?

This matter also contains an internal Catholic problem. In the course of history the Church has not only defended itself against its opponents, and unfortunately not always with spiritual weapons, but many Catholics fell victims in this struggle which was carried on in a state of fear and defense. Until up to the First World War there was within the Church a secret conspiracy which was constructed on the same lines as Freemason secret societies, and all those who opposed this conspiracy or were suspected of opposing it were denounced and brought to ruin. Inasmuch as these activities were carried on in secret the defense or justification was impossible. The integralist conspirators considered themselves as the only true believing Catholics and as genuine idealists. All others were defamed and brought to condemnation by all means. These people might have genuinely believed to have served God, but in reality by their own Christian methods caused malaise and fear in the Church which has repelled the noblest spirits and poisoned the atmosphere. A late aftermath of this witch hunt against modernists is perhaps the new attempt to deflect the Council from its role. But times have definitely changed. Fortunately the conspirators have demasked themselves by their anti-Semitism. Those who cannot get rid of their own past will not be able to turn back the wheels of history. The methods of inquisition and conspiracy have lost their sharpness and produced contrary effects. Only open and honest, brotherly and loving struggle of the spirit can lead the Church to a future in which the love of Christ will be victorious.

Bishop Walter Kampe of Limburg
"Der Sonntag," February 16, 1964

Rome, Italy

November 16, 1964

Mr. Morton Yarmon
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York City

Dear Morton:

I regret that because of the intensive activities in connection with the Council and particularly during the last few days when we are tensely awaiting the climax of all our efforts I was unable to put down on paper all my thinking on the suggested report and the outline that Mr. Salomon prepared. Furthermore, here in Rome I have not all the resources that I could possibly use for the purpose of filling in various omissions.

However, I am sending you herewith a few points which I thought might be useful to you in preparing this document. These points, I believe, are essential for they emphasize specific AJC contributions accomplished on this side and which are not widely known. I also believe that much can be done with the previous draft if my suggestions are taken into consideration.

I am confident that with the material you have in the New York office and with the advice and help of Mark Tannenbaum you should be able to produce a short document immediately after the end of the Council. Of course I shall be glad to read the draft of the new document before it is ready for distribution. As you realize I shall be back in Paris immediately after the last session of the Council on November 21st and next week you can reach me there. Also, if I find the time to put down some further thoughts on the subject I shall do it before this week is over.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Zach
Zachariah Shuster

1) Introduction should stress briefly self-examination of both Catholics and Protestants since the end of the war. Major example of Protestant action is the statement on anti-semitism adopted by the Ecumenical Assembly in New Delhi. This would give the opportunity of indicating our contribution in bringing about this statement.

2) A solid paragraph or two should be devoted to the first Inter-Religious Conference on the subject of religious anti-semitism which took place in 1947 at Seelisberg, Switzerland. This conference, as I recall, was attended by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish theologians, historians and clergymen. The only Jewish organization - or at least the only major Jewish organization - was the AJC which was represented through the late Dr. S. Flowerman who took an active part in the drafting of the famous ten points of this conference. It should be stressed that these ten points laid the ground for all future formulations on this subject and that some of the wording was incorporated into the versions of the Declaration on Jews submitted to the Ecumenical Council in Rome. A brief but concise summary of the ten points is strongly indicated.

3) The AJC Paris office was for many years in close contact with Jules Isaac and Paul Demann, two pioneers in the field of eliminating religious sources of anti-semitism and promoting better understanding of Judaism among Catholics. Jules Isaac was received by Pope John in March 1960 and submitted a memorandum on the subject containing the ten points of the Seelisberg conference.

4) Greater stress should be given to the audience of an AJC delegation with Pope Pius XII and a brief statement summarizing the Pope's declaration should be added. It should also be said that this declaration was circulated all over the world.


5) After Cardinal Bea received the advise of Pope John to include the subject on Jews in the preparatory work of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, AJC representatives met with the Cardinal who specifically requested the submission of documented material on Catholic Liturgy and Catholic teaching which would demonstrate the anti-semitic prejudices disseminated by such sources. A more elaborate summary of the documents submitted should be presented in the text.

6) It should be emphasized that AJC representatives have met numerous times with Cardinal Bea and members of the Secretariat with whom they discussed every phase of the subject and with whom they maintained contact long before the opening of the Council and particularly during all three sessions

7) Two agapes were held in Rome with the participation of representatives of various religions. This was unique in history and made quite an impression. Both times the only major Jewish organization represented was the AJC whose spokesman advanced to an audience consisting of highly-stationed Vatican personalities Jewish expectations with regard to the Ecumenical Council. A solid summary of the addresses delivered at these Agapes and particularly of the AJC representative should be given.

8) Evidence, the French language publication of AJC, published in five issues a symposium on Christian teaching with regard to Jews. This was the first symposium of this kind in any European publication and the contributors were leading Catholic and Protestant clergymen. A short but solid characterization of the contents of this symposium and reference to the names of the participants is strongly indicated.

9) AJC found objections to two passages in the text of the proposed Declaration submitted to the Council at its second session. A special AJC delegation went to Rome to intervene with the appropriate authorities and as a result these passages were omitted. One of these passages referred to Jews as existing for the "time being" and implying the hope for ultimate conversion. The other passage stated that not all Jews in the time of Jesus were responsible for the Crucifixion. We pointed out that this might imply that a majority of Jews were responsible. Cardinal Bea's Secretariat at their deliberations in early 1964 decided to change these passages.



12/3/64

TRANSLATION

From: L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO
November 30, 1964

Statement by Cardinal Bea entitled "Concerning the Council Declaration on Non-Christians."

"In the General Congregation (127th) of November 20, the Declaration Concerning the Attitude of the Church to Non-Christian Religions was approved by a great majority; out of 1906 present and voting, 1651 voted 'placet', 242 voted 'placet iuxta modum' and 99 voted 'non placet.' As was done last year, the official rapporteur of this year explicitly emphasized that the declaration did not permit of any political interpretation, but that it was of a purely religious nature. This exclusively religious character of the Declaration is emphasized all the more by the fact that in the interim period the decision was made that the text of the Declaration should form an appendix to the Constitution on the Church, and that it should deal not only with Jews but with all non-Christians. Just as the sections on the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Muslims, have clearly nothing to do with politics, so also the section on the Jews cannot be interpreted politically. Actually, in this latter section of the Declaration there is question solely of the relation which exists between the religion of the Old Testament and Christianity and, further, of the doctrine of St. Paul concerning the future destiny of the People of Israel. There is no explicit mention of the guilt of those who took active part in the condemnation of Jesus. But, it is affirmed, such a condemnation cannot be attributed either to the more than four millions of Jews who, in that time, lived outside Palestine in the Diaspora, or much less to the Jews of our time. In addition, the pastoral consequences of the facts exposed in the text only concern the religious field.

After all these prudent and objective precautions and declarations, one can reasonably hope that the Declaration would be accurately interpreted and evaluated soberly, and that therefore certain politically-oriented interpretations of the text which have appeared here and there in the press will be abandoned. If not, the statements in the Declaration would be interpreted in an arbitrary and twisted fashion, thus falsifying the intentions of the Council and of a conciliar document which is inspired only by motives of truth, justice and Christian charity and in full accord with the Gospel. This is a religious question in which the Council aims at nothing else but the promotion of peace everywhere; it hopes that a religious matter will not be misused in order to justify political discrimination and prejudices."

♦ ♦ ♦



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

June 21, 1965

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Dear John:

1. The reports published in the London Observer and the New York Times about the recent actions in Rome with regard to the Jewish declaration have certainly brought this matter to the attention of all those who are concerned with this issue and to public opinion in many countries. I am also informed that the Washington Post and other leading newspapers in the U.S. have published stories to the same effect. The European edition of the Herald Tribune published today a short item to the effect that Archbishop Felici, Secretary General of the Council, denied the Observer report. However, the denial is so vague that it carries no weight against the definite information by Robert Doty, who attributes it to authoritative Vatican sources.
2. I am confident that demarches can now be based on these publications. I am saying this in connection with our telephone conversation of last Friday. This is sufficient for authorities in Washington and elsewhere to make inquiries with regard to the accuracy of these reports; and if they are confirmed, as I believe they will be, to make the proper interventions.
3. I am strongly advised by our friends in Rome that the intermediary between Washington and Rome -- if such a mission is envisaged -- should definitely not be a Jewish person, for the reason that a confrontation with a Jewish representative will only stiffen the Pope in his negative attitude toward the declaration and he will most probably make the statements he made to Dr. Heschel. I am also advised that it would be preferable not to have a Catholic as the intermediary, for he would be in a submissive attitude vis-a-vis the Pope. The suggestion is that in order to achieve the best possible results such an intermediary should be a top negotiator and a member of the Protestant Church.
4. I should like to add that reports similar to the ones published in London and New York have appeared in leading publications in Germany and France. The Time-like weekly in Germany, Der Spiegel, which has a circulation of more than 600,000, published an article on June 16 in which it says, among other things: "Three months before the opening of the fourth and last Council session, it became doubtful whether the assembly of Catholic Church

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leaders will exonerate the Jewish people from the charge of deicide and thereby make an end to Christian anti-Semitism which for centuries was tolerated and even promoted by saints and popes."

The leading French daily, Le Monde, of Paris, on May 18, published a story by Jacques Madaule, a prominent Catholic writer, in which he revealed that the declaration is again under a question mark. It says: "It seems that it is envisaged to purely and simply renounce the Council text and replace it by a pontifical declaration which will not raise the same objections among Arabs." (We are assured that the writer of this article received this information from a highly stationed Church leader in France, after his recent return from Rome.)

5. As you know, I visited Geneva last Wednesday, where I met with Dr. Visser't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, and Lukas Fisher, official observer of the World Council at the Ecumenical Council in Rome. I informed them of recent developments and suggested that they alert Protestant bodies in various countries, particularly in Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavian countries; and also to intervene directly with authorities in Rome. Both of them were very impressed and even shocked at the new turn of events, and promised to consider immediate action through various channels. Dr. 't Hooft said that the World Council can act as a body only after a decision is made by the entire Council; but he himself is ready as an individual to do whatever he can. He also suggested the possibility of bringing this matter to the attention of the Evangelical Assembly which is taking place in Cologne at the end of July. This Assembly brings together more than 100,000 Protestants from all over Germany, and is the greatest Protestant event of the year in that country. They too pointed out that public intervention would be hampered by the fact that no responsible newspaper published this information. I presume that now, after the information has been published in the Observer and the New York Times, the Protestant leaders will find no difficulties in making the appropriate interventions. We agreed to maintain contact until the opening of the Council in September.
6. Our friends in Rome are very satisfied with the publications, although at this moment they are not yet in a position to predict the effects on the Curia and particularly on the Pope, who is chiefly responsible for the present situation. I also learned from Rome that up to now the texts of 11 schemas have been sent out to the fathers of the Council to be considered at the forthcoming session; and that the declaration on the Jews is not included among them. This is regarded as another confirmation of the report that it is not intended to present the declaration to the fourth session.
7. I am also informed from Rome that Dr. Heschel has stepped in again in this rather difficult and complex situation, and adding to the nuisance and harm he has already produced. I am told that he is trying through all channels to get another audience with the Pope, or at least to see Cardinal Bea. Of course, his requests are ignored, and I don't think he can hope to be

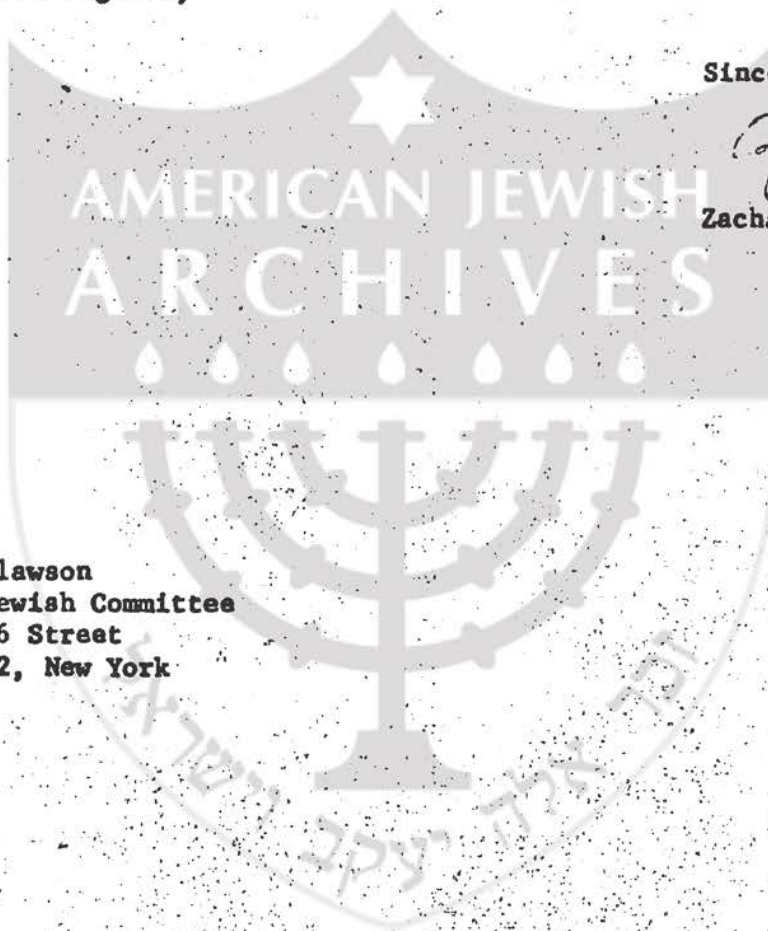
received by any authoritative person in Rome. However, his efforts are deeply humiliating to us, and certainly not improving the cause. One of our most distinguished friends described Heschel's efforts as "miserable infantilism"; and this is the mildest epithet that is being used. I believe it is about time to warn Dr. Heschel to cease his irresponsible and nefarious activities, based only on cheap melagomania; and that he be told that he will be publicly disavowed by responsible Jewish bodies unless he stops carrying on these activities.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Zach
Zachariah Shuster

Dr. John Slawson
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York





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

January 23, 1965

Mr. Morton Yarmon
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Morton:

I have read the new text of the "background report" on Vatican Council II, and find it generally satisfactory, except for a few suggestions for changes, which I am enclosing herewith.

In addition, I should like to suggest that the preface should emphasize the fact that the declaration is awaiting its final adoption and promulgation at the fourth session; but that no matter what the results will be, the developments that have taken place in connection with it, and the efforts of the American Jewish Committee with regard to it, are already part of a historic process of radical change in Christian/Jewish relations.

This should be added in order that the pamphlet not become outdated in case of unfavorable actions at the fourth session.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Zach

Zachariah Shuster

Enclosure

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SUGGESTIONS CHANGES BACKGROUND REPORT VATICAN COUNCIL II

In light of recent developments it might be potentially harmful to declare that Rabbi Heschel acted officially on behalf of the AJC. The references to him should, therefore, in my opinion, be eliminated. These references are:

Para. 1, page 16 - The two sentences beginning "In an audience..." and ending "Spring of 1962."

Para. 1, page 20 - Sentence beginning "The noted theologian..." should be omitted.

Page 31 - Passage beginning with "A strong reaction..." and ending "Jewish sources." should also be eliminated.

Page 35 - Dealing with Dr. Heschel's audience with the Pope must be eliminated, for the reason that it is both inaccurate and potentially harmful.

Other changes suggested are:

Page 9, last sentence - "By calling the Second Vatican Council..." should read "he felt that the Second Vatican Council should provide an opportunity."

Page 12 -- In mentioning Pro Deo omit the expression "with close ties to the Vatican."

Page 13, line 3 - It would be preferable to say "on the failure of German Catholics" instead of the general "Catholicism" failure."

Page 33, last sentence, para 2 - The word "ratified" should be substituted by "paralleled." Ratified is a formal parliamentary term which would not apply in the case of approving the program of a private organization.

Page 38 - The reference to President Shazar's statement should be eliminated, for this would indirectly connect the declaration with Israel, something which has to be avoided.

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

September 8, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: New York Office

From: Paris Office

Subj: Jewish Declaration at Ecumenical Council

Hans Kueng, Professor of theology at Tuebingen University in Germany, is generally considered as one of the leading spokesmen of the new spirit within the Catholic Church, and his views are followed with great respect and interest among Catholics throughout the world. Although he is only 35, he is without doubt the most gifted interpreter of Pope John's wishes, and a militant fighter for the renewal of the Church in various directions. He is a prolific writer and lecturer, and his books are translated in many languages.

Strangely enough, he never took a public stand on the subject of our declaration, though he expressed his views in a rather militant manner on other matters of the council. I asked him once in Rome why he did not take a stand on the Jewish declaration, and he said he did not consider himself an expert on this subject, referring me to two of his colleagues at Tuebingen University, who were specialists on Christian/Jewish relations. It is therefore noteworthy that a few days ago he made known his views on our subject, in as forceful a manner as possible.

In a page-long article entitled "And After The Council?" published in the leading German newspaper the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, in which he reviews the tasks before the fourth session, he says the following:

"The Council declaration about non-Christian religions and particularly on the Jews, was desired by an overwhelming majority (1651 yes; 242 in favor with amendments; 99 no). Christianity does not owe as much restitution to any other religious community as it owes the Jews, regardless of political and pseudo-theological arguments. Nazi anti-Semitism would not have been possible without the latent and all too frequently virulent anti-Semitism of the Christian world throughout the centuries."

It would be very useful to make this statement known in the United States, where Hans Kueng has many followers.

cc: Dr. Slawson
Dr. Segal
Rabbi Tanenbaum

October 3, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. John Slawson
FROM: Zachariah Shuster
SUBJECT: Ecumenical Council

1) The new text of the Declaration on the Jews was handed to the Bishops of the Council on Thursday, September 30th, in the form of a printed bound document containing the full text of the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions, the amendments proposed, and extensive comments on the reasons for accepting or rejecting the amendments by the Secretariat for Christian Unity. I was given the exceptional opportunity of seeing the document on the evening before distribution and was thus able to form a general impression of it before its contents became widely known. On Thursday morning I issued a statement to press and radio saying, in effect, that this Declaration, as the previous one adopted on November 20, 1964, rejects the charge of collective responsibility of the Jews in ancient times and in subsequent generations. However, one must be extremely concerned that some of the direct and simple language used in the previous text was eliminated. Particularly regrettable is the omission of the term "Deicide" which became the popular expression for this charge. I concluded by stating that if, the language of the previous text is restored, this Declaration might become a powerful weapon in the struggle against prejudice and anti-semitism.

2) After more careful study of the document, I realized that the modifications consist not only of adding or omitting certain specific phrases but ~~the~~ the entire context is slanted much more than the previous one towards the theologically conservative side. It was explained to me later by a prominent member of Cardinal Bea's Secretariat that the major opposition during the last period of the Council, came not so much from the Arab side as from the conservatives, who insistently claimed that the previous text distorted the assertions made on this subject in the New Testament and that they will vote against the Declaration if all important, relevant assertions are not referred to in the Declaration. This is the reason for the accumulation of negative points, some of which were not mentioned in the Declaration adopted.

3) After my conversations with you on Friday, October 1st, I arranged urgent meetings with Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore, Father John Long of Bea's Secretariat, who worked for a long time on the texts of the Declaration, Bishop Ed Murray of Boston, Msgr. George Higgins of Washington, Father Morlion and others. The gist of my argument was that not only does the new text eliminate the term "Deicide" but the rejection of this charge is surrounded with so many negative qualifications, that the total effect of the document will be almost lost on the general public.

ments presented by the appropriate Commissions on the grounds that these amendments took care of the objections to the previous Text and thus represents almost the total view of the Council members. One of the ecclesiastics I spoke to suggested however that the Pope himself could easily introduce suitable changes in the text before it is finally voted.

5) I should like to note that while our friends in the Council are far from being satisfied with the present text, they feel that it is less negative than we are inclined to interpret it and that at any rate taking into account the intense controversy that developed within the Church on this subject and the desire to have as large a favorable vote as possible, were the major factors in producing this text. At the same time they expressed their willingness to find ways and means of removing some of the sharp edges and the negatively pointed phrases inserted in this document.

6) And now with regard to the text itself. It should be taken into account that while the amended Declaration was made known, the various explanatory remarks given to the Bishops are sub secreto. I have seen these observations and I should like to call attention to some of them. The omission of the word Deicide is explained in the following comment: the word Deicide is an odious one and the Council ought not to give it greater currency by making use of it. It also adds that this term might give rise to false theological interpretations which have already created pastoral and ecumenical problems. Another comment states that the emphasis on the non-acceptance of Jesus by the Jews is not to create antagonism but to assert that the Synagogue has excluded itself from the Messianic promises by refusing to recognize Christ as Messiah. This is given as the reason for the statement that "the Church is the new people of God". It should also be remarked that the title of the Declaration has been changed and instead of "De Judaeis" it is now entitled "De Religione Judaica" (concerning the Jewish religion). The explanation given for this is that the Declaration aims to deal not with relations between peoples but between religions. The section dealing with the Moslems is also no more called "De Musulmanis" but "De Religione Islamica".

The vote on the Jewish Declaration is foreseen to take place on October 14th and 15th and there are eight amendments to be voted on. Time is short but with a concentrated effort on the highest level it is not unrealistic to hope that important, positive elements of the previous Declaration can be brought back to their place and to eliminate some of the negative aspects of the present text.

I further argued as strongly as I could that in revising the text the emphasis on the negative attitude and behavior of the Jews came out much stronger than what was purported to be the positive aim of this Declaration. I said that the ~~unfavorable~~ ~~points~~ ~~expressed~~ ~~in~~ ~~various~~ ~~forms~~, as "Jerusalem did not recognize the time of her visitation....nor did the Jews, for the most part, accept the Gospel; indeed many opposed its spreading....although the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ..." while the rejection of the legend about Jewish responsibility is put in a few words and thus by the sheer number of words the negative is more weighty than the positive. I also pointed out that while one welcomes the specific mention of anti-semitism in this text, the word "condemns" was left out and only the word "deplores" remained which is rather a weak characterization when the subject deals with hatred, persecution and anti-semitism. In my conversations I characterized the entire document as lacking generosity, warmth and the spirit of sympathetic understanding.

4) Cardinal Shehan was very attentive to these observations and promised to take all these points up with the high Vatican authorities. He also agreed to see some of our representatives in New York where he will arrive on Monday with the Pope. At the Secretariat for Christian Unity the following points were made in reply to my objections: a) the passage in the Second paragraph of the Declaration which states that "the Church believes that by His Cross Christ our Peace reconciled the Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself" was also contained in the Declaration adopted last year and that no one took exception to it. b) the drafters of the document found no way of meeting the conservative argument that the previous Declaration ignored fundamental passages in the New Testament on this subject than by inserting some of these passages. The result would be that the Declaration would thus receive almost unanimous approval while the previous one would have a substantial minority against it. c) With regards to the accumulation of negative material it was explained to me that the Declaration must be interpreted as consisting of two parts: one, stating the origin of Christianity and the ties that exist between the two religions; the second part consists of the Declaration proper and the relationship between Jews and Catholics in the future. The first and introductory part, it was said, is as warm and positive as before except for the addition of reference to passages in the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John. The second part clearly rejects the charge of "Deicide" without using this term and leaves no doubt of the Church's opposition to any animosity towards Jews.

My interlocutors pointed out the technical difficulty of changing the text at the present stage for, according to the Council rules, it would require a minority- or the votes of seven hundred Bishops plus one - to reject an amendment and thus restore the previous text. The Council also has the habit of approving amend-

At the American Bishops' Panel on Thursday, September 30, it was announced that a sub-Commission of thirteen American clergymen will work with Jewish groups in the interest of inter-Faith understanding. This group will carry on its activities as a sub-committee of the Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical Affairs which is headed by Cardinal Shehan.

Chairman of the sub-Commission is Bishop Francis P. Leipziger of Baker, Oregon. Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the Social Action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, was designated as Secretary. Among the members of the Commission are: Father Ed Dugg, Father Oesterreicher, Bishop Laly of Boston, Father Bosler of Indianapolis, and others. It was also announced that this sub-committee will be enlarged by appointing as members Catholic laymen and nuns.



to launch a new crusade against the Orient. The Christians of the Orient say that the vote of the Council on the Jews is the political transposition of this so-called progressive paternalism which strives to make vassals of the Orient and Africa under the cover of false liberalism. One need but read the European press to note the following miracle: while on all other problems there is great divergence, there is total unanimity against the Arab Orient. Catholics, Protestants, atheists, deists, men of the left and of the right, all consider the Arab reaction to the Council draft as fanatical, or at least unhealthy. Is the Church of Europe, then, about to disown the Church of the East?"

This would be the second instance since 1947 of such action, Rossi writes, for "did not the European Church close its eyes and secretly applaud Israel which, using terror, chased so many Christian Arabs from their centuries-old fatherland? Not a single criticism, or article or play like The Deputy to stigmatize this injustice. Not a word for the despoiled bretheren. Curious Christian brotherhood, indeed." Hence, Rossi goes on, the Orient is asking itself whether it would not be better definitely to break off with the Occident and to constitute a spiritual fatherland between Islam and traditional Christianity.

"And all this because the Council wanted to deal with a question that nobody had even ever asked, whether the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ, thus meddling with the Gospels and simple faith... When the Vatican pretends that the vote of the Council Fathers should not be interpreted politically, it knows perfectly well that it is fooling itself and us..." Pointing out that some 50 bishops went to Israel after the Council, where they were received with great pomp, Rossi goes on: "Israel... will appear to the people of the Orient as an Occidental bridgehead. They will conclude that Masses are said only for those who can pay for them, whether they belong to the Church or not..."

But it is to Rossi's first article, of October 25, that Rodinson directs his reply. Rossi had argued that the Council declaration with regard to Jews was the result of pressure by Jewish high finance, and blackmail like the play The Deputy. Writes Rodinson:

"How demonstrate the existence of this pressure and of this mysterious lobby which, it is suggested, is made up 'high Jewish finance'? Mr. Rossi gives no information, nothing precise... We must therefore deal with his reasoning.

Rossi's reasoning is the following. For 20 centuries Christian theology has admitted that 'the Jews' crucified Jesus, who was God. Therefore they are a decide people. There is no theological reason to go back on this well-established matter... If, therefore, one has altered this Christian thesis it can only be for reasons of another character. Furthermore, theology should rather lead to a rehabilitation of Islam, which at

least recognized Christ's supernatural character though not his divinity. Moreover, why should the Church feel remorse over persecuted and massacred Jews while it has shown none with regard to Europeans, Black men and Yellow men also massacred over the centuries by faithful Christians?"

Rodinson replies that he agrees with Mr. Rossi that the Church's change is not due to theological factors, but adds "Other hypotheses for this change seem more likely to me than Mr. Rossi's concerning a Jewish-finance lobby." For example, "there is the spirit of the modern world, long resisted by the Church hierarchy, but which is being overcome... there is the defeat of Fascism, the revolt of the human conscience against its crimes, the opposition (even if only theoretical) to political authoritarianism, all of which showed the Church that the traditional values on which it leaned risked being losing ones..."

Council action on the Jews, Mr. Rodinson continues, is but one innovation among a host of others, such as a Pope recognizing that the Church bears its share of responsibility for the Protestant schism, or talk of the authority of the bishops vis-a-vis that of the Pope. Yet it is true that the accent has been put on the declaration concerning Jews. Why? "Because the massive massacre of European Jews took place recently, in the midst of and by the action of citizens who claimed to belong to the most civilized nations of the globe... All Europe feels at least a little guilty... More advanced Church opinion has admitted (what is true) that the theses of Church concerning the deicide character of the Jewish people played their part in the responsibility for Hitler's massacres..."

Turning to the attack, Mr. Rodinson asks Mr. Rossi to reply whether "1) The Jews in the world today are guilty because some 19 centuries ago some Jews, it would seem, demanded the death of an other Jew because of religious heresy? 2) Whether Mr. Rossi believes that to repeat ceaselessly to millions of Christians that certain of their neighbors and friends are responsible for the atrocious death of their God is without baneful effect?"

All of this leads Mr. Rodinson to what he considers the principal problem for a paper like Jeune Afrique, and for Arabs. Either Arabs, seeing the undeniable solidarity of Jews, will treat all Jews as enemies because of their war with Israel; or they truly will make a distinction between their anti-Israel attitude (which, incidentally, Mr. Rodinson feels is justified) and an anti-Jewish attitude. Mr. Rodinson argues that morally and politically the second policy is by far the better one -- and that Mr. Rossi, by confusing the two attitudes, has in fact served the Zionist cause. Arabs should be for the Council's declaration regarding Jews, Mr. Rodinson asserts, because everything that weakens anti-Semitism in the diaspora weakens Zionism.