

Rebecca Loder-Neuhold

Transformation from ‘Mission’ to ‘Dialogue’

The World Council of Churches’ Engagement with Jewish People (WCC-Committee on the Church and the Jewish People / 1920s–1970s)

1 Introduction

The online inventory of the archive of the World Council of Churches (WCC) characterizes the “Committee on the Church and the Jewish People” (CCJP) as follows:

The CCJP was set up at the beginning of the 20th century. Its first mission was to convert the Jews to Christianity. After the genocide committed against the Jews during the Second World War, the mission of evangelism was converted into one of dialogue with the Jewish people. The Church’s will was in fact to consider the throes of the Jewish people during this time.¹

This article challenges the above assertion and presents instead a different reading as to the extent the *Shoah*² impacted the Committee and to what degree it was presented as the reason for a direct transformation from a mission to

Note: I would like to thank the team of the WCC archives in Geneva, especially the head archivist Mr. von Rütte for advice and Ms. Rheme for readiness to bring not only the material I asked for but further boxes. (These boxes will be quoted according to the guidelines of the WCC-Archives.) Working in these archives (the work area is equipped with a beautiful view into a blooming garden!) was most comfortable.

1 Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, *4212 Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People (CCJP), 1932–1979 (Department)*: <http://archives.wcc-coe.org/Query/detail.aspx?ID=40936> (accessed: 24.5.2020).

2 This article uses the term *Shoah* instead of Holocaust. According to Yad Vashem “[t]he biblical word *Shoah* (which has been used to mean ‘destruction’ since the Middle Ages) became the standard Hebrew term for the murder of European Jewry as early as the early 1940s. [...] Consequently, we consider it important to use the Hebrew word *Shoah* with regard to the murder of and persecution of European Jewry in other languages as well.” Yad Vashem, *The Holocaust: Definition and Preliminary Discussion*: http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/resource_center/the_holocaust.asp (accessed: 24.5.2020).

Jews into a dialogue with the Jewish people.³ This contribution questions a direct transformation, or in other words, a direct linear development “from Conversion to Conversation”⁴; instead it aims to show that the reasons for this transformation has its root in the history of interreligious dialogue, specifically in mainline Protestantism.

The article first looks at the development of this committee from its establishment in the late 1920s to its transformation into a dialogue commission in the mid-1970s. It presents evidence for both transformation and continuity. It argues that evidence shows that the missionary attitude still prevailed at the end of the observation period. This article also aims to contribute toward filling the gap in the literature of Christian mission activities in the formation of interreligious dialogue in general.

1.1 Hypothesis

Since the start of interreligious dialogue between Christians and Jews, which began primarily *after* and *because* of the *Shoah*, actors in Christian institutions that were previously involved in missionary work to Jews downplay Christian missionary work as one of the roots for interreligious dialogue. For the WCC, dialogue was used as a new term, long after 1945. However, missionary intentions were the hidden goal behind it. The aim to evangelize remained a goal, at least to some degree, until the end of the 1970s, the observation period of this research.

Some actors rejected or hesitated to acknowledge that Christian missionary activities were a significant root for interreligious dialogue in general. For example, the main responsible figure for interreligious dialogue in the WCC, Stanley Samartha, stated:

When I mentioned the possibility of Jewish-Christian dialogue, he [the minister for religious affairs in Israel, RLN] bristled with anger and interrupted me even before I could finish the sentence, angrily accusing Christians of trying to ‘missionize’ (his word) the Jews. Although I was upset, I recovered quickly, recalling the long centuries of persecution, which Jews suffered at the hands of Christians. The impression that I formed during these years is that in Christian-Jewish dialogues, the hidden agenda of Jews is *political* and that of Christians *mis-*

³ Note that the wording (at first Jews, then Jewish people) is chosen explicitly. The several changes of the Committee’s name include this transformation about how to address the “target group”, as the subjects of Christian mission will be named in this article.

⁴ George Douglas Pratt, *Being Open, being Faithful: The journey of Interreligious Dialogue* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2014), 41.

siological, although there are some Christians who are against using dialogue for mission and some Jews who have deeply spiritual motives.⁵

Samartha first reacted with anger to a statement about a historically undisputed situation – that is Christian missionary work to Jewish people. He was upset for being ‘wrongly accused’ of Christians trying to evangelize Jews. But he quickly came to forgive the bearer of this accusation recalling Jewish history (“centuries of persecution”, including, though not mentioned expressively, the *Shoah*). Either he felt that the missionary activity was a part of these persecutions or he excused these “wrong accusations” because of these persecutions. This paper attempts to show that the latter interpretation is more convincing and that Samartha can be seen as an example of an individual who did not acknowledge a specific dynamic that was indeed a contributing factor to interreligious dialogue. This article will try to shed light on the fact that the missionary agenda of some Christians in the WCC had existed as a hidden reason behind the Christian-Jewish dialogue.

1.2 Structure and questions

To properly analyze these gradual developments, it is necessary to focus on the longer-term processes. Thus, the article divides the Committee’s history into five periods: (1) establishment till the Second World War; (2) the situation after the *Shoah*; (3) integration into the WCC; (4) first attempts towards ‘dialogue’ in the 1960s; and (5) the last phase that marks the end of the announced transformation to dialogue in the 1970s.

The chronological sections focus on setting the social-cultural stage, seeking to examine elements such as: the missionary work towards Jews prior to the World War II (WWII); the Committee’s reaction to anti-Semitism, to increased persecution of Jews and to the outbreak of the WWII; and the meetings’ protocols after the genocide. The question of transformation requires examining institutional aspects such as: the process of integrating the Committee (within the International Missionary Council) into the WCC; when the transformation, from mission to dialogue, can be traced; and the evidence that supports the argument that the *Shoah* was the only determining factor for a transformation.

⁵ Stanley J. Samartha, *Between Two Cultures: Ecumenical Ministry in a Pluralist World* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996), 34. Emphasis in original.

Additionally, this section takes a closer look at the retrospective construction of the genesis of interreligious dialogue. In the beginning, the focus is very much on the structural level: How did this institution function? How was it organized? Who were the actors? What did the mission to Jews look like? This is due to the fact that the institutional structure changed when the International Missionary Council was integrated into the WCC in 1962. The institutional changes happened shortly before and at the same time as the missionary aspect to Jews was challenged. This part of the article leaves behind structural questions and looks primarily at the content of the archival material, examining topics, arguments, controversies in the Minutes, and the protocols.

A strict chronological course of action is necessary due to the complex structural developments around the Committee, which affected the Committee's position; every change in the statutes of the WCC was caused by a change within the Committee.

Names and Abbreviations used in this Chapter⁶

CCJP:	Committee on the Church and the Jewish People
ConCJP:	Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People
CWME:	Commission on World Mission and Evangelism
DFI:	Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies
DWME:	Division of World Mission and Evangelism
IMC:	International Missionary Council
IMCCAJ:	International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews ⁷
WCC:	World Council of Churches

Throughout this article, the term "Committee" or its correct abbreviation at this time is used.⁸

⁶ One practical note: The story of the institution in question is complex due to changes in name and structure over the years. Therefore, in this article several abbreviations are in use.

⁷ However, the Minutes start to use the abbreviation of IMCCAJ in the 1950s. For example, Minutes of Baarn 1950 (International Missionary Council, Minutes of the joint meeting of the British and European Sections of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Baarn, Holland, July 24–26, 1950. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01.). Also, Hedenquist uses this abbreviation in his history of the Committee: Göte Hedenquist, ed., *Twenty-Five Years of The International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews: 1932–1957* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1957).

⁸ The members of the Committee and the members of the organisations linked to it will also be called "missionaries", also if they should have been "only" active in other forms than "working on the base". I do this in taking recourse to their own use of "missionaries" in the sources.

2 Empirical Approach

2.1 Material Used

To address the above challenge, the article follows a specific research strategy; the main parts of the article will be based upon Minutes found in the WCC archive in Geneva. In other words, it will – following Anthony Brundage’s terminology – focus on manuscript sources produced after the meetings that were circulated among a limited number of people, so that – for example – absent members of the Committee could be informed about any progress via these Minutes.⁹

Generally speaking, the Minutes always follow the same structure. They start with a list of attendees of the meeting (members, guests, most times with naming their sending institution). They then contain summaries of the programme items: decisions, like a press release that was agreed on or who will succeed in which position, are mentioned, papers named (presented by whom, about what topic, etc.), prayers or masses announced, etc. The appendices offer additional details, for example, a budget report. For this article, the Secretary’s Reports of previous meetings and the reports of activities in various countries are of particular interest because they contain the most insights into the actual missionary work and reveal the attitudes of the involved actors. Very often, they also discussed papers, such as “Jesus and The Old Testament”, which are attached in the appendices.¹⁰

The article also incorporates correspondence by the Committee’s staff, letters, short written messages that circulated inside the WCC, memorandums, and the like. As this material, often covering a lengthier period of time¹¹, is bulky and hard to analyze, it was only used as background information.

As for secondary sources, the article also takes printed material into consideration. Public statements were consulted for background information. However, the research for this article focuses more on what the WCC and the Committee

⁹ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*, 4th ed. (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 2008), 19 f.

¹⁰ At this point, it is also important to mention that the Minutes mostly bear the note “confidential”. As far as the present analyses are concerned, this gives further information about the readership of the Minutes.

Footnote 11?

were doing and not the countless public statements made by the WCC assemblies and its member churches regarding dialogue with Jews.¹²

Although quarterly newsletters existed, the earliest newsletter in the archive dates from 1967. This is rather late for the time period under study for this article, they are therefore not extensively used for this article.

2.2 Potentials, Limits and Source Criticism

The formal and official character of the Minutes sets limits vis-à-vis the potential scope of their interpretation. The texts in the Minutes are the result of careful editing, smoothed over and organized; they are not quick notes. Another hint towards the use of careful editing is the almost complete lack of reference to debates on voting: Almost all decisions were unanimous.

Although analyzing the complex structure of organizations like the IMC and WCC is challenging, the Minutes make it possible. With the Minutes, it also enables the identification of a number of different threads in the Christian-Jewish relationship (be it missionary or dialogical exchanges) that were attached to the Committee after the IMC incorporated into the WCC. Only through these Minutes can the complex structures be unravelled.

In addition to this institutional complexity, the archivists of the WCC highlighted another problem: in this global organization, many activities with the same goal ran parallel and were performed by different actors in the same organization. Additionally, the Committee does not represent the only way in which the WCC acted in regard to the Jewish faith and its followers. One example: in the Minutes of the ICCAJ from 1960 one can read about the Bossey Consultation held in 1956 on “Christian Convictions and attitudes in Relation to the Jewish People”. Names of persons and institutions like the WCC’s Faith and Order Committee appear in this article that seems to be completely new if one only consults the sources about ICCAJ.¹³ However, it becomes obvious a few years later that

12 Just one example: World Council of Churches, ed., *The Theology of the Churches and the Jewish people: Statements by the World Council of Churches and its Member Churches* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1988).

13 World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 27th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Münster, Germany September 5th to 9th, 1960. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/02, 8. The Ecumenical Institute Bossey, located near the city of Geneva, was established in 1946 as an organization of the WCC. See: Ecumenical Institute at Château de Bossey,

these same people were members of another sub-group of the consultations, the WCC Jewish Leaders Consultation.¹⁴ Thus, a chronology of all relations between the WCC and Jewish representatives is almost impossible to achieve.

However, the Minutes still can be seen as ideal sources for answering questions concerning the history of interreligious dialogue within the WCC. They provide a unique basis for the analysis of the main hypothesis in this article. Throughout the time of its existence, the Committee produced these documents and they can be compared easily due to their official nature. With them, it is known who was officially present from the first meeting to all subsequent ones until the 1970s. This long observation period also required a consistent primary source that kept its format throughout the decades, and these Minutes are the closest that come to this.

However broad the sources were, they could be analyzed to show aspects of this assumed transformation. In this chapter, covering the period between the late 1920s to 1975, explanations are limited to this particular organization first as the IMC and later on as it merges with the WCC.

3 The WCC – the World Meets in Geneva

The Committee had international members and representatives from far-reaching areas of the world. Yet these meetings remained focused on Europe. At the latest with its integration into the WCC in 1961, Geneva was still the central geographical point. Other organizations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Jewish Congress¹⁵ chose Geneva as one of their main locations. Moreover, with the exception of the American Conrad Hoffmann, the influential personalities were Europeans, with an emphasis on Northern Europe (Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, and Norway). Therefore, it is necessary to draw a short sketch of the historical context within Europe, while still keeping in mind that Europe was of course entangled in global historic events and dynamics.

Ecumenical Institute at Château de Bossey: <http://institute.oikoumene.org/en> (accessed: 24.5.2020).

¹⁴ Minutes of the CCJP Advisory Group, held at the CMS Guesthouse, Foxbury, Chislehurst, June 3–5, 1974, 1974. Archives du Conseil Oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.03.04/02, 3.

¹⁵ The connection between the Committee and the World Jewish Congress will be covered later on.

The period between the 1920s and the 1970s in Europe, or the “short twentieth century”¹⁶ (Ivan Berend, Eric Hobsbawm), creates the backdrop for the historical background for the Committee. The important historical events that occurred are of course obvious, but it is necessary to outline some events, crucial for the understanding of the WCC’s aims and how they changed within this period of time. The first issues to mention are the European and global impacts of World War I¹⁷, mass migration movements and growing cities, the inter-war years with the increasing arms race and difficult diplomacy, especially with the rise of the Nazi Regime and other such fascist ideologies, with the increase in the persecution of Jews – and perceived Jews – first in Germany, then in Austria, and finally the outbreak of WWII and the *Shoah*.¹⁸ Besides this Eurocentric focus, one event beyond the Mediterranean Sea is central, namely the founding of the State of Israel in May, 1948. This event and the subsequent consequences are discussed in-depth in the Minutes of this Committee. As discussed below, this historical element seems to have been a more central element in the change in the Jewish-Christian relationship than the *Shoah*. After 1945, Europe fought to build a peaceful continent. In this context the UN was founded, an event that was also central for the WCC. Of course, the Cold War¹⁹ and nuclear threats must be seen as elements in the political background for the later years in this history of the Committee. Missionary work in countries – from the Committee’s perspective – behind the Iron Curtain could not be maintained. Also, of great importance, was decolonization in Africa and Asia as described by some scholars as “perhaps the most important historical process of the twentieth century”²⁰. At the beginning of our observation period, some nations that were involved in the missionary work towards Jewish people, like the British Empire, were omnipresent colonial empires. This changed dramatically during the timeframe selected for this paper. These dynamics led to large scale power struggles, violent conflicts and

16 Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Das Zeitalter der Extreme: Weltgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 7th ed. (München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2004).

17 Numerous literature is available for this often called “Urkatastrophe” of the twentieth century. See, as one example: Jörn Leonhard, *Die Büchse der Pandora: Geschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges* (München: C.H. Beck, 2014).

18 To give references for such a widely researched historical event as the *Shoah* is a difficult task. But nevertheless, one can start with Omer Bartov, ed., *The Holocaust: Origins, implementation, aftermath* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Simone Gigliotti and Berel Lang, eds., *The Holocaust: A reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005).

19 As an example, see: David S. Painter, *The Cold War: An international History* (London, New York: Routledge, 1999).

20 Dietmar Rothermund, *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.

growing economic interdependence and the founding of the State of Israel that was so central to the Committee²¹. No view of the twentieth century can be complete without taking into account globalization. Following Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson, at the end of our observation period, “many elements of contemporary globalization were in place”²². Despite the perceived problematic nature of the term²³, it should be stressed that aspects of globalization, such as more efficient communication systems, quicker and more available means of transport (“territorial compression”) and the general “expansion, concentration, and acceleration of worldwide relations”²⁴, inevitably impacted the Committee.

In turning to the WCC, a short description is necessary. The self-claimed goal of the WCC is searching for Christian unity and pursuing the vision of ecumenism. It also includes pursuing “common witness in work for mission and evangelism.”²⁵ The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 builds on the threads for this organization; another is the 1920 encyclical suggestions from the Orthodox Synod of Constantinople about founding an organization similar to the League of Nations, the pre-cursor to the United Nations. In addition, the rise of student organizations and lay movements should be mentioned in this context.²⁶

The International Missionary Council, following the Edinburgh World missionary conference of 1910, is the strongest thread that was woven into the tapestry of early Christian ecumenical relations. Its later integration into the WCC in 1961 in New Delhi is discussed further below in detail. Other institutions that were integrated into the WCC were the international conferences “Faith and Order” and “Life and Work”, a world alliance of churches for global peace, along with “a council descended from the 19th-century Sunday school movement”.²⁷

WWII delayed the actual founding of the WCC for seven years, with the organization finally being established on 23 August 1948 with 147 churches from

21 For a short summary of the events around 1948 and British-American interactions see for example Dietmar Rothermund, *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization*, 107–112.

22 Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), XI.

23 As an example of numerous literature regarding globalization see Jan A. Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

24 Osterhammel and Petersson. *Globalization*, 5.

25 World Council of Churches, *Frequently asked questions*: <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us/faq#-br-what-is-the-world-council-of-churches-> (accessed: 24.5.2020).

26 World Council of Churches, *History*: <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us/wcc-history> (accessed: 24.5.2020).

27 World Council of Churches, “History.”

47 countries. The central concept behind its establishment is closely connected to the intentions related to the founding of the UN.²⁸ The WCC grew in members, as well as in special committees, sub-units and affiliated working groups. Concerns were and still are wide-ranging: from religion-related topics (ecumenical Christianity, interreligious dialogue, mission, relation to the Roman Catholic Church) to political engagement (forum during the Cold War, Apartheid in South Africa, etc.) and social commitments (care for refugees, for example during Hungarian Revolution of 1956, or integrity of Creation in other words: environmental sustainability).²⁹

To refer to the large number of important relevant events that occurred before the WCC's establishment in 1948, the term 'pre-WCC' is used.

4 The Development from Mission to a Jewish-Christian Dialogue

4.1 "The Jews, however, were really longing for Christ ...". Christian Mission to Jews prior to the *Shoah*: the IMCCAJ

This section begins with a quote that describes the initial atmosphere of Christian missionary work with Jews and how the attitude changed during the rise of the National-Socialists in the 1930s.³⁰ From discussions about how to handle the 'Jewish question' and about how to take actions against anti-Semitism, evangelization changed in part during the influx of refugees from Germany and Austria.

Preceding the establishment of the Committee, there were several years of preparation including gatherings in Budapest and Warsaw in 1927, both cities having then significant Jewish populations. The "visions" and "dreams" of missionary actions³¹ led to the establishment of the IMCCAJ on 1 September 1930,³² organized as a sub-committee of the IMC.

28 Jörg Ernesti, *Kleine Geschichte der Ökumene* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2007), 66–68.

29 Michael Kinnamon and Brian E. Cope, eds., *The Ecumenical Movement: An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices* (Geneva: WCC Publications; W.B. Eerdmans Pub., 1997), V–XIV.

30 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach To The Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. June 1st and 2nd, 1939. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 20.

31 General Secretary at the Committee Meetings, The International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. A Survey, Report and Forecast; 1st September

In 1932, its first full meeting was held, and the Committee's aims were stated as follows:

a) To study the Jewish world in its various aspects, to develop wise policies and an effective and comprehensive programme. b) To co-ordinate missionary work among Jews throughout the world so as to prevent overlapping of effort, provide for the effective occupation of neglected areas [...]. c) To foster the production and circulation of literature for Jews appropriate for present-day needs [...]. d) To stimulate action in the various Christian communions with the purpose of enlisting local congregations in a ministry to the Jews in their parishes. [...]³³

The Director had to conduct the programme and activities as decided upon by the Committee linking the Committee to the IMC. As described in IMC Minutes, the Director "shall be a departmental officer of the International Missionary Council."³⁴ From 1932 onwards, the American Dr. Conrad Hoffmann, Jr., held this position.³⁵

A look at the list of representatives underlines the global focus on mission to Jewish people: four officers of the IMC (including the Director Hoffmann) were present, 'guests', namely Ms. Ruth Rouse³⁶ and the secretary, Ms. D. H. Standley. In addition to members of the IMC representatives from the following organizations were present: British Jews Society, Church Mission to Jews, International Hebrew Christian Alliance, Church of Scotland, British Missionary Society, Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, Svenska Israelsmission, Presbyterian Church USA, and Church of England in Canada.³⁷

1930 to 1st September, 1935, July 10, 1935. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 26.12.03/3, 1.

32 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 5.

33 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932, 12.

34 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932, 13.

35 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932, 13.

36 For the biography of this outstanding personality, see Ruth Franzén, *Ruth Rouse among Students: Global, Missiological and Ecumenical Perspectives* (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 2008).

37 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932, 3f.

In these meetings, topics that were discussed comprehensively create an overall impression of the various ways they tried to evangelize. These topics dealt with themes such as: whether converting to Christianity meant a complete escape out of discrimination; if converted Jews should be assembled in special “Hebrew-Christian” communities; whether missionary work also target Jewish children for they “present an open door to a Jewish family”³⁸; combatting anti-Semitism; the problem of Non-Aryans (baptised Jews who are not categorized by racial anti-Semitism as Christians and not accepted anymore as Jews by the Jewish communities); the new phenomenon of Zionism and the rise of Jewish inhabitants in Palestine; suitable literature (which language was appropriate, e.g. Polish, Yiddish, or Hebrew); and, new methods to answer the ‘changes’ in Jewry (secularization, migration).³⁹ The work of the Committee was quickly accepted in the Protestant sphere.⁴⁰

In Vienna, an enlarged meeting of the ICCAJ was held in 1937, months before the so-called *Anschluss*. Although the political situation in Austria is not discussed directly in the Minutes, one can find evidence of discussions on the persecution of Nazi-defined Jewish Germans, for example in the “Report of the Subcommittee on German Refugees” and the “Report of the Subcommittee on the Situation within Germany.”⁴¹ Besides the issue of anti-Semitism, concrete actions for the sake of helping Jewish refugees were presented.

By the time the next meeting took place in September 1938, the annexation was addressed in the Director’s Report:

In March of this year came the unexpected and complete absorption of Austria within the body politic of Germany. Many new problems for the Jewish missionary enterprise arose, and the problem of the Christian non-Aryan already critical in Germany was greatly magnified. Christian work for Jews was seriously menaced and there was a probability that

38 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Digswell Park, England, June 13 and 14, 1932, 3f.

39 General Secretary at the Committee Meetings. The International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. A Survey, Report and Forecast; 1st September, 1930 to 1st September, 1935.

40 Already in 1936 Hoffmann could report that “some of the societies working among Jews had asked for permission to put on their letter-heads the statement ‘Co-operating with the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews.’”. International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Section. Kasteel Hemmen, Holland, April 28th and 29th, 1936. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 4.

41 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. Vienna, Austria, June 2, 1937. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 17–20.

within the year the Swedish Mission and the Delitzschianum in Vienna would have to close down.⁴²

Clearly, their first concern about the *Anschluss* was the danger it had raised to their “missionary enterprise” and the second one was the problem that the Nazi’s classification did not pay attention to Christian baptism, due to their racial anti-Semitic laws.⁴³

The last meeting in Europe before WWII took place in London in 1939. Hoffmann stated in his report that “the refugee situation was no longer a temporary emergency, but had become a permanent problem.”⁴⁴ Hoffmann had no illusions as to what could occur in Europe: “there would probably be eventually 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 refugees.”⁴⁵ In his report, the attitude about the persecution is strikingly clear: the primary problem was not the reason behind the persecution, but the Jewish and “Non-Aryan Christians” refugees. The question was – next to how to offer help for the refugees – what would be done to better focus the missionary goal on this new “target group”?⁴⁶ Apart from this thinking about new methods and tactics which seem not to be affected by the rise of Nazism, the daily business of the Committee had, in fact, changed dramatically: the

42 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. September 21st, 1938, 1938. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 3.

43 This leads to the problem of anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism. Although this topic was central for the Committee and is highly interesting, an analysis of it would go beyond the scope of this article. This topic was discussed in their first meeting 1932 on the very first day and it was the first topic with regard to contents. Furthermore, in the Committee’s point of view, they are fighting anti-Semitism, but the Minutes expose their own anti-Semitic thinking: It is the Jew him/herself who is to be blamed for anti-Semitism: “The causes [for anti-Semitism, RLN] are manifold. Not a few are contributed by the Jews themselves. Attitude, actions and activities of certain Jews provoke growing antagonism to all Jews.” General Secretary at the Committee Meetings, The International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. A Survey, Report and Forecast; 1st September, 1930 to 1st September, 1935.

44 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. June 1st and 2nd, 1939, 3.

45 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. June 1st and 2nd, 1939, 3.

46 For example: “The refugees were for the most part cultured people and modernized in thought. The old literature was not much use. Some new writing was needed, especially in the field of anti-Semitism.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. June 1st and 2nd, 1939, 4.

London Office Secretary, Mrs. Conyers Baker, reported in 1939 that the main part of her day-to-day routine was helping immigrants.⁴⁷

In the context of the pre-WCC, Adolf Freudenberg (1894–1994) represents the personification of the development that took place during that period. The German diplomat and pastor, married to a woman of Jewish ancestry, was the leading figure of the refugee help by the not yet officially established WCC. In 1939 in Geneva, he began to help Germans who were persecuted for racial and political reasons. Freudenberg worked together with the World Jewish Congress, also situated in Geneva.⁴⁸ Apart from helping refugees, the pre-WCC also acted politically, distributing information to the Western forces about atrocities and extermination in the Nazi-occupied areas of Eastern Europe.⁴⁹

Thus, one can state that the missionary goal of the Committee, where anti-Semitism was a topic beyond others, increased due to the issue of helping Jews in times of death-threatening persecution by including an aim to aid the Jews through missionary work. This is traceable for the Committee, as well as for the pre-WCC organization. These changes by both organizations were reactions to the political events that took place in Europe and are a significant feature of the transformation that this article wants to analyze.

4.2 Attitudes after the *Shoah* and ICCAJ's/IMC's approaches towards the WCC

This section discusses how the Committee covered the topic of the *Shoah* in its meetings after 1945 and the institutional changes that took place subsequently. It also examines how the Committee approached the WCC prior to it joining it.

WWII ended ICCAJ meetings in Europe. The first post-war, and the first post-*Shoah* meeting took place in 1947 in Basel, Switzerland. Already on the first page

47 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews. British and European Sections. 2 Eaton Gate, London. June 1st and 2nd, 1939, 10f.

48 Konrad Raiser, "Rettet Sie doch! Erbe und Auftrag der Ökumenischen Bewegung," in *Juden, Christen und die Ökumene*, ed. Martin Stöhr and Klaus Würmell, (Frankfurt am Main: Spener, 1994): 10–19; Gerhart M. Riegner, "Am Anfang war die Tat: Flüchtlingshilfe und jüdisch-christliche Zusammenarbeit im Schatten der Schoah," in *Juden, Christen und die Ökumene*, ed. Martin Stöhr and Klaus Würmell, (Frankfurt am Main: Spener, 1994), 20–33.

49 Riegner, "Am Anfang war die Tat," 23–28.

of the Minutes, one can find a change compared with pre-war Minutes, a citation. The citation is from "God and the Jews"⁵⁰, published in 1947:

So many things have been said about the Jews, so many things felt, but rarely in Christendom this: – that in them the Finger of God is raised, in warning, in challenge, in entreaty, in invitation to the Gentile World; that it is in them all the while that we who are not Jews are most particularly brought into contact with the will and power of God.⁵¹

The *Shoah* forced a recognition of the Jews, although they were still deemed to be 'others' and still used as something – as a "warning" (as stated to in the quotation above) – for an 'us'-group, for Christians. However, how did they deal with the *Shoah* in the meeting? The meeting in Basel was hosted by the Swiss Friends of Israel Missionary Society, and the President of the Swiss Jewish Missionary Society welcomed the delegates.⁵² After the opening prayer service at the first session, Chairman Rev. Gill addressed the past events:

[Gill] spoke of the unexampled changes which have occurred especially among the Jewish people throughout the world since the last meeting in Vienna in 1937, and of the resultant necessity of reconsidering and adapting the methods of presentation of the Gospel to this new and changed situation.⁵³

The Reverend spoke of "changes" since 1937 without referencing the extermination that took place. Secondly, there is no move to reconsider the missionary intention as such but instead a call for "reconsidering and adapting the methods". Conrad Hoffmann, Jr. stressed in his Director's Report that Christendom must acknowledge their guilt, but they "must discover new and ethically legitimate methods and recognize and stress the responsibility of the churches for Jewish evangelism."⁵⁴ These sources reveal that it is undeniable that the surviving Jews remained the "target group" of their mission to evangelize ("our God-given task").

In 1947, the Committee renewed its constitution. Most striking in this new constitution is not what changed, but what stayed the same. Except for institutional changes (discussed below) the Committee's name, its character as a sub-

⁵⁰ Reginald Glanville, *God and the Jews: A Study in the Problem of Human Relationships* (London: Epworth Pres, 1947).

⁵¹ Glanville, *God and the Jews*, 14.

⁵² In German: "Verein der Freunde Israels." Glanville, *God and the Jews*, 3.

⁵³ "Christendom, which had been unable to prevent this catastrophe, needs to engage in an act of penitence before God and contrition before man." Glanville, *God and the Jews*, 5.

⁵⁴ Glanville, *God and the Jews*, 5.

committee of the IMC and as a department of that Council, its aims and policy, and most of its financing remained the same.⁵⁵

Moreover, after the accusation of a lack of moral and spiritual issues, an ongoing mission to evangelize the Jews would be the best reparation for the *Shoah*.⁵⁶ Thus instead of reconsidering the mission *because* of the *Shoah*, they wanted to increase and improve the mission – *because* of the *Shoah*. In addition, the failure of the mission to the Jews was presented as due to wrong methods and wrong “target groups”:

World conditions are changing rapidly in every sphere, and the churches must be prepared to experiment in new methods, especially in the approach to secularized Jews. Particular attention should be paid to the task of reaching the intellectuals and students of universities.⁵⁷

In the 1949 meeting, the immediate consequences of WWII were still present. The Committee’s concerns were the refugee situation in Germany and worldwide⁵⁸, the “Hebrew Christians” suffering under the Hitler Regime was still stressed⁵⁹,

55 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 8.

56 “The Church as a whole must confess that its witness and protest were not vigorous enough to prevent the barbaric persecution of the Jews in Europe. Its indifference to the moral and spiritual needs of the Jews is equally blameworthy. The best reparation it can make is to recognize the evangelization of the Jews as the responsibility and task of the whole Church, and in all its denominations it must organize and equip itself to carry out this task. In every congregation the spiritual concern for the Jews should be awakened and promoted by the education of the whole membership as to their responsibility for, and the best methods of approach to, their Jewish neighbors.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947. 16.

57 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947.

58 “Mr. Hedenquist urged anew that foreign agencies sending relief in Germany should keep the World Council of Churches cognizant of what they are doing.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 17.

59 “Mr. Hedenquist then spoke briefly on the needs of the Hebrew Christian and mixed marriage folk in Germany and appealed for cooperation of all in coming to the aid of these folk who were as much victimized by the Nurnberg racial laws as any out and out Jew.” International

and the realization that missionary activities in countries behind the Iron Curtain were over.⁶⁰ The events in the years after the *Shoah* that led to the new state of Israel were a predominant focus. It seemed clear for the attendees that this new state changed the relationship between Jews and Christians, yet the evangelizing aim did not change.⁶¹ The conference responded to the founding of Israel by creating an *ad hoc* committee that met only a month later.⁶²

From this point on (1947), the Committee and the WCC started to intertwine more closely⁶³ and this revealed how the WCC had already been involved from early on in the missionary activities to the Jewish people.

The pre-WCC and its Provisional Committee first appeared in the Minutes of 1947. An appendix containing a list of delegates makes it possible to track down the sending institutions of the representatives at the time. Four (out of 66) are named with the WCC as their sending society: Pastor Adolf Freudenberg, Rev. Göte Hedenquist, Dr. Walter M. Horton⁶⁴ and Dr. Alphons Koechlin.⁶⁵ The Minutes themselves “reported on the progress of negotiations with the World Coun-

Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 16–19.

60 “The session was a most sobering one and gave indication of considerable Christian martyrdom.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 14.

61 “There is no doubt that these events are ushering in a new chapter in the history of the Jewish people, as well as in the field of Jewish missions. Therefore, the present conference was meeting at a time of crucial and decisive importance. Let us pray that all in responsible positions may be blessed and especially guided by God so that the evangelization of Israel may indeed come to pass.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 1.

62 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, Appendix B.

63 It should be reminded that these organizations have always been connected, because the IMC, of which the Committee is a sub-unit, was one of the main threads that led to the WCC.

64 Dr. Walter Horton was Professor of Theology, Oberlin College in Ohio, Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, *Query Result List*: <http://archives.wcc-coe.org/Query/resultatliste.aspx> (accessed: 24.5.2020).

65 In the original list his name is written Alphonse Koecklin. Alphons Koechlin was “President of the Federation of Protestant Churches in Switzerland, member of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, chairman of the Committee of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid”.

cil of Churches.”⁶⁶ A letter quoted that the WCC proposed the Committee should be “a joint project of the I.M.C. and the W.C.C.”⁶⁷ Apparently the WCC did not propose this, instead the proposal came from the Committee itself: “in the discussion which followed [this letter], satisfaction was expressed over this apparent willingness of the W.C.C. to consider the proposed collaboration.”⁶⁸

It is important to compare the WCC’s role in the constitution of 1947 with that of 1932. The first change in the new constitution: item “IV. Organization/ c.” states:

Each section division shall consist of eleven members, seven to represent the International Missionary Council, one the International Hebrew Christian Alliance, and three to represent the World Council of Churches should it agree to share responsibility in the committee.⁶⁹

In 1932, only three participants – except for the Director Hoffmann, who was also part of the IMC – were specifically mentioned as representatives from the IMC in the constitution. In 1947, the third institution is the WCC with three (out of eleven) representatives. For an organization not yet officially founded this seems to be a high number of seats.

In the Minutes that followed, it appears that the ICCAJ expected a dominant role by the WCC. For example, in the Report of the Commission on the Church and the Relief to Hebrew Christians, the first item states that the WCC’s Department of Reconstruction should “make a special appeal” on behalf of the Hebrew Christians. The Ecumenical Refugee Commission, another unit of the WCC, should care for Jewish Christians.⁷⁰ The Commission on Church and Evangelism also addressed the WCC stating that their unit for evangelism should study ap-

66 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 9.

67 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 9.

68 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 9.

69 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 8.

70 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 17.

propriate and practical steps for mission to the Jews, similar to the IMC.⁷¹ Thus, the WCC – already before it was officially established one year later – was used as a projection surface for a lot of wishes: appeal to converted Jews, care for Hebrew Christians refugees, developing new methods of missionary activity.

Another important note about the new cooperation by the ICCAJ and the WCC is found at the end of the Minutes: 22 delegates of the ICCAJ visited Geneva. The reason for this trip among others was a visit to the WCC headquarters.⁷² Although it is not expressed directly, this meeting with the higher staff of the WCC was a sign of the new cooperation.

In 1949, Göte Hedenquist entered the stage of the Committee. The dominant figure of the WCC, Visser 't Hooft⁷³, was listed as absent⁷⁴ but the Swedish missionary Hedenquist was present in Edinburgh. He was called upon as an official representative of the WCC to give a statement. He recalled the Amsterdam recommendations and condemned anti-Semitism in the Church.⁷⁵ Interestingly enough, he ended with a referral to the WCC:

71 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 18.

72 “After brief addresses by Dr. Visser ‘t Hooft, Dr. Hutchison-Cockburn and other members of the Secretariat Staff, afternoon tea was served, and the delegates were shown around the various offices. Plans that had been made to visit the Institute at Chateau Bossey the following day had to be cancelled [...] All agreed the visit to the World Council of Churches Headquarters had been a most worthwhile postlude to the Basel Meeting, and expressed their gratitude and appreciation.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the Enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Basel, Switzerland. June 4–7, 1947, 23.

73 The Dutch Dr. Willem Adolf Visser 't Hooft (1900–1985) was the dominant figure in the twentieth century in the ecumenical movement. He was engaged in the preparations of the WCC and over two centuries its general secretary. For more details see Wolfgang Lienemann, “Reformierte Identität im Kontext der Ökumene und des interreligiösen Dialogs: Willem Adolf Visser ‘t Hooft (1900–1985),” in *Reformierte Theologie weltweit: Zwölf Profile aus dem 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Marco Hofheinz and Matthias Zeindler (Zürich: TVZ, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2013), 127–48.

74 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 3.

75 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 6. In Amsterdam it was declared: “We call upon the churches we represent to denounce antisemitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith. Antisemitism is sin against God and man.” Cited in: Kinnamon and Cope, *The ecumenical movement*, 421.

[T]hat it gives careful consideration to the suggestion made by the International Missionary Council that the World Council of Churches share with it a joint responsibility for the Christian approach to the Jews.⁷⁶

This confirms one of the WCC's roots in the mission to the Jews – “a joint responsibility”, this time by an official delegate from the WCC itself, who himself had worked for evangelization beyond the Jewish population of Vienna before the *Shoah*.⁷⁷ An even tighter relationship between WCC and the ICCAJ before the official integration of WCC and IMC took place when Hedenquist was unanimously elected as “an Associate to the Director” (*in absentia*).⁷⁸ The election itself is puzzling⁷⁹, as the election did not follow the creation of the post. There are no arguments for the necessity of this position nor a hint as to what the tasks and responsibilities of this Associate to the Director would be.⁸⁰ Thus, it seems like a surprisingly quick career step in the Committee for a WCC member. In 1950, Hedenquist was appointed secretary of the meeting.⁸¹ In 1951, Hedenquist became the new Director of the ICCAJ.⁸² It can be suggested, that this meant now more than just a career step, rather it was likely the final phase in the WCC ‘take over’ of the Committee, including its Jewish missionary actions.

76 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, 6.

77 Hedenquist led the Swedish Mission in Vienna from 1936 to 1940. During the Nazi-era he helped Jewish people and converted Jews to flee Austria. He then worked for the WCC and the Swedish Israelsmission in Stockholm.

78 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 9.

79 Rev. R.C. Macanna “announced that the Business Session had recommended that at this time the question of an associate to the Director should be given consideration. He went on to state that a most suitable and well qualified man had been found in the person of the Rev. Gote Hedenquist and recommended that the Committee give an unanimous call to Mr. Hedenquist for this post, to begin services as of January 1, 1950.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, Edinburgh, Scotland. June 13–18, 1949, 9.

80 The only concern that follows the call for election of Hedenquist is about the funding (5,000 Dollar per year).

81 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the joint meeting of the British and European Sections of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Baarn, Holland, July 24–26, 1950, 1f.

82 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 20th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Hemer bei Iserlohn Germany, July 21st-24th, 1951. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/01, 5.

These comparative results regarding the content and the institutional level offer compelling evidence for the argument that the *Shoah* did not lead to an immediate change in the attitude towards evangelizing Jews. The continuum in the constitutions between the early 1930s and 1947 is strong evidence of the same. The founding of Israel is also addressed as an event that led to a search for adapting their methods in evangelizing. Additionally, this period clearly shows the institutional roots of the WCC; from the beginning, Christian-Jewish relations were in its field of vision, but clearly for missionary purposes.

4.3 The Integration Process of ICCAJ/IMC and WCC

From the 1950s onwards, the integration process of the IMC into the still young WCC, as well as that of the Committee, was discussed. In 1951, a meeting was held, which included the Chairman of IMCCAJ, the Secretary of the Joint Committee of the IMC/WCC, the General Secretary, and the London Secretary of the IMC. At this meeting, an outline of the future of the IMCCAJ in the new institution was developed, planning to incorporate the Committee into the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of the WCC.⁸³ A change in the institution's name was decided: from 1960 onwards, the new name "Committee on the Church and the Jewish People" (CCJP) was in use.⁸⁴ The name change is significant; it is a change from "to Jews" into "and the Jewish People". This was seen as necessary because it was assumed that the WCC would probably "wish to introduce new names."⁸⁵ Although there were voices against the integration, time pressure moved the decision forward.⁸⁶ All concerns could appa-

83 World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 27th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Münster, Germany September 5th to 9th, 1960, Appendix II. Appendix III of the same Minutes states that it was recommended to be incorporated with the DIVISION of World Mission and Evangelism. As from now, this article uses the abbreviation DWME for an easier understanding.

84 World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 27th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Münster, Germany September 5th to 9th, 1960, 4.

85 World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 27th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Münster, Germany September 5th to 9th, 1960, 15.

86 World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 27th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews in Münster, Germany September 5th to 9th, 1960, 1.

rently be cleared away, a vote in favour of the integration process seemed finalized in the Minutes of 1961.⁸⁷

Aside from the narrow viewpoint on the relations between the Committee and the WCC, it is also important to look at the bigger institutional frame that is the IMC itself, as well as the WCC. Existing literature points to earlier close cooperation between IMC and WCC as early as in 1938. Starting in 1939 several committees were built to establish closer cooperation. Since 1948 in Amsterdam, the WCC and the IMC both used an official note about their cooperation. At the WCC's second assembly in Evanston in 1954, the question about a full integration as a goal still remained open. Sceptical voices in the IMC postponed the third assembly from 1960 to 1961 with the argument to gain time for clarifying still open questions and work on manageable solutions. Additionally, some members of the WCC were also sceptical. The discussion ended during a meeting of the WCC Central Committee in 1960 where the final vote was pro-integration. The IMC held a last meeting prior to the New Delhi assembly, where the integration was agreed upon. Finally, the third general assembly by the WCC took place in New Delhi from 19 November to 5 December 1961. Almost 600 delegates were present in India. The assembly – unanimously – adopted the integration of the IMC, with all its changes in the constitutions and structures.⁸⁸ The story of the IMC as a separate institution ended, and at the same time, the WCC made missionary work one of its core elements due to the incorporation of the Committee within.

87 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/02, Appendix II. From this point onwards, it was Anker Gjerding, who was the main leading figure of the Committee and who was also present in New Delhi on behalf of the Committee.

88 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix II.

4.4 “The Time of the Conversion of the Individual Jew is passed.” Changes in the 1960s

In Cambridge in 1962, a new era of the Committee began; the now “Committee on the Church and the Jewish People” of the WCC, Division on World Mission and Evangelism held its first annual meeting.⁸⁹

This chapter now leaves behind the analysis of the institutional structures to focus on terminology. A new term appears in the Minutes from the 1960s onwards: dialogue. This term – in the sense of dialogue between selected representatives of different religions – appears for the first time in the Minutes in 1961 under the title “Colloquy [sic]: Dialogue or Mission?”⁹⁰ Mr. Grolle⁹¹ introduced his paper and “explained that it had been written in the first instance in response to Mr. Macanna’s request at Münster [the previous meeting, RLN] that he set down a clear statement on ‘dialogue’: it had not been intended as a basis for a discussion such as this.”⁹² He revealed the reasons for his paper:

We cannot do better than start from the difficulties we are facing, i.e. from the question ‘Why do Jewish missions face so many obstacles?’ In facing it we must not lay too much stress on the false and stupid methods that have often been followed by missions.⁹³

Mr. Grolle – presumably other missionaries, as well – felt that the challenges and “obstacles” facing evangelizing Jews had to be taken seriously, and to be overcome. He felt the main problem lay in the basic understanding of terms like “mission”, “dialogue” and “witness” and tried to develop theologically under-

89 World Council of Churches, Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches Division on World Mission and Evangelism held in Cambridge, England July 13th-14th, 1962. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/02.

90 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, 3 (longer version, “D200”).

91 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 3. Mr. Grolle is only mentioned in the Minutes as a member of the European Section.

92 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, 3.

93 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 1.

standable usages for these terms. He concludes that one should not try to convert the Jew since they are on the “right side”:

In this respect the Jews [...] stand closer to us who know the god of Abraham in His historical revelation than we do to so many so-called Christians. This is our unity with Israel which always remains and puts them on the right side of the line of partition, and which creates the contrast with all other religions. Therefore one cannot include the Jews under the heading of the general missionary command of Jesus.⁹⁴

Mr. Grolle also presented another reason as to why the word “mission” is misguided when it comes to Jews:

The Jews object to the term ‘mission’, when it is used of the Church’s witness to them, because by it they are put on the same level with primitive peoples, cf. Chaim Weizmann’s words to Lloyd George in 1917, ‘When we lived in Jerusalem, London was still a mud heap.’ They are obviously right in this, but the real difference is not in culture, but in the unique position of Israel as the people of God.⁹⁵

Mr. Grolle quotes Weizmann: The changed situation resulting from the formation of the State of Israel. while hinting at the following: with the state of Israel as a resource, Christian missionaries were now confronted with more confident Jewish actors who objected firmly to Christians evangelizing Jews. Here, this shift in the power balance between a globally visible Christian majority and a Jewish minority with a state is crucial for the understanding of these new developments. Another situation that the members of the Committee were confronted with was the new way Jewish theologians thought about the historical person of Jesus⁹⁶, showing another puzzle piece in place of the renewed self-positioning by Jewish actors.

94 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 1.

95 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 1.

96 “We have to acknowledge that the Jewish leaders and thinkers, especially in the State of Israel, nowadays speak of Jesus as a Jew, a holy man and kind of a prophet, of whom Judaism must be proud. [...] this may be called a Copernican change of mind.” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 3.

These changes provoked new explanations and a new terminology by the Christian missionaries: Mr. Grolle – after looking at the Jewish-Christian relations in the Bible⁹⁷ – preferred “dialogue”:

The term that has been chosen for this work of the Church is ‘dialogue’. [...] A world of ideas lies behind the term. In practice, however, we have to use a short term. This is always dangerous, e. g. dialectal [sic] theology. One of the dangers is that it may lead us to accuse ‘mission’ of being a monologue. In practice this may well be the case very often, but we must be fair. Missions to Gentiles, when well run, do not aim at being merely a monologue. On the other hand, ‘dialogue’ is in danger of not leading to any practical effort, but of remaining in theological reflection and in a new self-consciousness without effectively encountering Jews. Then the ‘dialogue’ also becomes a monologue.”⁹⁸

And “witness”:

[W]e are, however, entirely satisfied with the term ‘witness: used in our draft constitution, where our future task is described within the integrated body of W.C.C and I.M.C. I made clear to Dr. Halvorson that a Christian IS a witness of Jesus Christ, this being its definition. Even without speaking to Jews we are witnesses, good or bad, by our bearing, or looks, or handshake, or whatever it may be.”⁹⁹

To sum up: (1) Jewish people were still a “target group” for missionary work but were not to be treated like the “normal” Non-Christians. (2) “Dialogue” was a better term, but because it is not as straightforward as “to evangelize”, its use was also seen as dangerous.¹⁰⁰ And finally (3) “witness” was the best term, be-

97 He cited other authors, who had worked upon this, like Mr. Strachan: “At the foundation meeting of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 the witness to Israel was brought under the general heading of Jesus’ missionary commandment, that of bringing the Gospel to all creatures – the Jews were also creatures. So, the Jews were also included (Mr. Strachan came down on this argument again and again.)” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 1.

98 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 2.

99 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 2.

100 Furthermore Mr. Grolle stated in his paper: “He [a certain Dr. Halvorson at the Münster meeting, RLN] made the mistake of confusion our ideal of dialogue with a non-committal conversation, [...]” International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council’s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 2.

cause, as stated by Groll, it implied multiple aspects: from the ordinary being present to missionary actions. In the end, he declared a new era:

The time of the conversion of the individual Jew is passed, [...]. But the time of the Gentile Church will soon come to an end. We have had our chance and we have made very poor use of it. But it is nearly history [...].¹⁰¹

This declaration seemed more to be a self-assurance in that sense that the changes on behalf of the Jewish people would hopefully not mean an end to Christian missionary work to them. Therefore, Grolle's statements cannot be read as a realistic evaluation of the situation at the beginning of the 1960s, rather a hopeful message to his co-workers and allies.

It certainly became trendy to speak and write about "dialogue": Prof. Rengstorf¹⁰² planned to write an article titled "Tolerance – Dialogue – Witness" in the announced News Sheet¹⁰³ that was to be published on 1st of April 1962.¹⁰⁴ This periodical allowed for a wider circulation of the ideas of "dialogue" and "witness".

Changes in the wording are not only detectable in papers and essays, but also in ordinary paragraphs in the Minutes like those of short reports from the delegates about their respective countries. In 1964, the Minutes included a report about Canada in which a "program of Christian-Jewish dialogue in the diocese of Toronto"¹⁰⁵ is mentioned, but this report is clearly about evangelizing Jews, since "missionary institutes" are named as such. This shows that the new term Chris-

101 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix V, 3.

102 Karl Heinrich Rengstorf (1903–1992), located in Münster, Germany, was head of the Institutum Judaicum Deltzschianum and very active in the work of mission to Jews.

103 The News Sheet was the Committee's quarterly. It was reshaped in the early 60s, included articles (actual problems, discussions, locals and global issues, bible studies on a higher level ...), book reviews and was written in English, German or French.

104 International Missionary Council, Minutes of the 28th Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Council's Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews held in Hillerod, Denmark September 4th to 7th, 1961, Appendix VIII.

105 World Council of Churches, Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches' Division on World Mission and Evangelism held in Driebergen, Holland August 25th-28th, 1964. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/02, 3.

tian-Jewish dialogue was used, but the content remained the same. Additionally, the term dialogue was used afterwards as a general reference.¹⁰⁶

A look into the quarterly newsletter from the CCJP further broadens the picture on the use of dialogue as synonymous with missionary work with Jews. This newsletter starts with an outspoken newspaper article by Rabbi Singer stating, “all the same I think that interreligious dialogue between Christians and Jews is a farce, and, in addition, subtly demeaning.”¹⁰⁷ Another article, entitled with “Mission to Jews” contains similar statements. Thus, since the first appearance of the term “dialogue” in 1961 in the WCC’s material and the newsletter in 1967, the discussion on dialogue versus/and mission was in full swing. This newsletter from 1967 offers no less than 27 pages of essays, statements, responses, newspaper articles (e. g. *New York Times*). The authors were Jewish and Christian. Some examples of titles are: “Don’t try to sell me your Religion”, “The anti-dialogue pitch”, “Mission to the Jews”, “The uses of dialogue”, “Israeli Rabbis meet to protest Christian missionary activity”, “Christians in dialogue with men of other faiths”, “The meaning of dialogue”, and “Catholic guidelines on relations to Jews.”¹⁰⁸ The CCJP reached the core of a “dialogue-discussion” and, it must be noted, while still being a unit of the Division of World Mission and Evangelization.

The changes – mainly in terminology – in the 1960s were also backed by Franz von Hammerstein¹⁰⁹ in his narration of the Jewish-Christian dialogue by the WCC, although he states that the beginning of “dialogue” started with cooperation in the Nazi era when Visser ‘t Hooft and Gerhard Riegner from the World Jewish Congress (“Riegner-Telegram”¹¹⁰) worked together to save the lives of per-

106 In the same minutes, the term dialogue appears more often: “Professor Rengstorf reported about the confused situation in Germany. Since 1948 Jewish Christian dialogue had taken place in the first week of March every year. Jewish and Christian scholars had spoken to the same theme in form of Bible studies and lectures.” World Council of Churches, Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches’ Division on World Mission and Evangelism held in Driebergen, Holland August 25th-28th, 1964. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/02, 7.

107 World Council of Churches, *Newsletter of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People* 2 (1967) Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises. 4212.06.18: 15. The last page includes six names of “Books and articles of interest”.

108 World Council of Churches, *Newsletter of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People* 2 (1967): 15.

109 Franz von Hammerstein became the Secretary of the CCJP in 1975.

110 The “Riegner-Telegram” on 10 August 1942 was the presumed first message from a European source to the USA reporting about the decision of a strategic organised extermination of all Jewish people under the Nazi regime’s control.

secuted Jews.¹¹¹ Still, he confirms this paper's thesis exemplified by the dates he mentions: "[T]here is only since 1962 an official contact between the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the WCC about a closer cooperation."¹¹² While von Hammerstein explains this delay after 1945 with the diversity of both religions (from orthodox to liberal, from north to south etc.), the ongoing "mission attitude" by the WCC was all but welcoming for the WJC. In his narration, von Hammerstein goes on with the mention of the first meeting of eleven Christian and nine Jewish delegates in the Ecumenical Institute Bossey in 1965 (already mentioned above), coinciding with the Roman Catholic encyclical *Nostra Aetate*. Von Hammerstein states in 1967 that the Faith and Order Commission adopted a document containing dissension about missionary work but positive statements about the future relationship between Christians and Jews. Furthermore, von Hammerstein states that in this document the term "dialogue" with Jews is used for the first time in an ecumenical discussion. He claims it as the start of a new era, in which Jews are not studied and talked about, but changed from a "subject" to a partner.¹¹³ In his wording, it says: "we stepped away from monologue to dialogue between Jews and Christians."¹¹⁴

4.5 Turbulences in the 1970s: Continuity or Transformation?

This chapter shows the last phase in the development that began in the first half of the century.

In the 1970s, changes occurred in the general structure of the WCC and in the Committee. Jewish dialogue partners¹¹⁵ objected to the connection with the mis-

111 This cooperation, mentioning Adolf Freudenberg as the key player, was already referred to. See chapter 4.1.

112 Hammerstein, *Von Vorurteilen zum Verständnis*, 12. Translation from German by RLN. Although in the original text von Hammerstein uses the word "Jewish World Organisations", he means the World Congress, which he mentions earlier.

113 World Council of Churches, *Newsletter of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People* 2 (1967): 10.

114 World Council of Churches, *Newsletter of the Committee on the Church and the Jewish People* 2 (1967): 10. Translation by RLN. Original text: "Wir schritten fort vom Monolog zu einem Dialog zwischen Juden und Christen."

115 "In 1969, the Secretary of CCJP reported, 'Due to the objection of some Jewish organizations to work directly with a department within DWME, ...'" (Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the World Council of Churches' Committee on the Church and the Jewish People held in Zürich, Switzerland September 13–18, 1971. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.01.01/01, Appendix I.). And furthermore, in Racine it was stated: "For historical reasons CCJP was placed

sion department, DWME, in the WCC; discussions about the relation of mission and dialogue and their own identity started again.¹¹⁶ Questions about the Committee's position within the WCC were now being raised.

Three Programme Units were built in the WCC in 1971. One of these units was entitled "Faith and Witness" and comprised four subunits: "I. Church and Society (CS); II. Dialogue with Men of Living Faiths and Ideologies (DFI); III. Faith and Order (FO); and IV. World Mission and Evangelism (WME)."¹¹⁷ With this step, dialogue and mission had their own separate units, DFI and WME. The crucial question at this point was whether the Committee should choose to be attached to the dialogue sub-unit DFI or to the mission sub-unit WME.

Around 40 years after its start with an ambitious mission to convert the Jewish people, the Committee decided, "at its meeting in Hamburg (Sept. 1970), that 'we prefer to be located in Programme Unit I (Faith and Witness) under the Sub-Unit Dialogue with Men of Living Faiths and Ideologies, having our own identity as we deal with the Jewish People'."¹¹⁸ This means the Committee switched from the "missionary"-part to the "dialogue"-part within the WCC, or in the words of the protocol:

It seems correct to define the direction in which things are moving as follows: until now CCJP was within the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) and related to the Dialogue Desk; in the future, CCJP will be (a) in the Sub-Unit for Dialogue but (b) it will remain related to CWME.¹¹⁹

This passage not only exemplifies that the Committee switched its position, but it also relativizes its change since the stress on the relation to the other sub-unit, and an 'in-between' situation of the Committee was constructed. One could come

in DWME, but it caused practical problems in Jewish-Christian relations." (Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee of the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches' Division of World Mission and Evangelism held in Racine, U.S.A. September 18–23, 1969. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.02.02/03.02, 3).

116 "In the discussion it was pointed out that it would be necessary to go beyond the history of the Committee and see what is required today." A clear uneasiness with the history of the Committee is visible. (Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee of the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches' Division of World Mission and Evangelism held in Racine, U.S.A. September 18–23, 1969, 3.

117 Johan M. Snoek, CCJP Plenary Meeting, September 13th-18th, 1971 CCJP/71/7 June 1971, June 29, 1971. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.01.01/01, 1.

118 Johan M. Snoek, CCJP Plenary Meeting, September 13th-18th, 1971 CCJP/71/7 June 1971, June 29, 1971., 1.

119 Johan M. Snoek, CCJP Plenary Meeting, September 13th-18th, 1971 CCJP/71/7 June 1971, June 29, 1971, 2. Emphasis in original text.

to the conclusion that the Committee was feeling comfortable with this approach: ‘mainly dialogue with a side dish of mission’. However, a pure missionary attitude was no longer fitting. It must be noted that this was a reaction to rejection by the Jewish dialogue partners. The question of continuity or transformation is a question of weighing up, but one thing is for sure: the time of solely talking about and studying the “Jewish people” was gone.

The obviously top-down dynamic, in the Minutes presented by the General Secretary of the WCC, Philipp Potter, in 1971 showed the change from a “Committee” to the “Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People”. But obviously, not a lot had changed in this gathering of now ‘ex-missionaries’. Already the first item in the new rules says: “its function should be those as already set out for the CCJP.”¹²⁰ Thus the name changed again but the functions stayed the same. “As the name of the Committee is ‘The Church and the Jewish People’ (not: ‘The Church to the Jewish people’) it should also be reflected in the functions. We would need to listen and react to questions coming from the Jewish community.”¹²¹

The question of whether it was more a continuum than a transformation is not to be answered too quickly. A further single event in the history of the Christian-Jewish dialogue by the WCC must serve as a final point to have a more complete picture of the 1970s. This single event, the meeting in Sigtuna (Sweden) in 1975, completes the circle that was opened by the first meeting in Digs-well Park; the development from almost 45 years should, therefore, be most recognizable. The meeting in Sigtuna had a main theme, worship. There were three addresses given: “Principles of Jewish Worship” by the Chief Rabbi of Stockholm, “Principle of Christian Worship” by the Bishop of Vasterås and “Possibilities of Worshipping together” by Bishop Appleton.¹²² The two bishops and one Jewish representative left the dynamics from a Christian “we” to a Jewish “other” unbroken.¹²³ However, there is a remarkable difference: in 1975, a rabbi is invited

120 Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the World Council of Churches’ Committee on the Church and the Jewish People held in Zürich, Switzerland September 13–18, 1971, 8.

121 Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee of the Church and the Jewish People of the World Council of Churches’ Division of World Mission and Evangelism held in Racine, U.S.A. September 18–23, 1969, 4. Emphasis in original text.

122 Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the World Council of Churches’ Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People, held in Sigtuna, Sweden, June 6–10, 1975. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.03.03/03, Appendix: Proposed Agenda.

123 “Other matters considered were the use of Jewish commentaries of Christian preaching and the possibility of using the Synagogue lectionary in Christian Worship.” Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the World Council of Churches’ Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People,

to present his views on a general topic that is important to both Christianity and Judaism. Prior to WWII, no rabbi had been invited to the meetings, and whereas in the 1960s Jewish voices in the “mission-witness-dialogue”-discussion was presented, in the 1970s Jewish voices were actually invited to the meetings. A change from a conversation about their relations, discussing each other, to a conversation about a common topic (here: worship) is notable. It is also worth noting that they even considered worshipping together.

In the Secretary's Report from 1973 to 1975, the main topic is the new structure. It states, that it “has become visible: the office of CCJP is now located next to the office of Dr. Stanley Samartha, Director of Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies (DFI), and of Dr. John B. Taylor, who is responsible for the dialogue with Islam.”¹²⁴ The Committee's Secretary, Johan Snoek, declares, that the change from “mission” to the “dialogue” sub-unit does not end the discussion about the relation between these two poles. Rather these struggles are vital, also to the whole ecumenical movement.¹²⁵ Samartha is of interest because he was also a staff member of the WCC. Samartha, born to Indian parents who were evangelized by Basel Missionaries, can be seen as *the* leading figure in the WCC when it comes to interreligious dialogue.¹²⁶ His background is the relation between (Protestant) Christians and followers of one of the traditional religions in India (“Hindus”), so he is not linked to any missionary activities to Jewish people. His presence in a meeting of the Committee can be categorized as a step of the Committee towards the general interreligious dialogue within the WCC and away from the particular position towards the Jewish people.

1975 serves as the end date for this article due to Arnold Jacob Wolf's report, as the first and only Jewish representative at the General Assembly of the WCC in 1975 in Nairobi. What he describes is similar to what was found in the primary sources: although he is officially invited, it is not at all a complete change to a sole dialogue attitude. In Nairobi, an impressive quantity of WCC members remained hostile to Jews, an end to missionary activities was out of the question.

held in Sigtuna, Sweden, June 6–10, 1975. Archives du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises, 4212.03.04/02, Appendix: Press Release, 1.

124 Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the World Council of Churches' Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People, held in Sigtuna, Sweden, June 6–10, 1975, Appendix: Secretary's Report, 1.

125 Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the World Council of Churches' Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People, held in Sigtuna, Sweden, June 6–10, 1975, Appendix: Secretary's Report.

126 Stanley J. Samartha, *Between Two Cultures: Ecumenical Ministry in a Pluralist World* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996), 2–4.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Committee was established as a unit of the IMC in the 1930s and its clear goal was to evangelize Jews, but also to fight anti-Semitism and the growing persecution. During the *Shoah*, the Committee (Hedenquist) and pre-WCC (Freudenberg) worked together with Jewish organizations to help persecuted Jews. After the *Shoah*, the Committee stuck to its missionary goals. In the Minutes, some representatives called for improving methods, but a full reconsideration of the missionary goal did not occur. Moreover, for some involved, an increased improvement of missionary work to Jewish people was the appropriate reaction to the *Shoah*. This confirms previous findings, for example by Rolf Rendtorff. He stated that it was seen as exactly *because* of the *Shoah* that the duty of proclaiming the gospel to Jews remained.¹²⁷ In 1947, a new constitution was instated; most parts in the constitutions from the early 30s and from 1947 feature the same content, which proves that the continuum was stronger than a transformation.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the integration process of the Committee/IMC and WCC is of utmost importance. With the Committee's final integration into the WCC in 1961, evangelizing Jews became an official part of the WCC. Within the WCC, the Committee was clearly part of the mission unit. Other relations to Jewish representatives were established in parallel within the WCC. In the early 1960s, dialogue appeared as a term, but the distinction between dialogue and mission remained unclear. At this point, a hidden missionary agenda is detectable when the terminology of dialogue was in use. Debates over mission and/or dialogue seemed to be the order of the day. Changes in the Committee's name, however, show one of the results of these discussions. Another consequence was the change within the WCC itself from the "mission-unit" to the "dialogue-unit" from the late 1960s onwards, and especially in the early 1970s. It is crucial though to note that the Committee still remained in connection to the "mission sub-unit" it had left behind.

Thus between 1932 and 1975, the Committee maintained a focus of "mainly dialogue, with a touch of mission". The door to "mission" and "witness" was not closed for those members who did not want or simply could not forget the genesis and history of the Committee, as is seen in the list of representatives from 1975; the clear missionary element is already visible in the names of the present organizations: "The International Hebrew Christian Alliance" (including "Jews

¹²⁷ Rolf Rendtorff, *Hat denn Gott Sein Volk verstoßen? Die Evangelische Kirche und das Judentum seit 1945* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1989), 30.

for Jesus”), “Evangelical Lutheran Federation for Mission among Jews”¹²⁸, “The Church’s Ministry among the Jews London”, “Swedish Church Organization on Church and Judaism, Stockholm”. All these organizations were responsible for missionary work in Vienna prior to and during the Nazi-era. Several other smaller organizations from various countries were also present. These organizations presented shorter or longer reports about the current situation in their parts of the world with regard to evangelizing Jews, which are similar to those found in the very first meeting in 1932. It is further noticeable that the International Hebrew Christian Alliance and the representatives from Sweden (Svenska Israelmission) present in 1975 were already present in 1932. A clear transformation from a missionary institution into a ‘pure’ interreligious dialogue Committee cannot be confirmed in the timeframe of this study.

A notable transformation, however, is detectable in the dynamics within the encounters: at the end of our observational period, Jewish representatives were invited to give speeches. Topics, shared by both religious groups, like the topic of worship, were discussed. It was a change from being a subject of discussion in the meetings to being actual dialogue partners.

Finally, the development of the Committee must be seen in the context of historical events and changes (the foundation of the state of Israel, decolonization, parallel developments from ‘mission’ to ‘dialogue’ within the Roman Catholic Church, etc.). The participants of the meetings, the members of the Committee were not acting *in vacuo*. While concentrating on other roots and dynamics for interreligious dialogue, the important root of global Christian mission must not be ignored, neglected or actively downplayed. It is necessary to continue to dig for these maybe for some also inconvenient – but relevant – roots of interreligious dialogue, not only between “Judaism” and “Christianity” as shown in this article, but in general, and also regarding encounters of “Christianity” with other religions throughout the centuries. This article tried to show only one specific root that is tied to one specific organization. But this focus raises questions about future possibilities for research on similar dynamics regarding the attitude of Christians towards other religious groups in the history of interreligious dialogue. The treatment of various religions other than Christianity could then be compared, in order to see whether the trajectory of Jewish-Christian relations is unique or not.

¹²⁸ “It aims (1) to evangelize among Jews, (2) to assist Jewish-Christians, [...]” Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the World Council of Churches’ Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People, held in Sigtuna, Sweden, June 6–10, 1975, Appendix: Germany.

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