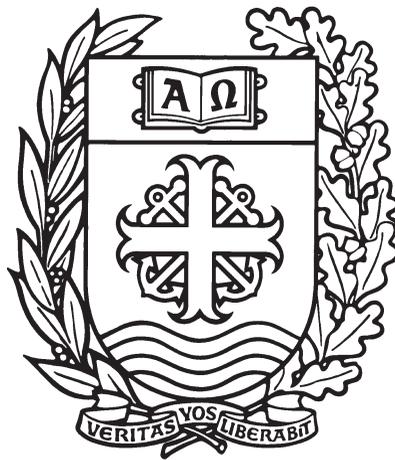


HISTORY  
(1933–1948)  
WHAT WE CHOOSE  
TO REMEMBER

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UNIVERSITY OF PORTLAND

GARAVENTA CENTER FOR  
CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL LIFE  
AND AMERICAN CULTURE  
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*"Where are our Brothers, the Strong, Free Men?"*

Artist: Alice Lok Cahana

Compiled by the Faculty Action Network

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*BETWEEN PROMISE AND FULFILLMENT*  
**SHOAH/NAKBAH**

OFFERINGS OF MEMORY AND HISTORY

Revised July 28, 2014

BY JUDITH MENDELSON ROOD

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This paper recounts a journey, an enabling event, and a transformation. The journey begins with stories from my youth. These stories include those told by my grandmother — my Omi — and my father as they recounted their flight from Germany in the shadow of the Nazi threat. The journey continues with my adolescent encounter with Israel as a high school “pilgrim.” The journey is enriched with the pursuit of my graduate studies in the Middle East, my post-graduate research, and my teaching on the history of the Middle East and Islam over the past fifteen years. The enabling event was a visit to Theresienstadt in 2007. There I received, finally, the peace that I needed to write about the connections between my family history and my scholarship. The present milepost on the journey is marked by a transformed perspective — one framed in a dispensationalist view — enriched by memory and the study of history that might be used redemptively in the contemporary Arab-Israeli conflict. By making primary sources available to other scholars in this paper, it is my hope that we can further our understanding of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel, and as well, we can oppose the growing hatred toward Muslims and Arabs in our societies. For such a time as this, we must speak up so that future generations will not point to us and say that we, too, have failed to love God and our neighbor as ourselves.

### **I. My Journey Begins: Memories**

Growing up, I eavesdropped on my grandmother's conversations with my father about those dark days, and their powerful memories began to transform my dreams. My grandmother told and retold her stories about the event known as *Kristallnacht* throughout her life. So unforgettable were her memories, so inconceivable these events that they became my own. Only following the death of his mother in 2006 at the age of 97, did my father begin telling his own recollections of the night that he and Omi fled Europe under fire from the embattled port of Rotterdam.

As a child, I began having a recurring nightmare about what happened to my family and what I was learning about the death camps. In the nightmare I am free-falling down an endless pit and I saw numberless people wearing concentration camp uniforms staring at me from behind barbed wire. I could do nothing for them. Falling, I was helpless and left with a deepening despair during my waking hours.

Why had God abandoned His people — my people? Why were we helpless in the face of evil? What would it have been like to be on the train with my great-grandparents, to arrive at a concentration camp, to be stripped and sent to my death? Surely I would not have survived the terror and degradation that they experienced. My nightmare plagued me until I came to

understand that God had not abandoned His people or humanity. As a young woman, the questions that were central to my sense of identity had to do with anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, with my nationality and my religion. I read deeply in Jewish philosophy and history, seeking to understand how other Jews thought about what had happened, and later, I began to study what, if anything, Christians had to say about it. To remember and to preserve memory, the task of the historian, is an undertaking that for me could only be done from within a paradigm of hope, founded upon my trust in the promises of God as they were recorded in the *Tanakh*, a God who was present with my people in their present as He was in the past and will be in the future.

When I was a child I had envisioned my great-grandparents at a death camp, but as I grew up I learned that Theresienstadt was actually just a small city that had developed inside the largest fortress in Europe. I had read many things about Theresienstadt and knew a great deal about it, but I feared going there. Still, I thought the time had come. In August, 2007 I visited the small Czech city of Theresienstadt, where my paternal great-grandparents perished; first Jenny Mendel Moses, on September 5, 1942, and then, one month later, Alexander Moses on November 7, 1942. The tale I have to tell centers around the exclusion of my people by their neighbors in the modern era, which for me begins in eighteenth century Europe and the Enlightenment. My husband Paul and I drove in, at first passing the red brick bulwarks of the nineteenth century fortress, built in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars to prevent another similar invasion. It was never needed. The next wars were of a different sort. The Nazis used Theresienstadt for propaganda, portraying it in a famous film as their model “Jewish city.” They invited the Red Cross to investigate the conditions in a staged visit.

At first we toured the museum exhibits. I brought with me photographs and the official death notices my grandmother finally received in 1947. The museum archivist was able to point out on a map the exact location of the apartments where my great-grandparents, sick with dysentery and starving to death, had spent their last months. One of the apartments had a splendid view of the park in the center of town. But in those days it was walled off and Jews, crowded together in unimaginably diseased conditions, were forbidden to go there for even a breath of fresh air. They could see the baroque church on the typical central European town square. A few buildings down on their block the Gestapo had their headquarters. As I stood there, contemplating my elderly great-grandparents squeezed into their tiny apartments crowded with other old people, the wind blew and an old man shuffled past. In a way, everything seemed as though it were normal. But the crimes of the past clung to the walls like the historic plaques identifying the buildings. The place had a desolate feeling, still showing the stifling years of neglect following the war. We then went to the official cemetery, the one with the big Star of David, next to the military garrisons, thinking we had seen all that there was to see and that we had found where Jenny and Alexander Moses had been buried. I was wrong. There was another, smaller Jewish cemetery marked on the map, and we made our way there.

I was filled with foreboding as the gray skies began to release a steady, cold drizzle.

We went into the crematorium, which I had not expected to find there, since this was a Jewish cemetery. Inside, the process of preparing the bodies for cremation and burial was explained, and the walls were covered with statistical information on the diseases that had killed the residents of this Nazi “model Jewish city” by the thousands. Reading the exhibits there, I realized that my great-grandparents had died before the mass die-offs had necessitated the larger, public burial ground. Instead, my great-grandparents’ ashes are in an unmarked grave in the Jewish cemetery. As I stood and said the *Kaddish*, I realized I was their first relative to visit them and I finally received the peace that I needed to write about that which I had never before been able.

The truth of memory is what it means to the one who remembers. Conveying memory has become an important aspect of public life as we try to commemorate what has happened in the past in a way that new generations can learn from and internalize what has happened into their own memories. Internalizing these memories is what scholar Marianne Hirsch has dubbed “postmemory.”<sup>1</sup> This concept “captures the way in which later generations ‘grow up dominated by the stories of a previous generation, shaped by traumatic events they can neither understand nor re-create.’” What is so powerful about this form of memory is that “its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation.” This is true for many of the children and grandchildren of the Shoah/Nakba generations.

The nightmarish and haunting images that my grandmother and father evoked in telling their experiences were transformed into my own postmemories, as real to me as any event that I have ever written about in my work as an historian. The powers of imagination and empathy, essential to the historian, intensify when the events they illuminate are part of one’s own history. Perhaps the images of my family’s memories were even more important to me than the events of my own life because of their harrowing narrative power. Imagining my father’s experiences as a seven year old boy accompanying his parents as they were expelled from their country and imagining the dangers they experienced changed me. As I became a young woman, I often wondered what it would have been like to be my grandmother, or her mother, in those days. Their memories made me empathetic, passionate, concerned about justice and forgiveness, deeply suspicious of authority, and cynical about human nature.<sup>2</sup> I did not have to suffer in order to know that suffering has shaped my identity and my world. Only hope and the pursuit of justice, repentance, forgiveness, reconciliation, and redemption can heal the victims of violence.<sup>3</sup>

My connection with the Palestinians was thus forged by my own postmemory — as the first-born of a Holocaust survivor who found refuge, and a homeland, in the United States. My faith in my father’s and grandmother’s credibility as witnesses who reliably transmitted what happened to them and to other members of the family was complete. My search for answers about my own identity and “the Jewish problem” led me to Israel as a sixteen year old. Yet rather than infusing me with a desire to make Aliyah, or to emigrate to the Jewish State, my

first trip to Israel did the opposite: rather than a redemptive experience affirming the triumph of the Jewish spirit in Zion, everywhere I looked I could see only brokenness and injustice. Somehow, that brokenness caused me to love Israel and my people in a different way. Amidst tragedy people were facing new beginnings under seemingly impossible circumstances.

Yet at the same time, Palestinians — Muslims and Christians — lost their homes and became dispossessed, as did Jews in the Arab lands following the establishment of the modern State of Israel. The money we were donating at our Hebrew school to the Jewish National Fund to plant trees was being used to erase the ruins of Palestinian villages throughout Israel. The Arabs of Israel were not truly equal citizens in Israeli society. After 1948, there continued to be enormous suffering on both sides: the Israelis from their ongoing rejection by their neighbors, and the Palestinians from their displacement and losses, and the betrayals of their own kin. As a young woman I was inspired by Israeli courage and heroism, by their desire to rebuild and begin anew, and by their hope for peace, yet I was troubled by the fear and hatred towards Arabs that pulsed through Israeli society. I loved the passion with which people lived their lives, and the way that ideas had real meaning to them, but I had to reject the structural inequalities of the Israeli state. In their search for social and political justice, both Judaism and Islam seek to restructure society, to fix the world. My liberal worldview was premised in the idea of freedom — mixed with questions of the Divine, Jewish and Muslim solutions each promising redemption and restoration. Yet the Holocaust taught us with finality the dangers of state religion. Rather than faith, religions become ideologies when they are used for political purposes.

The plain truth of the Palestinian dilemma seen through my sixteen year-old eyes made me think only of my father's stories about Jews being bullied on German street corners by "police" who demanded identity papers and humiliated them on the street. As I watched Israeli Jews hassle Palestinians on street corners from the comfort of my youth group's luxury tourist coach, my mind raced back to my father's stories about his dad's escape from Nazi thugs on *Kristallnacht*. The wild beauties of the land and the lovely traces of rural Arab culture moved me and made me want to learn more about the Arab history of Israel and Palestine. I returned to the United States brimming with thankfulness that I was born in a different land where I was free and could find my own way. I dreamed of studying the Jewish dilemma created with the establishment of Israel, first by trying to understand her Arab neighbors before Zionism. I returned to Israel to study at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, first for one year as an undergraduate, and then again for another fifteen months as a graduate student doing doctoral research in the Islamic Court archives. The time that I spent there allowed me to become fluent in Hebrew and Arabic, to take courses in Middle Eastern and Islamic history, and to experience life in Israel among Jews, Muslims, and Christians.

## **II. Jews and Jewish Christians in Modern German History**

Until I began teaching the Holocaust at Christian colleges and universities, I had no idea that many of the Jews killed in the Holocaust were professing Christians. I was aware that many

German Jews had converted to Christianity, especially beginning in the eighteenth century. I knew this because of my family's name — Mendelsohn — and my own family history. The famed Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn initiated and epitomized the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*, which marked the beginning of Jewish emancipation and assimilation into German society. However, three of his children converted to Christianity and his most illustrious grandson is the composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. In my own family, my great-aunt Marie Mendel, the gentile wife of my grandmother's brother Jacques, was the one who took care of my great-grandparents for three years until they were deported to Theresienstadt.

I have often thought of Christians, sitting in the pews with their church friends, fellowshiping and identifying themselves with them, suddenly being expelled from their very seats because they were suddenly labeled “Jewish.” I wondered; how did they feel?

It turns out that there is a significant body of information about this occurrence. As I learned more about the topic, I decided to begin the process of writing about the fate of “Jewish Christians” from a position of faith, by which is meant that I take their religious identity seriously, especially since there were actually disadvantages, rather than advantages, to belonging to churches in Germany during the interwar period.<sup>4</sup>

Generally, the topic of Jewish Christians and the Holocaust has been neglected in Holocaust Studies. With the exception of the work of Victoria Barnett, who translated Gerlach's pioneering study, *And the Witnesses Were Silent*, and then went on to write *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler*. There is little information available about their fate.<sup>5</sup> The study of this field is essential for Christians and Jews to understand this dimension of the Holocaust. Theresienstadt can serve as a window into the truth of what happened to Christians of Jewish descent during the Holocaust. Much more research, both statistical and qualitative, is necessary in order to fully address this topic. Nonetheless, it provides a starting point to address the contemporary crisis in Jewish/Christian/Muslim relations. As we begin, it is important to understand the issues of race and identity in German history.

#### *The Churches and German Nationalism*

It may be helpful to remember that the German nation was unified only in 1871. From 1871 until 1933 when Hitler grabbed power (January 30, 1933), is a period of only 62 years — about the same length of time since the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) until today.

German nationalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was amorphous. German identity began to be drawn against the identity of its enemies — especially against France.<sup>6</sup> German liberalism was on the defense against German authoritarianism. The Weimar Republic, the liberal post-World War I government of Germany, is, to this very day, identified with liberalism and “Jewish” cosmopolitan influences. Most importantly, the Weimar Republic was viewed by many nationalists, including most Christians, as defeatist.<sup>7</sup> The post-World War I era was the time when Germany's state church — the Evangelical Church — was increasingly influenced by German nationalist ideologies. The theology and ecclesiology operative here facilitated Christian acceptance of Nazi policies regarding Jews. Nazi anti-Semitism reflected

the dominant ideological beliefs of most Christians' theology and ecclesiology. Church history in Germany is complicated, and is beyond the parameters of this paper, except insofar as it touches upon the Holocaust.

On September 27, 1817, Frederick William III (1797-1840) responding to theologian Friederich Schliermacher's 1807 proposal that the state give more independence to the churches, "called for a union" of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, which, the monarch hoped, would "grow into a quickened Evangelical Christian Church."<sup>8</sup> This ecumenical, liberal church was universalist, romantic, and nationalist — the highest expression of the German people and Western civilization.<sup>9</sup> For Schleiermacher and many of his students, including the Protestant Felix Mendelssohn, Hegelian teleology in the late nineteenth century situated Evangelical, Lutheran-Calvinist Protestantism — shaped by reason and expressed in community — as the end of history.

Many modern thinkers, both Jewish and Christian, found this universalist message very attractive. Accepting a historicist interpretation of Catholicism and Judaism as bound by their times, these liberal Protestants concluded that only moral and ethical principles mattered, developing what scholar Jacob Neusner has called a "confessional paradigm" of belief.<sup>10</sup> During the eighteenth century, led by philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, a new movement of Jews embraced the Enlightenment view that faith is a private matter and that religious identity should play no part in civil society. Thus, the *maskalim*, or Jewish reformers who embraced reason, challenged the opposition of traditional Judaism to assimilation into secular society. Many Jews oppose the *Haskalah*, the Enlightenment-inspired Reform Movement, to this day. In the academy, Jewish and Protestant scholars of the "science" of religious studies framed their view of civilizational development from "primitive" to "advanced." Thus, many modernist liberals, both Jewish and Christian, viewed traditional Judaism as a "primitive" religion, characterized by superstition, ignorance, and tribalism. A new secular supersessionism posited liberal Protestantism and Reformed Judaism as the most progressive and reasonable religious systems. Merging into a universalist, secularized, deist ethical and moral philosophy, framed within a secular *weltanschauung*, this Reform view enabled "enlightened" Jews to become modern "Germans."

#### *The Enlightenment, Jewish Assimilation, and the Judenmission*

Of this period historian Ernst Christian Helmreich wrote, "The conversion of Jews was no doubt an aim of the Christian churches from their very beginning in Germany. However, the first mission society for the conversion of the Jew dates only to [1822]" when the Berlin Israel Mission, later known as the Berlin Association for the Spreading of Christianity among the Jews, was established.<sup>11</sup> Other important societies were established in 1843 in Cologne and in 1871 in Leipzig which had been the home of Felix Mendelssohn's concert hall and was an important Jewish Christian center. Franz Delitzsch established a learned society dedicated to the academic study of Jewish Christianity, the *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* there in 1880. In addition, the Protestant land churches and the Old Prussian Union supported Jewish work.

Throughout the history of Christianity, the experience of Jewish converts has been problematic. Rejected by their families but still considered Jewish by many Christians, Christians of Jewish background were torn between two worlds. Assimilation into the Church was the Jewish convert's expectation, based upon the universalism preached by liberal Protestant theology in the nineteenth century. However, Jews were forced to surrender their ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness in order to gain admittance into the Church. Nevertheless, Gentile Christians often still regarded them as Jews.

With the Reformation, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages resulted in new philosemitic movements as Christians began to connect with the Jews by way of their discovery of the people of the Old Testament. This development that flowered into a Hebraist Christianity is best exemplified by the Huguenot communities of Vichy France that sheltered Jewish refugees during the Holocaust.<sup>12</sup>

Modern Jewish views concerning traditional Orthodoxy brought Jews into a still evolving German culture. Political liberalism was shaping modern German views concerning religious toleration and freedom at the same time that autocracy was shaping the Empire. During this era, the secularizing Jewish community impugned the motivations of Jewish converts, deriding their desire to assimilate into the broader culture, finding it impossible that any of these converts had had authentic religious experiences. With the rise of liberalism in Germany following the Revolution of 1848, some converts did find a home among Christians. At least, before 1935, a Christian Jew could say, "To this extent, the Christians were honest: whoever was baptized, belonged," said Marga Muesel, "I was baptized, and I belonged. ... That means that I was accepted. For a young man of 20, when he finds friends, that's important."<sup>13</sup>

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Jews turned to Christ as Jewish redeemer and the universal savior, intermarrying with non-Jews, and assimilating into the German nation at the same time that many Germans, reacting against the hated "Jewish" influences on the Church and German nation, had begun to relocate the origins of German Christianity in pagan, not Jewish, culture.<sup>14</sup> The discovery of the Jewish Jesus by the German theologians using the hermeneutic of "higher criticism" ironically helped to propel German anti-Semitism to new heights.

#### *Romanticism and Liberalism in German Identity*

German identity was still in the process following the disastrous First World War. At the foundation of modern German nationalism were two competing theological ideas about Jews. On the one hand, theologians brought the methodologies of "higher criticism" to the study of the New Testament and rediscovered the Jewish Jesus. Among liberals, philosemitic tendencies emerged. On the other hand, anti-Jewish ideas were embedded in the shaping of German identity in both state and church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This last presented a dual threat, the first propounding a nationalist Gentile Christianity, was opposed to what may be called the universalist, liberal, assimilationist "Judeo-Christianity;" the second, the modernist, pseudo-scientific, populist attack on the Jews based upon biology and

“cosmopolitanism,” was portrayed as a threat to German aesthetics and racial superiority.<sup>15</sup> In the popular mind, historian Victoria Barnett explains,

[T]he Jews were blamed for a number of crises, even when their purported role in one would logically eliminate their role in another. In 1819, German farmers rioted and burned Jewish businesses, blaming the Jews for industrial changes. Following the attempted revolution in 1848, Jews were linked to the workers' movement; thirty years later, after the stock market crash, the Jews were blamed for controlling all the money. In 1918, an “international Jewish plot” was blamed for the terms of the Versailles Treaty.

Nonetheless Jewish civil emancipation accelerated their assimilation in Germany, and, between 1869 and 1933, the number of Jews in the state bureaucracy increased.<sup>16</sup> During this period, Protestant anti-Semitism did not focus explicitly on race, but on religion. “The only real contact the church had” with Jews was, according to Barnett, “through the *Judenmission*, the mission to convert the Jews.” Perhaps surprisingly, many Protestant anti-Semites respected “traditional Judaism” and “viewed orthodox Jews as ‘the people of the covenant.’”<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, the unsettled question of the place of Jews in Germany, and the resulting ambivalence and even hostility to the Old Testament among German Christians led the acclaimed theologian Adolf Harnack (1851-1930), to write,

To reject the Old Testament in the second century was a mistake the church rightly resisted; to retain it in the sixteenth century was a fate from which the Reformation could not escape; but still to preserve it in the nineteenth century as one of the canonical documents of Protestantism is the result of religious and ecclesiastical paralysis.<sup>18</sup>

Strikingly, by contrast, one prominent Protestant leader, and infamous anti-Semite, Adolph Stoecker, “excluded the ‘just and modest Jews’ from his attacks” even in his later speeches. In response, another Protestant leader, Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, wrote to Stoecker that Christian wrath “should not be directed against observant Jews, but ‘only the Jews without religion, who ... together with the lapsed Christians are one in their hatred of the cross, the throne, and the altar.’”<sup>19</sup>

Thus, there was a range of views concerning Judaism. Most Germans — Jewish and Christian — had no understanding of the theological distinctions among them. Most Germans were unaware of the vibrant intellectual discourse surrounding the relationship of Jews and Christians in the “Reformed” modern synagogue of Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber.<sup>20</sup> Nor did the Jews appreciate the growing proto-Zionist movement among some Protestants.

Judaism was, like Protestantism, primarily an urban religion, and those who lived out in the country did not have much social contact with Jews. However, the little-understood German colonialist project in the frontier borderlands between Poland and Germany encouraged many German-speaking Jews to establish themselves in the Province of Poznan, for example, where my grandfather was born. Following the First World War, the German defeat led to the emigration of large numbers of these German Jews, along with thousands of others from the East, back to Germany, exacerbating German anti-Semitism in the decades leading

up to the Second World War.<sup>21</sup>

The social and political movements operating in the Weimer Republic concerned many Germans. Barnett wrote the following of this constellation of forces:

[T]he element in “Christian” anti-Semitism that subsequently made it so useful for other anti-Semitic groups in Germany: the linking of the Jews with political enemies. The nationalism of Protestant pastors, their distrust of the Social Democrats, fear of communism, monarchism, and essential conservatism — these beliefs were, in their opinion, the direct opposite of the “secular” and “Jewish” forces threatening German culture and faith: liberalism, secularism, socialism, anti-monarchism.<sup>22</sup>

Now, mixed with an increasingly popular racist ideology — the result of decades of Darwinian pseudo-scientific naturalistic social and biological science — resistance to Judaism and the presence of Jewish Christians in the German Church among conservative and traditional congregations accelerated. German evangelicals, fearing political liberalism on the one hand and embracing the “racial anti-Semitism of [Arthur de] Gobineau and [Houston Stewart] Chamberlain, the anti-supernaturalism of the scientific criticism of the Old Testament by [the son of famous Hebraist and philosemite Franz Delitzsch] [Frederich] Delitzsch, and the anti-Christian cultural criticism of [Friedrich] Nietzsche),” turned their backs on their Jewish flock. And theology was brought to bear on this new racist perspective. Harnack in particular, marginalized the Old Testament as “Jewish” writing,

Still, some will say that Yahweh of the OT is not identical with our understanding of the God revealed in Jesus Christ. Yahweh is still viewed as a national God whose activity centers on his people Israel and who is this-worldly in his concerns. Like the Manichaeans of the fourth century A.D., many find Yahweh to be an alien deity because he is jealous ... he commands the extermination of all Canaanites and Amalekites ... and he orders and directs evil”<sup>23</sup>

Eventually, the “German Christians” cut the Old Testament out of their Bibles and excised the “Hebraisms” out of the New Testament, falling into the same heresy as Marcion in the early Christian period. Yet all the while, even in this poisoned theological atmosphere, Jews continued to convert. And this was the paradox. German pietists and evangelicals believed that the Great Commission applied to the Jews and Gentiles. Even during decades of increasing German anti-Semitism, evangelical efforts to reach the Jewish people for Christ increased. Thus, even though many Germans were not willing to accept Jews socially as Germans, many Jews believed that church membership would make them Germans and allow them to break away from the strictures of rabbinic Orthodoxy. Unconvinced by the Jewish Reformed movement, they chose to reframe their faith on the basis of the Jewishness of Jesus and the universal Christian message of the liberal Evangelical Church. Thus, in this maelstrom of social change, the theological anti-Judaism of the “German Christian” movement merged with the increasingly virulent “modern” anti-Semitism in German society.

*Jews and Jewish Christians in the Shadow of Nazism*

Incredibly, in 1933, “only 1.5% of the German population was Jewish, and the actual number

of Jews in influential positions was far less than popularly assumed — only 4 of the 250 government ministers during the entire Weimer Republic were Jewish.<sup>24</sup> Barnett surmises that, despite this small percentage of practicing Jews and Jewish Christians in Germany when Hitler came to power,

[T]he reason that anti-Semitism was so consistently and successfully used as a political tool was that Judaism remained, for most Germans, something foreign and therefore threatening. The Jews were “the other,” linked with the political threat of the moment, and, whatever the political circumstances, they were invariably portrayed as the enemies of nationalism.

And this essential otherness prevented baptized Jews from being fully accepted in their parishes.

Despite the Protestant position that whoever was baptized was a full Christian, church discussions of the “Jewish question” reveal the depth of ambivalence on the matter. On the one hand, a church newspaper editorial in 1874 rather laboriously arrived at the conclusion that Christian baptism did not render the Jews “German” (not just Christian): “The Jewish question is not a religious question, but a national one. The Jews in Germany are not Germans but Jews, they are another people and remain another people, they will never become Germans as long as many of them don’t become Christian, and, in so doing, remove themselves from their national past.”<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, Barnett points out, “many Jewish Christians had long ceased to identify themselves with Judaism.” She recounts Dietrich Goldschmidt’s thoughts about the lead-up to the Holocaust. Goldschmidt, the son of a Jewish Christian father and a non-Jewish mother,

[R]ecalled that his father, an historian who lost his job at the end of 1934 because of the “Aryan” laws, was “baffled” by what happened to him: “I think one could say it that way ... My father also said, “Oh, we wouldn’t have all these annoyances with the Jews if so many Eastern European Jews hadn’t immigrated here after World War I. ... If that hadn’t happened, things wouldn’t have reached this difficult stage.” That’s utter nonsense. He completely underestimated it. *We* completely underestimated it. To a certain extent, my father is a typical case of a baptized Jew who was fully assimilated, who couldn’t imagine that he wouldn’t be accepted as assimilated by the other side. That was a very widespread error.”<sup>26</sup>

This is why even those who opposed Hitler could agree with the Aryanization of the Protestant church — an attitude that today we find completely stupefying.

*Nazi Race Laws: Racial Classification and the Christian Churches*

According to Nazi race laws, *mischlings*, or people of “mixed race,” were not Aryans, and therefore could not be German Christians, but instead were categorized as “non-Aryan Christians” or “non-Mosaic” Jews. Racially determined “mixtures” were classified according to degree: people with one Jewish parent were “first degree mixtures,” or “half-Jews;” people with one Jewish grandparent were “second-degree mixtures,” or “quarter-Jews.”<sup>27</sup> “Surprising as it might sound,” writes historian Deborah Hertz, “in ... 1933, the definition of who was a non-Aryan was actually broader than it became in 1935.”<sup>28</sup> Under the Nuremberg laws, passed in

September 1935, a “non-Aryan” was a person with at least one Jewish parent or grandparent: “all of the quarter Jews and some of the half Jews were removed from the non-Aryan category and declared to be functionally Aryans.”<sup>29</sup> A “full Jew” was a person with three to four Jewish grandparents or a person with two Jewish grandparents who was married to a “full Jew” or a member of the Judaic faith. Even a baptized Christian who fell within these two categories was classified as a “full Jew.”

Since the eighteenth century, many Jews had been converting to Christianity — both Protestantism and Catholicism — throughout Europe, and especially in Germany, where the rate of intermarriage was the highest.<sup>30</sup> In 1876, Jews, like any German citizen, could opt out of the Jewish community without joining another one, i.e. without conversion.<sup>31</sup> Hertz writes,

In April 1933 no one knew how many Germans of Jewish descent there were. In 1933, the size of the official Jewish community was just over half a million, most of them full Jews by descent. Eventually it became clear that there were almost as many non-Aryan Christians as there were affiliated Jews. The upshot was that close to a million Germans could be labeled with some degree of Jewishness.<sup>32</sup>

According to historian Niall Ferguson, “By the later 1920s, nearly one in every three marriages involving a German Jew was to a Gentile. The rate rose as high as one in two in some big cities.”<sup>33</sup> Ferguson presents statistics on this population in his book *The War of the Worlds*, the percentage of mixed marriages in Germany was 35.1%, and in Hamburg, it was 49.1%. In Pressburg/Posen/Poznan, the rate was 39.2%, whereas in Poland itself it was only 0.2%. Another German city with a large Jewish population, now in the Ukraine, for comparison, was Lemberg/Lvov/Lwow, with 0.5%.<sup>34</sup> The high level of Jewish assimilation in Germany, especially in Posen and Hamburg, may be indicative also of a high level of *Philo-Semitism* in Germany although this theory has not been studied in the shadow of the Holocaust. For all that, the number of Jews in Germany, according to Ferguson, was fewer than 503,000 in 1933 — 0.76 of the total population.<sup>35</sup>

In 1933, the Nazi regime listed 500,000 religiously observant Jews, 50,000 nonreligious “full Jews,” 200,000 “half-Jews,” and 100,000 “quarter-Jews.” But some church estimates put the number of Jewish Christians at around 1.5 million. Of these, 88% were Protestant.<sup>36</sup>

Most were highly assimilated professionals and middle class shopkeepers in urban centers, like my family, which owned a butcher shop in Hamburg.

Barnett quotes a delegate to the Confessing Church synod in Steglitz in 1935, soon after the passage of the Nuremberg laws, who argued: “A Jew does not become a German through baptism and belief,” and the delegate “advised his colleagues to leave difficult questions like that of intermarriage between baptized Jews and Christians ... up to the Nazi state.”<sup>37</sup> Many Christians of Jewish descent were very positive about assimilation. Herz focuses on Victor Klemperer, the son of a Reform rabbi who married a Christian of Jewish descent. He “was proud to be a German and disdained his Jewish heritage, even equating Zionism with Nazism as a racist regime.” Klemperer wrote, “until 1933, and for a good century before that, the German Jews

were entirely German and nothing else. Proof: the thousands upon thousands of ‘half’ and ‘quarter’ Jews. Jews and Germans lived and worked together in all spheres of life.”<sup>38</sup>

Beginning in 1933, most Protestant clergy willingly accepted Hitler’s racist views. It was this noxious racist brew, theologian Walter Kaiser writes, “that led to the infamous Sport Palace demonstration of Berlin German Christians on November 13, 1933.” Kaiser reminds his readers that it was there that, “the district chairman, R. Krause, demanded ‘...liberation from the Old Testament with its Jewish money morality, [and] from the stories of livestock handlers and pimps.’”<sup>39</sup> And it is in that event that Kaiser locates the launching of the battle against the Old Testament in pre-World War II Germany, a battle which “eventually led to the atrocities against the Jews and to [the] silencing of the OT message in the German church.”<sup>40</sup>

The Nazi regime issued the Edict of April 1933 called the “Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service.” Many Protestant clergy consequently agreed with the Nazi policy and chose to eject all pastors who had Jewish parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents. These men had been baptized and raised in the church, and were employed by it. They had never thought of themselves as anything but Evangelical Protestants.<sup>41</sup> They had not attended synagogue and, in many cases, they had never celebrated the Jewish holidays. They were Christians and identified themselves that way. The Church voluntarily “Aryanized” itself, immediately firing all pastors of Jewish descent in 1933; by 1935, all congregants of Jewish descent were expelled.

It is shocking that these clergy were not frightened into submission to the Nazi policy and they were not ordered to make these changes. The self-governing clergy simply voted to support Hitler’s policies because they agreed with them concerning the employment of non-Aryans in their institutions.<sup>42</sup> “The policy guidelines” of the Nazi regime from 1935-1945 “were to allow the quarter Jews to leave the Jewish category, and to temporarily protect the half Jews from deportation.”<sup>43</sup> However, “the reprieve for the latter was only temporary.” Near the end of the war, “they too were slated for deportation” as evidenced from the records of Theresienstadt, where, in 1945, 36% of the prisoners were “non-Mosaic” Jews — that is, Christians.<sup>44</sup>

In a striking description of a minor event in the history of the Holocaust, Barnett reveals how even the seemingly most unimportant actions have enormous and lasting consequences. Barnett reports,

In September 1935, Marga Meusel, together with Heinrich Vogel, Bonhoeffer, Martin Albertz, and Franz Hildebrandt (a Jewish Christian vicar in the Confessing Church who subsequently emigrated to England) tried to put the “Jewish question” on the agenda of the Prussian Confessing Church synod held in Berlin-Steglitz. They were thwarted, not just by conservatives like Bavarian Bishop Meiser but by Westphalian Confessing Church leader Karl Koch, who threatened to leave the synod if the issue of the Jews was brought up.

In its final statement, the Steglitz Synod issued a mild declaration criticizing the Nuremberg racial laws passed two weeks earlier. The wording, declared Martin Niemöller, “was very wanting or less than wanting minimum” of what needed to

be said. Indeed, among the sectors of the church, the reaction to the racial laws was one of relief: With clear regulations established, people reasoned, the individual terrorist activities of the SA would come to an end (they did not consider that these were being replaced by state terrorism). Among those affected by the comprehensive laws passed at Nuremberg, there was also some relief, if for a different reason. The Nuremberg laws and the regulations for their implementation, wrote Jochen Klepper in his diary, “will seem atrocious in later eras — to us, in the expectation of something much more horrible, they seemed mild.”<sup>45</sup>

Barnett points out that Hitler and other leading Nazis, despite their opportunist claims to the contrary, “were hardly religious,” but used Luther’s anti-Semitic writings” with scarcely a word of protest or contradiction from the leaders of the Protestant Church.”<sup>46</sup>

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had written, “In that I defend myself against Judaism, I am fighting for the work of the Lord” and a number of church leaders agreed that the fight against the Jews was, indeed, a defense of Christianity. ... A number of church leaders, even within the church opposition to Nazism, felt that the attempt to ‘put the Jews in their place’ was both an understandable goal and a legitimate one.”<sup>47</sup>

Approximately 2,000 racial laws were passed during the course of the Third Reich, 1,219 of them before *Kristallnacht* — November 8-9, 1938.<sup>48</sup> It is in this context that many Jews hoped that conversion “would exempt them from racial restrictions.”<sup>49</sup> According to Barnett, “the number of Jews who converted to Protestantism jumped from 241 in 1932 to 933 in 1933 (in the Catholic Church, 89 converted in 1932, compared with 304 in 1933). Until 1939, when baptism of “non-Aryans” was forbidden by the state, around 300 Jews converted to Protestantism each year.<sup>50</sup> Many German Jews and “New (Jewish) Christians,”

[B]ewildered at the situation in which they found themselves, stubbornly asserted their own nationalism — as if, once the Nazis could be convinced of Jewish patriotism, “everything would be all right.” These assimilated Jews, through their assertions of national loyalty, tried to distance themselves from the Jewish community. Jewish men took their World War I medals or baptismal certificates to the local Nazi headquarters to convince Nazi bureaucrats of their national loyalty. Some took initial comfort in the illusion that the Nazi racial laws would affect only “full Jews.” And, of course, “full Jews” were affected hardest and earliest by the racial laws, which, by the end of 1933, had removed them from all civil service positions and barred them from the universities.

“For the mainstream Protestant church, and even within most of the Confessing church, the question of church advocacy on behalf of non-Christian Jews did not even arise,” Barnett sadly acknowledges. She continues,

Even Martin Niemöller’s opposition to the “Aryan paragraph” reflected primarily a concern for church independence. Niemöller’s 1933 attack on the “Aryan paragraph” was hardly a defense of those affected by it. “Whether it’s congenial to us or not,” he wrote, “we have to recognize the converted Jews as fully entitled members through the Holy Spirit. ... This recognition demands of us a high measure of self-discipline as a people who have had a great deal to bear under the influence of the Jewish people, so that the wish to be freed from this demand is understandable.”<sup>51</sup>

Christian resentment of Jewish exceptionalism rings out even among those opposed to the Nazis. Barnett writes of others in the Confessing Church, like Lutheran pastor Hans Asmussen, “who, while seeking to keep the church free of state interference, actually defended the racial laws:”

Our racial laws draw a firm and unbridgeable dividing wall between Jews and non-Jews. The Jews did that long ago, and, through that, have kept their race pure. That's what we want, too. But what the Jew holds for correct when he does it, he sees an injustice against him when others do it. ... We want nothing to do with the Jewish race. ... The Jews may keep their religion as they wish. ... They live in our land, and we are the masters in our land and want to remain so.

“Asmussen and Niemöller would rue such statements later,” Barnett points out.

In the course of the Third Reich, both men came to recognize how such prejudices fed the swell of Nazi terror against the Jews. But the effect of such statements in the early years of Nazism was to minimize the ominous significance of the racial laws and the actual violence against Jews. Having aligned themselves with anti-Semitic ideology, many Christians were unable to break out of this cycle of rationalization.<sup>52</sup>

The experience of one “non-Aryan” pastor, Hans Ehrenberg, for whom, “the pressure to resign only added to his terrible loneliness as a Jewish Christian in Nazi Germany.” When the infamous anti-Semitic paper *Der Stürmer* attacked him in 1937, Ehrenberg wrote a long letter to his fellow Confessing pastors, pleading for their support:

What do I need now? To talk things out, otherwise I will be isolated, practically speaking. Discussion, because in this simple way the service [that is, his service to the church] can be maintained. ... I need neither advice nor outside help. But I need Christian brothers who show that they aren't only looking out for their own way. ... I need room, meant here totally externally, room for me to live, for my marriage, the raising of my children in the family. ... I can hardly live now in one single place without gasping for breath.

But Westphalian church leader Koch, Barnett continues, “despite pleas from Ehrenberg and from his supporters in the parish, told the besieged pastor that there was no other way out: He would have to resign his pastorate.”

In a reply to Koch before his resignation, Ehrenberg wrote poignantly: “I don't know what I still have to go through. But I am comforted that there is no death — and haven't I been dying in my pastorate for a long time now?”<sup>53</sup>

Theologically and politically, the fates of Christians and Jews were bound together. But the tendency of most Germans, including those within the church, was to put an even greater distance between themselves and the Jews. Left to themselves, Jewish Christians formed their own groups. The Jewish Christian pastors founded the Paulusbund; in 1936 the “Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians” was founded and grew quickly to 80,000 members.<sup>54</sup>

The increasingly strict racial laws imprisoned Jews in their isolation. This paralyzed some and drove others to suicide. In 1942, Jochen Klepper noted the number of suicides in Berlin; the Jews, he wrote, had to wait “one week and a half for a fu-

neral: the overload due to the 20 to 30 Jewish suicides per day, of which the German people, because of the isolation of the Jews, learn nothing.<sup>55</sup>

*The Confessing Church and the Jewish Jesus*

When these policies were enacted, some evangelicals protested Nazi policy and seceded from the official church. Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote the “Barmen Declaration” to protest the state’s new policies and formed what became known as the “Confessing Church.” This declaration, however, failed to address explicitly the racial threat to all Jews. The anti-Semitic equivocation of the Confessing Church crippled whatever effectiveness its protest against Nazi racial policies might have had among Evangelicals. Jewish philosopher Emil Fackenheim wrote in 1974,

Even now I find it hard to believe that [Dietrich Bonhoeffer] should have confined his attack on Nazi Aryan legislation to its application to converted Jews; and I find it even harder to believe that these words were written by Bonhoeffer in Nazi Germany in response to Nazi anti-Semitism.

He then quotes Bonhoeffer, who wrote,

Now the measures of the state toward Judaism in addition stand in quite special context for the church. The church of Christ has never lost sight of the thought that the “chosen people,” who nailed the redeemer of the world to the cross, must bear the curse for its action through a long history of suffering.<sup>56</sup>

Fackenheim was aware that, later, Bonhoeffer regretted the stance he took in 1933, acknowledging that he had written in 1940 that the church “was silent when she should have cried out because the blood of the innocent was crying aloud to heaven ... she is guilty of the deaths of the weakest and most defenseless brothers of Jesus Christ.”<sup>57</sup> Yet Fackenheim cries out,

But did he ever repudiate a millennial Christian tradition, and seek a bond (even if only in his own mind) with “Jews faithful to their own faith,” because, and not in spite of, their faithfulness? How different Bonhoeffer’s struggle would have been if he had repudiated the “Christian tradition of the curse” from the start! How different would Jewish fate have been in our time had his whole church repudiated it!<sup>58</sup>

Eric Metaxas vindicates Bonhoeffer against these claims in his extraordinary new biography, subtitled *A Righteous Gentile vs. the Third Reich*. Metaxas tells the story in the section of the book entitled “*Kristallnacht*, 9.11.38.” He writes,

Bonhoeffer was in the far eastern wilds of Pomerania when these events began. ... It was only later the next day that he heard what had happened across Germany. In a conversation about it with his ordinands the next day, someone put forth the accepted theory about the “curse” upon the Jews. The young ordinands did not condone what had happened and were genuinely upset about it, but they quite seriously suggested that the reason for the evils must be the “curse” that the Jews bore for rejecting Christ. Bonhoeffer knew the young men were neither hateful nor anti-Semitic, but he firmly refuted their interpretation. They were in error.

Metaxas continues, revealing that

In his Bible that day or the next, Bonhoeffer was reading Psalm 74. This was the text he happened to be meditating upon. What he read startled him, and with his

pencil he put a vertical line in the margin to mark it, with an exclamation point next to the line. He also underlined the second half of verse 8: ... "They have burned all of God's houses in the land." Next to the verse he wrote: "9.11.38."

Metaxas explains,

Bonhoeffer saw this as an example of God speaking to him, and to the Christians in Germany. God was telling him something through his Word that day, and as he meditated and prayed, Bonhoeffer realized that the synagogues that had been burned in Germany were God's own. This was when Bonhoeffer most clearly saw the connection: to lift one's hand against the Jews was to lift one's hand against God himself. The Nazis were attacking God by attacking his people. The Jews in Germany were not only not God's enemies, they were his beloved children. Quite literally, this was a revelation.

To substantiate this new evidence, Metaxas writes,

In the circular letter to the Finkenwalde community a few days afterward, Bonhoeffer reflected on this, and to make his bold point, he added other verses into the mix: "I have lately been thinking a great deal about Psalm 74, Zech. 2:8 and Rom. 9:4f. and 11:11-5. That leads us to very earnest prayer."

"Taken all together," Metaxas continues,

[Bonhoeffer] was preaching a provocative sermon. The verse in Zechariah is: "For thus said the LORD of hosts, after his glory sent me to the nations who plundered you, for he who touches you touches the apple of his eye" (ESV). The verses in Romans 9 are: "They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship and the promises. To them belong the patriarchs, and from their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen" (ESV). And in Romans 11: "So I ask, did they stumble in order that they might fall? By no means! Rather, through their trespass salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous. Now if their trespass means riches for the world, and if their failure means riches for the Gentiles, how much more will their full inclusion mean! Now I am speaking to you Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an apostle to the Gentiles, I magnify my ministry in order somehow to make my fellow Jews jealous, and thus save some of them" (ESV).

Bonhoeffer's commitment to the continuity of the Old Testament and the New, explains his realization that the Jewish people are beloved of God. Metaxas continues his argument:

Bonhoeffer was using the words of Jews — David, Zechariah, and Paul — to make the point that the Jews are God's people, and that the Messiah came from them and came for them first. He had never abandoned them, but longed to reach those who were the "apple of His eye." If Christianity has come to the Gentiles, it came in some large part so that the Jews could receive their Messiah. Bonhoeffer was identifying the evil done to the Jews as an evil done to God and God's people, but he was not taking that next theological leap to suggest that Christians were not meant to take the gospel of Christ to the Jews. On the contrary, he stood against this idea by quoting these verses, and he stood against the Nazis who had forbidden Jews from being a part of the German church.

Warming to his vindication of Bonhoeffer, Metaxas writes:

For Bonhoeffer to take such a theological stand on the subject of the Jews was exceedingly rare. But he knew that God had spoken to him that morning. Bethge said that Bonhoeffer never wrote anything about contemporary events in his Bible. This was the only time that he had done so.

Turning to one of Bonhoeffer's friends to help us to understand the intellectual process that he was going through, Metaxas relates:

Hans-Werner Jensen recalled that Bonhoeffer's awareness of what the Jews were going through immediately following *Kristallnacht* caused him to be "driven by a great inner restlessness, a holy anger ... During those ugly days we learned to understand — not just human revenge, but the prayer of the so-called psalms of vengeance which gave over to God alone the case of the innocent, 'for his name's sake.' It was not apathy and passiveness which Dietrich Bonhoefer [*sic*] derived from them, but for him prayer was the display of the strongest possible activity."

Metaxas concludes this chapter of the book by writing:

Throughout 1938, the inability of the Confessing Church's leaders to be bold and stand firm disheartened Bonhoeffer, not least because the pastors were not receiving the support they desperately needed. He wrote in his Advent letter that year:

I'm not quite sure how, we have largely got into a way of thinking which is positively dangerous. We think that we are acting particularly responsibly if every other week we take another look at the question whether the way on which we have set out is the right one. It is particularly noticeable that such a "responsible reappraisal" always begins the moment serious difficulties appear. We then speak as though we no longer had "a proper joy and certainty" about this way, or, still worse, as though God and his Word were no longer as clearly present with us as they used to be. In all this we are ultimately trying to get round what the New Testament calls "patience" and "testing." Paul, at any rate, did not begin to reflect whether his way was the right one when opposition and suffering threatened, nor did Luther. They were both quite certain and glad that they should remain disciples and followers of their Lord. Dear brethren, our real trouble is no doubt about the way upon which we have set out, but our failure to be patient, to keep quiet. We still cannot imagine that today God really doesn't want anything new for us, but simply to prove us in the old way. That is too petty, too monotonous, too undemanding for us. And we simply cannot be constant with the fact that God's cause is not always the successful one, that we really could be "unsuccessful": and yet be on the right road. But this is where we find out whether we have begun in faith or in a burst of enthusiasm.<sup>59</sup>

It was at this time that Metaxas believes that Bonhoeffer realized that the "Confessing Church's fight was over."<sup>60</sup> Bonhoeffer's momentous decision to join the conspiracy to assassinate Hitler, however, still lay ahead. Nevertheless, it is clear that Metaxas is making his case to the Jewish community that their view of Bonhoeffer must be amended in light of the new evidence that he has provided. Bonhoeffer must be recognized as a righteous gentile, and to take his place among those who gave their lives because of their solidarity with the Jewish people.

Because the leaders of the Confessing Church never protested against the anti-Jewish policies

of the regime, focusing instead only on Jewish Christians, their actions have been repudiated by Jews and, following the war, by the repentant members of the Confessing Church itself. As it was, in Germany, the Evangelical Church was “Aryanized” with essentially no protest against its racial policies.

*Theresienstadt: German Jews and German Jewish Christians*

The data on Theresienstadt provides a snapshot of the community there. While we cannot extrapolate exact numbers for all of the camps from the case of Theresienstadt, the numbers there are illustrative. At Theresienstadt, the number of “non-Jewish Jews” increased over the years. However, no statistical information is available until October 1943. At that time, the share of Christians amounted to approximately nine percent of the total population, while the number of those who claimed adherence to no religious affiliation numbered six percent. Beginning in December 1943, there are more precise figures broken down into “Mosaic” (Jewish) and “Non-Mosaic” (Christians of Jewish descent).<sup>61</sup> By April 24, 1945, the number of Jews equaled 63% of the total population, and the number of Christians of Jewish descent numbered 36.6%.

**“Mosaic” and “non-Mosaic” Jews in Theresienstadt**

| Religion      | “Mosaic” | Percentage | “Non-Mosaic” | Percentage |
|---------------|----------|------------|--------------|------------|
| October 1943  |          |            |              | 9%         |
| December 1943 | 30,480   | 87.9%      | 3,925        | 12.1%      |
| May 1944      | 23,529   | 84.2%      | 4,193        | 15.8%      |
| December 1944 | 8,346    | 72.1%      | 3,112        | 27.9%      |
| April 20 1945 | 11,104   | 63.4%      | 3,619        | 36.6%      |

The non-Jewish Christians were distributed in the following way during those years:<sup>62</sup>

**“Non-Mosaic” Groups in Theresienstadt**

| Religion                    | Catholic | Protestant | Sects | No Confession | Not Stated |
|-----------------------------|----------|------------|-------|---------------|------------|
| October 1943* <sup>63</sup> | 9%       | *          | *     | *             | 6%         |
| December 1943               | 1,321    | 830        | 207   | 1,567         | 250        |
| May 1944                    | 1,439    | 1,084      | 195   | 1,475         | 255        |
| December 1944               | 943      | 1,198      | 139   | 832           | 110        |
| April 20, 1945              | 2,014    | 1,808      | 368   | 2,004         | 117        |

Professor Kai Kjaer-Hansen presented a short paper at the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism conference at Lake Balaton in Hungary in 2007. This presentation brought home for me the feeling of what it was like at Theresienstadt for both Jews and non-Jews. I quote his presentation in its entirety to share it with Holocaust scholars.

*This evening we are going to a place about 40 miles north of Prague, to Theresienstadt in what was then Czechoslovakia, to the town that Hitler “had donated to*

the Jews" and which in Nazi propaganda was described as a "spa town" where elderly Jews could "retire." From the end of 1941 to the beginning of 1945, more than 140,000 Jews were sent to this ghetto, which for many, about 88,000, became a transit camp to the death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. Approximately 33,000 died in this ghetto. When it was all over and the ghetto had been liberated on May 8, 1945, there were about 19,000 survivors.

Theresienstadt was governed by a council of Jewish elders; but although there was a certain degree of self-management, it did not mean that they had freedom to do as they pleased; it meant that they were expected to make things work and to carry out the German orders with all the compromises that involved for the council itself.<sup>64</sup>

Among those who died in Theresienstadt, or were deported from Theresienstadt to the death camp Auschwitz or survived the horrors in Theresienstadt, were individuals who were Christians of Jewish descent. It is tempting today to call them "Messianic Jews", but this would not correspond with their self-perception. Like most other Jews in Germany they saw themselves as Germans; unlike most other German Jews they were Jews who had embraced the Christian faith, some by conviction, others for pragmatic reasons. In plain words, and whether or not we like to hear it: the Jewish identity Isaac Lichtenstein or Lucky had fought for 50 years before was quite beyond the horizon of these Christian Jews. But in Theresienstadt they shared the fate of "Mosaic" Jews. In the eyes of the Nazis, their Christian faith did not obliterate their Jewishness.

### **Hans Werner Hirschberg**

I will begin with Hans Werner Hirschberg, who had been a judge in Berlin. He arrived at Theresienstadt on February 10, 1944, and survived the horrors. We have at least two written accounts from him. After the liberation Hirschberg writes in the Romanian magazine *Prietenul*, which had been launched by Isaac Feinstein, "that the light of the gospel shone brightly in Theresienstadt. One tenth of the Jews who had been interned there belonged to a Christian confession. Some were Protestants, some Catholics. Among these Jews, there was a group of Evangelical Jewish Christians from Holland, four hundred in number that distinguished themselves. They even had a Jewish Christian pastor with them." The person he refers to is Dominé Enker, who came to Theresienstadt in September 1944.

Hirschberg also writes: "The Catholic and Evangelical Jews lived together as brethren in harmony. In Theresienstadt the words of Jesus, that we may all be one, became reality ... and we prayed publicly for Pastor [Martin] Niemöller and other Christians who were in concentration camps. I think that we were the only people who really had freedom to do that. No one could commit us to a concentration camp, for we were already in a concentration camp."

Hirschberg concludes his account with the following words: "Many of our 'church members' had, although they had been baptized, never really considered being followers of Jesus until they came to Theresienstadt. But here, under the influence of God's word, many of them were truly converted. Jews who had been Christians in name only became true Christians.

Many Mosaic Jews and Jews who had no faith whatsoever found Jesus and were saved in Theresienstadt.

I am one of the few survivors from the concentration camp in Theresienstadt. Most of my brothers went home to be with the Lord. But my Saviour saved me out of this camp so that I might proclaim the wonderful things that He performed among those who were in 'the valley of the shadow of death.'

Some will probably be surprised at Hirschberg's statement that one tenth of the people in Theresienstadt were Christian Jews. And it does seem to be an understatement if the whole period is considered. On April 20, 1945, more than 36 percent were "non-Mosaic" Jews. To this I just want to say that it cannot be deduced that there were 600,000 Jewish Christians among the 6 million Jews that were killed during the Holocaust. But there was a considerable number of Christians of Jewish descent — some mention a six-figure number. Their certificate of baptism could not save them from the gas ovens.

### **Arthur Goldschmidt — the founder of the evangelical congregation**

Arthur Goldschmidt's parents had converted to Christianity in 1858. After Goldschmidt, born in 1873, had to resign his post as a judge in Hamburg in 1933, he devoted himself to his hobby as a painter. His wife Kitty, who was a baptized Jew, died in June 1942. The Protestant clergyman in the town refused to bury her in the churchyard as Mrs. Goldschmidt was not an "Aryan." One month later Goldschmidt was deported to Theresienstadt. Here he founded an evangelical congregation where he preached and administered pastoral care. He survived in the ghetto. Before his death on February 9, 1947, he wrote down an account of the evangelical congregation in Theresienstadt. Here are a few glimpses from the account that was published in 1948.

On the first Sunday in the ghetto, Goldschmidt and another man get together in an attic and read the New Testament which he has brought. The word gets about, and others join them the following Sundays. No more than twenty persons can assemble without permission. "What was I to do?" He realizes that the administration was not likely to appreciate the formation of a Christian congregation in a Jewish town, and without the consent of the Jewish council of elders he could not proceed.

Goldschmidt continues: "So I turned, nonetheless, to Mr. Edelstein, who was then the leader of the Jewish council, and described the state of affairs to him. When he was informed of the fact that an evangelical congregation had already been founded, he was astonished but also full of understanding. The good God is ultimately the same, and to him, Edelstein, it is the same in which way he is honoured." Both sides realize that the room where the Mosaic Jews worship cannot be used.

On October 18, 1942, they get the first and semi-official recognition of the congregation as a room with electrical light, used as a variety theatre and a lecture hall, is made available for them by the council of elders. And the congregation grows. Between 150 and 200 attend the services, at the festivals there are even more. It is an extremely mixed congregation; there are, for example, Lutherans, members of the Reformed Church, Anglicans, Hussites, Remonstrants, Brethren, and others. Non Christians were welcome but could not receive Communion.

In the summer of 1943 a split threatens the congregation but it was prevented, another matter that I cannot go into here.

Goldschmidt says about the relationship between Mosaic and Christian Jews that the attitude to those who had been baptized as infants was "neutral." It was a different matter with those who had been baptized as adults. They were regarded as "backsliders, renegades and traitors." The idea that someone should have embraced Christianity out of conviction and not for pragmatic reasons seemed to be absolutely unthinkable. But this also needs to be said: Communion, consisting of bread and tea with sugar, was also administered to sick Christian Jews in infirmaries and sickrooms. Goldschmidt writes: "Apart from a few improper remarks, which were soon discouraged with a word of admonition, the other patients of Jewish persuasion observed a pious quietness."

Goldschmidt does not hide that, from time to time, there were some difficulties with

the council of elders. But the following words are nevertheless remarkable: "In retrospect it must be admitted that this administration of what was intended as a pure Jewish society, which naturally would see a Christian congregation as a foreign body, in general has been very obliging." Here is an example: Christian German Jews cannot celebrate Christmas without a Christmas tree, which is difficult to come by. Again in Goldschmidt's words: "Finally the SS permitted us to have a small tree, which would be decorated by the women; not even candles, a much desired rarity donated from all sides, were missing." But then listen to how Goldschmidt continues: "The last year the Christmas tree was cynically forbidden by the SS man who had to make the decision. But then, fortunately, the Jewish administration saw to it that an artificial tree with inserted branches and with multicoloured electrical lamps was made for the service!" I wonder if it was the Hanukkah bush?

"And what is more," Goldschmidt continues, "the administration, or more correctly the leader of the Jewish council, Dr. Murrelstein, even organized a gala performance for the Christian children with a children's choir singing Christmas carols, children performing a small fairytale play and a magician — a man in the camp that had been deprived of his profession — showed his tricks."

### **Death and "Ego sum resurrectio"**

For the evangelical congregation the question of how to honour their dead in death became a pressing one. Mortality was high, not least during the first years. A crematorium, which could cope with 200 corpses a day, had been built. The coffins, 40-50 or more, were first placed in open air, later in a casemate hall. After a rabbi had performed the ceremony, the coffins were taken to the crematorium. I will let Goldschmidt tell about this:

"The Christians had doubts about this funeral after Jewish rites. They tried therefore to attain a dissociation from the Jewish funerals. To begin with it was argued again and again that there were technical difficulties, but from May 1943 the deceased Christians were laid out a half hour before the funeral ceremony; later a special hall was allowed for this. The attempts to fit out this hall to some extent with dignity were long futile. The request to have a large crucifix and the inscription 'Ego sum resurrectio' — 'I am the Resurrection' was finally made, but the commandant rejected it since a public exhibition of Christian symbols could not be permitted.

Not until the end was the hall put in a suitable condition and fitted out with a big crucifix, with that inscription, made by a sculptor. It also became possible to have the corpse carts and the coffins covered with a simple black cloth instead of a cloth with the David Star."

So in death these Christians of Jewish descent chose not to have the David Star on their coffins. Who dare, under these circumstances, throw the first stone? And perhaps it is throwing the first stone to ask the question: If Isaac Lichtenstein or Lucky had been there ... which hall would they have chosen for their burial ceremony? And which cloth to cover their coffin?<sup>65</sup>

### *Jewish Evangelism in the Shadow of the Holocaust*

Holocaust scholarship has generally avoided the story of these Christians, obscuring the fact that many of those Jews, perhaps as many as 10% in Germany, were actually professing Christians. From the Jewish perspective, Jewish conversion to Christianity is a betrayal that results from a worldly desire to find acceptance by Gentiles. And for Christians, in the shadow

of the Holocaust, Jewish evangelism has been repudiated as inappropriate, insensitive, and worse, anti-Semitic. The ambivalence of Christians about the Jewish people and Judaism has been further complicated by the creation and existence of the State of Israel. Today, the identity of Jews as a people, an ethnicity, has far transcended their religious practice, although lately there has been a resurgence of Orthodoxy, and in Israel, there is increasing Orthodox legal and political power to use religious law, rather than ethnicity, as the marker of Jewish identity.

Today, the religious diversity of Jewish practice would astound Jews who lived before the Second World War. Yet it is in this context that the story of Christians of Jewish descent must not be forgotten. This history serves as a powerful warning about the way that theology can be used in the service of power. The rebirth of Messianic Judaism in Israel and the West since 1967 is significantly different from the Hebrew Christianity of the pre-World War II era that aimed at the assimilation and the disappearance of the Jew into the universal Church. Culturally distinctive, Messianic Judaism's commitment to participating Jewish culture is rooted in a robust faith in the reliability of God's promises to the Jewish people as Jews. Representing a reformed ecclesiology that repudiates racial anti-Semitism and vindicates ethnic and multiculturalism and diversity in the Church, Messianic Judaism affirms the particular while at the same time proclaiming the universality of Christ's mission. The blessed hope of the Gospel is for the Jew and for the Gentile; it is a hope that transcends the political and transforms culture in the name of the God of Israel.

The equivocation of some of the Protestant leaders of the dissenting Confessing Church led, ultimately, not only to the death of many thousands of Christians of Jewish descent and Protestant dissenters during the years 1943-45 (after the majority of the Jewish victims of the Nazis had already been murdered) but also to the spiritual death of Protestantism as a moral and ethical voice in Europe. And while the Catholic Church — since Vatican II — has attempted to face the consequences of anti-Semitism, repudiating the charge of deicide against the Jewish people and the teaching of contempt, which taught that the Church had superseded Israel, the specter of "Replacement Theology" has resurfaced in the guise of "Fulfillment Theology" due to the absence of a political settlement of the Israel-Palestine Conflict.<sup>66</sup>

### **III. A Way Forward: The Kingdom of God is not a Political Kingdom.**

History has shown the evil that has resulted from the Christian doctrine of supersessionism, which postulated that the prophecies relating to eschatological Israel applied to the Church. Since Vatican II, the Catholic Church has reframed its theological claims relating to the Jewish people because of its realization that the charge of deicide against the Jewish people, the "teaching of contempt" (a theme and charge developed by Jules Isaac) and the sociology of anti-Semitism have had horrible historical consequences for the Church and for humanity. For the most part, Christians today have accepted a view of "two covenants" to dignify Judaism — Christianity's "elder" brother — as an older path of salvation. Yet this solution to the ecclesiastical and soteriological issues posed by the Gospel to Judaism has proved unsatis-

factory, for it undermines the universality of Christ's mission. Today, prophecy has emerged as the central theological problem for Protestants, and the theological debate among Christians about the legitimacy of the State of Israel and its relationship to the Bible has become central to the theological debate around the uses of the Old Testament in the New.

Since 1967, Christian Zionism has become the focus of theological attention among evangelicals with the theology of premillennial dispensationalism of particular concern. Anti-Zionist evangelical critics — focusing primarily upon Christian Zionist interpretations of prophecies relating to the Land, specifically those territories occupied by Israel as a result of the Six Day War as a fulfillment of prophecy — seek to undermine what they believe to be the basis of the Jewish claim to territory. These critics charge that Zionist claims are based upon a literal reading of Old Testament prophecy, and, as a result, have returned to a renewed focus on Christ as the fulfillment of all Old Testament prophecy relating to Israel. For Arab Christians, the Old Testament has become problematic because of the Arab-Israel Conflict. In Lebanon, for example, Christians are forbidden to mention the word “Israel” in their ministries and, therefore, avoid the Old Testament for political reasons. Moreover, this trend is growing, as liberation theologians have begun to eschew the Old Testament, reading only the New. Naim Ateek, an important Palestinian Liberation theologian writes, “Texts that reflect the violence of god or an exclusive theology of god, land, and people must be removed and substituted by texts that express the inclusive love of God for all people.”<sup>67</sup> Especially worrisome is the new evangelical campaign against Christian Zionism, which effectively equates the theological system known as premillennial dispensationalism with “Aryan” German Christian theology in order to undermine Christian support for Israel.<sup>68</sup>

And so, only sixty-six years after the Holocaust, theology has become politicized, and once again, the Jewish people and Israel have become a theological problem for Christians. In this section, I, as a world historian, make the case that the historical sensibility of dispensationalism prevents a misreading of prophecy by accentuating the differences between this current dispensation, or era, and the past, as well as the prophesied future Millennial Kingdom. In this sense, the argument is that dispensationalism actually serves as a hermeneutical brake on the misuse of the Old Testament for political reasons.

However, before I can do this, I must state without qualification that the theology of the Nazi Reich is completely dissimilar to Christian Zionism. This accusation brings shame to the name of Christ and does a disservice to the Kingdom. Dispensationalists accept the entire Word of God as divinely inspired and inerrant. They do not read the New Testament without contextualizing it in the Old. They do not manipulate Scripture by removing Hebraisms. Dispensationalists fully affirm the equality of the Jew and the Gentile in the Church. In no way can dispensationalism be “blamed” for Christian support of Israel in the way that the theology of the Nazi era was instrumental in aryanizing Christ. Ethnicity and race are reflections of self-identity, identity that is rooted in the way that God created mankind.

In this section of my paper, I explore what theology can help us to understand about Jewish

identity. God's interactions with humanity have been historical, that is, they have taken place in the lives of particular persons, at particular times and in particular places. By losing sight of the historical nature of God's relationship with man, "confessional readings" of the word of God becomes ahistorical — an allegorization — creating reductionist, essentializing ideas about religions that help to transform revelation into an abstraction. Such interpretations of scripture rob history of meaning, making the "earthy-ness" of God's relationships with humanity through lived lives "parenthetical" to "salvation history." And this leads to a willingness to manipulate scripture itself in order to instrumentalize faith for political purposes.

Wolfgang Pannenberg's understanding of history as "the tension between promise and fulfillment" was, for me, the key for articulating the nexus between theology and history.<sup>69</sup> However, the critics of Pannenberg's foundationalism, i.e. his acceptance of the idea that what has happened in the past or present, that is, the event — reality — can be known, has led many theologians, historians, archeologists and philosophers away from reading the biblical text as history. The vast majority of scholars — including theologians — reject historical methodology for understanding Scripture. As a result of the doubts raised by the historicist method of biblical "higher criticism," many of today's seminarians, like their nineteenth century forbears, study a biblical record that they reject as historically unreliable, and that they therefore interpret in a postmodern paradigm, one that has deconstructed biblical history as mythological, and one that chillingly reveals the ahistorical *weltanschauung* of theological studies, a context that forgets the cataclysmic results of the rejection of biblical history by liberal theologians in the nineteenth century. "Reading behind the text" to find mythopoetic truth, the scripture is again today read increasingly as a completely ideological project. This skepticism undermines our faith in the historicity of the texts as they have come down to us, and the events that they tell.

The didactic case of Israel and the Church as told in the Bible is presented as a moral story, emphasizing promise and punishment, obedience and rebellion, hope and despair. Dispensationalism presents a theology of history, a meta-narrative written within a paradigm of hope, emphasizing continuity and promise through God's relationship with Israel and the Church.<sup>70</sup> Unlike the Augustinian view of the discontinuity between Israel the nation and the Israel of God, progressive dispensationalists focus on God's gracious faithfulness to humanity throughout the course of world history. The dispensationalist view of history — and especially its view of progressive revelation — provides us with a theology of history — and of hope — for our age. Vindicating the idea of dispensations as distinct historical periods in which God has interacted with mankind in different ways helps us to understand the way in which God desires us to act in this dispensation, or what Augustine himself called the "Sixth Day." Historians periodize, that is, divide chronological periods of time thematically by selecting distinctive aspects of an era in order to differentiate it from other periods, to analyze and interpret it. We are familiar with this notion in secular history, and we teach how historians have used this method in our courses on historiography. Premillennial Dispensationalism,

like other hermeneutical systems, uses the same method to analyze the historical narrative told in Scripture.

Jewish and Christian theologians, recognizing discrete historical periods suggested by the biblical texts, with some variations across a broad spectrum of theological commitments, historically accepted the theological notion of dispensations to analyze the philosophy of history undergirding the story told in the Bible. Jews and Christians who have accepted a literal understanding of the history transmitted in the *Tanakh* generally have agreed upon seven dispensations, although some theologians have named more. For our purposes, I will call them, after Augustine, The First Day: "Innocence," the Second Day, "Conscience," the Third Day, "Government," the Fourth Day, "Promise," The Fifth Day, "Law," The Sixth Day, "Nations," and the Seventh Day "Fulfillment." All three monotheistic religions have at their heart a historical sensibility, that is, the belief that God has acted in history and will again.

The idea of dispensations is of fundamental importance when studying the biblical understanding of God's action in history. Beyond simply disputing whether the scriptural accounts of events as historically reliable and authoritative, the dispensationalist idea that God worked in a unique manner in each age provides a hermeneutical barrier to literalism. That this hermeneutic is badly needed has become clearer and clearer as the Bible has been refracted through literalist readings of scripture, the phenomenon scholars have termed "fundamentalism." An ahistorical hermeneutic approach to revelation and scripture justifies apocalypticism in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim thinking today. However, premillennial dispensationalism is not literalist in this sense. It understands the Bible as portraying the work of God in history in different ways in different eras. In the 1980s, Martin Marty and Scott Appleby began a project to analyze fundamentalisms across the religious landscape.<sup>71</sup> However, their approach was flawed because they misunderstood the Christian fundamentalism that they postulated as the model for their analysis of non-Christian fundamentalism. They confused dispensationalism with literalism because of the Christian fundamentalist commitment to the inerrancy of scripture. They failed to take into account the philosophy of history at the core of the concept of dispensations.

Scholars writing about Islamic literalism justifying jihad have argued that the same hermeneutic has increasingly characterized the approach of some "fundamentalist" Orthodox Jews and Christian Zionists. And sadly, it is true that some Orthodox Jews and some American Christians have taken to seeing the Arabs, especially the Palestinians, as the Philistines and Canaanites of Joshua's time, which is actually the position of some Palestinian nationalists.<sup>72</sup> Conversely, some Christians and Muslims see Christian Zionism as the greatest cause of war in the Middle East. Some religious Zionists have called for a war of expulsion or even the extermination of the Palestinians living in Israel on the basis of a literal application of the commandments relating to conquest of the land contained in the Book of Joshua. Yet, according to dispensationalism, the holy war, or *herm*, in the *Tanakh* is clearly not permissible during this Age. The rules and ethics of just warfare in our current age are entirely different from the de-

struction that the Lord had called upon Israel to execute for His name's sake at the end of the four hundred year exile of the Israelites in Egypt, when, according to the Bible, the time of judgment had come upon the depraved peoples inhabiting Canaan, as all Jewish, Christian, and Muslims believe. Using the Bible as a pretext for ethnic cleansing is wrong, just as it is wrong to reject the legitimacy of the State of Israel based on the conditionality of the Mosaic Covenant. But this has nothing to do with dispensationalism.

Indeed, the State of Israel was not founded upon biblical grounds. Although nineteenth century Christian Zionists believed that what became known as Palestine during the Mandate period was the Jewish homeland, they also believed that it was wrongfully taken from them by Rome, and that it would ultimately be restored to the Jewish people. Biblical Zionism was founded upon nineteenth and twentieth century concepts of human rights, nationalism, and international law concerning war, conquest of territory, and population exchange. Zionism was a secular movement, opposed by Orthodox Jews, who believed that only God could restore the Jewish Nation through His Messiah. Although Zionists of that era, both Jewish and Christian, were inspired by the Bible and the historical record of the Jewish people, their political policies were grounded and articulated, in the realities of European international law, nationalism, and racial anti-Semitism. The opportunities availed to Jews during the Ottoman period, dating as far back as 1492, when the Ottomans invited those fleeing from the Inquisition and *Reconquista* in Spain to settle in their dominions, had made Palestine a Jewish refuge for four centuries.<sup>73</sup> History, and not the Bible, made it a destination for the secular Jewish Zionists coming primarily from Russia before the First World War.<sup>74</sup>

The establishment of the modern State of Israel and the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948 lately have led to an evangelical Christian critique of dispensationalism, which they identify as the theology that undergirds Christian Zionism. The Bible itself again has become problematic for these Christians, due to the social injustices and moral compromises of Israeli policy which are clearly at odds with biblical teachings regarding the foreigner and the stranger living in Israel. These critics focus on theology without paying attention to the failures of statecraft on the parts of Israel, the international community and Israel's Arab neighbors.

Although dispensationalists believe, on the basis of prophetic texts in the Old Testament, that the Jewish people would be regathered in the Land of Israel before the Second Coming, they did not propose that political action would bring in the eschaton; far from it, they believed that the Jewish people are regathered in this age of history in a state of unbelief. The real life consequences of politics and wars have proven problematic for all students of the Bible. The injustices that Palestinian Arabs have suffered as a result of modern warfare are lamentable, but they result from decisions made by their political leadership to support the losers in both World Wars and their failure to establish good government for their own people.

In this age, Israel, like all other nations, is fallen. The Zionists of today all too often overlook this fundamental teaching of dispensationalism. And, increasingly, the result has been that the Bible itself has come under attack in this context. For example the archeological quest

for evidence of Israelite history, especially after 1967, has become politicized and deconstructed as a rationale for Jewish conquest and occupation of Palestinian lands. Biblical “minimalists” now refute the entire biblical record of the patriarchal period, including the revelation at Sinai, the conquest of Canaan, and the existence of the Israelite monarchy, which they argue are mere fabrications created during the Babylonian Exile of the Israelites to justify the return to the “Promised Land” and the reestablishment of the Davidic Kingdom — a kingdom which existed six centuries before Christ. The political implications of the truth of such claims led some post-Zionist critics of Israel to challenge the right of the Jewish people to political sovereignty and even to their own identity.<sup>75</sup>

Israeli policies regarding the settlement movement in the West Bank and Gaza have exacerbated this attack. Evangelical Christians have joined Muslim radicals in identifying Christian Zionism as the greatest evil in the Middle East because of Christian support for Israel and its policies in the West Bank.<sup>76</sup> In particular, dispensationalism has been rejected as romanticist, historicist, and racist, and has been derided as the basis for evangelical Christian political support for Israel.<sup>77</sup> Hamas, picking up this criticism from evangelical Palestinian Christians, has itself identified Christian Zionism as Enemy Number 1 — an opinion increasingly echoed by Protestant and Catholic supporters of the Palestinians.<sup>78</sup>

Indeed, dispensationalism provides insights that would make Christian support of Israel more circumspect if properly understood. The idea of progressive dispensations enables the historian to locate Jewish Christians, whose story has not been told as an integral aspect of either Christian history or what we might call secular history into the history of the nations during what has also been called the Age of Grace, when all humanity is privileged with the opportunity to become followers of the God of Israel (Ephesians 3:6; Acts 15:6-29). Furthermore, it repudiates, rather than supports the “two covenant” idea taught by some Christian Zionists. This view is a wrong-headed and unsuccessful attempt to show respect for the Jewish people in light of the Holocaust and to avoid Jewish suspicions of Christian evangelism. It also serves to repudiate the form of Messianic Judaism that teaches mandatory Torah observance. Neither of these teachings is a premillennial dispensationalist idea, because in the Church Age, the *ecclesia* is drawn out of the nations — the Jewish nation and the other nations of the world. Thus, the understanding of the “Church Age” from a dispensational viewpoint is extremely helpful, for it points to the ongoing historical reality of the Jewish people during the Sixth Dispensation — the “Age of the Nations.” The existence of the Jewish people is the *sine qua non* of the Church. Without them, the Church cannot exist.

Thus, Zionism has nothing to do with dispensationalism, except insofar as it teaches that God still has a purpose and a plan for the Jewish people. God has not forsaken them. Their priestly role in the future will be to serve the nations in the worship of God in the Millennial Kingdom. Misbegotten Evangelical criticism of dispensationalism is unwarranted and dangerous. It bears striking comparison to the pre-World War II theology of the Protestant Church in Germany that gave rise to “German Christian” theology which led to the Aryanzation of

Christ under the Nazi regime. Therefore, it is necessary to examine in more detail how the reading of the Old Testament prophecies became problematic in Church history.

#### **IV. Christ and the Jewish People**

In this Age, the Age of Grace, the Church is not a nation, and the nations are not the Church. The hermeneutical usefulness of the dispensations — periods marking the beginning of a particular way that God has worked universally in history among individuals and nations — underlines the importance of space and time, geography and event in revelation.<sup>79</sup> Each person, each event, each place, is drenched in meaning, because it is in space and time that God works.

God, in His sovereignty, has established diverse governments to rule the regions of the world, and has acted providentially for cultures and societies to remain distinctive, to preserve His purposes for each one, and to thwart the human drive for conquest and homogenization. He has established laws for the nations to restrain the evil that is in the hearts of every person, and to deny Satan total power on earth. Nevertheless, evil remains. Humankind has the capacity to recognize evil, and to battle it, based not only on Scripture, but also upon the grace that underlies the natural laws of human nature and the human conscience.

Injustice is not a mystery nor is it arbitrary: throughout the ages we have known and recognized justice as revealed in nature and in scripture. Justice is the highest purpose for government during the Age of the Nations, but redemption of the human race is impossible without God's intervention in historic time, in fulfillment of prophecy and His promises to Israel for His own name's sake. Today, the very concept of universal justice is under attack, threatening to undermine all order in international relations. Without values that determine right from wrong, there is no way to prevent the mighty from oppressing the weak. This brings us back to the Bible and Israel as exemplar to the nations.<sup>80</sup> Theologian Robert Saucy wrote,

The Old Testament prophets looked forward to a time when the Gentiles would participate in God's salvation on the same basis as Israel. But in their view, this did not eliminate a *particular* place for Israel (emphasis mine). The New Testament continuity of the promises and covenants undergirding Israel's role in God's program also suggests that the soteriological unity of Jew and Gentile (individuals) in Christ does not negate a special place for Israel in the future.

"But," Saucy asks, "if there is such a place of prominence in Israel's future, the question may be rightly asked, why? What purpose does the restoration and elevation of Israel to a distinct position among the nations serve in salvation history?" For this is the problem posed by prophecy. "Does God's particular work with one nation give that people a closer relationship to God and thus deny the spiritual unity of Jews and Gentiles?" In a profound passage he writes,

These kinds of questions lay dormant for much of church history. The majority of the church had little concern for Israel as a nation in the future plan of salvation history. ... Two events of recent history have called attention to the continued historical existence of the Jews and sparked renewed theological inquiry, namely, the Holocaust and the establishment of the state of Israel. ... Does Israel as a national people still have meaning in the plan and purpose of God? If so, then Israel still bears some distinction from the other nations of the world. What is the nature of

that distinction, and what is its purpose?<sup>81</sup>

Christian animus against the Jewish people has been the tragic refrain of the Church Age. Yet God's plan for Israel is to serve the nations, by ministering to their need for relationship to Him. Echoing Jacques Maritain, Saucy asks, "Is it too much to say that even Israel's suffering at the hands of the nations has somehow served the salvation of the nations and will someday be recognized as such and thus contribute to Israel's grateful exaltation?"<sup>82</sup> These are the correct theological questions to ask in light of the establishment of the State of Israel.

The didactic nature of scripture and history requires an example, bounded by space and time, not myths or allegories. The reality of history requires a concrete case study to illuminate the reality of all nations. Israel is privileged in the biblical account of history because narrative requires specificity: if God had revealed His will singly to each nation, each would consider their revelation without any sense of humility. God made "not a nation" into a nation to show His sovereignty over a people who would serve Him out of love as He loves each nation: Israel is to model, channel, and edify the faith of the nations so that each nation and every knee shall bow to the King. The eschatological role of Israel is to serve the nations in a priestly capacity in the Millennial Kingdom. Today the presence of the Jewish people among the nations reminds them of the commandment to love their neighbor.

Israel ... represents all mankind, in unity and scattering, in pride and sin and fall. God's judgment on his people is his judgment upon all the earth; and when the Lord has mercy on his people and gathers them again, the action adumbrates his blessing upon which he has promised to bestow on each and every nation. Israel then is the vanguard of the nations: her history is the centre and epitome of all history and the revelation of God's purposes for all mankind.<sup>83</sup>

To elaborate on his point, Saucy cited Jewish scholar Umberto Cassuto, who wrote,

The general harmony in the history of the world is paralleled by the particular harmony prevailing in Israel's history. Seventy peoples on the one side, seventy sons and seventy families on the other. The people of Israel occupies in the plans of the Divine Providence a place resembling, on a small scale, that of all mankind; it is a small-scale world, a microcosm similar in form to the macrocosm.<sup>84</sup>

Yet as Saucy makes clear, Israel's restoration is a necessary event, an event which will take place in history.

It is not that God simply chooses to reveal to all people his grace and power in the reestablishment and blessing of his people. The previous history of Israel makes it mandatory; God's reputation is at stake. Not to restore Israel would result in unfavorable revelation. God's holiness necessitated his judgment of rebellious Israel, yet this action rebounded against his holy name. Instead of producing fear in those who saw it, according to Ezekiel, wherever Israel went among the nations, "they profaned my (i.e. God's) holy name, for it was said of them 'These are the Lord's people, and yet they had to leave his land'" (Ezekiel 36:18-21). Thus God declared that he would regather his people out of the nations and bring them back to their own land, not for their sake, "but for the sake of my holy name, which you have profaned among the nations where you have gone. ... Then the nations will know

that I am the Lord, ... when I show myself holy through you before their eyes (36:22ff.).<sup>85</sup>

Moreover, the atoning sacrifice of the Jewish Messiah does not obviate the continuing revelatory role of Israel in history.<sup>86</sup> God continuously works directly through His intervention in history through the work of the Holy Spirit in individual human lives and through His people. Saucy here quotes Jacob Jocz, who wrote,

Jewish history is the visible, empirical act of revelation. It demonstrates to all who want to see that the God of Israel is not a philosophical concept, but the living God. He cannot be imprisoned in a book, no matter how sacred, and relegated to the past. He is still the enactor of history; he is still a Presence in human affairs and still acts against and on behalf of his people.<sup>87</sup>

Saucy states unequivocally, "Interpreters of Scripture have increasingly affirmed that God has been providentially involved in the historically unique preservation of the people of Israel. ... Prophecy can only be fulfilled by a real nation, the restored nation of Israel."<sup>88</sup> The Christian life must be lived in this light, grounded in the revelation of the Bible. Profound thinkers recognize that the right of the Jewish people to exist as Jews has been guaranteed only through God's miraculous preservation of the Jewish people throughout history. Assimilation, that is, the disappearance of the Jewish people into other nations, has proven impossible: if not because of the Jews, then because of their neighbors who have refused to accept them. In fact, the horrors of the Holocaust, its crimes against the witnesses to the name of God, so far exceed the sufferings of any other people as a people that it is impossible to conceive of it in human terms.<sup>89</sup>

In light of the Holocaust, some Protestant theologians wrestled deeply with its meaning, facing for the first time the anti-Semitism at the heart of their faith. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's friend and biographer, Eberhard Bethge, contended in a 1985 interview that Bonhoeffer began to analyze the anti-Semitism in Christian scripture and Christian thought while he was in prison awaiting execution. Although Metaxas has proven that Bethge was wrong about this, that Bonhoeffer realized what was at stake following *Kristallnacht*, it is still important to follow what Bethge told Barnett:

I've reread all the Bonhoeffer material with regard to the aspect of Bonhoeffer and the Jews. I've established, I believe, that my own awareness of the centrality for Bonhoeffer of the Jews — not just [our] deaconical obligation to them but their theological task — was much farther than I myself had realized. Now I'm trying, theologically, to discover where that began, that he never deviated from a Christocentric, innermost faith. In his *Ethics*, he truly confronted our weakness, when he said, "The Jews hold the question of Christ open." That stands in the *Ethics*.

Bethge continues,

We've read that for 30 years without really reading it. Now, suddenly, I see that. That, too, was something he sensed. His development from 1933 to the end can truly be established. He can't solve that now; we must solve it.

Recently, I wrote about Christology and the first commandment, and [my] basic

thesis is that Christ is Christ because, in Him, the first commandment is realized. That's why He's Christ. That means that, when a different god is made out of Christ ... then the first commandment is being violated. The Jews have the continuing task of reminding us of the first commandment. I'm trying, too, to describe how Bonhoeffer could pray to Christ, and the difference between a prayer to Christ that really worships a new god, or one that means the first commandment and the dethroning of other gods. ...

I'm trying to establish how some could confess the first thesis in Barmen ("*Solus Christus*"), and still be and remain anti-Semites. There lies the deficiency, and there's where the future work lies. The sociological and political roots of the confessors at Barmen have to be examined closely. I believe that Barth, too, was prepared to admit that even "*Solus Christus*" didn't erect any barriers against anti-Semitism.<sup>90</sup>

After the war, Confessing Church member Helmut Gollwitzer explained,

We, too, had to learn that we had grown up with these prejudices theologically. At first, we thought that the Jews deserved our human pity, and that the Jewish Christians needed our brotherly solidarity... and [that] we had to help the Jews in Germany because they were a threatened people.

In the meantime, Karl Barth had progressed further theologically. His basis for demanding that we help the Jews was that they are the people of God. That was a new basis for understanding the Bible, Judaism, and, with that, for understanding anti-Semitism as well. The view that anti-Semitism was merely the antipathy of a majority against a minority had to be abolished.

...The Jews are truly the key. That is the essential point with the Jews, theologically and biblically: How do we go about unlearning this part of the Christian tradition? That remains one of the most provocative questions in German [sic] Christianity today!<sup>91</sup>

Journalist Katelyn Beaty provided a key linking Dietrich Bonhoeffer's realization that "The Jews hold the question of Christ open" to Karl Barth's insight that "The Word did not simply become any flesh. It became Jewish flesh." Barth wrote, "The pronouncements of the New Testament Christology ... relate always to a man who is seen to be not a man in general, a neutral man, but the conclusion and sum of the history of God with the people of Israel." Irenaeus had stated that "all flesh" (*pasa sarx*) has been created by God and is appointed for salvation: "What is more ignominious than dead flesh? On the other hand, what is more glorious than that same flesh once it is raised, having received incorruptibility as its portion?" Similarly, Tertullian declared that: "the flesh is the pivot of salvation (*caro cardo salutis*)" in his great *Apologia* of 208 "defending the Church's teaching on the body." Against those heretics who thought that God's taking on of human flesh blasphemous, Tertullian "presents the flesh as that through which heaven comes to earth. Out of His infinite love for humanity, God becomes enfleshed and in so doing makes the flesh the way of our returning to God." Following this line of thinking, we can trace the development of Bonhoeffer's new appreciation of not only the Jewish Christ, but also the *theological* role of the Jewish people throughout the Church Age.<sup>92</sup> And in this light, Augustine's assertion of the "teaching of contempt" to explain the ongoing presence of Jews in history, can be redeemed. The Jews are God's witnesses

throughout history, bearing His revelation and making His identity unmistakable.

When Bonhoeffer wrote “The Jews hold the question of Christ open” he realized that the Jewishness of Jesus is what makes Jesus real, not an allegory, not a fable, not another god who can be remade in anyone’s image. In the Jewish Jesus, all particularity, distinctiveness, uniqueness, and individuality is upheld. In the Jewish Jesus, diversity is guaranteed against a homogeneous universality of humanity. That this is so is only true if the Jewish people continue to exist as a biblical people, one that finds its identity in a culture drawing upon the Hebrew Scriptures and the Jewish calendar, devoted in faithful witness to the identity of Christ and the God of Israel.

It pleased God to create a particular people, the Jewish people, out of all the nations in order to accomplish His soteriological plan of redemption in time and space. Through their sin at Sinai, he promised the Hebrews a kinsman-redeemer who would be their anointed king. But He did not come as they expected, but rather,

He had no form or majesty that we should look at him, and no beauty that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their faces, he was despised, and we esteemed him not (Isaiah 53:2).

The Jewishness of Jesus, as represented by Christ, must be remembered and affirmed by Christians, to remind the Jewish nation of their great commission to the nations as Christ-bearers but also as Witnesses to the truth and historicity of the God of Israel, the God of History. But this can only come by affirming Jewish cultural distinctiveness in the Body of Christ as a model for affirming the cultural diversity of the Church, the beauty of diversity that anti-Semitism has effaced for two millennia.

Heinrich Heine, a celebrated Christian author of Jewish descent who wrote in the German language, extolled the Bible as the “written fatherland ... of the children of God; it is our sacred inheritance from Jehovah.” Heine lamented that his “ancestors carried it about with them all over the world; they endured much grief, misfortune, disgrace, and hatred on its behalf.” Writing in a time in the throes of an anti-Semitic paroxysm, he wrote metaphorically about the end of the Muslim civilization in Spain, the *Convivencia*, which to him represented a time of freedom that had ended in the flames of intolerance and hatred. Heine’s play *Al-Mansur* (1820-1822) is about Muslims who had come under Catholic rule and the Inquisition in Spain following the *Reconquista*, but it is written against the anti-Semitism of Heine’s homeland, Germany. In the play, as the Qur’an is being burnt, Heine has the Muslim character, Hassan, chillingly predict the future, exclaiming, “This was only the prelude. Where they burn books, they will also burn people!”<sup>93</sup> The Jewishness of Jesus must be affirmed by Christians wherever they are. By affirming Jewish ethnic distinctiveness in the Body of Christ as a model for affirming ethnic diversity in the Church, Christians repudiate anti-Semitism. Barnett made it clear that this is a communal imperative. She pointed out the real lesson of the Holocaust: “Theologically and politically, the fates of Christians and Jews were bound together. But the tendency of most Germans, including those within the church, was to put an even greater dis-

tance between themselves and the Jews.”<sup>94</sup>

The Confessing Church’s failure to take a firmer stand at Steglitz, Meusel wrote afterward, was not only a “tragedy ... but a sin of our people, and since we are members of our people and answerable before God for his people, it is our sin.”<sup>95</sup> “But the concept of sin,” at that time, Barnett sadly acknowledged, “and for that reason the concept of possible moral action, was still centered on the responsibility of individual Christians, not on the church’s collective responsibility.”<sup>96</sup>

## VI. The Present Conundrum

Today, we continue to sin, sixty-three years after the 1948 War of Israeli Independence, by not helping the Palestinians and the Israelis to make peace. Although new evidence of positive Arab attitudes towards the Jews and Zionism during the Mandate Period is beginning to come to light, the spin on the conflict continues to be set by extremists like Hajj Amin Al-Husseini, whose Muslim Brotherhood was financially supported, trained, and schooled by the Nazis. The tragic result of Husseini’s decision to join the cause of the Palestinian Arabs to the Nazis was the defeat of the Arabs by the Zionists after the Second World War. By going to war against the British, the Arab leadership lost support for their cause and undermined continued British presence in the mandated area. Jewish Zionists were able to plead their case much more effectively against the backdrop of Arab rejectionism.<sup>97</sup>

Yet there is reason for hope. Lately, many Palestinian leaders have begun to recognize the importance of the Holocaust and the Second World War in relationship to their struggle for Palestinian sovereignty. In his book *Once Upon a Country*, Palestinian intellectual Sari Nusseibeh writes,

One day, while reading about two extraordinary philosophers with Jewish Viennese backgrounds, I ran across passages about the anti-Semitic scourge of the 1930s. As I read on, I felt the men’s suffocating sense of doom and terror due to their problems with citizenship, residency papers, travel documents, venial bureaucracies, the threat of property confiscation, and other humiliations. All at once I was reminded of my own home and my own people’s fate since 1947.

He continues,

That night, during a visit with Mother, I posed a question. Just suppose, I began, that in the early years of the century an elderly and learned Jewish gentleman from Europe had come to your father to consult with him about an urgent matter. And suppose this gentleman had told Grandfather that a looming human catastrophe of unimaginable proportions was about to befall the Jews of Europe. And suppose this gentleman added that as an Abrahamic cousin with historic ties to Palestine, he would like to prevent the genocide to come by seeking permission for his people to return to the shared homeland, to provide them with safety and refuge. What do you think Grandfather would have said? I asked her.

Nusseibeh writes,

Her answer surprised me. I was prepared for a long conversation full of conditions and clauses and caveats, but instead she replied straight away with a wave of her

hand, "What do you think? How could anyone have refused?"<sup>98</sup>

But that is exactly what happened. Led by Hajj Amin al-Husseini, the Palestinian leadership refused to allow the British to accept Jewish refugees, fighting Jewish immigration in the 1930s and 1940s tooth and claw. The British, concerned about the public opinion of the millions of Muslims in their Empire in India and the Middle East, did not act resolutely against the Arab Higher Committee, an office that they themselves had created to parallel the Zionists organization in Palestine. Allied with the Nazis, the AHC dragged their own people into the abyss. Even today, it is still illegal to teach about the Holocaust in many Arab countries.

I remember once, while I was taking notes from the Ottoman court registers at the Islamic court on Salah al-Din Street in East Jerusalem in 1986, the subject of the Holocaust came up. After I had mentioned that my great-grandparents had died at Theresienstadt, the young men with whom I shared the room vigorously denied that the Holocaust had ever occurred. Before I could respond, my friend, the retired imam of Al-Aqsa Mosque and Islamic judge Shaykh Muhammad Asad al-Imam al-Husseini, who had been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood during his long and storied career, rose in my defense. Looking calmly at the young men, at least one who was an early member of Hamas, he asked, "Where did all the millions of Jews of Europe go? They are no more." Silent, the young men pondered his rebuke. I wondered if they had any respect for what this old man said. And I wondered when Shaykh Asad himself had realized that Arab opposition to Jewish immigration had been a terrible mistake. At his advanced age, he liked to reminisce about Jerusalem before the polarization of the Jews and Muslims that had begun in 1929 and culminated in the Nakba, the Palestinian Catastrophe, in 1948.

Christians stand with Israel for multiple reasons: because of the biblical history and prophecy; a desire to honor God's work through the Jewish people; shame about the role of the churches during the Holocaust; and because they wish to make good for Christian sins against the Jewish people. Equally, they respect the Israelis for their courage, democracy, military, and contributions in the arts and sciences. And they see in Israel a reliable strategic partner in a region that has become drenched in blood.

However, as Kohl warned us, apocalypticism again characterizes the mood of some Christians, especially those who now wear the mantle of Christian Zionists. This apocalypticism has also found its way into the Jewish and Muslim worlds. Kohl urged Palestinian Christians to be "the small voice of warning and dissent" in the Middle East. Christians have to become "louder and more strategic," says Kohl, in their relationship with Israel. They, like the Confessing Church, are realizing too late what their anti-Zionist hermeneutic has wrought politically for the Christians of the Middle East. The increasing tendency among Palestinians and their supporters to adopt a Marcionist posture relating to the Old Testament bodes only evil and must be repudiated loudly by Christians everywhere.

## VII. Peace

We must learn to recognize God, but He does not always enable us to see Him — he vanishes from our sight, and hides in our neighbor. Luke 24:31 recounts another meeting of strangers. “And their eyes were opened, and they recognized him. And he vanished from their sight.” As we treat our neighbor, the stranger, we treat God. As we embrace God in the Other, we love as He has loved us. This is the only way to choose to remember. When Israel walks with God, so will her neighbors, beginning with the Palestinians and the Arabs, who are her closest relations.<sup>99</sup> Conversely, Jewish and Gentile Christians must embrace distinctive Jewish churches. Christians must make room for the Jewish nation, and desist from seeing Jewish nationalism and self-determination as inherently opposed to Christianity, and here, Palestinian Christians must be in the vanguard.

In this dispensation, the State of Israel is on the same level as every other state in the international community, subject to the same forces that affect every other state: politics, economics, climate, hydrology, social issues, cultural trends, and religious movements. During the Sixth Day, every state is equidistant from God. Only on the Seventh Day, when God has completed his work in history, when the Messiah reigns and Israel is restored, will all of the injustices that characterize our age be judged and set right. In the meanwhile, we must continue to follow the greatest Commandment and the great Commission, in essentials, unity: in non-essentials, liberty, and in all things, love.

The relationship of the Palestinians and Jews in Israel and Palestine has been the most challenging and important of all political relationships in Church history. What will the Christian witness be in our generation? Will we stand as Esther stood?

*How can I endure to see the calamity which shall befall my people, and how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred? Esther 8:6 Purim, 2011.*

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I dedicate this work in memory of Marie Mendel, the righteous gentile who took care of her husband's sister and her husband, my great-grandparents, Alexander and Jenny Moses, from the time of my grandfather's arrest in 1940 until their deportation to Theresienstadt in July, 1942.

<sup>1</sup>Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), cited in Ahmad H. Sa'di and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds., *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 21.

<sup>2</sup>This is common among second generation Holocaust survivors in the United States. See Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979).

<sup>3</sup>Sa'di and Abu-Lughod, 11.

<sup>4</sup>Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The Churches under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 82.

<sup>5</sup>Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest against Hitler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Wolfgang Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews*, trans. Victoria Barnett (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), originally published in German in 1987 and revised in 1993.

<sup>6</sup>James J. Sheehan, *German History 1770-1866* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

<sup>7</sup>Helmreich, *The Churches under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 125.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>9</sup>Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

<sup>10</sup>Jacob Neusner, *Toldot* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004).

<sup>11</sup>Helmreich, 32, 84.

<sup>12</sup>For example, see Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994).

<sup>13</sup>Barnett, 133.

<sup>14</sup>Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), and *idem.*, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998).

<sup>15</sup>Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>16</sup>Barnett, 123.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>20</sup>Hilary Putnam, *Jewish Philosophy as a Guide to Life: Rosenzweig, Buber, Levinas, Wittgenstein* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008).

<sup>21</sup>Elizabeth Drummond, Assistant Professor of History, Loyola Marymount University, in an email to author, dated May 13, 2010: "To be sure, the Prussian and later the German government encouraged the settlement of Germans in Poznan (I use this term to refer to the province, to distinguish it from the city), first in the Flottwellian era (1830s) and then again beginning with the founding of the Settlement Commission in 1886. Unfortunately, for the Prusso-German government, these settlement schemes were never particularly successful, especially in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as the German-Polish conflict was intensifying. I'm not sure of the extent to which they encouraged specifically Jewish settlement, however. In the later period (1871 — 1914), Jewish out-migration from Poznan was significant, in part because Jews were getting squeezed between the Germans and the Poles. [Poznan's] Polish name is Inowroclaw, which was changed to Hohensalza by the Germans in 1904. ... Poznan had been Polish territory when the Nazis annexed it as the Warthegau, I suspect that they found it easiest to classify all Jews there as Polish, regardless of how the Jews themselves identified. By that time, of course, German Jews had been stripped of their citizenship and were excluded from the German nation, so it would not have made sense, by their own logic, for the Nazis to classify them as German."

<sup>22</sup>Barnett, 126.

<sup>23</sup>Heschel, *Aryan*, 23-4.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>Deborah Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9. Barnett, 127-8.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>30</sup>Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 271.

<sup>31</sup>Hertz, 9.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>33</sup>Ferguson, xlix. See also Map 3: "The German Diaspora in the 1920s," xx-xxi.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 1; See also *ibid.*, 250.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Hertz, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *Toward Rediscovering the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 15.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> The Catholic failure to rescue its Jews, and the Protestant expulsion of the Jews from the church destroyed the witness of Christianity to modern Judaism, but guilt over the Holocaust has forced Christians to face the terrible legacy of Christian anti-Semitism following WWII. See, for example: Jacques Maritain, *Ransoming the Time* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948); idem., *On the Philosophy of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957); M.C. D'Arcy, S.J., *The Meaning and Matter of History: A Christian View* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1959), and Richard Francis Crane, *The Passion of Israel: Jacques Maritain, Catholic Conscience, and the Holocaust* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> Ferguson, 149.

<sup>43</sup> Hertz, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Barnett, 124.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 127-8.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 134-5.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>56</sup> Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Return Into History: Reflections in the Age of Auschwitz and a New Jerusalem* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 35.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Eric Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy — A Righteous Gentile vs. the Third Reich* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2010), 314-8.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 318.

<sup>61</sup> *Theresienstadt Lexikon*, "Christen," <http://www.ghetto-theresienstadt.de/pages/c/christen.htm>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Data available only for percentage of all Christians.

<sup>64</sup> Kai Kjær-Hansen, "With Hans Walter Hirschberg and Arthur Goldschmidt in Theresienstadt," *Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism Eighth International Conference Proceedings (Lake Balaton, Hungary 19-24 August 2007, 23 August 2007)*, <http://1cje.net/papers/2007.html>, < accessed May 4, 2010 > .

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., bibliography: Ghetto-theresienstadt, "Theresienstadt 1941-1945," <http://www.ghetto-theresienstadt.de/terez-inpamatnik.htm>; Hans Walter Hirschberg, "Christen im Ghetto" (unpublished ms., 8 pages), The Wiener Library, London, P.III.h. (Theresienstadt) No. 712; Hans Walter Hirschberg in *Prietenul*; Norwegian translation by Magne Solheim: "Jødekristne i gettoen i Theresienstadt", *Misjonsblad for Israel*, 1946, 122-123; Arthur Goldschmidt, "Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinde Theresienstadt 1942-1945" (Tübingen: Furche-Verlag, 1948). See also *Mishkan* 60 (2009), a special edition edited by Kjaer-Hansen on "Chaim Yedidiah Pollack, A Controversial and Challenging Jewish Believer in Jesus."

<sup>66</sup> Judith Mendelsohn Rood and Paul W. Rood, "Is Christian Zionism Based on 'Bad Theology?'" *Cultural Encounters*, (Forthcoming, Spring, 2011).

<sup>67</sup> Naim Ateek, statement in Bethlehem, March 17, 2010) Christ at the Checkpoint Theology of the Land Conference; available at <http://www.christatthecheckpoint.com> and idem. "The Changing Theological Landscape," *Cornerstone* 58 (Autumn 2010): 3.

<sup>68</sup> Rood and Rood, "Christian Zionism," (forthcoming).

<sup>69</sup> Wolfhart Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," *Basic Questions in Theology*, trans. George H. Krem (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 18.

<sup>70</sup> Adolph Sapir, *Christ and Israel*, ed. David Baron (Jerusalem: Keren Ahvah Meshihit, 2001); William E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming: God's Hope for a Restless World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1989, first published in 1917); Arnold Fruchtenbaum, *Israelology: The Missing Link in Systematic Theology* (Tustin, CA: Ariel Ministry, 2001) .

<sup>71</sup> With Martin E. Marty, he co-edited the five-volume American Academy of Arts and Sciences *Fundamentalism Project*, Five Volumes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987-1994).

<sup>72</sup> Nur Musalaha, *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel* (New York: Zed Books, 2008) and Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (New York: Verso, 2009).

<sup>73</sup> I tell this story in part in my book, *Sacred Law in the Holy City: The Khedival Challenge to the Ottomans as seen from Jerusalem 1829-1841* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2004).

<sup>74</sup> This era is one that I intend to expand upon in a future project.

<sup>75</sup> For example, Shlomo Sand's misguided *The Invention of the Jewish People* (New York: Verso, 2009).

<sup>76</sup> ( Hamas cleric Ahmed al-Tamimi identified C[hristian] Z[ionism] as "the greatest danger to world truth, justice, and peace"). Jerusalem Newswire Editorial, " Hamas: Christian Zionism is Our Enemy," *Jerusalem Newswire*, August 22, 2005, [http://www.jnewsire.com/article/527.June\\_5\\_2007](http://www.jnewsire.com/article/527.June_5_2007). Quoted in Judith Mendelsohn Rood and Paul W. Rood, "Is Christian Zionism Based on "Bad Theology"?" *Cultural Encounters* (Spring 2011: forthcoming).

<sup>77</sup> Even a Messianic Jewish scholar of the stature of Richard Harvey criticizes dispensationalism on the grounds of what he calls its: 1) "amalgam of rationalism, romanticism, and historical consciousness"; 2) "its hermeneutical methods"; and 3) its theology, which, he claims, posits "the problem of Israel and the Church as two peoples of God." He concludes that these doctrines "will not gain acceptance with the majority of Messianic Jews, and they will look for alternatives." Richard Harvey, "A Typology of Messianic Jewish Theology," *Mishkan* 57 (Winter 2009): 11-23, 15.

<sup>78</sup> "Israel slams Catholic Statement on Mideast, Singling Out Archbishop," *CNN World*, October 24, 2010, [http://articles.cnn.com/2010-10-24/world/mideast.catholic.bishops\\_1\\_catholic-bishops-synod-foreign-minister-danny-ayalon?\\_s=PM:WORLD](http://articles.cnn.com/2010-10-24/world/mideast.catholic.bishops_1_catholic-bishops-synod-foreign-minister-danny-ayalon?_s=PM:WORLD) < accessed January 11, 2011 > .

<sup>79</sup> Pannenberg, 18.

<sup>80</sup> Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament: Israel as a Light to the Nations* (Grand Rapid: Baker Books, 2000).

<sup>81</sup> Saucy, 298-9.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>83</sup> Arend Th. van Leeuwen, *Christianity in World History* (New York: Scribner's, 1964) 101 quoted in Saucy, 312.

<sup>84</sup> U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, Part Two: From Noah to Abraham* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964), 180, Saucy, 304.

<sup>85</sup> Saucy, 315.

<sup>86</sup> R. Kendall Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996).

<sup>87</sup> Jacob Jocz, *A Theology of Election* (New York: McMillan, 1958), quoted in Saucy, 318.

<sup>88</sup> Saucy, 323.

<sup>89</sup> The twenty-fifth anniversary of Claude Lanzmann's magnum opus *Shoah* again gives us the opportunity to ponder the meaning of the incomprehensible war of extermination perpetrated against the Jews of Europe.

<sup>90</sup> Barnett, 132.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Katelyn Beaty "The Dusty Messiah: Why I No Longer Believe in a Spiritual Jesus," *Christianity Today* (January 2010): 38-9.

<sup>93</sup> Stephan J. Whitfield, "Where They Burn Books," *Modern Judaism* 22(2002): 213-4.

<sup>94</sup> Barnett, 131.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism 1917-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) and also the less positive *ibid.*, *Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948-1967* (Berkeley: University of California, Press, 2010).

<sup>98</sup> Sari Nusseibeh (with Anthony David), *Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life* (New York: Picador/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 461-2.

<sup>99</sup> Tony Maalouf, *Arabs in the Shadow of Israel: The Unfolding of God's Prophetic Plan for Ishmael's Line* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic and Professional, 2003).