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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 67, Folder 1, Lebanon - Christian response, 1976, 1982.

*Robb Marc Janesbaum*

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 29, 1982  
**to** Harold Applebaum  
**from** Martin Raffel  
**subject** News Conference -- Christian Leadership Responds to the Crisis in Lebanon

On Friday, June 25 we coordinated a very successful news conference dealing with the crisis in Lebanon. A brief background report might be useful for other Chapters.

During the last several months, we have become more and more convinced of the importance of getting a Christian response to controversial issues involving Israel. To this end, we have been meeting periodically with a group of our Christian civic and religious friends who have shown a generally supportive attitude toward Israel. These are people who don't go along with everything Israel does but yet are understanding of Israel's need to provide security for her people. The idea was to develop an informal grouping which, from time to time, might make certain useful public statements on Middle East issues.

Our last session came just several days after Israel began its attack on the PLO in Lebanon. We suggested the possibility of making a public statement on that situation. Stephen Board, editor of Eternity Magazine, volunteered to draft a statement (enclosed herein) capturing the consensus opinion of the people at our meeting.

Once we had this short statement in hand, it was distributed to a number of other people who we felt might be inclined to join us. The result was a total of 19 signators, including the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the President of Temple University, a City Councilman and a Maronite priest, both of Lebanese descent.

The statement, which was sent to President Reagan, the two U. S. Senators from Pennsylvania and U. S. Representatives from Philadelphia, was released at a news conference held in the law office of one of the signators. We intentionally held it outside the AJC office to minimize the Jewish association with this effort. Our coverage was quite good -- two out of three T.V. stations (NBC and ABC affiliates), an important radio station (CBS affiliate), the Philadelphia Inquirer, both Anglo-Jewish papers and the UPI.

A word about this new public relations strategy vis a vis Israel. We have been generating a highly visible and powerful Jewish response to many Israel-related issues. Yet, in some ways, our success has itself been counterproductive. As the public increasingly tends to view us as part of a knee jerk "Jewish lobby", our credibility has diminished, regardless of how much merit there is to our many pronouncements. Therefore, we have shifted our emphasis to gaining a Christian or Christian-Jewish response to these issues even if it means some additional expenditure of time, a lack of total control over the process and even a somewhat less visible role for AJC. If this latest experience is a good indication of what can be accomplished, we may be on the right track.

con'd. . .



Once again, we had great cooperation from the Public Relations Department. Natalie Flatow worked up a dynamite news release on only several hours notice.

I am sending you a copy of the Inquirer story -- more articles to follow later.

MR:r

encls.

cc: Murray Friedman  
Gene DuBow  
Abe Karlikow  
✓ Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Natalie Flatow  
Susie Schub  
George M. Ross  
Robert A. Fox  
Dr. Seymour Piwoz  
Myrna Asher  
Mort Yarmon



STATEMENT ON THE CRISIS IN LEBANON

All sensitive people are troubled by the violence and bloodshed in Lebanon and Northern Israel in recent days. As Christian and Jewish Americans, we share a special concern for the Christian minorities, Muslims and Jews who have paid a great price in conflicts that originated with armed intruders to the region.

We believe the situation in Lebanon must be resolved within a framework that both restores genuine sovereignty to the people and government of Lebanon and provides permanent security for people living near the Israeli-Lebanon border.

Therefore, in order to be of lasting benefit, any Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon must be related to firm guarantees for the withdrawal of Syrian and PLO military forces.

Ernesta D. Ballard  
Civic Leader

Stephen Board \*  
Executive Editor, Eternity Magazine

Dr. Dennis J. Clark  
Historian

Alvin H. Clemens \*  
President and Chairman  
Executive Committee of Academy Insurance Group

Father Louis El Farek \*  
Father Antoine El Maghariki \*  
Assistant Pastors of St. Maron's Church

John M. Elliott \*  
Senior Partner, Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish & Kauffman  
Board of Directors Irish Society of Philadelphia

Dr. Murray Friedman  
Middle Atlantic States Regional Director  
American Jewish Committee

Robert A. Fox  
Chairman of the Board  
Philadelphia Chapter, American Jewish Committee

Richard G. Gilmore  
Banker

Matthew R. Giuffrida \*  
Director, Parish Witness Program  
American Baptist Church

Reverend John F. Hardwick  
Episcopal Priest

Patricia B. Levine \*  
Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Dr. Peter J. Liacouras \*  
President, Temple University

Father Sharbel Lischa \*  
Pastor of St. Maron's Church

W. Thacher Longstreth \*  
Philadelphia Quaker  
President, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce

Frank C. P. McGlenn  
Businessman

Eugene Pasymowski \*  
President, Polish-American Affairs Council of Pennsylvania

Honorable James J. Tayoun  
Councilman of the City of Philadelphia



## For Lebanese: Joy undercut by worry

By Linda Loyd  
Inquirer Staff Writer

The whirr of power saws and the pounding of hammers broke the quiet in the heart of Philadelphia's Lebanese community yesterday, as Joseph Karam Sr. and his neighbors erected platforms and strung colorful flags to bring a "tiny bit of Beirut" to the 1000 block of Ellsworth Street.

All week, the 350 families who make up Philadelphia's Christian Lebanese community have been hammering and cooking in preparation for what is normally their most joyous celebration of the year — a three-day block party, which began yesterday and which brings together the entire Lebanese community here for eating, dancing, renewal of friendships and rekindling of pride in homeland and heritage.

But this year, with fighting in Lebanon, the joy normally associated with the festival is undercut by worry and anguish.

In their modest brick rowhouses, in their small bakeries and restaurants, Lebanese families here have watched with concern the mounting casualty toll and destruction result-

ing from Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon 20 days ago.

"We cry to see what's happening to our country. We shed many a tear when we watch the news," said Karam, 52, who finally learned two days ago that his uncles, aunts and grandparents, who live in Northern Lebanon, are safe.

Others have not been so fortunate. "We watch. We feel hurt. We feel sadness," said one youth, putting the finishing touches on a platform for belly dancers.

But even with the sadness, the people of the Christian Lebanese community, by and large, view the invading Israelis as coming to their rescue.

They, too, want the Palestine Liberation Organization strongholds rooted out, and the Syrian troops pushed back.

Although the plight of the Lebanese has not been in the limelight, they say, the PLO has wreaked havoc on their tiny country, occupying and ravaging homes and murdering innocent civilians.

"It's the best thing that ever happened to Lebanon, to chase the PLO

(See LEBANESE on 2-B)



Philadelphia Inquirer / MICHAEL VIOLA

Philadelphia's Christian Lebanese community feels a combination of joy, worry and anguish



## Lebanese celebrate, and worry

**LEBANESE**, from I-B and Syrians "out of Lebanon," said Karam, "because nobody remembers what the PLOs and Syrians did to the Christians and Moslems. They talk about the genocide of the Second World War, but what about the genocide in Lebanon in the last six years?"

What the Lebanese want is a free and sovereign Lebanon. And, they say, if more bloodshed is the price of peace, the end result, as long as it is freedom, will be worth it.

"Yes, it's worth fighting to get the PLO out, not only the PLO but all 'outsiders,'" said the Rev. Sharbel Lischaa, pastor of St. Maron's Roman Catholic Church, Philadelphia's only Christian church in the Lebanese community.

"We don't care who does it — Russia, Cuba, Argentina, Mrs. Thatcher — because we suffer. Nobody gives us his hand. Everybody plays games. Israel is not an aggressor, and Israel does not want to conquer Lebanon," said Father Sharbel, as his parishioners call this priest of the Eastern Rite of the Roman Catholic Church.

But Father Sharbel, 49, a passionate spokesman for his homeland who came to this country seven years ago, said that Lebanon wants Israel out of its country as soon as Israel liberates Lebanon from the Syrian and Palestinian troops.

"We don't need any foreign troops in Lebanon," he said.

To that end, Father Sharbel and 18 other Philadelphia religious and community leaders issued a joint statement yesterday urging that all armed forces, including Israel, the PLO and Syrians, get out of Lebanon and let Lebanon determine its national sovereignty.

In a news conference in a Center City law office, a group of Christian and Jewish leaders said they were speaking out as "moderate" voices to clarify confusion about what is going on now in the Middle East.

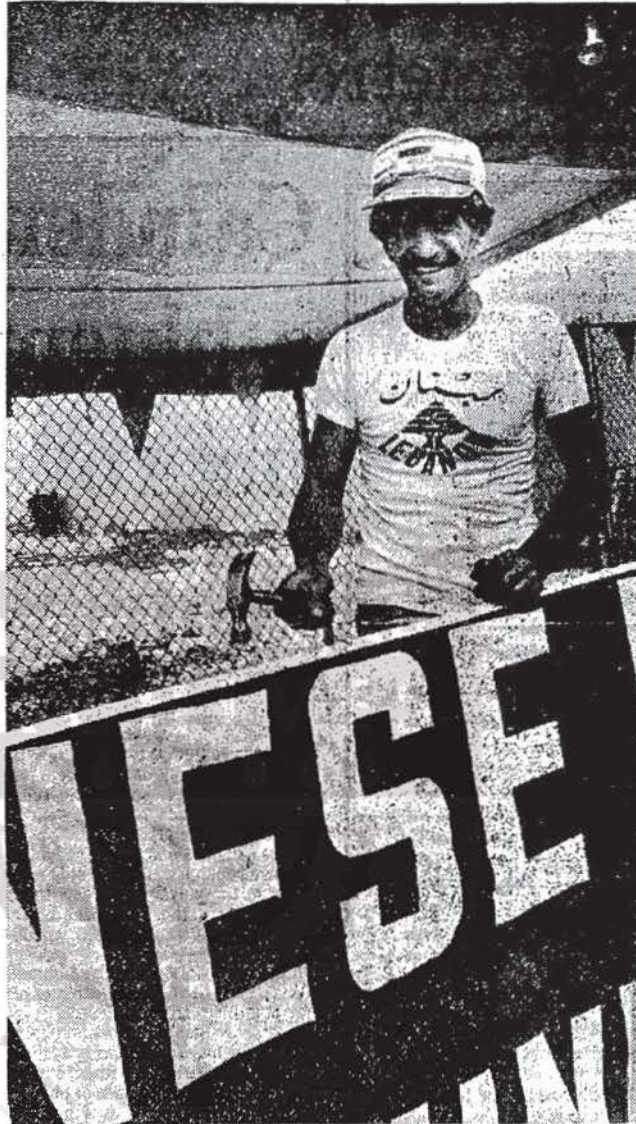
The statement, sent to President Reagan and local members of Congress, grew out of continuing meetings between Christians and Jews in Philadelphia to iron out their differences with regard to the Middle East.

Included among the list of prominent civic leaders who supported the effort were representatives of Polish-American and Irish groups, Quakers, Baptists and Episcopalians.

"This does not constitute any kind of agreement beyond these few words," stressed Stephen Board, executive editor of Eternity Magazine, an independent Christian magazine.

"We're not endorsing every military venture that Israel or any of the other warring factions are involved in, nor are we members of the Begin [Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin] club," he said.

The signers did urge, however, that "any Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon must be related to firm guarantees for the withdrawal of



Philadelphia Inquirer / MICHAEL VIOLA

### Joseph Karam Sr.: Preparing for block party

Syrian and PLO military forces."

John M. Elliot, a lawyer with the firm of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish & Kauffman, said: "I think the only type of firm guarantee that's going to mean anything has to involve a strong guarantee by President Reagan, backed up by American troops as part of a peace-keeping force. Anything short of that is not going to restore stability," he said.

Murray Friedman, regional director of the American Jewish Committee, one of the sponsors of the ecumenical statement, said, "The man in the street really understands what is happening in Lebanon today, the effort to provide security for the State of Israel and permanent peace in the area. In the somewhat more sophisticated and intellectual circles this is less understood. I think there's a split between the cosmopolitan culture and the locals.

"It's no accident that representatives of the Polish-American Affairs Council and the Irish Society of Philadelphia signed this statement," Friedman said. "There's a great deal of concern in all the communities, the Jewish community included, at the violence and bloodshed that trag-

ically is now taking place in Lebanon."

Meanwhile, back on Ellsworth Street, as the block party gets into full swing today, and continues tomorrow, the Lebanese people will try to focus on happy thoughts, not politics back home.

For that reason Father Sharbel declined to host the news conference yesterday on his block in South Philadelphia. "It's a happy event for the whole Lebanese community in Philadelphia. We don't want anything to cover this happiness," he said.

Father Sharbel said he has even kept talk of the fighting out of the pulpit. On Sundays, he asks for "peace in Lebanon," but "we don't use the pulpit for this stuff," he said.

"If people have questions, my door is open. We believe in the government of the United States. We believe we have a good President of the United States, that they understand all the problems that are going on."

"So what we ask, and what we hope, is to have peace in Lebanon and see all the strangers out. Especially, the strangers that have ammunition and bombs."

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

*Re  
Memorandum*

MEMORANDUM

**To:** ADL National Commission  
**From:** Abraham H. Foxman  
**Date:** September 29, 1982  
**Subject:** Anti-Semitic Incidents in Europe Since June 6, 1982

The Israeli "Operation Peace for Galilee" in Lebanon, launched on June 6, provided the pretext for a blurring of any significant differences between anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic calumnies in the media, and for a rash of anti-Semitic incidents throughout Western Europe.

Enclosed is a report prepared by Shimon Samuels, director of ADL's European office, based on a broad spectrum of sources by no means exhaustive. We presume that many incidents remain unreported. However incomplete, the enormous volume of anti-Semitic assaults -- whether unrelated spontaneous acts of grass roots prejudice or preplanned terrorist atrocities -- over a period of less than three months is a disturbing indicator for European Jewry.

Not included in the report were two recent attacks directed against an Israeli diplomat in France and the synagogue in Brussels.

AHF:saj  
Encl.

cc: CRC's and Federations  
B'nai B'rith Board of Governors



EUROFACTS: September 1, 1982

ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN EUROPE SINCE 6 JUNE 1982

AUSTRIA

- 11 June, Vienna Home of Simon Wiesenthal bombed. Extensive damage. No injured.
- 25 June, Vienna Bomb exploded outside home of Alexander Giese (a Director of Austrian Television and member of the Austria-Israel Association).
- 27 July, Salzburg Bomb outside a Jewish owned shop. Anti-Semitic leaflets found nearby.
- 28 July, Vienna Bomb at a store owned by a Jewish industrialist. A West German Right Extremist, Ekkehard Weil, arrested.
- 1 August, Vienna Unexploded bomb found in a quarter of Vienna where there are numerous Jewish businesses.
- Week of 9 August, Vienna Anti-Semitic graffiti at the Jewish Memorial. (German and Austrian Neo-Nazi groups suspected).

DENMARK

- July, Copenhagen Pig's blood smeared on the gate of the Israeli Embassy.

FRANCE

Threatening telephone calls to Jewish institutions throughout the period.

- 13 June, Paris Bombs exploded outside two Jewish cafés. Passer-by injured.
- 20 June, Forbach Tombstones overturned in the Jewish cemetery.
- 26 June, Paris Refusal of mail to Israel by a neighbourhood Post Office clerk.
- 1 July, Nice Nice University broke an exchange agreement with Haifa University.



FRANCE cont.

- 9 July, Paris Mayor Claude Lamblin, in the name of the municipal council of Reims, objected to the holding of an Israeli cultural evening in his city.
- 20 July, Paris Bomb exploded outside Bank Leumi. Material damage. "Palestine will conquer" flyers left on the scene.
- 20 July, Paris Extensive damage caused by bomb at Ganco, a company which imports Israeli electrical components.
- 26 July, Sanary Home of a Jewish family destroyed in an explosion. House empty at the time. "Death to the Jews" written on the gate.
- 1 August, Paris Machine-gunning of the empty car of an Israeli diplomat. Claimed by "Direct Action".
- 7 August, Paris Bomb exploded outside Discount Bank (formerly owned by the Rothschild Group). Material damage. Claimed by "Direct Action".
- 8 August, Paris Bomb exploded outside a hardware shop owned by a Jewish couple. Claimed by "Direct Action".
- 9 August, Paris Massacre at Rue des Rosiers. Six killed, 22 injured, initially claimed by "Direct Action".
- 10 August, Paris Bomb exploded at the building housing the "Citrus Marketing Board of Israel". One passer-by injured. Claimed by "Direct Action".
- 13 August, Paris Arson at a prayer-hall. Extensive damage.
- 21 August, Paris Car bomb exploded. One dead, two injured, one in critical condition. Claimed by the "Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fraction" who also claimed credit for attacks on diplomats Chapman, Ray and Barsimantov.

GERMANY

Menacing telephone calls to members of the Jewish community throughout the period.

- 1 August, Munich Bomb exploded in the embarkation area for El Al. The bomb was in a case 'in transit from Dusseldorf. Six injured, three seriously. Claimed on 23 August by "Justice for the Palestinians" Organization.

GREAT BRITAIN

- July, Stoke-Mandeville Anti-Semitic remarks and placards against the Israeli team at the opening ceremony for the annual games for handicapped athletes.
- August, Manchester A rash of swastika and anti-Semitic daubings on community buildings.

GREECE

- 2 July, Athens Bomb attack on Israeli firm. No casualties.
- 2 July, Athens Bomb defused outside a Jewish owned travel agency. Claimed by "Popular Revolutionary Struggle".
- 2 July, Athens
- The population registry office refused to register the birth certificate of a Jewish child. The father being told: "Go to your homeland, you have no place here".
  - A hairdresser refused to service a Jewish client.
  - Verbal attacks in post offices to those wishing to send mail to Israel.
  - Marine radio operators boycott transmissions to Israeli ships.
  - Stevedores refuse to service Israeli ships or third-country ships bound for Israel.
  - Olympic Airways stewards demanded to cease flights to Israel.
- 2 July, Kalimnos Crowd shouted anti-Semitic slogans to an Israeli ship in port.
- 2 July, Rhodes Israeli ship refused a berth in port.
- 7 July, Athens Radio use of "Israelitis" (Greek for "Jew") instead of "Israeli" leading to confusion, resulting in letters to the radio demanding the boycott of Jewish shops.
- 8 July, Athens A 65 year old woman was thrown out of a taxi when she had informed the driver that she was Jewish.
- 25 July, Athens The Greek Athletics Association cancelled participation of a womens' track and field team in a match against Israel.

HOLLAND

- 7 July, Amsterdam Molotov cocktails thrown at the home of a Dutch Jewish journalist. Three men arrested belonging to the "Dutch Red Action Front".
- 16 August, Amsterdam Anti-Semitic flyers distributed in several quarters of Amsterdam by Dutch Extreme-Right groups.

IRELAND

- 7 August, Cork Two Molotov cocktails thrown into the synagogue early Shabbat morning and three death-threat telephone calls to the Jewish ex-mayor of Cork.
- August, Dublin Menacing telephone calls to the Chief Rabbi.

ITALY

Threatening telephone calls to Jewish institutions throughout the period.

Graffiti on synagogues, community centres, university walls and subway stations. Swastikas, "death to the Jews", "death to Zionism", "Begin Pig", "Begin is like Hitler", "Israeli pogroms", "Jews get out of Europe", "Jewish scum", "Jews get out of the neighbourhood" ...

- 17 July, Venice Bomb exploded at the Israeli stand for the "Venice Biannual". Claimed by the "Communist Front".
- 18 July, Padua Arson at the American company Honeywell which makes military calculators for Israel. Claimed by "Communist Front".
- July, Trieste and Terni Signs on shops stating that "Zionists are not served here".

NORWAY

- August, Oslo Threatening telephone calls made to Jewish leaders.
- 18 August, Oslo The Norwegian Servicemens' Association protested a lecture by Israeli Professor Yaacov Choueka to the Law Faculty of Oslo University.



SPAIN

Throughout this period the Spanish press, especially the two largest dailies El Pais and Ya, in each attack on Israeli policy have replaced the word "Israeli" with the noun and adjective "Judío" (Jew or Jewish) resulting in unambiguous expressions of anti-Semitism.

Innumerable anti-Semitic graffiti and swastika daubings in the streets of Madrid and major provincial cities.

26 July, Aréta Israeli folk group boycotted by spectators. Called "assassins and killers of Palestinians". Flyers condemning Israel distributed by "Herri Batasuna" (independent Basque coalition close to the ETA).

SWEDEN

17 July, Norrköping Israeli flag burnt during soccer match against Hapoel Tel-Aviv.

24 July, Norrköping Israeli flag burnt and anti-Semitic insults screamed at a soccer match played against Hapoel Kfar Sava.

SWITZERLAND

7 July, Zurich Menacing letters received by several Jewish organizations. Signed by "Swiss Section of the Anti-Zionist Militia".

- MIGROS, the largest Swiss cooperative, received anti-Semitic insults accusing it of selling tomatoes at below market price - despite the fact that its director is not Jewish.
- The Swiss Labour Party attacked fund-raising for the Jewish Appeal alleging that the money collected for Israel was directed against the Swiss nation.
- Threatening letters and telephone calls to the President of the Swiss-Israel Association.
- During a radio programme extracts of "Mein Kampf" were read. The words "Jew" and "the Jews" were replaced by the words "Palestinian" and "Palestinian nation".



Policy Background

August 20, 1982

WEST BEIRUT: PLO OCCUPIED TERRITORY AT LONG LAST RELIEVED

The expulsion of the PLO from Beirut resulted from the skillful diplomatic efforts of U.S. envoy Philip Habib and the military pressure and operations of the Israel Defense Forces.

This dramatic development has produced three major results:- security for the population in the north of Israel (in Galilee); the opportunity for the people of Lebanon to regain their independence and restore their sovereignty; a significant advance for U.S. and Western interests in the Middle East.

1. Ever since the first cease-fire of the war, on June 11, with the PLO militarily defeated and the Israel Defense Forces on the outskirts of Beirut, Israel has done all within its power to help bring about the removal of the PLO from Beirut by political means and without bloodshed. Israel set no deadlines and awaited progress in the diplomatic process. Indeed, Israel made a number of unprecedentedly generous offers designed to allow the PLO leaders and forces to honorably leave Beirut. Most importantly, Israel agreed that the PLO could leave Lebanon by sea or by land and that they could take their personal weapons with them. This - in the face of the Arab countries' cynical refusal to take in the terrorists.
2. The PLO, for its part, took advantage of Israel's clearly demonstrated patience and of its reluctance to sustain casualties or inflict casualties on the civilian population of Beirut. It constantly altered its position and raised new demands, trying to gain time and sympathy in other quarters, and to bring international pressure to bear on Israel.
3. At the same time, its forces in West Beirut again and again harassed the Israeli positions with small-arms and artillery fire, in flagrant violation of repeated cease-fires and in an attempt to wear down Israel's forces in a war of attrition.
4. Israel could not agree to this form of attrition warfare. Moreover, with the diplomatic process stalled, and the prospect of arriving at a suitable solution without bloodshed delayed, other means had to be employed, from time to time, to accomplish the removal of the PLO from West Beirut - an objective shared with the Lebanese, the United States and many other countries.



5. The military pressures and the intensified military operations carried out by the IDF led to the collapse of the PLO forces in West Beirut - and to the conclusion, by the PLO leadership, that they were not in a position to make demands or set conditions, and that their only remaining choice was to accept the proposal that they withdraw from the city - or risk the IDF's entry. At the same time, several of the Arab states became convinced that they had to take in the units of the organization they themselves had created.

6. Harm to civilians and their property was impossible to avoid because the PLO intransigently clung to West Beirut. The responsibility for that harm rests squarely with:-

\*the PLO itself, for having deliberately emplaced its military machine in the heart of a city with hospitals, embassies and similar institutions from which, under international practice (if not simple humanity and common decency), military arms and equipment should be kept far removed; for forcibly holding the remainder of West Beirut's population hostage. The IDF allowed all who wished to do so to leave Beirut to be out of harm's way, and indeed well over 130,000 took advantage of that opportunity.

\*other countries which lent the PLO encouragement and comfort, thus contributing to its intransigence in dragging out the diplomatic negotiations for some two months, utterly oblivious to the suffering this was causing the civilian population of Beirut.

On the other hand, the IDF spared no effort to avoid casualties and with great sacrifice succeeded in driving out Palestinian terrorists who had deliberately placed themselves and their weapons among the civilian population, thus expecting immunity. Now, as they are getting out of Beirut, Moslems and Christians alike voice a growing sense of relief.

7. The Lebanese government has asked for the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanese soil. Israel has consistently declared its readiness to pull its forces out of Lebanon, as soon as circumstances permit. The inhabitants of Lebanon, held hostage for so long by the PLO, will now have the opportunity to recover from the traumatic experiences of the past seven years. The world has a unique opportunity to help the Lebanese shape their own destiny and reestablish an independent and peaceful country.



D R A F T

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

TO: CRCs and AJC Area Directors  
FROM: Judith Banki  
SUBJECT: Christian Attitudes Toward the Conflict in Lebanon

There appears to be a widespread impression in the Jewish community that Christian leaders and bodies have remained silent on the crisis in Lebanon. In a few instances, American Jewish and Israeli spokesmen have taken Christians to task for failure to speak out vigorously on behalf of their own co-religionists.

In fact, much has been said and written by Christians about the conflict in Lebanon—Pope Paul VI, Archbishop Bernardin of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the National Council of Churches have issued statements of profound concern and sorrow over the continuing loss of life, and pleaded for a peaceful resolution—but there has been very little "side-taking." Christians knowledgeable about the Middle East have carefully refrained from depicting the conflict solely as a religious war, pointing out that Christians and Moslems are involved on both sides in the fighting. They tend to underscore the socio-economic and political roots of the conflict, and many, particularly among the liberal Protestant community, are sympathetic to the leftist claim that the practice of reserving political and military office to members of a

particular religious confession discriminates against the poor and keeps political and economic power in the hands of a minority. Moreover, they resent the assumption that they will automatically side with a particular party to the conflict simply because there are more Christians in it.

#### Attitudes Toward Israel

It may be tempting for Jews to assume that the tragic bloodbath in Lebanon will serve as an example of the destructive effects of Palestinian militancy, and thus heighten Christian sympathy for Israel's position. There is little evidence to suggest this is so. It is common knowledge that the presence of large numbers of Palestinians in Lebanon has exacerbated—if not triggered—the present crisis, but prior attitudes about how to resolve the problems of the Middle East tend to determine the position of church bodies and leaders. Thus, pro-Israel church officials will argue, in effect: "If the Palestinians are tearing Lebanon apart, imagine what they would do to Israel." Anti-Israel church officials will place the onus on Israel for having displaced the Palestinians in the first place.

Given the complexities of the Lebanese conflict, we suggest that Jews be circumspect in public statements calling



upon Christians to align themselves with any particular faction in the conflict, unless, of course, the fate of the Jewish community in Lebanon is directly involved. A recent memo from our Paris office indicates that the position of Jews in Lebanon has seriously deteriorated in recent months, due to the participation of forces from outside of Lebanon, but that individual Jews have been aided by all Lebanese factions, including Fatah.

(Attached are copies of the NCC Resolution and a press release summarizing Archbishop Bernardin's statement.)

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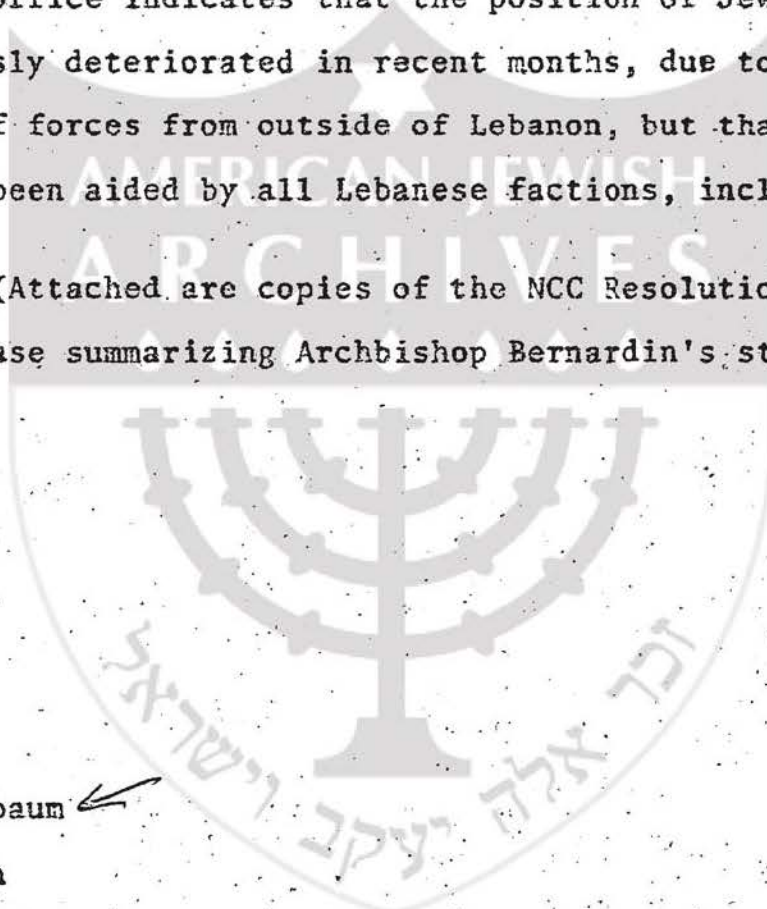
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THE UN'S ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION: CHRISTIAN RESPONSES



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

by Judith H. Banki

Presented by

The Interreligious Affairs Department

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

70th Anniversary Annual Meeting

May 12-16, 1976

Washington, D.C.



PREFACE

The resolution proposed by radical Arab nations and their allies that sought to stigmatize Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination" was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 10, 1975. This survey of Christian responses to the UN's anti-Zionism resolution documents reactions from representative Christian leaders and institutions during the several months following the adoption of that defamatory declaration. By normal expectations, this study—even though it is the most comprehensive and well-documented of its kind—should be regarded as an historic record of a past event, perhaps mainly of interest to inter-religious historians.

Unfortunately, the painful reality is that this study records not just a past-tense episode, but an unhappy present day reality, and more than likely anticipates a pattern of future threats and challenges to the Jewish community. Hardly a single international assembly has taken place since last November without the efforts of the PLO, the Arab states, the Communist bloc, and a number of Third World nations joint to introduce similar resolutions. The current meetings of the UN Economic and Social Commission (May 1976) have in fact been dominated by vicious harangues intended to caricature Zionism as racism incarnate. Informed observers anticipate that this

anti-Zionism and anti-Jewish campaign will continue unabated at the forthcoming UNCTAD Conference, and that other international meetings on environment, habitat, economic development—no matter how unrelated to Zionism.

What is behind this obsessive Arab drive, and what relationship does that have for this document?

Within large segments of the Jewish community, in Israel the United States and elsewhere, there is a deeply-felt conviction that welcome as have been some recent signs of moderation on the part of some Arab leaders, radical Arabs appear determined to undermine the existence of the Jewish State. These sustained polemical assaults against Israel and the Jewish people both inside and outside the United Nations are widely perceived in the Jewish community as a calculated master strategy on the part of Arab leadership to isolate Israel and her support system of world Jewry as "pariahs" among the nations.

To insist that the world community recognize the demonic and destructive character of this campaign is not paranoia. Ample and frightening precedent is to be found in the experiences of racism in our country, and on a more diabolical level, in the Nazis' genocidal campaign against the Jews. In an effort to understand how the lynching of blacks became possible in the United States in the mid-20th century,



Professor Gordon Allport of Harvard University undertook a study of racial prejudice and published his findings in the landmark work, The Study of Prejudice. Every episode of lynching of black people in the South, Dr. Allport noted, was preceded by a period of "verbal violence." Black people were verbally assaulted as "niggers," "coons," and similar epithets. The effects of that "verbal violence" by bigots and racists, he added, was to empty black people of their human dignity, their very humanity, and to reduce them to abstractions on whom contempt could be heaped with impunity. Once blacks were dehumanized by such "verbal violence," it was relatively easy for racist mobs to engage in lynching. An abstraction—a dehumanized abstraction—makes little claim on human compassion.

In a like but infinitely more extensive way, the Nazis set about systematically to dehumanize Jews. With the enormous arsenal of Goebbel's propaganda machine—from the crude caricatures of Streicher's cartoons to sophisticated films and "scientific" textbooks—at their disposal, and a pre-existing foundation of widespread anti-Semitism to support their efforts, they succeeded in large measure in reading the Jewish people out of the human family, and therewith set the state for the planned murder of six million men, women and children.

The anti-Zionist propagandd campaign that radical Arabs and their allies have been waging with such tenacity and con-

sistency is but an effort to replicate the mass dehumanization of Israel and the Jewish people as a preliminary state in their determined program to liquidate Israel. How else can one explain the incessant speeches and resolutions of Arab spokesmen of which this genocidal statement by the representative of Libya delivered on March 24, 1976, at the 1897th meeting of the UN Security Council is characteristic:

This racist entity in the Middle East must be destroyed and it will be destroyed one day.

(S/PV/1897. p. 92)

One of the primary messages of this document is that the leadership and masses of the Christian world—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Greek Orthodox, black churches—have understood the terrifying seriousness of this massive, systematic campaign of Arab leadership to try to dehumanize Israel and the Jewish people. Christian condemnation of this Arab propaganda assault against the legitimate aspirations of the Jewish people has been a heartening demonstration of understanding and human solidarity. That does not mean, as this study indicates, that Christian leaders, nor Jewish leaders for that matter, approve of every policy or political action of the Israeli government. At the very least, these heartening Christian condemnations of anti-Zionism as veiled anti-Semitism do mean that the sense of the Rabbinic maxim has been taken seriously, namely, that in the fact of such violence against the dignity and personhood of the Jewish people—or any other people—"silence is tantamount



to assent."

Encouraging and welcome as have been these acts of friendship by Christians for Jews, sobering reality compels us to realize that such sympathy and solidarity will be needed for months and years to come—until peace is finally established in the Middle East and hatred is banished from the face of the earth.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
National Interreligious Affairs Director  
American Jewish Committee



## THE UN'S ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION: CHRISTIAN RESPONSES

On November 10, 1975 the United Nations General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 72-35, with 32 abstentions, a resolution defining Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination." The adoption of the resolution, if not the exact tally of the votes, had been foreshadowed some weeks earlier when the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, at its 30th session on October 17, adopted the same declaration.

In the United States, and in many other parts of the world, Christian leadership denounced both the substance of the resolution and its adoption by the UN General Assembly in forthright and powerful language. Much of this response was immediate and spontaneous, and it came from every level of the organized Christian church community: from the leadership of national Catholic and Protestant institutions, from regional and local church groups, from ecumenical associations, from ad hoc communal groups, from campus ministries and from individual clergy, academicians and religious journalists.

There have been differences—sometimes sharp differences—between the Jewish community and various Christian church groups and institutions in their respective understandings of



threats to Israel's continued existence and on ways of resolving Middle East tensions. The discovery by Jews after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (and to a lesser degree after the Yom Kippur War of 1973) that some Christian groups and leaders did not share their overwhelming concern for the security and survival of Israel as the number one priority in resolving the Middle East conflict led to some angry charges and counter charges and to some withdrawal from interreligious dialogue.

The UN vote to brand Zionism as racism, however, evoked a near unanimity of criticism from Christian spokesmen. Some of it was cautious and diplomatic, more of it was outraged and denunciatory, and it came not only from traditional friends of Israel, but also from sources not normally politically supportive of Israel within the context of Middle East politics.

These responses are documented below, with a concluding summary and interpretation. This report, encompassing reactions from October through the end of 1975, is based on material sent to the American Jewish Committee from Christian church groups and ecumenical associations in the United States and other parts of the world, from its own field staff and foreign offices, from newspaper reports, and from Christian and Jewish colleagues whose numbers prevent individual acknowledgment but whose cooperation is deeply appreciated. While comprehensive, it does not claim to be complete. The demands of space have necessitated the condensation of much of the material.

It is possible that some statements or actions by church groups or leaders have escaped notice, but no public declaration on the UN action has been knowingly omitted. Unless otherwise noted, all dates cited are 1975.





ROMAN CATHOLIC

Vatican Sources

While Pope Paul VI made no comment on the UN action, mild criticism of the resolution came from two Vatican sources. Cardinal Jan Willebrands, president of the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism, said in Rome that the resolution served "neither justice nor the well-being of peoples in the Middle East." After a talk on the 10th anniversary of Vatican Council II's Declaration on non-Christian religions, Cardinal Willebrands, who is also president of the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, voiced amazement that the UN passed the resolution without defining the meaning of "Zionism" or "racism."

Vatican press spokesman Federico Alessandrini, writing in a private capacity in the Vatican weekly L'Osservatore della Domenica, questioned, "How could the United Nations permit themselves to abandon their institutional role, which is the search to resolve the problem and bring peace? How could they make a gesture which could further complicate the Mideast situation and provoke bitter intransigency?"

Alessandrini, a veteran observer of international affairs, defended a prior UN vote to admit the PLO on an equal footing with others in Mideast discussions on the grounds that "all parties should be able to express their views and participate," but then asked:

How do you logically accept this along with the next resolution which seems destined to rekindle in the other party the complex of fear, siege, ostracism?

...This would certainly not be the way to obtain greater Israeli willingness to accept United Nations resolutions of the Middle East.

### Inside the United States

In the United States and in many other parts of the world Roman Catholic reactions were more direct, more critical and more responsive to the substance of the resolution. Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati, President of the United States Catholic Conference, expressed his "profound disagreement with, and great disappointment at" the UN vote. "The resolution is unjust," he declared, "...and opens the door to harassment, discrimination and denial of basic rights to members of the Jewish community throughout the world."

Touching a theme which was echoed by several other Christian leaders, Archbishop Bernardin combined his vigorous opposition to "this ill-conceived and ill-defined measure" with support for "essential United Nations activities."

Cardinal John Cody of Chicago strongly endorsed Archbishop Bernardin's comments in a separate statement. Noting it had been more than ten years since Vatican Council II had declared the Church's opposition to "hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism...at any time and from any source," Cardinal Cody expressed "deep regret" at the UN action; he also reiterated Archbishop Bernardin's charge that the resolution was unjust and opened the door to persecution of Jews.



Archbishop Thomas A. Donnellan of Atlanta addressed himself to the anti-Semitic implications of the resolution. During the course of a two-day Vatican II Commemorative Conference sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Archdiocese of Atlanta, the Archbishop declared, "Anti-Semitism is evil, and should be denounced and repudiated wherever it rears its head."

Cardinal Terence Cooke of New York also touched on the anti-Semitic aspect of the UN action. Recalling the Vatican Council declaration, he declared:

We must reject anti-Semitism just as much when clothed with seeming legality at the United Nations as when crudely exhibited on a neighborhood street corner.

Cardinal Cooke's remarks were delivered by Msgr. James F. Rigney, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral and chairman of the Archdiocesan Ecumenical Committee, at a protest rally in New York City on November 10.

Cardinal John J. Carberry of St. Louis said the vote was "particularly distressing" because the UN, an organization "founded on the principles of peace and justice, finds itself in the position of advocating division and discord....The reckless statement of the General Assembly is a far cry from the high ideals expected by John XXIII," he declared.

Archbishop Peter L. Gerety of Newark called the vote an "abhorrent action" and an "outrage."

"It is a grievous thought," Gerety said, "that a people who, in our lifetime, have been victims of the most terrifying form of racism the world has ever seen, should now be unjustly accused of racism themselves."

The archbishop also has issued a pastoral letter on the brotherhood of Christians and Jews in which he urged Catholics to reject any sentiments of hatred or any displays of anti-Semitism at any time and from any source. He concluded:

A long history of suffering has made Jews particularly apprehensive of the threat of horrible things to come. We ought to share that apprehension and fight the slightest sign of hatred or of contempt for Jews on the part of others and most of all on the part of ourselves.

Bishop James A. Hickey of Cleveland urged that the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism "be counter-balanced immediately by the willing response of those who are anxious to build rather than destroy."

Vatican II rejected anti-Semitism 10 years ago, the bishop noted, expressing his disappointment that the UN now takes a position that "polarizes rather than reconciles the differences of society." Extending his "profound sympathy" to the Jewish community, Bishop Hickey also expressed hope that the UN resolution



would not undermine "our commitment to that body, a consequence that the nations of the world, whatever their position or power, can ill afford."

Father Edward H. Flannery, executive secretary of the U.S. bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, reacting to the vote, described Zionism as "that immemorial longing of the Jewish people for a homeland which runs like a golden thread through the Jewish scriptures and liturgy."

"To label this longing 'racist,'" he continued, "is a political ploy that perverts the clear meaning of Zionism and insults our common humanity."

Father Flannery noted that the vote was taken on the anniversary of "the Hitlerian bloodbath when fires were set all over Germany, synagogues burned to the ground and 30,000 Jews arrested and sent to concentration camps." He continued:

The world peace organization, designed for a noble purpose, has celebrated this ugly anniversary in grim fashion, using its forum to publish a shocking endorsement of anti-Semitism.

I believe that in view of this and other earlier actions by the United Nations it is inevitable that our government reassess the nature and conditions of its support for the world body.

Father Flannery condemned the UN action from other podiums. In speaking engagements in Orlando Florida; Providence, Rhode Island and Fairfield, Connecticut, he called for increased Christian awareness of traditional anti-Semitism and said the UN

"equation of Zionism with racism is an atrocity and a terrorism." He also urged the American Catholic Church, in the spirit of collegiality, "to teach the Church throughout the world about Zionism. We cannot wait for this information to seep down from the Vatican," he said.

Bishop Walter F. Sullivan of the Richmond, Virginia Diocese said that the UN vote was "another sad chapter in the history of the ongoing oppression of the Jewish people." He added, "We must identify with our Jewish brothers and sisters in their continued struggle for survival and equality."

Bishop Sullivan also criticized the UN resolution during the course of his participation in a Hanukkah service at a Richmond synagogue — the first such participation in that area for a bishop — and he was also a signatory to a statement issued by religious leaders in Richmond.

(Like Bishop Sullivan, a number of Roman Catholic leaders were co-signers of statements issued under other auspices — from local communities, or from ecumenical organizations or associations. For example, Bishop Philip F. McNairy, Roman Catholic bishop of Minnesota, criticized the UN resolution in his capacity as chairman of the Minnesota Council on Religion and Race. Archbishops James V. Casey of Denver and Charles A. Buswell of Pueblo signed a statement of Colorado religious leaders, as did Auxiliary Bishops George Evans and Richard Hanifen. Providence Bishop Louis E. Gelinou's state-



ment appeared jointly with other Rhode Island religious and civic leaders. Bishop David F. Cunningham of Syracuse signed a joint statement of concern with others in his area. Bishops Vincent Leonard of Pittsburgh and William Connare of Greensburg were signatories of a joint statement by Pittsburgh area Christian leaders. Bishops Carroll T. Dozier of Memphis and James D. Niedergeses of Nashville were among 60 Christian leaders signing a letter of protest to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, drafted during the Second National Jewish-Christian Relations Workshop held October 28-30 in Memphis. For the most part, these joint declarations and their signatories are detailed in the section of this document dealing with interreligious and ecumenical responses.

Denunciations of the racism-Zionism link also came from various national Catholic organizations and from archdiocesan committees dealing with human relations or ecumenical issues. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, a federation of Catholic groups and individuals concerned about civil rights and social justice, spoke out in unequivocal terms. In a statement issued in Washington by its board of directors, the NCCIJ declared:

This resolution is indeed an obscene one, as the United States rightly termed it. If it becomes official United Nations policy, it will be the source of endless anti-Semitic attacks on Israel and its Jewish supporters around the world.

We recognize racism when we see it. We recognize anti-Semitism when we see it.

Zionism is not and never was racism.

This resolution is anti-Semitism at its worst.

We will support our own government in its efforts to reverse this vote and urge those nations who supported the resolution to reconsider their vote.

Similarly, the president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights charged that the UN resolution was an expression of anti-Semitism. Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J. said the UN action constituted

...another demonstration of the highly objectionable and divisive practice of labelling social, political and civil rights issues as ideological or religious as a means of dividing people, creating hostilities and setting groups against groups.

The Catholic League condemns this divisive practice, not less when used in controversies about the right to life of unborn babies, the civil rights of North Ireland Catholics and tax funds for the education of children in church-related schools than when used in controversies about the right of the Jewish people to have a homeland in Israel.

Archdiocesan organizations which issued statements included Cardinal Krol's Commission on Human Relations (Philadelphia), the Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs Committee of the Archdioceses of Detroit, Baltimore and Albany, New York, and the Catholic-Jewish Committee of the Archdiocese of Boston. Cardinal Krol's commission declared:



It is most distressing that the United Nations, whose charter we affirm, whose operations we support and whose goals of peace, justice and unity, we applaud, should by a policy of numbers, by a majority vote, allow itself to be used as an instrument of discord, injustice and division.

We are confident that all reasonable people realize that facts are not determined by majority vote, and that unsupported charges discredit the majority voting and not the target of their charges. It is our fervent hope that the United Nations will take effective measures, to preclude a repetition of being exploited by those who are more interested in promoting hostility than peace.

The Detroit statement took the form of a letter to UN Secretary-General Waldheim signed by members of the Archdiocesan Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. Expressing "deep personal dismay" at the adoption of the resolution by the UN committee, they continued:

The history of Zionism is clear and open to all to see. It arose not out of racial discrimination, but in reaction against racial discrimination. As a movement, it grew only because anti-Semitism in countries throughout the world reached genocidal proportions during the period of the Second World War. Zionism represents one of humanity's noblest attempts to free the world of the crimes of racism and genocide, which is the logical outcome of racism. Any attempt to equate Zionism as such with racial discrimination is both historically absurd and morally obscene. From last Friday's vote, one can only conclude that, sadly, we are witnessing today a recrudescence of that same horrifying racism against the Jewish people which precipitated the Zionist movement in the first instance. The irony is obvious and not a little frightening

when the racism stems from a world body  
such as the United Nations.

Declaring the resolution was "steeped in falsehood and  
apparent ill-will," they charged its passage would "seriously  
threaten both world peace and the work of the United Nations,"  
and urged to member states to "reconsider this rash and untimely  
action."

The Baltimore Archdiocesan Commission for Ecumenical  
and Interreligious Affairs, in a statement signed by its chairman,  
Fr. Brian M. Rafferty, expressed "horror at the recent action  
of the majority" in the UN General Assembly. First, said the  
commission, the branding of Zionism as racism is an

utterly baseless assertion concerning  
a decades old movement which has been  
nurtured by a faith which has lasted  
for millenia. While this faith sees  
a close link between a people and its  
land, and while it demands respect for  
its own unique self-view, it, in no  
way, disparages or demeans any other  
people or group.

Secondly, the statement continued,

with this action the UN has debased  
itself into a senseless, mindless  
throne forsaking any pretense of  
being a forum for wise and cool  
discussion of the world-wide  
problems which plague our human  
family.

The Commission on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs  
of the Diocese of Albany reiterated Archbishop Bernardin's



"profound disagreement with, and disappointment at" the UN action. In letters to Secretary-General Waldheim, Ambassador Moynihan, Senators Javitz and Buckley and Albany congressional representatives, Fr. Howard Hubbard, chairman of the commission, supported the stand of the U.S. delegation, urged "vigorous opposition" to the implementation of the resolution, and said that the "lamentable action" of the UN had placed the world today in "serious jeopardy."

The Catholic-Jewish Committee of the Archdiocese of Boston, in a statement supporting the U.S. position on the resolution, noted "the obscenity" of equating Zionism with racism. Pointing to "the natural rights that all peoples have to a national homeland," the statement warned that the UN, which "has given voice in the past to some of the most decent and humane instincts of mankind," jeopardized its world standing and credibility by adopting the resolution.

The Catholic Interracial Council of New York called the initial adoption of the resolution by the UN Third Committee "a shameful and appalling act," which "threatens to make a mockery of the UN's avowed and noble effort to eliminate racism." In a statement issued by its Executive Director, John Garra, the CIC pointed to its long record of opposition to racial and religious bigotry. Of the attempt to link Zionism and racism, Mr. Garra said:

We recognize Zionism itself as part of the long fight against racism. For more than a century it has been a movement of the Jewish people to save themselves from discrimination by establishing, through peaceful means, a nation in the Middle East ready to live at peace with its neighbors.

To seek to enlist the U.N. in a global campaign against Zionism as a form of racism is not only to distort the truth, but it is a means likely to incite racist hatred and anti-semitism against Jews and other groups whose sympathies lie with the State of Israel.

In addition, various Catholic scholars and priests spoke out as individuals. Father John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, President of the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, expressed his "very deep concern" in a letter to Secretary General Waldheim. Father Pawlikowski stated:

The resolution is most unjust and will only further erode the credibility of the United Nations. Israel is not a perfect society. But neither is any other member. Such a politically motivated resolution as this undercuts the Committee's ability to deal with racism where it really exists such as in South Africa. It likewise will seriously weaken support for the United Nations here in the United States.

The dean of the Seton Hall University Law School, John F. X. Irving, called the resolution "a facade which cloaks its question of Israel's right to exist," and said the United Nations action "has created enormous disappointment in free men everywhere." Dean Irving made his remarks at a rally protesting the resolution in West Orange, New Jersey.



Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher, director of the Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall, described the resolution as "slanderous." In an article in the Morning Star Ledger (November 14) he pointed to the declaration of Israel's founding fathers that the state will maintain "complete equality of social and political rights for all its citizens, without distinction of creed, race or sex," and that the founding fathers had extended the hand of peace and good neighborliness to all states and peoples around them. "No sooner had these words been spoken," wrote Msgr. Oesterreicher, "than the Arab governments, so appealed to, tried to have their armies wipe out the newborn state." Noting the technical, medical and agricultural assistance given by Israel to 62 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, he asked, "what has happened to some of the beneficiaries of Israeli friendship that they now see in that unique service a form of racism?"

"Anyone who thinks that the condemnation of Zionism concerns Jews alone is a fool," he added. "It is an attack on the moral code of the universe, and thus an attack on anyone who wears a human face."

As quoted in the Sunday News of Queens (November 16) Msgr. Archibald V. McLees called the resolution an "obscene trick" which must be condemned.

In a telegram to Secretary General Waldheim, Sister Ann Gillen of the National Coalition of American Nuns, declared that the equating of Zionism and racism would "crumble the very foundations" of the UN. "As a Christian, I protest the anti-Semitic terrorism polluting the UN," she wrote.

Father James S. Conlan, in a radio commentary made on New York Station WINS November 16, said that the United Nations vote focused on "a moral iniquity" which was the root of most Middle Eastern problems:

To deny the right of a free and viable homeland for the Jews of the world is to close one's eyes and ears to the vicious cruelty heaped upon the Jews over the centuries. Anti-Semitism is a curse upon the entire human race. It deforms us. It cripples us. It demonizes us...The six million Jews heartlessly murdered in our time are six million witnesses to the fact that as long as humans inhabit this earth the disease of anti-Semitism can turn us into beasts.

Father Conlan also drew attention to the explosion of a bomb in Jerusalem as an indication of widespread support of the Palestinian cause and noted that "there are many indeed who feel that the Palestinian Arabs are victims of an enduring and unendurable injustice."

In a letter published in the Catholic Universe Bulletin of Cleveland (November 21), Sisters Jane Pank, H.M. and Ruth Anne Bruner, H.M. and Patricia R. Lange declared that "this obvious game of political manipulation" had violated "the rights of human beings to build their own future — theologically speaking, to work out their own salvation in freedom..."



RESPONSES IN THE CATHOLIC PRESS

Editorials in national and diocesan publications, and in the writings of syndicated columnists, ranged from coolly analytical to passionately angry. Overwhelmingly, however, the UN action was denounced and viewed as an incitement to anti-Jewish hatred.

Describing the vote "a perversion of logic," Commonweal, the national biweekly published by Catholic laypersons, probed the consequences of the resolution in depth. (December 5)

While in one sense the UN action "was meaningless -- sheer theatre," wrote the editor, in another sense it "has the profoundest implications, for it brings into doubt the intellectual and political integrity of the world body, just as surely as it brings Zionism under unfair onus wherever in the world people are disposed to take the UN seriously."

Exploring the relationship between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, Commonweal noted that the terms are "not precisely synonymous" but that to see a connection between them "is not irrational phobia," since anti-Zionism may be seen as the newest development in the hatred of the Jewish people as primeval myth:

In the Middle Ages, it was religious bigotry; in the nineteenth century, economic ills; in the earlier part of this century, pseudo-scientific racism. In this analysis, the "war" against Zionism is only the latest metamorphosis of the myth, this time directed against the great enterprise of the modern Jewish people concretized in the State of Israel.

The editorial stressed the urgency of an educational campaign "to acquaint people generally with the true meaning of Zionism and the theological and psychological identification of Jews the world over with Israel as the Land sacred to Jewish history and vital to Jewish safety and survival as a people." At the same time, temptations to reprisal and vindictiveness against the UN should be resisted; despite its flaws, the UN "remains the most important forum for international debate and opinion in the world."

In a later (December 19) article in Commonweal, Thomas Powers thoughtfully exposed the American press reaction to the UN resolution, describing most of it as "rhetorical excess." While "no people has suffered more from racism than Jews, it is the history of the Jews in fact which gives the word its most horrific connotation...that still does not fully explain the heated reaction to the UN anti-Zionism resolution."

It is the displacement of the Palestinians which is at the heart of the issue, Mr. Powers wrote. "The proper way to answer a charge of racism is not to ignore the facts behind the charge—in this case, the fact of Palestinian displacement—but to explain why they do not constitute racism."



America, the national weekly publication of the Jesuit Fathers, maintained a more detached tone. In a November 22 editorial, America noted that the resolution had met "stronger opposition than the Arab lobby usually encounters on UN votes on the Middle East" partially because "rather than being simply pro-Palestinian, the resolution was exclusively anti-Israel—an important distinction for those many countries whose first devotion is to national liberation."

While declaring that the resolution was "rhetorical flourish rather than a program of action," America pointed to potentially serious consequences:

Some might argue that rhetoric is better than bloodshed, but in this instance, if one takes the terms of the rhetoric seriously, an essential condition for peace in the Middle East—the recognition of Israel's right to exist—has been denied.

Our Sunday Visitor, a conservatively-oriented national Catholic weekly, commented (November 23) that the adoption of the resolution "is far more tragic for the UN than it is for Israel." Pointing to "the irony that the Soviet Union practices real racism and racial discrimination in its treatment of the Jews and that there is no real freedom in most of the countries that support this terrible resolution," the editors acknowledge that the resolution might portend some danger to Israel:

But the real danger is to the United Nations. Control of the General Assembly was seized for political purposes of the worst kind. The United Nations can survive only with the trust of free people in the world. A wound has been inflicted on the Jewish people but a far more dangerous wound was suffered by those who inflicted it and by the UN that was used as their political instrument.

Father Andrew M. Greeley, a columnist widely-syndicated in both the Catholic and secular press, commented in two separate columns on the UN action. In one, he chided Catholic radicals for their silence in the face of the "recent anti-Semitic binge at the UN," where

the gun-toting Arab terrorist Arafat gets a standing ovation, the mad racist Amin is widely applauded, Israel is thrown out of UNESCO and now anti-Semitism is established as the official policy of the "people of the world."

On this issue, Father Greeley wrote,

there is no escape. When the official body allegedly representing the people of the world announces that the existence of Israel is an act of racism, you either loudly dissent or you must be assumed to be going along with what your official "representatives" have endorsed.

In another column, he extended his criticism to the World Council of Churches for passivity in the face of Jew-baiting. "When the 'parliament of the world' goes on record as equating Zionism with racism, the Christian parliament of the world should not lose a second in issuing a condemnation in the strongest language," Father Greeley wrote. But no such condemnation would be forthcoming, he surmised, because no Christian body today would run the risk of offending the Third World. Lashing out at the World Council of Churches for its acceptance of political double standards, Father Greeley wrote, "both the UN and the World Council of Churches are the products of democratic liberal optimism; both have failed because neither liberalism nor



democracy mean much in most countries of the world." Father Greeley also wondered why the Vatican—"where George Wallace recently was not granted a papal audience but General Idi Amin was"—was silent on this issue.

Father John B. Sheerin, CSP, devoted a syndicated column to the UN and Zionism. Reviewing the letter to Kurt Waldheim signed by 60 Christians at the Second Annual Workshop for Christian-Jewish Relationships (documented elsewhere), Father Sheerin wrote that the Arab-African leaders who backed the resolution, "must be challenged for the benefit of the UN itself. They must not be allowed to put the world peace organization in jeopardy by calumniating all the Jews of the world as well as Israel, a member of the state of the UN in good standing." Father Sheerin concluded:

To allow anti-Semitism to run rampant in the UN would be to pave the way for another Hitlerian era in world history. We can make an act of contrition for Christian sins against the Jews in the past but we Christians would do better than that by trying our best to prevent the Holocaust, the murder of the six million Jews, from ever happening again. We can urge our own government to warn the anti-Semites in the General Assembly to stop their lying tactics. The UN must not become a forum for genocide or a platform for launching a new pogrom.

A roundup of reactions in the Catholic press around the U.S. provided by the Religious News Service (November 17) illustrates the range of critical response to the resolution. With some additions, the following is taken from the RNS roundup:

"Outrage...all time low and anti-Semitism...were among the words used in editorials published by Catholic diocesan weeklies immediately following the UN vote to condemn Zionism as a form of racism.

"We had thought the United Nations had sunk to an all-time low recently when it gave a standing ovation to President Idi Amin of Uganda," said the Criterion of the Indianapolis archdiocese. "We were wrong. Accolades for a tyrannical buffoon are small potatoes compared with the attack this week on Israel and Jews everywhere who see Israel as their spiritual homeland."

Calling the date of the resolution's passage, November 10, a "day of shame," the Monitor of the San Francisco archdiocese said, "What the United Nations, in reality, has done is to condemn the Jewish people in their homeland of Israel and to incite further hatred of them all over the world." The editorial was written by editor-manager Gerard E. Sherry.

The National Catholic Reporter, an independent, lay-edited weekly published in Kansas City, Missouri, said, "By equating Zionism with racism, the UN is transformed from an arena for serious debate to a collection of nationally and ideologically labeled soapboxes for declamation, not dialogue."

In an editorial headline "Anti-Semitism at UN" the Baltimore Catholic Review declared, "The United Nations resolution on Zionism is so absurd, it is tempting to write it off as a clownish prank of an adolescent mob. Unfortunately, anti-Semitism is too serious



an evil for anyone—especially Christians—to ignore the resolution."

The Voice, publication of the Miami archdiocese, recounted the difficulty Jews have experienced historically in trying to find a place where they would be accepted. And the editorial concluded, "Zionism is simply a last ditch effort by a tiny fraction of the world's people to have a place to survive in a world that has told them again and again that they must either stop being Jews or be killed... It is those who voted in bad conscience for the resolution who are the racists."

The Catholic Bulletin of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis and the Diocese of New Ulm said that in labeling Zionism as racism the UN had "put itself on record as racist itself." A signed editorial by editor Bernard Casserly called adoption of the resolution "the most disgraceful episode in the 30-year history of the international body."

A call for Christians to "rise up against such an odious attack" was issued by the Catholic Free Press, weekly paper of the Diocese of Worcester, Massachusetts. "Zionism and Judaism are, of course, two different things," it said. "But in context of the United Nations mentality today, a slur upon Zionism is an attack against Judaism."

"Bigotry dies a slow death, doesn't it?" observed the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Catholic Witness. But while condemning the resolution for fostering anti-Semitism, it warned that Catholics

should not express their righteous indignation at the UN too quickly, noting that the phrase "perfidious Jews" was only a short time ago dropped from the Catholic Good Friday liturgy.

Msgr. S.J. Adamo, editor of the Camden Star Herald, said in a signed editorial that Catholic concern for the survival and well-being of the Jewish people should be based on "a sense of shared spirituality."

"The Jews are our people, our brothers, our forebears," he said. "Any injury inflicted on them is harm poured upon the heads of our spiritual grandparents."

"Hopefully, the protests of decent people all over the world will render the UN resolution a piece of meaningless rhetoric," Msgr. Adamo said. "Hopefully, all who abominate racism will cry out against the obscenity of such a cowardly effort to paint as racists the very people who have suffered so much at the hands of racists."

"One searches in vain for comforting signs in Monday's vote in the United Nations General Assembly equating Zionism with racism and racial discrimination," said the Paterson, New Jersey Beacon. "The vote was a setback for Israel, for the U.S. and the West, for the UN—and for peace."

Declaring that the Middle East issue was not one of absolute right and absolute wrong, the Beacon said that "life for the Arab in Israel is not the paradise painted by Israeli UN Ambassador Chaim Herzog."



"But that is not the same as racism," it said, "and the approach to addressing legitimate Palestinian grievances is not the course which was charted this week by the General Assembly."

Despite its criticism of the Zionism resolution, however, the Beacon warned that scuttling the UN by withdrawing U.S. support would be "a case of one folly surpassing another."

"Outrage" was the single-word headline of an editorial in the Long Island (New York) Catholic.

"A coalition of Arab and other Muslim nations, Communist and Third World countries voted Monday at the UN General Assembly to condemn Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination," it said. "This indeed is an outrage."

"Zionism may be termed a form of nationalism, but it is a far cry from racism and racial discrimination," the editorial said.

"Does Zionism smack of racism?" asked the Newark Catholic Advocate. "Not even the sponsors of the UN resolution think so. What they object to, is not the Zionist hope, but its realization, the State of Israel, and its bearer through the centuries, the Jewish people."

Dealing in forthright fashion with the ancient Christian assumption that Jews are condemned to wander the earth forever, the Advocate declared:

Christian scholars have demonstrated that the idea of the "wandering Jew" rests on a misreading of Scripture. The rejuvenation of the Jewish people and establishment of the state of Israel are rather signs of God's providence, banners of His fidelity."

Father James Gandrau, editor of the Catholic North West Progress of Seattle (December 12), expressed sympathy for all sides in the Middle East conflict, and concern for the Christian exodus from the Holy Land. He noted that the Israeli government could not be blamed for the reduction in the number of Christians, since Christian Arabs have been leaving the Middle East for many years.

Pointing to the complexity of the issues in the area, Father Gandrau discounted the suggestion that Jerusalem should be internationalized and said that "Jews and Arabs must work through the Jerusalem problem themselves." While "Catholic concern in the Middle East...must extend equally to Jews and Arabs alike," he sharply criticized the UN action. "The attempt to equate Zionism and racism at the UN was no step forward for peace and justice in the Middle East," he declared.

Perhaps the closest thing to a defense of the UN vote came from Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, a columnist for the Pittsburgh Catholic, whose article was reprinted elsewhere. "There is some of the pernicious anti-Zionism, which is anti-Semitism, in the anti-Israel forces who are winning majorities in the UN General Assembly," Msgr. Rice wrote, "but there is another anti-Zionism there which is not anti-Semitism and need not be. If you are a Palestinian who's lost his land...you are not going to like Zionism, and who could blame you?"



Suggesting that Ambassador Moynihan had overreacted to the UN action, Msgr. Rice asserted "Israel's case belongs in the UN," along with "the right of the Palestinian state to come into existence and the right of Palestinians to engage in all deliberations bearing upon their fate." Msgr. Rice was particularly exercised by United States military and financial commitments in the Middle East.



PROTESTANT, ORTHODOX AND EVANGELICAL REACTIONS

International Bodies

Dr. Philip A. Potter, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, appealed to the UN General Assembly to "reconsider and rescind" its action linking Zionism with racism and declared the Council's "unequivocal opposition" to the equation. In a statement made in Geneva on November 11, Dr. Potter said "Zionism has historically been a movement concerned with the liberation of the Jewish people from oppression, including racial oppression." Further, he defined Zionism as "a complex historical process, expressing many differeng aspirations of the Jewish people over the years, and...subject to many misunderstandings and interpretations. None of these could appropriately be used to condemn Zionism as racism."

Dr. Potter declared that the resolution would exacerbate tensions in the Middle East by diverting attention from the "over-riding task of resolving the conflict" by peaceful negotiations.

In urging the UN Assembly to consider and rescind the resolution, he appealed to all parties involved in the Middle East conflict and to the UN to concentrate on implementing pertinent UN resolutions and "to find urgently ways to enable the Palestinian people to achieve their legitimate rights to nationhood and statehood while recognizing the right of the state of Isarel to exist peacefully within internationally agreed boundaries."



In the United States

Various officials of the National Council of Churches, the largest umbrella organization of Protestant and Orthodox churches, spoke out against the resolution. After its adoption by the UN Third Committee, but before its endorsement by the General Assembly, Claire Randall, General Secretary of the Council, urged the General Assembly to reject the resolution. Noting that the NCC executive committee had called upon Israel and the Palestinians "to recognize the right of the other party to the same self-determination which they desire for themselves," she declared that "mutual recriminations will not help solve Middle East problems nor contribute to peace," and that the acceptance of the resolution on the part of the UN "will undermine the struggle against racism, and has the potential for reviving an old form of racism, anti-Semitism, in many places in the world."

After the General Assembly vote, two top officials of the NCC office on Christian-Jewish Relationships described the UN action as an "act of political savagery," and urged that it be rescinded. Dr. William L. Weiler, an Episcopal priest, executive director of the NCC agency, and the Rev. Isaac Rottenberg, a Reformed Church in America clergyman, the agency's chairman, wrote to Kurt Waldeim:

By this uninformed and irresponsible equating of Zionism, the liberation movement of the Jewish people, with racism, the world body devoted to bringing peace among nations has succumbed to an act of political savagery, and has sown further discord among the member states.

As Christians committed to promoting justice and peace throughout the world, we affirm the right of the Jewish people to pursue their own national destiny, and we oppose those who would deny this people of the rights which they cherish for themselves.

They concluded with a call for the General Assembly "to acknowledge the error of this resolution, and speedily to rescind it."

A spontaneous response of "horror" was registered by the Rev. Nathan H. VanderWerf, executive director of the NCC's Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism. In a telegram to professional colleagues at the American Jewish Committee, he asked "Will we never see the end of anti-Semitism" May God bless you all and save Israel which in part saves us all and our humanity and justice." Mrs. Martha Edens, general director of Church Women United, a national ecumenical movement, described the resolution as "an affront to Jewish people everywhere," and added, "In our position as a non-governmental organization represented at the UN we have protested this reprehensible act, by signature and speech, and will continue to do so. We particularly deplore the weakening of the United Nations resulting from this resolution, and we fear its implications in regard to the cause of combatting racism."



YWCA

In a statement adopted on November 2, the national board of the YWCA declared itself

...deeply disturbed that in the world political arena the ancient and historic longing of a displaced and persecuted people for a homeland has been equated with racism. The international community cannot afford to be divided in the battle against racism...by political distortions which confuse victims and perpetrators.

The organization called upon its own members "and other Americans to play an informed and mediating role in the elimination of anti-Semitism."

The statement of the national board was endorsed in a separate action by the board of directors of the YWCA of White Plains, Mt. Vernon and Central Westchester on November 24.

Greek Orthodox

Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, called the resolution "deplorable and offensive." He added:

We profoundly regret that the United Nations, which was established to dedicate itself to serving the cause of peace and justice, saw fit to issue such an imprudent pronouncement that has caused great pain and anguish to all, particularly at times when we all strive for peace and justice in the world.

Other statements were issued by officers and boards of several Protestant denominations and in some instances by state or local judicatories of the same church groups.

Episcopal

A statement issued by the presiding bishop of the Episcopal church, John M. Allin, and Bishop John H. Burt, of the Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations, decried the UN action as "an inexcusable offense against those legitimate aspirations of the Jewish people for a homeland which the U.N. itself certified back in 1947."

Expressing fear that the resolution might "unleash... international bitterness and regional anti-Semitism," they identified themselves "with our Jewish brothers and sisters" and urged Christians not to forget the relative silence of the church during the Nazi Holocaust. They concluded, "Let us all now resolve that the Christian Church today will stand steadfast alongside those who profess the faith and preserve the religious tradition in which Jesus of Nazareth was raised."

Other Episcopal leaders spoke out in different contexts. Bishop Paul Moore of New York was a major speaker at a protest rally held in New York City. Bishops Frederick Beldon of Rhode Island, Robert Appleyard of Pittsburgh, William Frey of Colorado, Lyman Ogelby of Pennsylvania, Robert C. Rusack of Los Angeles, Ned Cole of Central New York and Jonathan Sherman of Long Island, New York were signatories of joint declarations issuing from their respective regions, documented elsewhere. The Committee



on Jewish Relations of the Ecumenical Commission of the Episcopal Diocese of New York issued a separate statement through its chairman, the Rev. Dr. Lee A. Belford. In a letter to Kurt Waldheim, Dr. Belford declared:

The attempt to equate Zionism with racial discrimination is both historically absurd and morally obscene, and actually leads to a posture of hatred for Jews because they are Jews.

The executive council of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut resolved (December 17) "that the equating of Zionism with racism is offensive to our consciences as Christians. We desire to express this response to our UN Delegation and to leaders of the Jewish community in this state and to the press."

In addition, the Diocesan Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, in a separate resolution adopted November 26, voted to join with Bishop Rusack "in expressing to the Jewish community of Los Angeles through its leaders our distress over [the UN] action; that we extend to them the hand of brotherly love; and assure them of our desire to establish dialogue in all matters of mutual concern." Moreover, the Diocesan Council also voted to incorporate into its minutes a message of Holy Day Greetings to the Jewish community which had been adopted by the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church at its regular meeting in Greenwich, Connecticut, September 16-18. (This message, unrelated to the UN action, extended greetings to the Jewish community upon the celebration of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur,

urged joint study between Episcopal and Jewish congregations, expressed "indebtedness to Judaism for the rich heritage that we Christians possess..." and declared, in part:

We are aware that the history of Jewish-Christian relations has been marked many times with bitterness, pain, prejudice and persecution. We pray that these days will never again be repeated and pledge our efforts as elected leaders of the Episcopal Church to be vigilant in standing against every expressing of the sickness we call anti-Semitism...)

United Methodist

The Council of Bishops of the United Methodist Church issued a statement on November 12 deploring "the one-sidedness of the resolution and its possible impact on delicate negotiations in the Middle East." The bishops' statement was more concerned with potential loss of support for the UN, however, than with the substance of the resolution itself. Thus, it made no reference to Israel or the possible anti-Semitic consequences of the resolution, but rather urged the President, the State Department and Congress "to continue to give full support to the UN...and to refuse to initiate any form of punitive action that will intensify the plight of desperate and hungry persons from the Third World nations involved," pointing out that these "helpless masses of people...had nothing to do with the intricate power politics of the UN General Assembly."



Bishops Roy C. Nichols of Pittsburgh, John B. Warman of Harrisburg, and Melvin E. Wheatley, Jr., of Denver, voted against the statement on the grounds that it was not strong enough in condemning the UN action. Both bishops Nichols and Wheatley endorsed stronger statements emanating from their local communities, as did bishops Joseph Yeakel of Syracuse and James M. Ault of Eastern Pennsylvania. Others issued remarks that went beyond the Council of Bishops' statement, both in defense of Zionism and in criticism of the UN. For example, Bishop W. Ralph Ward, president of the Council of Bishops, declared that Zionism "means much more than a political entity. It implies moral and spiritual values characteristic of the Jewish people through the ages. These have to be upheld in the Christian community."

In addition, officials of two Methodist agencies, the Board of Global Ministries and the Board of Church and Society, sent a letter to Jewish leaders in the United States declaring, "Out of Christian conscience, we deplore the irresponsible and self-defeating vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations, which presumed to define Zionism as racist in character. To attempt such a definition is indefensible in historical perspective."

Asserting that the resolution "solves nothing, adds anguish to Jews and endangers support for the UN," the leaders stressed both the right of Israel to exist as a state within clear and recognized boundaries and a hearing for the needs of Palestinians in and outside of Israel, as essentials.

At the same time, the agency leaders cautioned that "scapegoating activity" against the United Nations would result in "additional damage."

The letter was signed for the Board of Global Ministries by Bishop Paul A. Washburn of Chicago, president; Dr. Tracey K. Jones, Jr., general secretary; Bishop James K. Mathews of Washington, vice-president for ecumenical and interreligious affairs; and Dr. Robert W. Huston, chief ecumenical staff officer.

Signing for the Board of Church and Society were Bishop James Armstrong of Aberdeen, South Dakota, president; the Rev. A. Dudley Ward of Washington, general secretary; and the Rev. Herman Will, Jr., of Washington, associate general secretary for world peace.

Criticism of the UN action also came from a Regional Methodist Organization, the Southern California-Arizona Conference of the United Methodist Church. In a letter to Kurt Waldhvim, J. Irwin Trotter, director of the Council of Ministries, and Mildred Hutchinson, chairperson of the Board of Church and Society, declared, "To resort to anti-Semitism as a weapon...is to let loose demons that no one will be able to control."

Two of the social principles of the United Methodist Church, they wrote, have been condemnation of anti-Semitism in both its overt and covert forms and strong support for the UN. "Our denomination has helped create a favorable climate of opinion for the UN from its inception," they stated, but the recent action of the



Assembly "is in conflict with these two principles, and will unfortunately undermine the support that the UN has among our church members." They appealed to the Assembly "to raise the level of discussion regarding this crucial dispute rather than contributing to the confusion of the issues."

United Church of Christ

The United Church Board for World Ministries criticized the resolution as "an ill-advised propaganda device." The 225-member board, which handles mission policy for the 1.8-million-member United Church of Christ, voted to "deplore" the UN resolution, rejecting its method of "voicing opposition to Israel's policies and unwillingness to comply with UN resolutions on the Middle East."

It urged the UN to "find ways to enable the Palestinian people to achieve their legitimate rights to nationhood and statehood and to recognize the right of...Israel to exist peacefully within the internationally agreed boundaries."

The president of the United Church of Christ, Dr. Robert V. Moss, was more explicitly critical of the resolution, labeling it "infamous." Addressing a state-wide denominational assembly in Wichita, Kansas on November 16, Dr. Moss said, "Nations like Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia who fought so hard and suffered so much at the hands of Nazism seem now to have allied themselves

with the Nazi philosophy in supporting the UN action." Asserting that the sponsors of the resolution meant by it Jews and Judaism as well as the state of Israel, Dr. Moss added, "There can be no peace and no justice until the continued existence of Israel is guaranteed, and the Palestinian people has its own land and its own government." He told the Assembly that he would introduce a resolution that the then forthcoming meeting of the UCC in Nairobi calling upon the UN to reverse its action.

A regional body of the same denomination, the executive committee of the Connecticut Conference of the United Church of Christ, the largest Protestant body in Connecticut, attacked the UN action as "utterly despicable." Their resolution, adopted on November 12, said in part:

We declare to our fellow Americans who are Jews that we stand solidly with them against this action and any other which would fan the flickering sparks of racial bigotry which remain in our midst and we call upon all Christians to continue to oppose anti-Semitism wherever and whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Other United Church of Christ clergy expressed themselves in various contexts. For example, the Rev. Fred P. Reigster, Conference Minister of Southern California and the Southwest Conference of the UCC, co-signed a statement of conscience with other Christian leaders in his area, as did the Rev. John C. Shetler, Conference Minister of the UCC's Pennsylvania Southeast Conference.



Disciples of Christ

Dr. Robert A. Fangmeier, director of International Affairs of the Division of Homeland Ministries, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) expressed his outrage at the resolution in a letter to the editor of the Indianapolis News. "This Arab-sponsored mischief does their cause no good," he declared, "holds back prospects of justice for the Palestinian refugees, raises doubts about the integrity of any Middle East settlement and further threatens the fabric of the world organization." Regarding Zionism, he wrote:

After centuries of pogroms and persecution in predominantly Christian and Moslem nations, is it racial discrimination to want one small piece of land in the world where Jews may freely practice their own religion and give expression to their own culture? The preservation of a race and religion can be described as "discrimination" only by those who feel they have no right to exist.

Jews in Israel and elsewhere would be the first to admit that Israel is an imperfect political expression of the high aspirations of their religion and culture. But even with its imperfections it stands alone in the Middle East as a democratic society. Of the seventy Arab, Asian, African and Communist countries who voted for this resolution, which can demonstrate a better record of civil rights and religious liberties? The answer is obvious. These largely one-party states, as opposed to Israel's multi-party democracy, are engaging in a mixture of political expediency, cynicism and hypocrisy when they seek by majority vote in the UN to turn ethics upside down.

### Presbyterian Statements

No statements were issued by Presbyterian national boards or agencies; however, regional groups or representatives and individual pastors participated in a number of local or regional statements.

The Prebytery of Long Island (United Presbyterian Church USA) declared its opposition to the UN action in a resolution adopted November 25. It called the UN resolution "frankly untrue..." Moreover, "it provides a United Nations imprimatur for further attempts to eliminate the state of Israel and, it could easily encourage or support the renewed practice of anti-Semitism anywhere in the world."

Presbyterian officials who endorsed local and regional ecumenical statements included the Rev. Dr. Frank H. Stroup, executive secretary of the Philadelphia Presbytery; Rev. Dr. William Aber of the Redstone (Pennsylvania) Presbytery; Rev. Robert Loyer of the Cayuga-Syracuse Presbytery; and the Rev. William Rambo of the Long Island Presbytery.

The Rev. Q. Gerald Roseberry, pastor of the United Presbyterian Church in Camelback, Arizona, in an article in the Scottsdale Daily Progress (December 9) called the UN resolution "merely one more attempt by Israel's enemies to isolate her from the community of nations and make her more vulnerable to defeat." Rev. Roseberry continued:



The miserable, unrelenting hardships of the Palestinian refugees cry out for solution, but to imply that they are the result of Zionist (read Jewish) racism is maliciously false. The Palestinian problem is primarily political and flows out of the UN's own action, the partitioning of Palestine and creating the state of Israel in 1947, and the subsequent war waged against the new nation by five neighboring Arab states...

The United Nations' "Zionism Resolution" is a cynical move to lay the entire responsibility upon Israel, a nation which the Arab countries refuse to grant the right to exist. When and if the Arab nations and the Palestine Liberation Organization accept Israel's legitimate existence, some solution will be found for the Palestinian problem.

### Lutheran Statements

The Rev. John F. Steinbruck, a Lutheran pastor in Washington, D.C., lashed out at the UN resolution. "The same mindless illogical mob that, during the Black Death days of the 14th century, accused Jews of poisoning Christian wells, appears to be alive and well," he said in the course of a talk to a Jewish congregation in Easton, Pennsylvania. "The embers of a fire that won't seem to go out," he declared, "are now being—ironically—stoked by the Communist east, the Third World regions and oil-soaked OPEC countries where racism is a way of life."

In similar fashion, Lutheran leaders endorsed various local and regional statements noted elsewhere in this document.

### Evangelical Groups and Leaders

Criticism of the UN action also came from Evangelical church associations and leaders, including one group devoted to the conversion of Jews.

Dr. Arnold T. Olson, president of the Evangelical Free Church of America in Minneapolis, described the resolution as "another nail in the coffin of an institution seemingly bent on destroying itself." Dr. Olson continued:

Zionism is no different than the other twentieth-century struggle for the recognition of a national identity and self-determination by a people. In other countries we call it nationalism and praise it as patriotic but when it comes to Israel it is branded as racism.

The resolution is another one of a long list of attempts to destroy the State of Israel by the very organization which helped bring it into being.

As Americans we should urge our representatives in Congress to take steps to withhold financial support. The withholding of funds is not a form of blackmail. It would rather be a refusal to support financially an immoral act.

An official of the Southern Baptist Convention, Dr. A. Jase Jones, director of the Department of Interfaith Witness of the denomination's Home Mission Board, also attacked the UN resolution. In a letter to Kurt Waldheim he accused the majority in the UN General Assembly of having "degraded the high principles of...that noble institution." He pointed out that Israel, "the fruit of Zionism, has demonstrated by an even-handed treatment of its racial, cultural and religious minorities that its basic philosophy is completely non-racist." To Ambassador Daniel P.



Moynihan, he expressed gratitude for "courageous and eloquent opposition of the resolution," and questioned "whether the U.S. can be a wholehearted partner in the UN after that organization is to be misused and abused in such a manner." Dr. Jones also wrote to Senator Lloyd M. Benston of Texas and to his Congressional representative suggesting that the U.S. government "should immediately reassess the nature of the future relationship of this country to the UN, and he similarly communicated with 29 pastors and denominational leaders, asking them to make their influence felt. "This does not mean taking sides against Arabic speaking peoples," he wrote. "It simply means taking a stand against the acceptance of the falsehood given legal sanction on November 10, 1975."

The Rev. James E. Wood, Jr., executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in Washington, D.C. called the UN vote a "deplorable action...unprecedented in the history of the United Nations."

"This endorsement of anti-Semitism," he declared, "can only seriously erode the future credibility and effectiveness of the UN as an international organization dedicated to peace and human rights."

The Kansas-Nebraska Southern Baptist Convention, during the course of its annual convention in Topeka, took issue with the UN resolution and asked Baptists to "express concern about the matter" to their members of Congress.

A group of evangelical Protestants called "Christians for Israel," headquartered in San Antonio, also criticized the resolution. In a letter to President Ford, H.M. Kraft, Houston representative of the organization said, "For many years, Arab propagandists and their supporters in the Third and Communist worlds have engaged in a conscious campaign to defame the Zionist movement, their ultimate goal being the destruction of Israel. I am proud that our government has vigorously opposed this overt anti-Semitic trend, and am once again proud of you as our President."

Protest against the "obscene" UN action even came from an association committed to the conversion of Jews. Dr. Dan Fuchs, of the American Board of Missions to the Jews, circulated a letter of resolution in support of the State of Israel to thousands of Christian leaders in America asking for their expressions of public support. "With world opinion mounting swiftly against God's chosen people, we cannot remain silent," he stated.



REGIONAL AND LOCAL CHURCH ASSOCIATIONS

Statements attacking the UN action came from state councils of churches in Arkansas, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Ohio and Virginia, and from city-wide councils or clergy associations in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Richmond, Cleveland and Bridgeport.

The Arkansas Council of Churches called the resolution "wholly unacceptable" and "a slander against Jews everywhere." While expressing sympathy for those who have suffered on both sides of the conflict, the council said that such sympathy "does not allow us to disregard the malice expressed in the UN's resolution and its dangerous portent for the future."

The Massachusetts Council of Churches, in a statement issued by its executive director, the Rev. Dr. James Nash on November 13, urged the UN General Assembly "to rescind this unconscionable action." "The tragedy of this resolution," they declared, "is that it justifiably destroys the moral stature of the UN in the eyes of the world."

The General Secretary of the New Jersey Council of Churches, the Rev. Paul L. Stagg, in letters to President Ford, Ambassador Moynihan and UN representative Leonard Germent, called the UN action a "repugnant...anti-Semitic attack on Judaism and the Jewish people." Declaring, "There is not a shred of truth in the slanderous charge," he expressed hope that "our government will stand firm while keeping open to rational solutions, conso-

nant with Israel's existence."

The executive committee of the Rhode Island Council of Churches unanimously condemned the resolution as "a gross distortion of historical and contemporary fact." "Given UN endorsement," they warned, "this false secular charge can become as devastating to Jews in the future as the discredited religious charge of 'deicide' has been in the past!"

The general board of the Ohio Council of Churches also attacked the resolution in a statement adopted December 24. The board deplored "the hypocrisy surrounding the passage of the resolution," and further declared the UN action "mischievous in that it may lead to renewed anti-Semitic acts and attitudes."

While calling on Congress to continue supporting the UN agencies and the General Assembly budgets, the OCC board added:

We remind ourselves and our fellow members in the Christian churches of the all too modest voice of protest raised by the churches during the days of the Nazi Holocaust and we believe that even today there is insensitivity among Christians to the history and aspirations of the Jewish community.

The board offered "the good offices and resources" of the OCC for the furthering of Jewish-Christian dialogue "in the hope of achieving greater understanding and mutual trust."



A Virginia Council of Churches statement, signed by individual clergymen and laymen, described Zionism as "a movement to bring freedom to the Jewish people...born amidst anti-Semitism [which] reached fruition only in the aftermath of one of the greatest catastrophes in history--the destruction of six million Jews. In approving this resolution condemning Zionism," they continued, "the United Nations has become an instrument of racism."

Among the signers were the council's executive secretary, the Rev. Myron Miller; associate executive secretary, the Rev. Carl Howard; the council's president-elect, the Rev. Constantine Dombalis, pastor of Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church; Richmond District Superintendent of the Virginia Conference of United Methodists, the Rev. Harold Hughes; the Rev. George Ricketts, executive director of the Chaplaincy Service of the Churches of Virginia, and the Rev. J. Fletcher Lowe, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Comforter.

As noted earlier, Bishop Walter F. Sullivan of the Richmond Catholic diocese also signed the statement, as did two laymen associated with the diocesan office for social development, Walter Grazer and William Vesey; also the Rev. Tim Brindle, a Baptist seminarian, and Rabby Myron Berman of Temple Beth El.

The board of directors of the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta condemned the resolution in a statement circulated by its president, Mr. Paul Manners and its executive director,

Dr. Harmon D. Moore. "Justice for all parties should be done," declared the statement, "but anti-Semitism should and must be denounced wherever it occurs and Christians should be the first to speak out against it."

The Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia, as association of Protestant and Orthodox communions in southeast Pennsylvania, declared itself (November 15) unequivocally opposed to the resolution and called upon the UN "to reconsider its ill-advised action, to acknowledge the error of this resolution and take such measures as are necessary to rescind it."

This action by its board of directors followed closely on an earlier letter sent by officers of the Council to Kurt Waldheim, calling upon the UN to repudiate the draft resolution and "to prevent that last best hope of humankind from becoming a forum for making a mockery of the vision of universal peace and justice." The letter was signed by the following Protestant and Orthodox leaders:  
the Rev. John C. Shetler, chairman of the Council and conference minister, Pennsylvania Southeast Conference, United Church of Christ; the Rev. William L. Johnston, president of the Council and executive minister, Philadelphia Baptist Association; the Rev. Dr. William A. Janson, Jr., vice-president of the Council and president, Southeastern Pennsylvania Synod, Lutheran Church in America; the Rev. Carl M. Kleis, secretary of the Council and president, Philadelphia Classis, Reformed Church in America;



the Rev. Dr. Rufus Cornelsen, executive director of the Council; Bishop James M. Ault, Eastern Pennsylvania Conference, United Methodist Church; Francis G. Brown, General Secretary, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends; Bishop E.L. Hickman, First Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal Church; Archpriest John A. Limberakis, Greek Orthodox Community of Philadelphia; Bishop Lyman C. Ogilby, Diocese of Pennsylvania, Episcopal Church; The Rev. Dr. Frank H. Stroup, Executive Secretary, Philadelphia Presbytery, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; The Rev. Harrison J. Trapp, Moderator, Pennsylvania Baptist Association.

Religious leaders in Richmond, in a statement by the twelve member executive committee of the Clergy Association of the Richmond Area, declared the linking of Zionism and racism "a falsehood without historical justification: and "a denial of the very promise and purpose of the United Nations."

The executive board of the Manchester area (Connecticut) Conference of Churches unanimously condemned the resolution and extended "to our Jewish neighbors this statement of sympathetic concern for the hurt which that vote has caused them." Similarly, the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council joined Jews in condemning the resolution.

(In addition to the above, officials of councils of churches in a number of other regions and communities -- Long Island, New York; Oregon; Southern California; Los Angeles and Phoenix -- signed joint statements issued under ecumenical auspices, documented in the following section.)





PROTESTANT AND ORTHODOX PRESS COMMENTS

The UN resolution evoked editorial reactions from Protestant publications as far afield as the theologically conservative Christianity Today and the liberal Christianity and Crisis. The Christianity Today comment, written November 7, before the passing of the resolution by the General Assembly, said its adoption by the Third Committee "threatened to make the UN appear irresponsible, prejudiced and anti-Semitic." The editorial continued:

If religious considerations are part of the indictment in the committee's resolution, it is only fair to observe that in this area Judaism is no match for Islam and its strictures against non-Muslims. Muslims who have converted to Christianity can tell the world of the social, economic, and political sanctions that follow as a matter of course. For the Arabs to press this line tells us more about them than about the state of Israel.

The Jews have not tried to destroy any other group of people. Rather they themselves have been the victims of attempted genocide. And it is the extremist Arabs who want neither a Jewish state nor an Arab-Jewish state that pose the real threat of genocide to the Jews.

Christianity and Crisis devoted an entire issue to the UN resolution (December 22), comprising five articles ranging widely in opinion. Space prevents anything but a most superficial summary of those viewpoints.

Rosemary and Herman Ruether explored in some detail the differences between Jewish and Arab nationalism. Zionism "is a self-limited particularity," and Judaism affirms no mission to conquer the rest of the world religiously. Arab nationalism "finds any domination by another group...to be an offense to its identity...To allow the permanent acceptance of a Jewish state within the historical area of Muslim conquest would require a fundamental change in this mindset of Muslim identity."

Ibrahim Abu-Lughad, a Palestinian, professor and author, asserted that Zionism is a form of racism, and "the assumption that Jews constitute one people and thus should form a political community violates the most elementary social and cultural laws." He described Zionism as "a creature of 19th century European racism," and argued that Israeli law and land practices amounted to racial and ethnic discrimination.

Ya'ir Bar Am, pen name of an Israeli citizen who has worked for one of the Zionist youth movements in the U.S., wrote that the UN resolution was "a victory for the hawks on both sides," and that the Israelis and Palestinians would suffer most from it. While critical of specific Israeli government policies, he defended Zionism as the liberation movement of the Jewish people.

Rabbi Daniel F. Polish saw the UN action as "nothing short of a secular passion play—with all the nuances and all the potential

for mischief of its religious antecedents."

...While other nations are entitled to a land, Jews are not...While other movements of national liberation are to be hailed, Zionism is to be condemned...Once more the Jewish people are depicted as in league with the forces of darkness, once more stigmatized as a people unlike others, subject to a different standard of judgment.

Robert G. Hoyt, founder of the National Catholic Reporter, noted, "Israel is not the least racist nation; but it obviously is not the most." He viewed the resolution as a "consolation prize" for the failure to oust Israel from the UN. Declaring that peace was the great imperative and that it meant risk-taking by each side, he argued that Palestinians must abandon their goal of destroying Israel and that Israelis should risk the creation of the Palestinian state.

John C. Bennet, senior contributing editor of the publication, called the UN action "unjust and irresponsible," but felt it was dangerous to identify those who voted for the resolution with anti-Semitism, and wrong to punish the UN as an organization. Israel's dependence on the United States is essential for Israel's security, he wrote, but unfortunate because the "insensitive and destructive" use of American power creates resentment against Israel for appearing to be an outpost of American power.



The Christian Century, itself ambivalent about Zionism and the original creation of the state of Israel, nevertheless declared, "The existence of Israel is no longer debatable. Israel is a reality. What is currently going on in the General Assembly is not a debate on Zionism qua racism, but a hostile propagandistic action questioning Israel's right to exist."

While there were few comments from demoninational publications, engage/social action, a Methodist periodical, reflected:

Zionism is not racism. Minorities in Israel are treated far better than they are in Arab nations (why is racism not an issue in Saudi Arabia? If Israel was a major oil producer would the UN resolution have gained support?) Arab states do not, to put it mildly, have a record of tolerance for Jewish or Christian adherents within their boundaries.

Christians should look well to their own faith before they condemn their Jewish co-religionists who support the State of Israel against racist charges. As a historic faith, Christianity is grafted onto the root, Israel, and that root is fixed deep in the soil of Palestine. If Zionism is racist, Christendom is racist as well. Thus Christians could do worse than to ponder the worlds of Karl Barth: "In order to be chosen we must, for good or ill, either be Jews or else be heart and soul on the side of the Jews."

The Orthodox Observer, the official publication of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, viewed the resolution as a challenge to the supporters of Zionism to present "a clear, positive and constructive exposition of all

that it involves." In a December 10 editorial, the Observer expressed some confusion about Zionism and said it was clearly not the same as Judaism:

Judaism and Zionism are not identical. Anti-Semitism has been rejected emphatically by Christianity and every effort must be made continually to ensure its eradication from the hearts and minds of all peoples. The Jewish people and their heritage, which is part of our heritage, are worthy of the greatest respect and admiration. Certainly their right to life, justice and freedom must be guaranteed. And the existence of the State of Israel within secure borders cannot be seriously questioned today.

Zionism, however, a movement started in the last century, is another question. To be opposed to the ideology expressed through an "ism", be it rationalism, racism, fascism, communism, etc., is possible and oftentimes required.



ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS RESPONSES

This section of the document, incorporating public statements and actions by a variety of organizations or associated individuals, is a testimony to an interesting development in group life in the United States. There are, of course, national interreligious organizations and their local affiliates, long established in the United States, whose responses are documented here. In addition to these, however, there are included the reactions of ad hoc groups of regional or community spokesmen—sometimes religious leadership of a given community, sometimes a mixed group of religious, civic, academic or professional leadership—who have come together under varied auspices to express themselves on this issue. The variety of the sources from which the following statements have been drawn would seem to indicate that informal networks of communication have developed in communities in many parts of the United States, whose members come together to react to situations they perceive as emergencies. Thus, in a number of regional areas or communities, Roman Catholic, Episcopal or Methodist bishops, executives of councils of churches and other religious leaders issued joint statements with other leadership in their area, often in the form of a public statement in the local press, in participation at various public events, or in letters to American or United Nations officials.



The president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Dr. David Hyatt, denounced the resolution as "a defamation of all Jews everywhere" and viewed the UN action as "an attempt by the Arab bloc to totally denounce and negate altogether Israel's existence." He continued:

Now is the time for all freedom-loving Christians, Jews, Moslems, and persons of all faiths and races to recognize that the cause of freedom and democracy is at stake throughout the world because of this vote and every possible effort must now be made to transform the UN from a political instrument of national self-interest and religious and racial bigotry into a worldwide organization that lives up to the tenets of its Charter and its Declaration of Human Rights — which were fashioned after our own great charters of freedom.

In similar fashion, the national vice-president of the NCCJ, Donald W. McEvoy, sent telegrams to 70 NCCJ offices throughout the nation urging clergy and laity to join in condemning the resolution which was then pending before the UN General Assembly.

Local NCCJ groups and officials also spoke out.

Donald A. Eagle, Arizona regional director of the NCCJ, addressed an open letter to Christian denominational executives and pastors of the 50 largest churches in his region, asking their support and assistance in various ways: by helping their congregations to know the facts; by expressing their views to UN officials; by demonstrating friendship, support and encouragement to the Jewish community.

Separate statements were also issued by the NCCJ Georgia region and by chapters in Memphis, Kansas City, and Oklahoma City.

The American Humanist Association, in a statement adopted by its board of directors, called for an "energetic effort" to remove the subject of Zionism "from the context of any programs and discussions focusing on racism or racial discrimination." Describing Zionism as "a national aspiration to statehood but in no way racist philosophy," the board strongly opposed U.S. participation in the UN's anti-racism program "so long as the program remains distorted and compromised" by the resolution.

While condemning the "misuse of the machinery of the UN," the Humanist board at the same time urged the U.S. not to withdraw as a member of the world body, but to remain and support "the positive and constructive work" of the organization.

Among the regions and communities from which statements were issued either by existing ecumenical or interfaith organizations or on an ad hoc basis, were Colorado; Rhode Island; Oregon; Texas; Minnesota; Long Island, New York; New England; Los Angeles and San Fernando Valley; Westchester County, New York; Cleveland; Pittsburgh; Syracuse, New York; Phoenix, Arizona; Bridgeport, New London, Stamford and Eastern Fairfield County, Connecticut.

A statement signed by six Catholic and Protestant bishops in the state of Colorado, declared that the UN action bore "the unmistakable stamp of anti-Semitism," and urged "all Christians,



and indeed all people of conscience, to join in appropriate expressions of support for our Jewish brothers and sisters, for whom the UN resolution must raise again the spectre of persecution." It was signed by Episcopal Bishop William C. Frey, Archbishop James V. Casey of Denver, Auxiliary Bishop Richard C. Hanifen, Auxiliary Bishop George E. Evans, Archbishop Charles a. Buswell of Pueblo, and United Methodist Bishop Melvin Wheatley of the Denver area.

In Rhode Island, the statements of Christian leaders were joined with those of civic and political leadership in a compendium which appeared as a public advertisement in the Providence Sunday Journal. Criticisms of the UN resolution were issued by Episcopal Bishop Frederick Beldon, Roman Catholic Bishop Louis E. Gelinou, and the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island Council of Churches, along with statements by Governor Philip Noel, other state officers, U.S. senators and congressmen, mayors of four Rhode Island cities, officers of the Rhode Island AFL-CIO and the chairman of the state Board of Rabbis.

George Van Hoomissen, President of Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, conveyed "warm and fraternal greetings...to the entire Jewish community," and at the same time expressed "dismay and outrage" at the resolution. In a letter addressed to Kurt Hamburger, President of the Jewish Welfare Federation, he declared it has "become abundantly clear that 'anti-Zionism' is



but a crude and ineffectual mask for anti-Semitism." Dr. Van Hoomissen stated his belief that "Christians and non-Christians alike, where they are not blinded by bigotry, ignorance or ideology are joined in a common bond of concern...they would say to Jews...'We have heard this terrible thing...We are not deaf, we are not indifferent. We care.!"

Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, the successor to the Greater Portland and Oregon Councils of Churches, is composed of Protestant, Anglican and Roman Catholic denominations.

The board of directors of the Texas Conference of Churches — representing both Catholic and Protestant communions within the state — approved a resolution on the UN action during the course of its semiannual meeting December 9-10. Noting that the nations which led the campaign "are themselves products of racial liberation movements and are, thus, denying to the Jewish people the fundamental right of national self-determination which these nations claim for themselves," the board's statement called the UN resolution "a step which promotes hatred and endangers world peace..." The statement was forwarded to Secretary-General Waldheim, President Ford, Ambassador Moynihan, and members of Congress from Texas, and member churches of the conference were urged to disseminate it to their constituents.

Bishop Philip F. McNairy of the Diocese of Minnesota, in his capacity as chairman of the Minnesota Council on Religion and Race, declared himself "saddened and disturbed at the injustice and inaccuracy" of the resolution in a letter to Kurt Waldheim.

Bishop McNairy continued:

Today is a time when cultures and peoples all over the world are involved, some militantly, in the struggle for identity and self-determination. Israel is one of many nations so engaged. Her distinctive characteristic is not of race, but of religion.

Should any people or nation be permitted to suffer discrimination and exclusion because of its faith or heritage, then no one is free and each of us is in danger.

Bishop McNairy's letter was forwarded to members of the Minnesota Council on Religion and Race by Albert C. Lehman, Jr., Executive Director of the Minnesota Council of Churches for additional signatures.

In Long Island, more than 50 civic and academic leaders representing diverse racial, religious, and ethnic traditions, criticized the resolution as "harmful and counterproductive in the fight against racism and apartheid," and congratulated the U.S. delegation to the UN for its "vigorous and forthright condemnation of the resolution."

Among Protestant leaders signing the statement, which took the form of an open letter to Ambassador Moynihan, and which was published in the Long Island paper, Newsday, were Bishop Jonathan G. Sherman of the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island; Rev. William T. P. Rambo, Presbyter for the Long Island Presbytery; Rev. Herbert Chamberlin, president of the Long Island Council of Churches; Rev. Jack Alford, Executive director of the Council; Rev. Ronald Bagnall, Lutheran representative on the Long Island Interfaith Council; Rev. Lawrence McCoombe of the Episcopal Diocese; Rev. Clayton L. Williams of the Olivet Baptist Church; and Rev. Robert Behnke of the Lutheran Human Relations Commission.

Catholic signatories from the diocese of Rockville Centre included Fr. Robert F. Fagan, executive director of Catholic Charities; Fr. George Graham, chairman of the Commission on Catholic-Jewish Relations; Fr. Daniel S. Hamilton, editor of the weekly newspaper, the Long Island Catholic; Fr. Francis Maniscalco, director of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; Msgr. Henry J. Reel, director of the Human Development Office; and Fr. Robert S. Smith, director for Campus Ministry. The letter was also endorsed by a group of black leaders, by presidents and deans of various colleges and universities, by civic and business leaders and by rabbis and Jewish organizational leaders.



In similar form, a number of Christian leaders in Southern California joined in a statement of conscience which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on November 5. They declared:

For countless centuries Jews have dreamed of the rights of self-determination in their own homeland. Zionism is a movement which created a democratic Israel integrating a majority of Jews born in the Middle East together with survivors of the Nazi racial holocaust.

It is ironic that those nations which are spearheading this anti-Zionist campaign are themselves the product of national liberation movements. They are denying to the Jewish people the fundamental rights of national self-determination which they claim for themselves..."

The statement was signed by: Rev. Donald R. Boyd, president, Los Angeles Council of Churches First United Methodist Church of Los Angeles; Fr. Charles S. Casassa, S.J., chancellor, Loyola Marymount University; Rev. Priscilla A. Chaplin, executive director, Southern California Council of Churches; Rev. George W. Cole, Department of Social and Ecumenical Concerns, Synod of Southern California United Presbyterian Church; Bishop Norris S. Curry, Ninth Episcopal District, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Sr. Renee Harrangue, provost, Loyola Marymount University; Sr. Suzanne Jabro, Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; Sr. Helen Kelley, I.H.M., president, Immaculate Heart College; Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Second Baptist Church, past president, American Baptist Churches; Rev. Donald R. Lindblom, executive director, Council of Churches, Long Beach; Rev. Charles Malotte, regional pastor, Disciples of Christ; Dr. Horace Mays, executive director,

Los Angeles Council of Churches; Rev. Gerald B. McHarg, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), president, Southern California Council of Churches; Fr. Donald P. Merrifield, S.J., president, Loyola Marymount University; Rev. R. Truman Northup, executive director, Pacific Southwest Conference and Pacific Coast Region Church of the Brethren; Dr. Randall Phillips, pastor, Wilshire United Methodist Church, past president, Los Angeles Council of Churches; Rev. Fred P. Register, conference minister of Southern California and the Southwest Conference, United Church of Christ; Rev. A. Dale Rose, minister, Eagle Rock Presbyterian Church; Bishop Robert C. Rusack, Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles; Sr. Marilyn Schafer, Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet; Rev. Robert Walker, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The San Fernando Valley Interfaith Council declared itself "repulsed" by the UN action. In a resolution sent to Jewish congregations in the area, the council declared, "We want you to know you are not alone in our mutual struggle to achieve justice and dignity."

In Westchester County, New York, a number of Christian clergy and academicians, including presidents of two Catholic colleges, joined with civic leadership, including officers of the Urban League and NAACP, in a public statement of outrage at the resolution. They declared:

As a people of diverse racial, religious and ethnic origins, we share in the common commitment to end the world-wide blight of racism, but we cannot permit this malicious slander to the Jewish people everywhere to go unanswered.



In Pittsburgh, seven leading Christian spokesmen said they felt compelled to speak out to "deplore and protest the UN action." Stating that the UN has "descended to a low point in its history," they called upon the world body to reconsider its actions.

The statement was signed by Bishop Vincent M. Leonard; Bishop William Connare of the Greensburg Catholic Diocese; Bishop Roy Nichols of the United Methodist Church; the Rev. Dr. William Aber of the Redstone Presbytery; the Rev. Leonard Schulz of the American Lutheran Church; Bishop Charles Foggie of the AME Zion Church; and Bishop Robert Appleyard of the Episcopal diocese.

A statement of concern drafted by the Rev. Robert E. Grimm, executive director of the Metropolitan Church Board of Syracuse, New York, and endorsed by a number of Syracuse area religious leaders, declared:

We resist any attempts, whatever their form, to renew the age-old persecution of our Jewish brethren and call upon our Christian brethren to come to a more sympathetic understanding of the Zionist dream as part of the age-old struggle of Jewish people, here and everywhere, against persecution and for liberation...

We hope and pray that all parties to present Middle East tensions, particularly the Israeli and the Palestinian people, will each be enabled to realize their own version of the dream of liberation and of homeland with full respect for the rights of others. And we call upon the United Nations to change its present course and return to its dream of providing order, harmony and fulfillment for all peoples of planet Earth.



The statement was signed by Bishop David F. Cunningham, Diocese of Syracuse; Bishop Joseph Yeakel, Syracuse Area, United Methodist Church; Episcopal Bishop Ned Cole of Central New York; Rev. Dr. Jon Regier, New York State Council of Churches; Rev. Robert Loyer, Presbytery of Cayuga-Syracuse; Rev. Walter N. Welsh, Grace Episcopal Church; Rev. James Lange and Rev. James Engle, University Methodist Church; and the West End Ecumenical Group.

A public statement jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Social Concerns of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Bridgeport and the United Jewish Council of Greater Bridgeport declared that the UN action "not only does violence to history, but is flagrantly offensive to Jewish religious sensibilities." The joint statement concluded:

To those nations that have joined Communist and Arab countries in this base attack, whether out of ignorance of the Jewish religion or out of political expediency, we say by having allowed yourself to revile an ancient religion, you have brought dishonor and shame on yourself.

To the spokesmen of the world's great faiths, on whom the recent lessons of silence in the face of assaults on the Jewish people and their faith surely have not been lost, we express both the hope and expectation that they will declare their unqualified abhorrence and rejection of this shameful act.

In New London, Connecticut, a number of Christian clergy attended a rally protesting the passage of the resolution and in Stamford, a number of Christian clergy joined with others in a statement supporting Zionism, criticizing the nations which voted

for the resolution, "many of which imprisoned deserters, oppress and even murder religious minorities..." and endorsing American opposition "to this terrible act." The statement appeared as a public advertisement in the Stamford Advocate (November 28).

The New England Committee of Clergy and Laity Concerned for Israel declared, "this resolution discredits the very moral foundation of the UN." Calling upon the UN General Assembly to rescind the vote, the statement declared:

This tawdry act attacks not only the State of Israel, the Jewish religion and the Jewish people, but also assaults the values in our common Judaeo-Christian heritage; the basis of democracy and civilization that all Americans cherish.

The statement, prepared by Committee co-chairmen, Fr. Robert Bullock, Rev. Ronald G. Whitney, and Rabbi Murray Rothman, was endorsed by over 100 Christian and Jewish clergy and lay people in the New England area.

The Judeo-Christian Women's Association of Eastern Fairfield County issued a resolution expressing "our thanks and pride in the men who represent us at the United Nations," deploring "this attack on the Jewish people" and expressing concern, love and support to the Jewish people of their community.

The governing board of the North Phoenix Corporate Ministry expressed its opposition to the UN action in letters to Ambassador Moynihan, to President Ford and Kurt Waldheim.

"We hope that the world will recognize that Zionism is not racism, but the effort of the Jewish people to return to the land of their forefathers," they declared. The North Phoenix Corporate Ministry is an association of Protestant churches (including Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and United Church of Christ), one Roman Catholic church and two Jewish congregations.

Some powerful responses to the UN action emerged spontaneously during the course of ecumenical conferences which were convening during the time that the UN Third Committee or General Assembly were considering the resolution.

Thus, the Second National Christian-Jewish Relations Workshop, held October 28-30 in Memphis, became the occasion for a letter to Secretary General Waldheim which was signed by 60 Christian church leaders.

The Christian-Jewish Relations Workshop was co-sponsored by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, the Office of Christian-Jewish Relations of the National Council of Churches, the Catholic Diocese of Memphis, and the Memphis Jewish Community Relations Council, in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews.



The Christian signatories declared:

This equating of Zionism with racism is wholly unacceptable. It is a slander against Jews everywhere, since it is a revival of the all too familiar anti-Semitism which has plagued humankind through the centuries. It is moreover a falsehood without historical justification. Worse, it is a denial of the premises and purposes of the United Nations as set down in its charter....

Should the General Assembly recklessly put its stamp of approval on that calumny against Jews around the world and against Israel, a member state in good standing, we would hope that the United States Congress would reexamine the level of its contribution to the support of a self-discredited United Nations.

As previously noted, two Roman Catholic bishops, Bishops Dozier of Memphis and Niedergeses of Nashville, were among the signatories.

Other Catholic signatories included Msgr. George C. Higgins, secretary for research of the United States Catholic Conference; Fr. Edward Flannery; Fr. John B. Sheerin, consultant to the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations; Fr. Owen F. Campion, editor of the Tennessee Register, the Nashville diocesan newspaper; Fr. Edward Duff, S.J. of Holy Cross College, and Sr. Rose Thering, O.P. of Seton Hall University.

Protest signatories included the Rev. Dr. David Hunter, director of education, Council on Religion and International Affairs; the Rev. Landrum E. Shields, a member of the governing board of the NCC and pastor of the Witherspoon United Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis; Dr. A. Jase Jones of the Southern Baptist Convention; Dr. Harry E. Moore, Jr., executive director of the Nashville NCCJ.

In similar fashion, more than 250 participants in a dialogue on Christian-Jewish relations held October 26 in Pittsburgh authorized a statement on the UN Third Committee vote which was jointly issued by Msgr. Francis A. Glenn, chairman of the Ecumenical Council of the Pittsburgh diocese and Sholom D. Comay, president of the American Jewish Committee Pittsburgh chapter. On behalf of the participants, the two spokesmen condemned the UN committee vote, expressed appreciation to President Ford and Ambassador Moynihan for their forthright denunciations of the resolution and declared that the resolution, if passed by the General Assembly, "would seriously weaken the United Nations and significantly undermine the principles upon which it is based."

An overwhelming majority of Canadian and United States religious educators attending the international convention of the Religious Education Association in Philadelphia, endorsed a resolution condemning the UN resolution and expressing concern "lest attacks on Zionism be, in reality, camouflaged anti-Semitism."



In another interesting development, 13 Non-Governmental Religious Organizations accredited to the United Nations issued a joint statement on the Zionism issue.

They expressed the fear that the resolution might hurt the chances for peace in the Middle East, reduce support for the UN and may lead to the downgrading of the General Assembly; may bring a retreat from the constructive spirit of compromise, accommodation, and cooperation as demonstrated at the special UN session last summer; may harm the Decade for Action Against Racism and Racial Discrimination by confusing and lessening the continuing support for it throughout the world; and may be considered a justification for actions of anti-Semitic character.

The signatories emphasized that as members of religious groups, "we affirm that the recent UN debate clearly shows how religious non-governmental organizations must take new initiatives to support the UN, to oppose racial discrimination in all its forms, and become a prophetic voice in creating the world of tomorrow."

Organizations whose representatives endorsed the statement were: Unitarian Universalist Association, Southern Baptist Convention, Council on Religion and International Affairs, World Conference on Religion and Peace, Evangelical Covenant Church of America, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, World Union for Progressive Judaism, Lutheran World Federation, Church Women United, United Methodist Church Board of Church and Society, International Association for Religious Freedom, American Baptist Churches USA, and the Synagogue Council of America.



CAMPUS MINISTRIES

Denunciation of the UN action also came from campus ministries at the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and Oregon, from the Rutgers campus clergy and from religious advisors at the Drexel and Temple University campuses.

Father Robert J. Cook, president of the Wisconsin Catholic Campus Ministry Association, in a letter to Ambassador Moynihan, described the resolution as "a form of bigotry that strikes at the very integrity of the world organization." Father Cook affirmed that the UN had performed many worthwhile deeds for humankind. He continued:

But the shameful act of last week will provide encouragement to cynicism throughout our universities and the people of our land. Even worse, it will confirm the attitudes of many who already wallow in anti-Semitism.

A people longing to maintain their identity and seeking liberation are guilty of nothing but undertaking the quest for rights that are basic to all human persons. Zionism and its adherents have demonstrated time and again their humanitarian stand and their respect for the rights of others.

At the University of Michigan, five Catholic chaplains at St. Mary's Chapel, Ann Arbor, addressed an open letter in the Michigan Daily deploring and denouncing the UN action as a slander against Jews everywhere. Affirming that Zionism is "an authentically religious and ecumenical concern...for Christians in dialogue with their Jewish brothers and sisters," they warned that the General Assembly "has dealt a severe blow to the future workings of the United Nations."

At the University of Illinois, twelve members of the Religious Workers Association declared that the General Assembly "ha- gone on record as supporting anti-Semitism and Jew hatred [and] has denied logic, morality and the principles by which an effective United Nations must function..." This statement was signed by Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, United Church of Christ and Jewish clergy.

At Rutgers University a protest against the UN action was endorsed by Mrs. Forrest E. Allen, campus counselor, Christian Science; Rabbi Moshe Avraham Birnbaum, associate director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Rutgers University; Rev. David Burke, Lutheran Campus Ministry; Rabbi Julius Funk, director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Rutgers University; Rev. James H. Hargett, United Church of Christ, Livingston College; Rev. Hadley Harper, United Campus Ministry; Sr. Monica Jacques, Catholic Campus Ministry, Douglass College; Rev. Thomas A. Kerr, Jr., Episcopal Campus Ministry; Fr. J. William Mickiewicz, Catholic Campus Ministry, Douglass College; Rev. Sebastian L. Muccilli, Catholic Campus Ministry; Rev. Paul Ratzlaff, Unitarian Universalist Association; Rev. Robert J. Tanksley, university coordinator of religious affairs; and Rev. John Wright, Methodist Campus Ministry.

At the Drexel and Temple University campuses, 13 Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious advisors denounced the UN vote



as "the legitimazation of anti-Semitism," in a telegram to Kurt Waldheim. They added, "the Zionist movement and the State of Israel are the legitimate expressions of the Jewish people's right to self-determination."

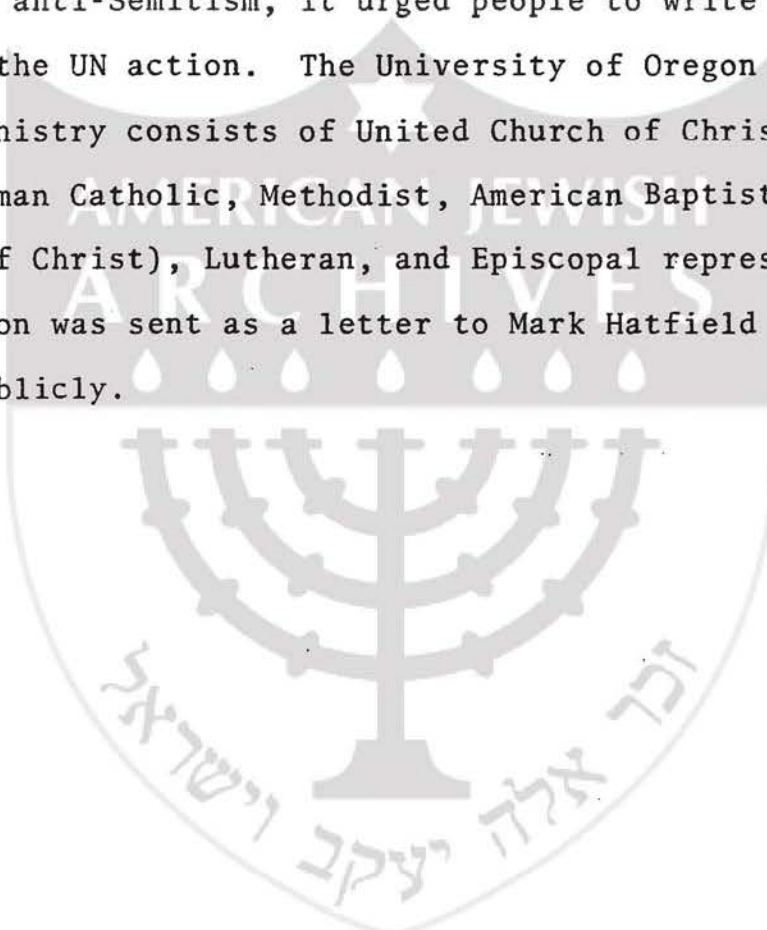
Signing the statement were: Rev. James R. Hallam, Protestant advisory, Drexel University; Fr. Joseph Sikora, director, Newman Center, Drexel University; Sr. Clare Frances Connally, Drexel University; Peter Braun, Hillel advisor, Drexel University; and Fr. William J. Stanton, director, Newman Center, Temple University.

Also, Sister Therese Liddy, S.S.S.J., Catholic Campus Minister, Newman Center, Temple University; Rev. Flora Keshgegian, Episcopal Campus Minister, Temple University; Rev. Robert L. James, Jr., Director, University Christian Movement, Temple University; Rev. John A. Limbergakis, Archpriest of the Orthodox Christian Fellowship; Dr. Leonard Swidler, Department of Religion, Temple University; Dr. Franklin Littell, Department of Religion, Temple University; Rabbi Norman Lewison, Director of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Temple University; and Chava Pell, Program Director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Temple University.

The Campus Christian Ministry at the University of Oregon issued a statement on November 12 over the signature of the Rev. Douglas K. Huneke, Presbyterian University chaplain. Pointing out that the existence of the State of Israel was "no



longer debatable," it attacked the resolution as nothing less than a hostile act against Israel which impuned the "credibility and usefulness" of the United Nations. Branding the resolution as an act of anti-Semitism, it urged people to write or speak out against the UN action. The University of Oregon Campus Christian Ministry consists of United Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, American Baptist, Christian (Disciples of Christ), Lutheran, and Episcopal representation. The resolution was sent as a letter to Mark Hatfield as well as issued publicly.



OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

Condemnations of the UN resolution came from leaders of governing bodies of major church groups and from ecumenical associations in France, Switzerland, Germany, England, Latin America and Israel.

In France, in an unusual ecumenical gesture, the president of the Roman Catholic Bishops Conference, Msgr. Etchegaray, and the president of the Protestant Federation in France, M. Courvoisier, issued a joint statement expressing their "profound anxiety" at the adoption of the resolution. The two spokesmen continued:

We know that the world "Zionism" lends itself to various interpretations, but we also know that to charge Zionism with racism...means to forget history and to repeat a language which has been the source of incalculable evils for Jews throughout the world; this means to commit an act which is contrary to peace and to revive permanently latent anti-Semitism. The Christian community is called upon to exercise vigilance on every occasion.

"At the same time," they concluded, "conscious of the gravity of the problems in the Middle East, we shall not cease to ask that to all, Palestinians and Jews, justice be granted in dignity and peace."

The Amitié Judeo-Chrétienne de France angrily protested the adoption of the resolution on both occasions. After the vote in the UN Third Committee, the national board of the Amitié

wrote Secretary-General Waldheim, urging him to use his power to avert the adoption of the resolution, and declared:

It is a scandal and a perversion of language to single out one national liberation movement among others—because it is the Jewish people's—to identify with racism, from which that people has suffered so much and continues to suffer.

After the vote in the General Assembly, the Amitie cabled a vigorous denunciation of "this despicable and murderous amalgam..."

The SIDIC Paris Information Bulletin No. 9 (November) described the UN resolution as "an alarm bell, a serious warning, not only for Jews all over the world but for all free peoples... including those who utter such errors,...because one does not calm conflict by injecting venom. It is an old, known process for accusers to denounce the crime they themselves are guilty of."

LICRA (a Swiss-Israel LICA Association and Christian Service group) held a meeting in Geneva, attended by several hundred persons, and chaired by its president, Mr. Gilberg Duboule. Mr. Duboule declared that this attack against Zionism was in fact aimed against the entire Jewish people. LICRA organized street manifestations both in Geneva and Lauanne, and the public responded in large numbers in both cities.

In West Germany, the Synod of the Protestant Church in Germany—the highest Protestant body in that country—resolved to promote a public education program to counteract misinformation being spread in connection with the UN action. The Synod's resolution, adopted by an overwhelming majority on November 6, declared:



The Synod asks the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany to make every possible effort to present a correct and factual view and judgement of Zionism in public opinion, in educational institutions and primarily in international bodies. One should not permit the revival or toleration of old and new anti-Jewish attitudes under the guise of anti-Zionism...

Our Church as well as our state bears a special responsibility of the right to existence of the Jewish state and...strongly [favors] an understanding of the movements which struggle for the liberation of men from oppression. Zionism as many other emancipation movements of the Third World belongs to this category...

The Association of Roman Catholics in West Germany also denounced the UN resolution as "ill advised" and encouraging "to extremist elements." The Association's president, Bernhard Vogel, said, "It will help those forces which aim at Israel's destruction."

In England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, told the London Jewish Chronicle (November 21) he was "gravely concerned at the unfortunate wording" of the resolution, and feared it would only "exacerbate the situation in the Middle East and lead to further damaging anti-Semitism."

In London, the International Council of Christians and Jews denounced the resolution in a letter to Kurt Waldheim from the Council's chairman, Mme. Claire Huchet Bishop, and general secretary, the Rev. William W. Simpson. "There is nothing of racism in the sense in which the twentieth century has come to understand that term either in the teaching or the practice of

Zionism," wrote the Council's officers. "Zionism, as the members of this council understand it, is simply a contemporary political instrument for the realization of an age-old hope of the Jewish people."

Responses from Latin America were limited, but in Argentina, an editorial article by Fr. Jorge Mejia in Criterion (November 13) sharply criticized the resolution. Fr. Mejia noted that the UN "had curiously omitted condemning terrorism as practiced by Palestinian extremists," and that the vote had been influenced by Arab petrodollars and in some cases motivated by crude opportunism.

While criticizing Israel "for amny unjust deeds against the Palestinian population," Fr. Mejia was even more critical of the Arab states for having segregated Palestinian refugees in "provisional" camps since 1948: "Is it not discriminatory to allow a whole generation to grow in poverty, impotence and frustration, and use them later in a bloody war stirred by major international interests?"

The Anglican Synod of Argentina associated itself with the attack on the resolution issued by Dr. Potter of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and declared that the UN action "could open a new chapter of horror and terror in the history of the long-suffering people of Israel, including the possibility that the Jews of the world might suffer from new and crueller



persecutions."

In Venezuela, Msgr. Luis Henriquez, Archbishop of Valencia, sent a letter to the chief rabbi, Dr. Pinchas Brener, and the members of the Jewish community conveying his feelings of friendship "at this moment of trial for the Jewish people," and his hopes "that the Jewish community and the state of Israel may, in the not distant future, live in peace and tranquility, to which every state and human community is basically entitled."

In addition, a public statement endorsed by various Catholic priests, Protestant ministers and rabbis appeared in some newspapers in Caracas. The statement emphasized the biblical basis of Zionism and God's promise of the land to the Jewish people.

In addition, the Venezuelan Catholic publication, La Religion, described the resolution as anti-Semitic and quoted Archbishop Bernardin's condemnation of it, also invoking the language of Vatican Council II's declaration on the Jews.

Fr. Benjamin Nunez, a Roman Catholic priest who is also Costa Rican delegate to the UN, vehemently defended Israel in a speech before the General Assembly vote on the resolution. Fr. Nunez, former Costa Rican ambassador to Israel and now dean of the National University of Costa Rica, emphasized that he was speaking from firsthand knowledge of Israel and familiarity with conditions in the Middle East. The problem of our refugees, he said, was a direct product of Arab attempts to destroy the state of Israel because they do not want to accept an independent Jewish state in the region: "If the Arabs had conquered



Israel, there would have been no problem of Israeli refugees as no Israeli would have been left alive," he declared. While Israel wishes peace to build a just, democratic society, the Arab extremists seek "the peace of the graveyard," he asserted.

[The day after Fr. Nunez's speech, Jesuit Father Theopane A. Mathias of India, a member of the assembly's Third Committee, approved his delegation's vote in support of the resolution. "We do not like Zionism because it is racist. It is anti-religious," he said.]

Perhaps the most forceful protests against the UN action came from Christians living in Israel, who expressed themselves in a variety of ways. Eight leading clerics cabled to Kurt Waldheim their shock and protest against "this unwarranted defamation of a movement dedicated to the liberation of the Jewish people"—a people "that throughout history has experienced unparalleled oppression and racial persecution." They continued:

We recognize that Zionism is the contemporary expression of the continuous and living link of the Jewish people to its ancestral homeland and of its aspiration to return to it. In the tragic course of recent history it has not been given to the Zionism movement to fulfill its purpose in a peaceful process. Despite the difficulties of the present situation, we can testify from our own experience that the state of Israel has made serious efforts to live up to its intention—as expressed in its Declaration of Independence—to ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex.

The telegram was signed by Fr. Michel De Goedt, chaplain of the Catholic community of Jerusalem; Fr. Marcel DuBois, Superior,

St. Isaiah House, Jerusalem; Fr. Laurentius Klein, abbot, Dormition Abbey, Mt. Zion, Jerusalem; the Rev. Henry Knight, Anglican priest in Tel Aviv; Dr. Michael Krupp, director Action for Reconciliation, Jerusalem; the Rev. Robert Lindsey, Baptist minister in Jerusalem; the Rev. Coos Schoneveld, secretary, Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity; and the Rev. Simon Schoon, pastor of Nes Ammim (a Christian communal settlement).

The Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel, a working group of Christian theologians living in Israel, published an appeal to churches around the world to "become aware of the real meaning of Zionism lest they be influenced by hostile propaganda against the Jewish people and the state of Israel." The publication discussed in detail the intertwining of national and religious dimensions in Judaism, the link between people and land, and the theological and political implications of Zionism.

A forceful statement also came from the Rev. Dr. G. Douglas Young, president of the American Institute of Holy Land Studies. In a letter to the editor of the Jerusalem Post, Dr. Young wrote:

I have been accused of being a Zionist—a Christian Zionist—by some of my co-religionists in Israel and in the administered areas. I would like to take this means of thanking them for this compliment...

I will stop being a Zionist when I see some evidence anywhere of a willingness to let Jews live in complete peace and security under Gentiles and some evidence of a country or countries willing to absorb all the Jews that other countries will not. Since there is no such evidence and no such country, Zion or Israel has to be the homeland of the Jews. I am glad to be able to be a small part of it, to be able to encourage it, and to help achieve its goals. I happily invite all who can to speak out and even to come, live and help build Zion.

Father Marcel DuBois, who signed the telegram to Kurt Waldheim, also issued an independent statement on the resolution over the overseas band of Israel radio in the French language. Fr. DuBois declared himself "scandalized, once more, by the bad faith—whether deliberate or blind" that inspired the resolution. Calling the UN action the "lowest form of propaganda," Fr. DuBois stated that Jewish nationalism was neither more nor less legitimate than that of other nations born in the last half century. But for the Jews, it was much older: Twenty-eight years of independence, but ninety years of Zionist hope and 4,000 years of national consciousness." He concluded:

It is not by accusing Israel of racism or by denying its right to exist, that one will help it to be more open, tolerant and just, but rather by giving it the possibility of being itself, by inviting it, with all the insistence of friendship and Christian love, to remain true to its Jewish vocation.



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The UN General Assembly vote branding Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination" called forth an immediate and substantial outpouring of response from Christian church leaders, organizations, ecumenical groups, ad hoc associations and individual clergy. The responses were almost universally critical, although the criticism ranged from mild to vehement, and took various forms: resolutions by church boards or agencies, public statements by institutional leaders, joint declarations individually endorsed by Christian leaders on national, regional or community levels, letters and telegrams to U.S. or UN officials, messages to the Jewish community, letters to the press and editorials in religious periodicals.

Not only did Christians usually supportive of Israel speak out, but Christian sources frequently neutral or cool to Israel attacked the UN action. Dr. Philip Potter, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, who during the October 1973 war issued a carefully "neutral" statement which did not mention who started the war, urged stronger support for the UN and called for cessation of arms shipments to both sides, on this occasion took sharp issue with the UN resolution and urged the General Assembly to rescind it. Similarly, various officials of the National Council of Churches, whose general

board took the same position as the WCC in 1973, roundly attacked the substance of the resolution. The Roman Catholic hierarchy was more outspoken than in 1973 and was explicitly critical of the UN resolution. Greek Orthodox Archbishop Iakovos publicly attacked the vote as "deplorable and offensive."

These reactions, plus even the mildest of criticisms of the UN from denominational boards and agencies of the United Church of Christ and the United Methodist Church (support of both the UN and Palestinian nationalism) indicate that Christian opinion on the UN resolution transcended normative political stances on Middle Eastern issues.

An exploration of the various themes stressed in reaction to the resolution yields some understanding of the near unanimity of response. There was concern that the UN, by endorsing a patent lie, had undermined the principles of its own charter, gravely compromised its moral authority, and seriously jeopardized its mission to preserve and advance the cause of peace. There was concern that Zionism, whether one supported it or not, should not be defamed as racism. There was concern that the authentic struggle against racism would suffer because of the invidious association. But first and foremost, Christians attacked the resolution because they saw it as directed not only against Israel, not only against Zionism, but against Jews and Judaism: in other words, as an act of

political anti-Semitism. As Dr. Robert Moss, president of the United Church of Christ, declared, "We should not be deceived by the use of the term Zionism. The sponsors of the resolution meant by it Jews and Judaism as well as the State of Israel."

#### Anti-Semitism as an Issue

The overwhelming majority of Christian responses focused on this issue, viewing the substance of the resolution either as clearly and directly anti-Semitic in itself, or as opening the door, in Archbishop Bernardin's words, "to harassment, discrimination and denial of basic rights to members of the Jewish community throughout the world." In fact, the attempt to brand Zionism with the stigma of racism was considered anti-Semitic per se. No one put it more succinctly than the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice:

We recognize racism when we see it.  
We recognize anti-Semitism when we see it.  
Zionism is not and never was racism.  
This resolution is anti-Semitism at its worst.

#### Attitudes Towards the UN

While criticism of the UN adoption of the resolution was nearly unanimous, a variety of attitudes towards the UN itself emerge from those responses documented above. At one



end of the spectrum were those more concerned with potential loss of support for the UN than with the substance of the resolution itself (The United Methodist Church's Council of Bishops). Others attacked the resolution vigorously, but also cautioned against scapegoating the UN, or urged continued support for its essential activities. Perhaps most frequent was the opinion, whether issued in sadness or anger, that the UN had seriously damaged its credibility. At the other end of the spectrum were those so disgusted by the UN action that they urged a reassessment of American financial support of the world body, a position advanced by a number of the Christian spokesmen.

#### Zionism as an Issue

The vigorous rejection of Zionism as racism encompassed several themes. A number of statements emphasized that Jews have been the victims, not the perpetrators of racism; in fact, the Zionist movement arose in reaction to racism. The UN action was thus seen as "a recrudescence of that same horrifying racism against the Jewish people which precipitated the Zionist movement in the first instance." (Detroit Archdiocesan Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs.) Others stressed that the nations which masterminded the resolution practiced more racial and religious discrimination and permitted less freedom than Israel, and that none of them could match Israel's record as a pluralistic democracy.

A number of respondents felt called upon to describe or explain Zionism, some stressing the immemorial link between people and land rooted in Jewish scripture and liturgy, some emphasizing its historical and political function as the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. A few, such as the publication of the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel, explored in depth the intertwining of national and religious dimensions in Judaism. In the words of Fr. Marcel DuBois: "Twenty-eight years of independence, but ninety years of Zionist hope and 4,000 years of national consciousness.

An interesting aspect of the response was the call for more information and education about the meaning of Zionism which came from sources as disparate as the German Protestant Church, the (Greek) Orthodox Observer, Commonweal, and American Catholic leaders such as Msgr. George Higgins and Fr. Edward Flannery. Except for the Orthodox Observer, which expressed some confusion about this "ism," the educational program was urged as a necessary antidote to hostile and defamatory propaganda.

#### Expressions of Solidarity

The feeling aroused in American Jews by the UN vote—a mixture of outrage, anxiety and disgust—were undoubtedly assuaged by the prompt and vigorous reaction of their government,

public officials and popular opinion. A special facet of the response from Christians was the frequent expression of solidarity with Jews, sometimes invoking religious tradition ("...the Christian Church today will stand alongside those who profess the faith and preserve the religious tradition in which Jesus of Nazareth was raised.); sometimes based on common humanity ("We have heard this terrible thing...We are not deaf, we are not indifferent. We care."); most often affirming Christian support in the struggle against anti-Semitism ("We...pledge our efforts as elected leaders of the Episcopal Church to be vigilant in standing against every expression of the sickness we call anti-Semitism...").

Such expressions of Christian-Jewish solidarity took various forms: open letters or telegrams to rabbis and Jewish communal leaders, public statements widely disseminated, and personal participation in protest meetings held in many parts of the country.

### The Rights of Palestinian Arabs

A number of the statements issued by Christians combined strong opposition to the UN resolution with a call for recognition of the rights of Palestinian Arabs to nationhood, along with the right of Israel to peaceful and secure existence. Of these state-



ments, only a few clearly asserted that Arab recognition of Israel should precede a Palestinian settlement. ("When and if the Arab nations and the Palestine Liberation Organization accept Israel's legitimate existence, some solution will be found for the Palestinian peoblem."). Most indicated that the recognition by Israel of Palestinian claims and by Palestinian and Arab states of Israel's right to survival and security should be mutual, and presumably, simultaneous. The implication in most of these statements, although seldom specified as such, was that the Palestinian state or homeland would be created out of territory presently occupied by Israel. One declaration, however, went even further, urging Israel to permit displaced Palestinian Christians and Moslems "to return to their homeland"—thus calling upon Israel not only to accede to a separate Palestinian entity, but in effect to apply the law of return to Palestinians.

This statement, which laid all the blame for Palestinian displacement at Israel's door was circulated by Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine and signed by some 200 clergy and religious, mostly Catholics, from the Boston area. Predictably, many of the signatories were individuals who have been active in promoting a pro-Arab, anti-Israel viewpoint: Rabbi Elmer Berger, one-time executive vice-president of the (anti-Zionist) American Council for Judaism; Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.; the Rev. Richard Fernandez, former executive director of Clergy and Laity Concerned; Fr. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., a Boston priest teaching at

St. Joseph's University in Beirut; Antiochian Orthodox Metropolitan Philip Saliba; and Melkite Catholic Archbishop Joseph Tawil.

It is noteworthy, however, that two of the signatories, Bishops George Evans and Richard Hanifen of Denver, also signed the Colorado statement which urged "all Christians, indeed all people of conscience, to join in appropriate expressions of support for our Jewish brothers and sisters, for whom the UN resolution must raise again the spectre of persecution." The fact that these Roman Catholic leaders felt conscientiously able to endorse both statements would appear to indicate that some Christians see no contradiction between strong pro-Jewish and equally strong pro-Palestinian (and perhaps anti-Israel) sentiments.

[Since the statements circulated by the Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine made no reference to the UN resolution, it is not included in the body of this report. The statement was issued on the 27th anniversary of the adoption by the UN of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It affirmed the right of "any Soviet citizen to leave the Soviet Union" but charged that Israel's denial of the rights of return to Palestinians represented "a selective application of the Universal Declaration."]



### Conclusions

American Christians are quick to condemn anti-Semitism. The UN resolution was widely perceived as anti-Semitic—or as a vehicle for anti-Semitism—and vigorously attacked on those grounds.

Christian support for Israel is somewhat more problematic. Assuredly, the great bulk of American Christian opinion, both Protestant and Catholic, is sympathetic to Israel. But the degree to which this general attitude of sympathy translates into support for concrete policies is not certain. There is also widespread humanitarian concern for Palestinian Arabs, and this concern is tapped by those hostile to Israel for formulations which charge Israel alone with responsibility for creating the Palestinian plight and for resolving it unilaterally. However, as the responses documented here would indicate, Christian concern for Palestinians can and does go hand in hand with sympathy for Israel and with a forceful and deeply-felt abhorrence of anti-Semitism.

As previously noted, the extent and variety of regionally and locally based responses is an indication of the growth of communication between Christians and Jews on community levels in many parts of the United States. That communication, a product of expanding interreligious dialogue, provides no guarantees that the organized Jewish and Christian communities will see eye to eye, either on Israel or a host of other issues. But Christian



responses to the UN resolution must surely reassure Jews of deep and widespread Christian support in the struggle against anti-Semitism.

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*M. Tarentan*

# TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

Discrimination Division  
Domestic Affairs Department

## ISRAEL'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON

### Response in the American Press

by Milton Ellerin  
Director, Trends Analyses

July 9, 1982



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute for Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



## REACTION TO ISRAEL'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON

The following analysis of reactions to the Israeli military campaign in Lebanon is based on a reading of 38 daily newspapers and three weekly newsmagazines, representing all geographical areas of the country. It covers opinions expressed by newspaper editorials, syndicated columnists, political cartoons and letters to the editor through June 20, 1982. It makes no effort to report the opinions expressed by TV network news analysts and commentators, but there is a strong impression that because of television's graphic visual depiction of events that focused on the carnage and human suffering in Lebanon, the ordinary viewer could conclude that Israel's military action was indiscriminate and excessive.

An analysis of the newspaper editorials commenting on the Israeli military campaign in Lebanon indicates that few of them unequivocally defended or condemned the Israeli campaign: approximately 3% were totally supportive and approximately 2% were decidedly hostile. The vast majority were "even handed," deploring the devastation and civilian casualties, but recognizing the necessity for the Israeli action and hopeful, if not convinced, that there would be some resultant lasting benefits for Lebanon and the United States. Among the most frequently expressed themes were: Israel could not be expected to tolerate interminably the indiscriminate murder of its people; Israel has the right to secure borders; the PLO and the Syrian occupation had set up a mini-state which to all intents and purposes had destroyed any semblance of a strong government in Lebanon; neither the PLO, Syria nor Israel had any right to be in Lebanon, and all of these forces should get out (with reference to Israel's withdrawal there was the frequently expressed opinion that it could not be expected to withdraw completely until there was some force in being to insure the inviolability of its border); and in view of Israel's stunning victory, a plea that it show "imaginative magnanimity" towards the Palestinians.

A NEW YORK TIMES editorial (6/23) that declared, "Israel's security is also America's fight" found little resonance elsewhere; an opinion in the same editorial that "Israel's claim to the West Bank is not [America's fight]" was the consensus. The country's two most influential dailies, THE WASHINGTON POST and the NEW YORK TIMES, both critical of previous military actions, expressed understanding of the entry into Lebanon in their June 7 editions: the TIMES -- "It was never reasonable to expect Israel to leave the Galilee hostage to an unfettered PLO Army within rocket range"; THE WASHINGTON POST -- "The Israelis have an Achilles' heel -- they cannot abide the murder of their people." Frequently expressed in editorials that tended to be sympathetic or understanding was the opinion that Israeli action enhanced the prospect for the return of Lebanese sovereignty, but perhaps more than any other expressed belief was a conviction that the crushing of the PLO's military capabilities would not in and of itself insure tranquility for Israel.



Widespread too was the assertion that with the defeat of the PLO, new and perhaps more horrible PLO inspired terrorism was in the offing. Additionally, there was significant speculation as to how the incident would impact on U.S. interests. The Israeli military strike into Lebanon, according to TIME magazine (6/21), "broadcast an embarrassing message to the world" that "Washington was either powerless to restrain its headstrong Middle East client or tacitly approved its military operation," and according to TIME "raised questions about its policy and leadership." THE AMSTERDAM NEWS (6/19) found America's silence "shameless and irresponsible" and Israel's indiscriminate use of firepower "shocking and appalling." There was strong sentiment that the policy of the U.S. "should be to get all foreign armies out of Lebanon."

Several publications were of the belief that, on balance, the U.S. benefited from Israel's military successes, pointing out the PLO's close ties to the Soviet Union; that the "Soviets' arms clients -- the PLO and Syria -- have been weakened"; that the "Soviets have been stung in Lebanon" and that "Israel has performed a major service for the West" and that elimination of the PLO as a serious military threat is a "significant anti-Communist achievement." Some editorials stressed that the Israeli assault increased the risk "of a general war" in the Middle East, and there was a consensus among the even-handed editorials that, as the CHICAGO SUN TIMES (6/12) speculated, "if a free Lebanon emerges from the ruins, America's interests as well as Israel's interests will be served."

Among the more severe condemnations of Israel were those that saw the rout of the PLO as a "dangerous and bloody course that does nothing to solve the real problems of the Middle East," and that Israel "has made it clear that it recognizes no significant restraint on the exercise of its military supremacy."

Foremost among those who strongly endorsed Israel's strike against the PLO was the CHICAGO TRIBUNE. In an editorial captioned "Pious Outrage About Israel," it asserted that the "righteous rhetoric that has greeted Israel's counterattack has been all out of line . . . Israel has been under attack. Its foe is intransigent and unrelenting. There is no peace for Israel so it should hardly come as a shock to people accustomed to expecting security from violence that when attacked, Israel responded." THE NEW REPUBLIC (6/23) editorialized that "any fair reading of the history of the PLO's self-declared war of attrition against Israel leads to the conclusion that Israel's actions were defensive." The KANSAS CITY TIMES (6/8) asked, "How can Israel be expected to cross no border in retaliation when those very borders are denied by others?" The BALTIMORE EVENING SUN (6/18) declared that "no country would allow an armed enemy of this sort to sit within artillery range of its borders without reacting."



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An examination of some 50 columns written by 24 nationally syndicated columnists reveals that 10 wrote in opposition to the Lebanese campaign; 9 were supportive and 6 were "even handed." Similar to editorial opinion, the majority did not condemn Israel for the action it took. It should be noted, however, that even those writers who were basically friendly expressed considerable dismay that the nature of the assault was out of proportion to the provocation. Several nationally syndicated columnists, who are Jewish, lamented what they felt was the erosion of Israel's moral standing. General support for or understanding of the reasons for the Israeli action against the PLO did not however translate into support or endorsement of the Begin administration. ("The good name of Israel, built by sacrifice, restraint and principles of justice has been soiled by the Begin government.") There was some expression of opinion that as a result of the overwhelming Israeli military victory and the relative ease with which it was accomplished, Israel could no longer claim that it was in mortal danger from the Palestinian forces along the border, an opinion carried over to an assertion that it could no longer credibly insist that a PLO state on the West Bank would be a danger. ("A PLO state could be swatted down like a fly.") Several of the "even handed" columnists expressed the opinion that as a result of Israel's manifest military strength, it should withdraw from Lebanon and display a "magnanimity" towards the Palestinians. ✓  
A prevalent prediction by the columnists was that regardless of the ultimate fate of the PLO, the "Palestinian problem" would remain. Several writers called for a more vigorous U.S. policy concerning Palestinian autonomy so as to recoup U.S. prestige. (A significant number of columnists felt that it had suffered gravely; others felt that ultimately it will be enhanced if the PLO, Syria and Israel withdraw from Lebanon.) Those writers critical of Israel alleged that Begin's timing embarrassed Reagan in Europe at the economic summit meetings. They called for the suspension of military aid for Israel and at least one insisted that Israel was an economic burden to the United States.

The Marxist press -- The DAILY WORLD (Communist Party U.S.A.), the CHALLENGE (Progressive Labor Party), the MILITANT (Socialist Workers Party), GUARDIAN (Independent Marxist-Leninist), and WORKERS VANGUARD (Spartacist League) -- as expected, were vitriolically anti-Israel. The entry into Lebanon was characterized as "Zionist Genocide in Lebanon," "murderous aggression" against Palestinians, a "Hitlerite policy" and "Nazi Tactics." All praised the "heroic" Palestinians and condemned U.S. support for Israel and the "terrorizing" of civilian populations. The PLO and the Lebanese National Movement were described as victims of the "Israeli war machine" and "U.S. imperialism."

Possibly because editorial cartoons tend to be more sharply focused than editorial opinion, some 20 such cartoons made no effort to be even handed. Overwhelmingly, they were hostile to Israel and particularly to Menachem Begin. It would appear that cartoonists seized



upon the worst aspects of the military campaign to make their point. Among the more egregiously hostile cartoons was one that depicted a map of the world with every country labeled "Israel," with the caption "At long last Menachem, Defensible Borders." (The theme of an expansionist Israel was used by other cartoonists as well.) Another cartoon depicted a huge pile of corpses, exclusively women and children, over which stood a gross caricature of Begin carrying a tablet of the ten commandments, proclaiming "Thou Shalt Not Kill Israeli Diplomats." Several others in various forms depicted the severity of Israeli punishment.

In marked contrast to the American administration's hostile reaction to other recent Israeli military activity, i.e., the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear facility and the July 1981 retaliation on PLO facilities in Lebanon, the current campaign in Lebanon, publicly at least, received understanding and some measure of support from the White House. Paradoxically, Congressional support, which in the past was overwhelmingly sympathetic to Israeli military actions, appears to have suffered considerable erosion. At a June 22 meeting, some 36 U.S. Senators subjected Prime Minister Begin to a hostile reception and sharply critical questioning. Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas, regarded as a strong supporter of Israel, was quoted in the press as having said that in "my eight years in the Senate, I have never seen such an angry session with a foreign head of state." (In a previous comment Tsongas asked rhetorically, "At what point does the U.S. say, 'This is wrong,' to say at some point, 'For God's sake, enough is enough,'" and complained that he knew what "many Senators say privately but are fearful of saying publicly.") The alleged misuse of American weapons evoked harsh criticism from House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement Zablocki who, according to news reports, "delivered a testy lecture" to Begin, and from Senator Claiborne Pell, another strong supporter of Israel, who publicly charged that "every child's life lost, every building reduced to rubble has been done with American weapons." Eight members of the House of Representatives introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of the possible violation of American laws in connection with the use of American-supplied weapons, and Senator Mark Hatfield, charging that "Israel's leaders have taken violence as their birth-right," called upon the Administration to suspend military aid to Israel.

It is impossible to determine if the Lebanon crisis generated a significant increase in volume of letters to the editor, nor is it possible to ascertain if anti-Israel letters predominated, since most editors print only a representative few of the letters received. In contrast to editorial and syndicated column opinions, letters to the editor were either totally supportive or completely critical of Israel's actions in Lebanon.

Although pro-Israel letters appeared predominantly to have been written by Jews, many were not. Significantly, a number of writers



identified themselves as Lebanese and expressed gratitude for the Israeli attack on the PLO. ("Thank you Israel, for giving Lebanon back to the Lebanese"; "Thank you Israel for having the guts to rid the world of terrorists"; "To the majority of Lebanese . . . the actions [PLO and Syrian] have hardly been matched in callous brutality since Hitler's Holocaust. More Lebanese have been killed by Syrians and the PLO than in all Arab-Israeli wars, including the present one.")

Letters favoring Israel stressed that the action was necessary for Israel's security and that it struck a blow against terrorism. ("Instead of criticizing Israel, I think we should praise the courage and will of the Israeli army for restoring the national sovereignty in Lebanon and for destroying the main network, supply and training center for terrorists in the Middle East, Europe and Central America.") A Congregationalist minister was "more saddened that such actions have become almost a necessity for Israel to survive; the people of the U.S. owe a debt of gratitude to Israel."

Those who were critical of Israel deplored the fact that "thousands of innocent bystanders -- men, women and children -- are being killed, maimed or made homeless by Israel war planes in Lebanon"; the "barbaric and senseless killing of men, women and children in Lebanon"; that "of all the people in the world, the Israelis should know that the killing of babies doesn't kill an idea." Opposition to Israel's use of American weapons was also frequently expressed. ("The U.S. supplied these weapons to Israel and now cannot control their use"; "Our weapons are killing innocent people"; "The time has come for the U.S. to withdraw its massive support for Israel.") Other letters expressed anger and hostility against Prime Minister Begin. ("How long must the rest of the world sit by while the mad bomber of Israel vents his spleen on all who are not Jews?"; "Begin's policies have remarkable resemblance to Hitler's.")

The campaign in Lebanon brought an immediate and intensive response from American Arab and pro-Arab organizations which, since their emergence as a political presence after the 1973 war, have evolved into an increasingly active and militant force on Middle East issues. These groups engaged in concerted political lobbying, public relations campaigns to depict Israel as cruel and barbaric, and street demonstrations, all on a level of activity and intensity never before witnessed in America. The conclusion now seems inescapable that ethnic Arab groups, as a result of events in Lebanon, have now emerged as a significant political force on the American scene.

The National Association of Arab Americans, the largest and best organized of all Arab groups, widely distributed a "National Petition to Save Lebanon" that called upon members and "their friends



and neighbors" to send them to President Reagan, their Senators and Congressmen. The printed petitions declared that the "renegade nation of Israel and its arrogant leader" have "committed one lawless act after another," and therefore, "the time has come to immediately cut off all U.S. aid to Israel." Additionally, the NAAA prepared and circulated "fact sheets" to be used as a basis for letters to the editor, letters to news directors of local T.V. stations (to be followed up with a telephone call), letters to Senators and Congressmen, the Secretary of State and the Chairmen of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees; a press release urging the U.S. to "discipline" Israel; and a mass mailing sent directly to Congress charging that, among other things, Israel "has gone berserk and can no longer be restrained or disciplined."

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, whose chief spokesman is former U.S. Senator James Abourezk, on June 7 mailed an "alert" to its membership urging them to "sensitize members of Congress and other American political and religious leaders to the concerns of Arab Americans." Members were instructed to stress that "were it not for the systematic Zionist campaign of fascism against people of Arab descent, Israel would not be able to get away with the mass murder of Lebanese and Palestinians," and to petition the Congress to demand an "immediate cessation of hostilities," "the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the suspension of all U.S. military aid to Israel."

The American Mid-East Educational and Training Services organization urged its members to express their concern to the Congress and to stress that "Israel's massively destructive aggression in Lebanon has harmed American interests in the Middle East."

Other Arab or pro-Arab groups placed full-, half- or quarter-page newspaper advertisements, primarily in THE WASHINGTON POST, in an effort to influence the Administration and the Congress. The Arab Women's Council, an ad hoc group consisting of the wives of Arab Ambassadors posted in Washington, placed two full-page advertisements in THE WASHINGTON POST: one featured two large photographs of destruction in Lebanon and was simply captioned, "Begin's Holocaust in Lebanon"; the other consisted of a single large photograph with the caption, "Israel's Beautiful Day: Sidon, June 7, 1982, Two Men Rush Wounded Child Across Streets as U.S. Made Israeli Planes Attack."

The Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Palestinian and Lebanese People, in a full-page ad in THE NEW YORK TIMES (6/27), proclaimed, "As Americans we are particularly anguished by the knowledge that this wanton destruction has been inflicted by aircraft, missiles and advanced armament supplied by the U.S. government." Condemning the "aggression," they made an "appeal to people to affirm the national rights of the Palestinians" and "to make our voices heard in opposition to this brutal, long term aggression against an entire



people."

The Muslim Women's Association of Washington, D.C., in a quarter-page ad in THE WASHINGTON POST, appealed to "Mrs. Nancy Reagan" to "Stop the Genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese People." Arab groups organized massive street demonstrations, on an unprecedented scale, in Boston, Atlanta, Houston, New York City, Washington, D.C., Detroit, Seattle and Kansas City.

A significant exception to Arab American denunciations of Israeli military activity was the tacit approval of the American Lebanese League. Founded in 1976 to foster the "continued independence of Lebanon," it claims to represent more than two million Lebanese with 32 chapters around the country. The League, in a full-page WASHINGTON POST advertisement (6/22), stated: "Now is the time to save Lebanon and rebuild it as a free, open and democratic and traditionally pluralistic society." Furthermore, the ad urged the restoration of the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the withdrawal of all foreign forces -- Syria, the PLO and Israel. By resolution, adopted on June 13 following its annual convention, the League called upon the United States to use "all legitimate means to assist in the creation of a strong central authority and army in Lebanon that assures a free independent pluralistic sovereign state with territorial integrity." THE WASHINGTON POST, in reporting on the convention, observed that "the major complaint about the Israeli invasion of their ancestral homeland was that it did not go far enough."

Brother John Samaha, a Marianist Brother of Lebanese descent, writing in the OAKLAND CALIFORNIA CATHOLIC WIRE (6/28), declared, "most Lebanese Christians have welcomed Israel's drive into Lebanon to expel the PLO and perhaps the Syrian army. They hope that the Israeli army will do what Lebanon cannot do for itself."

With the final outcome of the Israeli military action in Lebanon yet to be resolved, its impact on American public opinion is unclear. As events unfolded, they produced a number of unexpected reactions: the Reagan Administration, if not totally supportive, was not critical. Strong condemnation came from unexpected quarters in the Congress and the U.S. Senate in particular. Given the large scale loss of human life and extensive damage of property, editorial reaction in the nation's press was surprisingly understanding and preponderantly in accord with Israel's stated need of protecting its borders from PLO terrorism. Many welcomed the possibility of the restoration of a sovereign Lebanon and the stabilization of a volatile area. For the first time since the takeover of Lebanon by the combination of the PLO and the Syrian army occupation, American Lebanese spoke out publicly against these forces, some going so far as to applaud the Israeli military campaign.

As of this writing, the results of four polls of American opinion had been released. Although indicating some reservations about the Israeli military operation in Lebanon, all demonstrated continuing general support for Israel. A nationwide Gallup poll based on in-person interviews, completed one week after the campaign began, showed 52% favoring Israel, 10% pro-Arab, and 30% neutral. Of the total sample questioned, 40% approved of Israel's move into Lebanon, 35% disapproved and 25% were undecided. One week later, June 18-22, according to a Harris poll conducted by telephone, American public opinion was 79% positive and 13% negative toward Israel, with 76% supporting and 14% not supporting the Israeli objective of removing all non-Lebanese military forces from Lebanon. A CBS News telephone poll on June 26 and 27 produced 34% in favor of and 38% against the Israeli attack on the PLO, with 28% choosing neither side. And finally, a LOS ANGELES TIMES poll taken the first week in July found that 50% of those interviewed nationwide sympathized more with Israel, as opposed to 18% who sided with the Arabs. Although 42% considered the Lebanon operation to be "aggressive," a majority said the Israelis should "finish pushing the PLO out."

Each of the polls included questions about issues related to the Lebanese campaign. Only 7% of those polled by CBS News felt that the Administration should criticize Israel, and twice as many Americans thought the U.S. should give "its strongest support to Israel" as believed that it "should pay more attention to the Arabs." According to the Harris poll, public opinion seems to be drawing close to "moderate" Arab states, as well as to Israel, and becoming more hostile toward "extremist" Arab powers. Nonetheless, a 54 to 41 percent majority opposes the inclusion of Americans in a peace-keeping force in Lebanon.

To the extent that the polls reflect American opinion, it would appear that the Israeli assault on the PLO did not significantly impair the support for Israel of the average American.

July 9, 1982

82-970-5





Office of the M.A. Director

19 July 1982



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Fr. John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D., long-time observer of the Middle East situation and Professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union, released the attached statement today on the current situation in Lebanon.

Fr. Pawlikowski is a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and of the National Board of Americans for Democratic Action.

[start]

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REFLECTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN LIGHT OF THE LEBANESE INVASIONS.

Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D  
Professor of Social Ethics  
Catholic Theological Union, Chicago

One must begin any analysis of the current situation in Lebanon with a heavy heart. The physical destruction and the significant loss of life are very painful to any humanitarian, though protest is order against the media who went along originally with the highly inflated statistics on the dead, wounded and homeless supplied by pro-PLO sources. But it is deeply troubling to me to see how easily all the blame for the destruction has been placed on the Israelis by so many in the Christian churches. Many of those connected with social justice causes in the Christian community, and much of the Christian liberal media, has condemned the Israeli invasion without qualification. I can appreciate the concern of many of these Christians for the loss of life. Their general sensitivity to human rights issues has led them to this stand. While the sensitivity is commendable, and is one I certainly share, the question remains, have they taken into account all the relevant data? What about the pre-Israeli invasions by the PLO and the Syrians? What about the feelings expressed in a recent editorial in the Beirut newspaper LE REVEIL which wrote "It is fine to condemn a military operation at the outskirts of a city. But it is even better to condemn first the illegal and criminal establishment in that city of a foreign war machine, and to ask the perpetrators of that crime to dismantle their war machine and fold up their tents--if only to save their precious skins."? Does this data count for naught? Sensitivity without careful analysis can result in a new form of injustice. And I believe such injustice has been perpetrated, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unwillingly, by many liberal Christians in their one-sided attack upon Israeli policy over the past several weeks.

I certainly am not prepared to offer a blanket endorsement of the Israeli action. The advancement to the outskirts of West Beirut, beyond the initial liberation of south Lebanon, may involve serious political miscalculations and a possible loss of human lives beyond any reasonable strategic objective. The use of cluster bombs is morally indefensible and tremendously harmful in terms of public opinion. But [it is a gross injustice to the Israelis to pretend that they started the attack on



a tranquil Lebanon. Lebanon was initially invaded by the Syrians and the PLO. Some of the destruction seen on Western television and supposedly done by the Israeli forces is in fact the legacy of the earlier invasions. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese, many of them Christian, were killed or made homeless by the PLO occupation of parts of Lebanon. Why have Christian groups concerned about justice totally ignored the stories of the Lebanese who have been victimized by the PLO invasion? One answer is that many churchpeople in the USA, especially within the Protestant community, have taken their information on the Middle East almost exclusively from the Middle East Council of Churches which has had an uncontested pro-Syrian, pro-PLO orientation. The views of other Christian groups have been summarily dismissed as the thoughts of "rightwingers" and hence not worthy of consideration. Lebanon is a country filled with religious differences that will not be easily resolved. No one's hat is totally white. But before American Christians concerned about justice in the Middle East make judgments, they ought to look in justice into the claims and views of all the Christian and Muslim groups. The Maronite perspective, for example, has received virtually no attention from responsible Christian leaders.

Let me add here that this also applies to elements of the Jewish liberal/left. Groups such as NEW OUTLOOK and the New Jewish Agenda that have criticized the Israeli invasion into Lebanon have likewise failed to deal adequately with the views of many non-PLO Christians in Lebanon. While I respect the willingness of these groups to critique Israeli politics, while I feel they perform a valuable service in the face of a frequent rubber-stamp attitude towards the Israeli government by many Jewish organizations, I believe they too are guilty of ignoring the plight of many Christians in south Lebanon. In their well-intentioned desire for peace, they like their Christian liberal colleagues sometimes have been overly simplistic in their approach to the Lebanese situation.

One important factor that is clear from the recent invasion is that the PLO was not simply preparing for peace with the Israelis since the Habib-arranged ceasefire. The large cache of arms that was uncovered in the invasion surprised even Israeli intelligence. And there is testimony from a number of soldiers connected with the Peace Now movement in Israel who modified their opposition to the invasion when they saw the PLO arsenal in person. I also find it difficult to fathom how many European Christians who have been



concerned about the terrorism of the Red Brigade and segments of the Irish Republican Army can ignore the established links between these organizations and the PLO.

There is little firm indication thus far that the PLO has in any significant way altered its stance towards Israel. Certain statements and hints have been given on occasion to the Western media and Western politicians. But the real test is not words, but deeds. And as far as words go, what is said by the PLO and the Arab states to non-Western, especially Arab, audiences is far more crucial than what may be nothing more than propaganda releases intended to lull the West into thinking a major policy shift was underway. And the PLO's message to non-Western audiences has continued to be an often virulent no-compromise position. The distribution of Middle East maps by the Saudis at their pavilion at the Knoxville World's Fair which completely exclude any reference to Israel in the region are but one small, but significant example of the continuing hardline attitude of the PLO and its financial backers. Anytime Mr. Begin or Mr. Sharon say or do something that harms the peace process this is widely reported in the Western media. But when Arab leaders make statement upon hostile statement that put any meaningful peace negotiations in serious doubt their words are virtually ignored by the Western press.

I do not wish to imply that there exists no possibility for negotiations towards a peace plan with any of the people currently connected with the PLO. The PLO is a complex organization of many factions. Its terrorist dimension cannot be ignored or simply ascribed to PLO fringe groups. Terrorism has been mainstream for the PLO. But it is equally simplistic to refer to the PLO as nothing more than a "bunch of terrorists". Many of the Palestinians associated with the PLO are highly educated, politically astute people from various parts of the world who may indeed be capable of significant political compromise. Some of them will undoubtedly need to play a role in any negotiations with Israel that have any hope of success. Perhaps the Israeli military success against the PLO will force these people to reconsider their blanket support of the terrorist position within the PLO. But the onus is now on them to develop a new form of Palestinian nationalism, one that is surely defensive of Palestinian rights but which clearly is willing to commit itself to peaceful co-existence with a Jewish state. But thus far the development of a serious negotiating stand, one



4

that would be directly and clearly conveyed to the Palestinian people and the Arab world generally, has not yet been forthcoming from those prominent Palestinians to which I refer. I can certainly join my liberal colleagues in the Christian and Jewish communities in fervently hoping that such a stance seriously emerges within the Palestinian leadership. I cannot join them, however, in believing that such a stance has been put forth as yet as a serious option within the PLO and hence can be used by Israel as a starting point for the formulation of its own policy. While the Israeli government has an obligation to look carefully for any serious opening towards peaceful accommodation on the part of the PLO, the Israeli contention that this is not yet present can be largely substantiated. When Egypt did significantly change its language and actions, Israel responded positively. I feel that despite some admittedly unbending factions on the Israeli political scene the government is capable of moving towards peace with the Palestinians as well.

The question before us is what ought to be done now. In the first place, if at all possible, a peaceful resolution to the siege of West Beirut needs to be found. But the world political community must force the PLO to give up any significant political presence in Lebanon. The United States and Europe share a good deal of the blame for the present situation in Lebanon. They simply closed their eyes to the destruction of that country with the PLO and the Syrian invasions. They must now try to find some solution to the placement of the PLO. It is now clear that this will not be an easy task. In some ways the greatest condemnation of PLO activities comes not from Israel but from the unwillingness of any Arab nation to help or to house them. Col. Kadafy's remark that they ought to commit suicide represents the final dagger in the back of the PLO.

The Christian churches and the governments of the Western world, in concert with the Arab states, should work for the restoration of an united, self-ruled Lebanon free of all foreign forces. There should be a genuine effort on the part of our government, as well as on the part of Christian and Jewish agencies, to assist the civilian Lebanese

Our focus, however, cannot be solely on Lebanon even at this moment.



The Israelis have claimed that the PLO constituted a primary obstacle to serious negotiations relative to the West Bank/Gaza. Now that the PLO has been severely undercut the burden is on the Israelis to work toward a meaningful settlement in the West Bank. Israeli morale and its economy, as well as the continuation of a vital, healthy tie to the United States, cannot sustain an unending series of wars in the region. Such a settlement will involve more give on the part of the Begin government than has been publicly demonstrated thus far. The present government's concept of "personal autonomy" over against "territorial autonomy" for the Arab residents of the West Bank/Gaza will not be accepted as such by either the Palestinians nor the world community. Some form of territorial autonomy must be the goal for the West Bank/Gaza. That it may have to come gradually, that there must be de-militarization, that some link to Jordan may be necessary, that some Jewish settlements in the area may remain -- all these are likely conditions for serious negotiations. But if Israel more or less has its way in Lebanon it is then in its national self-interest to work towards a meaningful pact with the Palestinians.

There also needs to be greater attention given by both Israel and the world Jewish community to the problems of Israeli Arabs. They must be welcomed far more into the fabric of Israeli national life, not only with words but with concrete social programs and with specific educational programs to combat the very real prejudice that exists against them in many sectors of the Israeli population.

The present situation may simply prove to be a new era of destruction. Or it may create new possibilities for peace. If we are to turn the corner, if a free Lebanon is to be re-established and the legitimate rights of all Christian and Muslim Lebanese restored, if we are to see any meaningful negotiations over the West bank/Gaza, both the Begin government and prominent members of the current PLO will have to do some serious rethinking and compromising. Pressure towards this end must be applied by the governments of the West and by other interested parties such as the Christian churches. This is not the time for mere rhetorical defences of either side. Unless we have meaningful negotiations soon death and destruction will stalk both the Palestinians and the Israelis and could conceivably bring the major powers to the brink of confrontation.

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June 25, 1982

Mr. Randall Czarlinsky  
Assistant Area Director  
American Jewish Committee  
55 E. Jackson Blvd., Suite 1870  
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Mr. Czarlinsky:

Thank you for sending me the paperback on the  
Palestinians. I am interested in it and have placed the  
copy in our news library for future reference.

You may be interested in the enclosed copy of an  
editorial that appears in the current issue of The Chicago  
Catholic.

Sincerely yours,

*A.E.P. Wall*

A. E. P. Wall  
Editor

AEPW:dm

Enclosure



A.E.P.W.

# Guilt and goal in the Mideast

Ezekiel called it "a jewel among lands." He was the first prophet to be called to his vocation outside that land; he was one of the Jews deported to Babylon nearly 2,600 years ago.

During centuries that now seem dim and dusty the Israelites struggled with the Canaanites, even as today's Israelis are in painful conflict with Palestinians.

Tribes flourish and fade, peoples wander, names change, nations form and dissolve and sometimes reappear. Only the strife seems permanent, almost ancestral, venerable. It is a tempting mental slide from ancient and traditional struggles to the aberration of holy war.

The Jews have been subjected to shameful cruelty by those who came after them, who carved the foundations of their own beliefs from the spiritual structure of the Jewish testament.

Christians and Moslems, accepting the gift of those centuries of discovery and prophesy, sometimes seemed unable just to move on with their own convictions. There was a savage compulsion to deny the source its right to remain in place, and from this came "restricted" clubs, pogroms and gas chambers, three expressions of bigotry on different levels of hate.

**BIGOTRY, LIKE A THIEF,** often wears a mask. Racism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, appear in the media, in government, even in the pulpit, wearing masks because they cover something shameful.

To establish a modern homeland for the Jews was not easy, despite the guilt of the world that Hitler built and the rest of us tolerated until he threatened our own interests.

The Palestine Liberation Organization states its purpose as clearly as Hitler stated his.

**THE PLO** is on record. It proclaims an armed struggle, a holy war, to destroy Israel. In response to deadly attacks upon its citizens and settlements, Israel moved this month to clear PLO strongholds from Lebanon.

The ultimate goal, which the United States may honorably share, is to restore an independent Lebanon, reassure Syria, guarantee the rights of West Bank Palestinians, encourage a wider appreciation of Arab culture and aspirations, develop personal and diplomatic exchanges between Israel and its neighbors and, of course, guarantee the independence of Israel.

Previous failures cannot control any situation that is given prayerful and selfless attention. It is possible to shed the masks, and to find that the world breathes easier without them.



## Pray the Rosary for peace

*A photoeditorial*

You're never too old, and you're never too young. Everybody can pray the Rosary for peace.

Molly Ward is pleased with the Rosary beads she holds as a kindergarten grad at Queen of Martyrs, while James Willis pursues his own thoughts.

Prayer can be the expression of the most simple desire, offered anywhere at any time. Millions find the Rosary prayers helpful in expressing their concern for peace.



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 18, 1982  
**to** Bertram Gold  
**from** Rabbi A. James Rudin  
**subject**

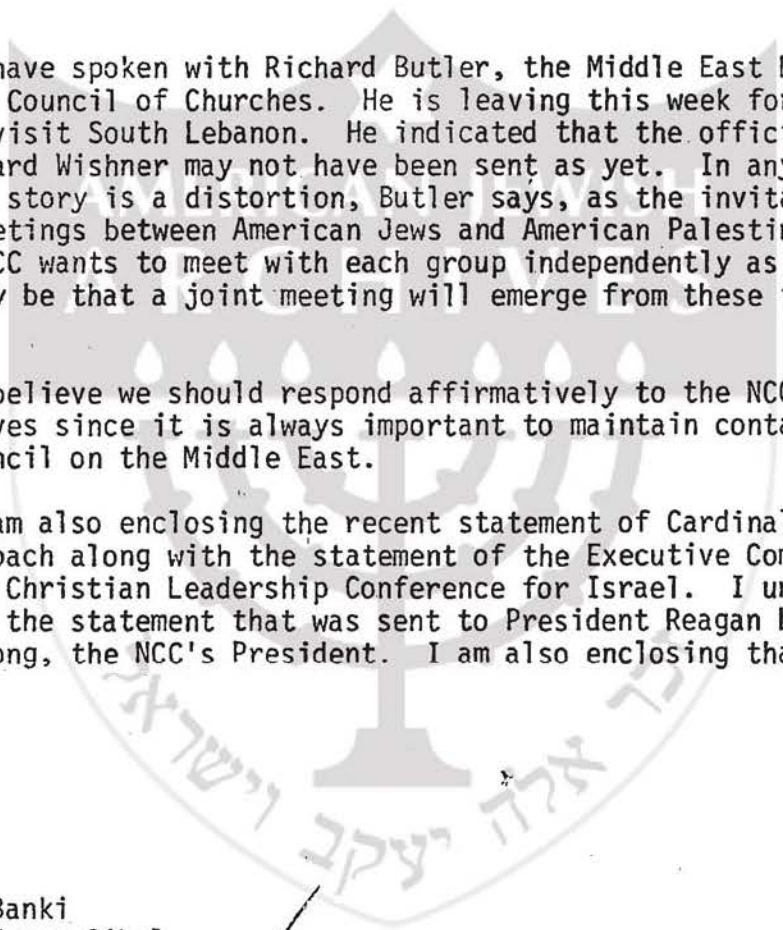
I have spoken with Richard Butler, the Middle East Director of the National Council of Churches. He is leaving this week for Israel and he hopes to visit South Lebanon. He indicated that the official invitation to Maynard Wishner may not have been sent as yet. In any event, the enclosed RNS story is a distortion, Butler says, as the invitation is not for joint meetings between American Jews and American Palestinians, but rather the NCC wants to meet with each group independently as it did in 1980. It may be that a joint meeting will emerge from these initial conversations.

I believe we should respond affirmatively to the NCC invitation when it arrives since it is always important to maintain contact with the National Council on the Middle East.

I am also enclosing the recent statement of Cardinal Cooke and Archbishop Roach along with the statement of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel. I understand you already have the statement that was sent to President Reagan by Bishop James Armstrong, the NCC's President. I am also enclosing that statement as well.

AJR:FM  
Encls.

- cc: Judith Banki
- Inge Lederer Gibel
- Zach Schuster
- Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓



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*Patricia Wagner is a representative in The Philippines of the Mennonite Central Committee, headquartered in Akron, Pa.*

06-16-82

## National Council invites U.S. Jews, Palestinians to engage in a dialogue

By Religious News Service

NEW YORK (RNS) — The National Council of Churches, accused by Jewish leaders of a bias in favor of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has extended an offer to dialogue about differences.

United Methodist Bishop James Armstrong, NCC president, invited leaders of the American Jewish and Palestinian communities to take part in a joint meeting to discuss "recent events in Lebanon, Middle East peace prospects and our appropriate role."

His offer was extended on June 11, at the height of the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, aimed at knocking out PLO strongholds.

Bishop Armstrong sent a telegram June 11 to the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Palestine Congress of North America.

The first acceptance of the invitation came from the Synagogue Council of America, the coordinating body of the rabbinical and congregational organizations of Conservative, Orthodox and Reform Judaism in the United States.

Its president, Rabbi Walter Wurzbarger, said an end to fighting in Lebanon would have to come about through an end to the terrorist activities of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). At the same time, he said his organization would "welcome the opportunity" to discuss the Middle East with the National Council of Churches.

J. Richard Butler, director of the NCC's Middle East office, said, "We feel that the U.S. religious community and other groups directly concerned with the Middle East have an important role to play in U.S. policy formulation. This proposal is a continuation of discussions between NCC leadership, the American Jewish community, and the American Palestinian community that began during the development of our Middle East policy statement."

The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith recently denounced a resolution of the NCC's governing board which called for United States dialogues with the PLO as a means of working toward peace in the Middle East.

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF MY TELEGRAM YESTERDAY TO PRESIDENT REAGAN.  
"APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS TO DATE IN ACHIEVING OF OBSERVANCE OF U.N.  
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509 IN LEBANON CONFLICT.  
ENCOURAGE YOU TO TAKE STRONGEST MEASURES TO ACHIEVE IMMEDIATE CEASE  
FIRE IN LEBANON BEFORE FURTHER DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IMPOSED ON THAT  
TRAGIC COUNTRY. IT IS NOW URGENT THAT THE U.S. TAKE NEW DIPLOMATIC  
INITIATIVES ALONG WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES TO BEGIN ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN  
NEGOTIATIONS AS NECESSARY MEANS OF RESOLVING THIS CONFLICT. NEW  
SITUATION REQUIRES BOLD ACTION UNENCUMBERED BY FORMULAS OF THE PAST.  
WE PRAY FOR STRENGTH FOR YOU TO TAKE LEADERSHIP THAT EVENTS DEMAND."

ENCOURAGE YOU TO JOIN ME IN APPEALING FOR IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL CEASE  
FIRE BY ALL PARTIES. INVITE YOU TO MEET WITH HEADS OF NCCC COMMUNIONS  
IN NEAR FUTURE FOR SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF RECENT EVENTS IN LEBANON,  
MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROSPECTS AND OUR APPROPRIATE ROLLS. LETTER FOLLOWS

BISHOP JAMES ARMSTRONG  
PRESIDENT  
NATIONAL COUNCIL CHURCHES OF CHRIST USA RICHARD BUTLER  
ROOM 612 475 RIVERSIDE DR  
NEW YORK NY 10115

13:19 EST

HGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS



In a related development, dissatisfied parents have circulated a petition which states parents who signed it will remove their children from Sacred Heart School unless the nuns "are afforded the fair hearing they so justly deserve."

According to petition backers, parents of 117 children had signed the petition by June 7, about a month after it began circulating.

According to Donna Ritchie, a member of the parents' group, Bishop Gendron visited the parish during two weekend Masses and urged parishioners to heal the parish's wounds.

END

13-6-8-82

POPE CONCERNED OVER LEBANON FIGHTING (440 -- With NC Photo to come)

By Nancy Frazier

VATICAN CITY (NC) -- Pope John Paul II expressed sorrow and concern for Lebanon and solidarity with the Lebanese people June 8, following a new outbreak of warfare there.

In a French-language telegram to Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, the pope said the new war in the Middle Eastern nation strikes Lebanon "in the gravest manner, infringing violently on its aspirations to peace and causing numerous victims and grave damage."

An Israeli attack in Lebanon began June 4 with bombing raids on Palestine Liberation Organization strongholds in Beirut and southern parts of the country. After the PLO responded with intense artillery bombardment of Israeli frontier towns, Israel mounted a full-scale invasion June 6 involving raids from the sea by naval commandos and incursions across the border by three separate armored columns.

Pope John Paul's telegram made no specific reference to Israel or to the PLO. L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican daily newspaper, which has sometimes commented editorially on smaller-scale Israeli actions, has carried new stories on the invasion but without editorial comment.

The pope told Sarkis that he was praying for "the cessation of the military initiatives" to avoid further loss of life or "the threat of a fearful expansion of the conflict."

Political and military analysts feared that Israeli clashes with Syrian peacekeeping forces stationed in Lebanon in the first days of the invasion could lead to a widening of the conflict.

The telegram was made public the day after a meeting between Pope John Paul and U.S. President Ronald Reagan at the Vatican. In his public talk to the president after an hour-long private meeting, the pope mourned "the grave crisis provoked by the new events in Lebanon."

Here is an NC News translation of the Vatican text of the papal telegram to Sarkis:

"It is with sorrow and a very deep concern that I address to Your Excellency and to the entire Lebanese people the expression of my deep solidarity for the situation of war which strikes Lebanon once again and in the gravest manner infringing violently on its aspirations to peace and causing numerous victims and grave damage.

"I raise ardent prayers to the all-powerful God that the appeal of the international community for the cessation of the military initiatives may be received with a greater sense of responsibility, in order to spare the loss of other human lives and to avoid the threat of a fearful expansion of the conflict.

"May God will to preserve your dear nation, once again suffering, and grant it, as well as all the people of the Middle East, the gift of peace.

"Pope John Paul II."

END

NATIONAL  
CHRISTIAN  
LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE  
FOR  
ISRAEL

134 East 39th Street  
New York, NY 10016

(212) 679-4822

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Rev. Isaac C. Rotenberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE  
DATE: JUNE 15, 1982

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS RELEASED IN THE CHICAGO AREA BY TWO MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON ISRAEL ON THEIR RETURN FROM A TWO-DAY MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D.C. (JUNE 14-15). THE STATEMENT WAS READ AT A PUBLIC RALLY FOR ISRAEL, WHICH THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE HELD AT LAFAYETTE PARK IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON JUNE 15.

THE STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS:

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON ISRAEL ARE CONVENED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. TODAY AT A HISTORIC TIME. WHILE DEPLORING WAR, WE UNDERSTAND ISRAEL'S NEED TO PROTECT ITS PEOPLE FROM TERRORISM. AS A RESULT OF ISRAEL'S RIDDING LEBANON OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, THE STABILITY OF THE REGION IS GREATLY ENHANCED. AS PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS, WE URGE OTHER CHRISTIAN LEADERS TO ENCOURAGE OUR GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT IN RESTORING SOVEREIGNTY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND IN STRENGTHENING ISRAEL'S SECURITY. WE ASK ALL CHRISTIANS TO OFFER THEIR PRAYERS AND THEIR RESOURCES IN AIDING THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND LEBANON.

SIGNED: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON ISRAEL

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT:

NANCY GABRIELLA CARROLL 312-446-4577 (NEWLY ELECTED MEMBER OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE)

SISTER ANN GILLEN 312-922-1983





DATE: June 9, 1982

FROM: William Ryan

O - 202/659-6700

H - 202/686-1824

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## BISHOPS URGE CEASE FIRE AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN LEBANON

WASHINGTON—Archbishop John R. Roach, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York have issued a joint statement urging an immediate cease fire in Lebanon and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from that land.

"The United States, as a major power in the United Nations and a close ally of Israel, should use its good offices to expedite these two goals," they said.

"Many complex circumstances and diverse goals of various parties lie at the basis of the pervasive middle east conflict and are the source of the present violence in Lebanon," the prelates stated. "The undeniable fact, however, is that the nation of Lebanon and its people continue to pay the heaviest price in the middle east conflict."

In their statement on the situation in Lebanon, Archbishop Roach and Cardinal Cooke urged the international community to focus attention on what they termed the "fundamental needs" of the people of Lebanon.

/more

NATIONAL CATHOLIC OFFICE FOR INFORMATION

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005



"If Lebanese sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and peace are to be guaranteed, Lebanon must be treated as significant in its own right," they said. "It is true that Lebanon's security and well-being are tied to the resolution of larger issues in the middle east: Israel's security, the achievement of a homeland and independence for the Palestinians, and the ending of a virtual state of war in the region. But these objectives cannot be achieved at the expense of Lebanon nor can the Lebanese problem await the resolution of these other issues."

"While we as Catholic bishops have a particular relationship and solidarity with the Christian community in Lebanon, our prayers and efforts will also be directed for the welfare of all the Lebanese people and the freedom and independence of their nation. We call on the United States to play an active and vigorous role in the United Nations and with Israel directly to bring about a cease fire and withdrawal. We ask for special remembrance of Lebanon and the middle east in the prayers of our people."

Archbishop Roach, of St. Paul and Minneapolis, has been President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the United States Catholic Conference, since 1980. Cardinal Cooke, the Archbishop of New York, is President of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, and has visited Lebanon several times in the last few years.

The full text of the statement is attached:

# # # # #

X,A,ISR,ME



MINNEAPOLIS, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF  
CATHOLIC BISHOPS, AND TERENCE CARDINAL COOKE OF NEW YORK ON  
THE SITUATION IN LEBANON

Lebanon's fragile possession of peace and sovereign independence was assaulted once again on June 6, 1982, this time by the Israeli invasion of Lebanese territory. These events in that suffering country have resulted in one certain and tragic effect--devastation, death among large numbers of innocent people.

Many complex circumstances and diverse goals of various parties lie at the basis of the pervasive middle east conflict and are the source of the present violence in Lebanon. The undeniable fact, however, is that the nation of Lebanon and its people continue to pay the heaviest price in the middle east conflict.

It is time for the international community to address the Lebanese problem as vitally important in its own right and not simply as an appendage of other issues. To do so means both that immediate objectives must be achieved and that long range solutions must be initiated.

What is immediately necessary is compliance with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 509. This should be implemented with the two objectives of achieving an immediate cease fire in Lebanon and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces. The United States, as a major power in the United Nations and a close ally of Israel, should use its good offices to expedite these two goals.

The long range task is to focus the attention of the international community on the fundamental needs of the people

of Lebanon. If Lebanese sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and peace are to be guaranteed, Lebanon must be treated as significant in its own right. It is true that Lebanon's security and well-being are tied to the resolution of larger issues in the middle east: Israel's security, the achievement of a homeland and independence for the Palestinians, and the ending of a virtual state of war in the region. But these objectives cannot be achieved at the expense of Lebanon nor can the Lebanese problem await the resolution of these other issues.

The tragic events of the present violence in Lebanon must be used to set a new direction for the resolution of the Lebanese problem. The United Nations has a special role as do other key states in the world community. The United States has a unique role to play precisely because of our historic relationship with Israel and with Lebanon, and in view of our central position in the middle east.

While we as Catholic bishops have a particular relationship and solidarity with the Christian community in Lebanon, our prayers and efforts will also be directed for the welfare of all the Lebanese people and the freedom and independence of their nation. We call on the United States to play an active and vigorous role in the United Nations and with Israel directly to bring about a cease fire and withdrawal. We ask for special remembrance of Lebanon and the middle east in the prayers of our people.



[end]

Original documents  
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**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 23, 1982  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Sonya F. Kaufer  
**subject**

**memorandum**

While the PLO is being evacuated from Beirut, here are two more op-eds.

Please do your best to place them.

Regards.

fe/dr  
att.  
82-965-15

*Sonya*  
*SK*





## GOOD RIDDANCE TO THE PLO

There are no victors in the war in Lebanon. But the crushing defeat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and its imminent dispersal into several reluctant Arab countries, has certainly been a body blow to terrorist movements seeking to overthrow governments throughout the Western world.

There is no longer any doubt that for years the PLO, the world's most experienced and ruthless army of guerrilla fighters, was running a virtual university for terrorists. Well endowed with Soviet armaments and funds, and with millions of dollars extorted not only from conservative Arab governments but from Palestinians in whose communities it installed itself, the PLO "graduated" superbly trained guerrillas from dozens of nations who were skilled in the use of modern weaponry and determined to overthrow established regimes not only in the West, but in the Middle East as well.

In the early weeks of the Lebanese fighting, Israelis captured hundreds of members of the Red Brigades, the German Baader-Meinhof gang, the Japanese Red Army, "volunteers" from countries in the Middle East, "students" from other parts of Europe, Asia, Africa. Fatah files contained records of PLO officers taking training in the USSR, Pakistan, Cuba, Vietnam, the People's Republic of China, Soviet satellites and Third World countries.

Indeed, notwithstanding floods of anti-Israel rhetoric, everyone appears to be relieved that the PLO has been so badly crippled -- perhaps not least many of the Palestinians themselves, who know best what it means to be bullied for their own good by an organization whose overriding goal is destruction of another state.

## HOPE FOR LEBANON

In pressing for the departure of the PLO and Syrian fighters from Beirut, skillfully arranged by Ambassador Habib, Israel has served American interests as well as its own. Its action offers hope for the reemergence of an independent Lebanon, free of harassment and outside forces, a homeland restored to its rightful Moslem and Christian inhabitants.

Since 1975 Lebanon has been a conquered land. Its villages and towns were taken over by the PLO and then by a Syrian "deterrent" force -- both heavily supplied with Soviet tanks and missiles -- and turned into a huge international terrorist training ground; its citizens were intimidated and molested; and its central government was totally incapacitated and rendered powerless to prevent PLO attacks on Israel, its neighbor to the south.

A stable Middle East is a vital concern of the U.S. A sovereign Lebanon, free to forge its own fate, is an important step in achieving that stability. The chance is there; it should not be missed.





Office of the M.A. Director

19 July 1982



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Fr. John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D., long-time observer of the Middle East situation and Professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union, released the attached statement today on the current situation in Lebanon.

Fr. Pawlikowski is a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and of the National Board of Americans for Democratic Action.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN LIGHT OF THE LEBANESE INVASIONS.

Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D.  
Professor of Social Ethics  
Catholic Theological Union, Chicago

One must begin any analysis of the current situation in Lebanon with a heavy heart. The physical destruction and the significant loss of life are very painful to any humanitarian, though protest is order against the media who went along originally with the highly inflated statistics on the dead, wounded and homeless supplied by pro-PLO sources. But it is deeply troubling to me to see how easily all the blame for the destruction has been placed on the Israelis by so many in the Christian churches. Many of those connected with social justice causes in the Christian community, and much of the Christian liberal media, has condemned the Israeli invasion without qualification. I can appreciate the concern of many of these Christians for the loss of life. Their general sensitivity to human rights issues has led them to this stand. While the sensitivity is commendable, and is one I certainly share, the question remains, have they taken into account all the relevant data? What about the pre-Israeli invasions by the PLO and the Syrians? What about the feelings expressed in a recent editorial in the Beirut newspaper LE REVEIL which wrote "It is fine to condemn a military operation at the outskirts of a city. But it is even better to condemn first the illegal and criminal establishment in that city of a foreign war machine, and to ask the perpetrators of that crime to dismantle their war machine and fold up their tents -- if only to save their precious skins."? Does this data count for naught? Sensitivity without careful analysis can result in a new form of injustice. And I believe such injustice has been perpetrated, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unwillingly, by many liberal Christians in their one-sided attack upon Israeli policy over the past several weeks.

I certainly am not prepared to offer a blanket endorsement of the Israeli action. The advancement to the outskirts of West Beirut, beyond the initial liberation of south Lebanon, may involve serious political miscalculations and a possible loss of human lives beyond any reasonable strategic objective. The use of cluster bombs is morally indefensible and tremendously harmful in terms of public opinion. But it is a gross injustice to the Israelis to pretend that they started the attack on a tranquil Lebanon. Lebanon was initially invaded by the Syrians and the PLO. Some of the destruction seen on Western television and supposedly done by the Israeli forces is in fact the legacy of the earlier invasions. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese, many of them Christian, were killed or made homeless by the PLO occupation of parts of Lebanon. Why have Christian groups concerned about justice totally ignored the stories of the Lebanese who have been victimized by the PLO invasion? One answer is that many churchpeople in the USA, especially within the Protestant community, have taken their information on the Middle East almost exclusively from the Middle East Council of Churches which has had an uncontested pro-Syrian, pro-PLO orientation. The views of other Christian groups have been summarily dismissed as the thoughts of "rightwingers" and hence not worthy of consideration. Lebanon is a country filled with religious differences that will not be easily resolved. No one's hat is totally white. But before American Christians concerned about justice in the Middle East make judgments, they ought to look in justice into the claims and views of all the Christian and Muslim groups. The Maronite perspective, for example, has received virtually no attention from responsible Christian leaders.

Let me add here that this also applies to elements of the Jewish liberal/left. Groups such as NEW OUTLOOK and the New Jewish Agenda that have criticized the



Israeli invasion into Lebanon have likewise failed to deal adequately with the views of many non-PLO Christians in Lebanon. While I respect the willingness of these groups to critique Israeli politics, while I feel they perform a valuable service in the face of a frequent rubber-stamp attitude towards the Israeli government by many Jewish organizations, I believe they too are guilty of ignoring the plight of many Christians in south Lebanon. In their well-intentioned desire for peace, they like their Christian liberal colleagues sometimes have been overly simplistic in their approach to the Lebanese situation.

One important factor that is clear from the recent invasion is that the PLO was not simply preparing for peace with the Israelis since the Habib-arranged cease-fire. The large cache of arms that was uncovered in the invasion surprised even Israeli intelligence. And there is testimony from a number of soldiers connected with the Peace Now movement in Israel who modified their opposition to the invasion when they saw the PLO arsenal in person. I also find it difficult to fathom how many European Christians who have been concerned about the terrorism of the Red Brigade and segments of the Irish Republican Army can ignore the established links between these organizations and the PLO.

There is little firm indication thus far that the PLO has in any significant way altered its stance towards Israel. Certain statements and hints have been given on occasion to the Western media and Western politicians. But the real test is not words, but deeds. And as far as words go, what is said by the PLO and the Arab states to non-Western, especially Arab, audiences is far more crucial than what may be nothing more than propaganda releases intended to lull the West into thinking a major policy shift was underway. And the PLO's message to non-Western audiences has continued to be an often virulent no-compromise position. The distribution of Middle East maps by the Saudis at their pavillion at the Knoxville World's Fair which completely exclude any reference to Israel in the region are but one small, but significant example of the continuing hardline attitude of the PLO and its financial backers. Anytime Mr. Begin or Mr. Sharon say or do something that harms the peace process this is widely reported in the Western media. But when Arab leaders make statement upon hostile statement that put any meaningful peace negotiations in serious doubt their words are virtually ignored by the Western press.

I do not wish to imply that there exists no possibility for negotiations towards a peace plan with any of the people currently connected with the PLO. The PLO is a complex organization of many factions. Its terrorist dimension cannot be ignored or simply ascribed to PLO fringe groups. Terrorism has been mainstream for the PLO. But it is equally simplistic to refer to the PLO as nothing more than a "bunch of terrorists." Many of the Palestinians associated with the PLO are highly educated, politically astute people from various parts of the world who may indeed be capable of significant political compromise. Some of them will undoubtedly need to play a role in any negotiations with Israel that have any hope of success. Perhaps the Israeli military success against the PLO will force these people to reconsider their blanket support of the terrorist position within the PLO. But the onus is now on them to develop a new form of Palestinian nationalism, one that is surely defensive of Palestinian rights but which clearly is willing to commit itself to peaceful co-existence with a Jewish state. But thus far the development of a serious negotiating stand, one that would be directly and clearly conveyed to the Palestinian people and the Arab world generally, has not yet been forthcoming from those prominent Palestinians to whom I refer. I can certainly join my liberal colleagues in the Christian and Jewish communities in fervently hoping that such a stance seriously emerges within the Palestinian leadership. I cannot join them, however, in believing that such a stance has been put forth as yet as a serious option within the PLO and hence can be used by Israel as a



starting point for the formulation of its own policy. While the Israeli government has an obligation to look carefully for any serious opening towards peaceful accommodation on the part of the PLO, the Israeli contention that this is not yet present can be largely substantiated. When Egypt did significantly change its language and actions, Israel responded positively. I feel that despite some admittedly unbending factions on the Israeli political scene the government is capable of moving towards peace with the Palestinians as well.

The question before us is what ought to be done now. In the first place, if at all possible, a peaceful resolution to the siege of West Beirut needs to be found. But the world political community must force the PLO to give up any significant political presence in Lebanon. The United States and Europe share a good deal of the blame for the present situation in Lebanon. They simply closed their eyes to the destruction of that country with the PLO and the Syrian invasions. They must now try to find some solution to the placement of the PLO. It is now clear that this will not be an easy task. In some ways the greatest condemnation of PLO activities comes not from Israel but from the unwillingness of any Arab nation to help or to house them. Col. Kadafy's remark that they ought to commit suicide represents the final dagger in the back of the PLO.

The Christian churches and the governments of the Western world, in concert with the Arab states, should work for the restoration of an united, self-ruled Lebanon free of all foreign forces. There should be a genuine effort on the part of our government, as well as on the part of Christian and Jewish agencies, to assist the civilian Lebanese.

Our focus, however, cannot be solely on Lebanon even at this moment. The Israelis have claimed that the PLO constituted a primary obstacle to serious negotiations relative to the West Bank/Gaza. Now that the PLO has been severely undercut, the burden is on the Israelis to work toward a meaningful settlement in the West Bank. Israeli morale and its economy, as well as the continuation of a vital, healthy tie to the United States, cannot sustain an unending series of wars in the region. Such a settlement will involve more give on the part of the Begin government than has been publicly demonstrated thus far. The present government's concept of "personal autonomy" over against "territorial autonomy" for the Arab residents of the West Bank/Gaza will not be accepted as such by either the Palestinians nor the world community. Some form of territorial autonomy must be the goal for the West Bank/Gaza. That it may have to come gradually, that there must be demilitarization, that some link to Jordan may be necessary, that some Jewish settlements in the area may remain -- all these are likely conditions for serious negotiations. But if Israel more or less has its way in Lebanon it is then in its national self-interest to work towards a meaningful pact with the Palestinians.

There also needs to be greater attention given by both Israel and the world Jewish community to the problems of Israeli Arabs. They must be welcomed far more into the fabric of Israeli national life, not only with words but with concrete social programs and with specific educational programs to combat the very real prejudice that exists against them in many sectors of the Israeli population.

The present situation may simply prove to be a new era of destruction. Or it may create new possibilities for peace. If we are to turn the corner, if a free Lebanon is to be re-established and the legitimate rights of all Christian and Muslim Lebanese restored, if we are to see any meaningful negotiations over the West Bank/Gaza, both the Begin government and prominent members of the current PLO will have to do some serious rethinking and compromising. Pressure towards this end must be applied by the governments of the West and by other interested parties such as the Christian churches. This is not the time for mere rhetorical defences



of either side. Unless we have meaningful negotiations soon death and destruction will stalk both the Palestinians and the Israelis and could conceivably bring the major powers to the brink of confrontation.

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# AT LAST THERE IS HOPE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

At last there is a chance for the rebirth of an independent, democratic Lebanon after 7 years of bloody upheaval

At last a decisive blow has been dealt to the PLO and to international terrorism

At last the rank and file Palestinian can deal with the question of autonomy without fear of threat or assassination

We hope the United States and the world's leaders will heed the voices of the many Lebanese who have urged Israel to remain until there is a sovereign Lebanon. This will ultimately bring about those results which are in the best interests of the American people.

## PARTIAL LIST OF SIGNERS — AFFILIATIONS FOR IDENTIFICATION ONLY

Dr. Benjamin H. Alexander  
President, Chicago State University

Honorable Frank Annunzio  
Member, Congress of the United States

Mario Aranda  
Executive Director, The Latino Institute

Stanley Balsikas  
President, Balsikas Museum of Lithuanian Culture

Honorable Roland W. Burris  
Comptroller, State of Illinois

Zia Butror  
Assyrians for a free Lebanon

Don Cabrera  
Service Employees International Union, Local 25

Nancy Gabriela Carroll  
Executive Committee  
National Christian Leadership Conference

Honorable Tom Corcoran  
Member, Congress of the United States

Honorable Jerome Cosentino  
Treasurer, State of Illinois

Honorable Philip M. Crane  
Member, Congress of the United States

Edwin Cudecki  
Vice President, Copernicus Foundation

Honorable Edward J. Derwinski  
Member, Congress of the United States

Honorable Tyrone Fahner  
Attorney General, State of Illinois

Charles R. Farra, M.D.  
President, American Lebanese League

Anthony J. Fornelli  
Vice Chairman, Chicago Planning Commission  
President, Feste Italiane

Cookie Garner  
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Union, Local 108

Angele G. Geocaris  
Chairman, Delphi Industries, Inc.

Paul Gibson  
Former Chairman, Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education

Sister Ann Gillen, S.H.C.J.  
Executive Director  
National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Ross Harano  
Former Midwest Governor  
Japanese American Citizens League

Martin Heckmann  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Service Employees International Union, Local 108

Richard Hunt  
Sculptor

Major General George J. Keegan, Jr.  
President, Institute of Strategic Affairs

Julian Kulas  
Former President, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America,  
Chicago Branch

Dr. Myron Kuropas  
Vice President, Ukrainian National Association

Sister Jeanne Landry, S.S.N.D.  
Religious Education Coordinator  
St. James

Dr. Isidro Lucas  
St. Augustine Bi-Lingual Community College

Dr. Curtis D. MacDougall  
Professor Emeritus  
School of Journalism, Northwestern University

James Madison  
Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Workers Union, Local 1

Edward Marciniak

Lou Mantenegro  
International Ladies Garment Workers Union

Donald Page Moore  
Attorney

Father John Pawlikowski  
Catholic Theological Union

Honorable John E. Porter  
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Honorable Penny Pullen  
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House of Representatives, State of Illinois

Marian Quinn  
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Local 108

August Salas  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Hispanic American Labor Council

Connie Seals  
Former Director, Illinois Commission on Human Relations

Alex R. Seith  
Partner — Lord, Bissell and Brook

Edward Shank  
International Typographical Union, Local 16

Honorable Albert Smith  
Mayor, Village of Skokie

Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler, S.S.N.D.  
Director, Institute of Women Today

Robert H. Vaughn  
United Food and Commercial Workers Union

Sister Anne Patrick Wero  
Vice President  
National Coalition of American Women

Charles Williams  
International Association of Machinists

John Yonan  
Executive Director  
Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation

If you agree with this message, you can help give it a wider  
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**INSTITUTE FOR MIDEAST RESEARCH**

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Office of the M.A. Director

8 July 1982

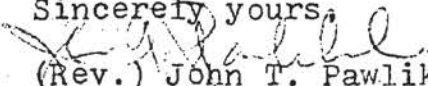
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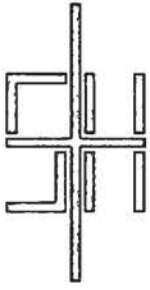
Mr. Gideon Shomron  
Embassy of Israel  
3514 International Drive, NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Gideon,

I felt that I must write you a quick letter upon my return from Europe, including meetings at the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with Jews. The point I wish to make to your government at this time is simply, but strongly, try to your utmost to spare a military assault on West Beirut and avoid trying to "starve out" the PLO. I plan to lay out my views on the current situation in a longer statement within a short time. But I feel that those of us who are prepared to argue your government's claim that a new political order was necessary in Lebanon as a building block for peace would be further undercut in our efforts if either ~~the~~ massive assault or starvation courses are pursued. Israel has lost a great deal of world credibility by the attack. Some of this is unwarranted and I believe can be won back. But some humanitarian stance, while pursuing the ultimate object of a new politics in Lebanon, is vital to the long-term success of the present military operation.

Sincerely yours,

  
(Rev.) John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D  
Professor of Social Ethics  
Member, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council



# Sacred Heart School of Theology

July 2. 1982

Rabbi A. James Rudin  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Jim,

Although these last three months have been very hectic for me since my mother died on Mar. 29th and as an only child I have had an incredible amount of work to do out in Nebraska to clear out large house, settle estate, etc.etc., there are some issues that demand attention. Israel is one of those issues.

Because I was very unhappy with the national press release of Archbishop Roach & Cardinal Cooke (of June 6th) I approached the Catholic Herald (formerly called the Catholic Herald-Citizen), the Milwaukee Archdioceses official paper, as to wheather they were going to run this release. If they did, I wanted to make some quotable remarks about the release. After some discussion with them they invited me to write a feature guest editorial for reader comment and discussion in later issues.

Please find enclosed the editorial. I am pleased to say that, although it was quite long, they made virtually no cuts and changed none of my words. The title is theirs, although I'm in agreement with the title.

Talked to Gene Fisher today and he mentioned that you were collecting Christian comments on the war in Lebanon. Please feel free to use my editorial (and duplicate it) in any way you wish.

Will be vacationing in Northern Wisconsin next week, but will be back in Milwaukee on July 13th.

Hope you're having a good summer.

Shalom,

Dr. Richard C. Lux

Enc.



July 22, 1982

CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO ISRAEL'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON

This report will be divided into four areas:

- I. Official Christian Reaction from either Church Bodies or Individuals
- II. Personal Statements
- III. Reactions from the Christian Media
- IV. Analysis and Evaluations

Roman Catholic Reactions - International

Pope John Paul II made a series of statements about the Lebanese situation. On June 28th he offered to visit Lebanon if it would help the cause of peace: "I affirm publicly that I would be willing to go also without delay to the martyred land of Lebanon...the news reports and images that arrive from the martyred city of Beirut are terrifying." Since June 6th the Pope has <sup>called</sup> asked several times for an ending to the heavy fighting in Lebanon. On June 25th the Pope spoke of the "shameful evil of the 10 to 15 million refugees around the world, and he mentioned people who were forced to flee because of being "terrorized by violence and war," especially those victims of the current hostilities in Lebanon. John Paul II specifically mentioned many refugee groups in the world including "the very numerous Palestinian refugees." At the same time the Pope called for peace in the Middle East which has been so "compromised but so necessary and has a religious character, a spiritual dimension."

On July 7th the Pope addressed approximately 50,000 visitors at the Vatican and called for an end to the siege of Beirut. "The Capital is submerged in a nightmare of bloody conflict which can rage in its streets from house to house if negotiations do not arrive at a solution." The Pope asked for prayers so that the "Lebanese are able to recover and consolidate the unity and freedom of their country and that there be concluded rapidly an accord which, preserving

the safety of both civilian and all combatants, meets the aspirations of justice for the Palestinians and of security and peace for the peoples involved."

Msgr. John Nolan, Executive Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, called for the "Complete withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon." Msgr. Nolan said that about 600,000 people living in Lebanon are Palestinians with 1% of them members of the PLO and other Palestinians are mostly refugees, he asserted. Msgr. Nolan said the lack of a homeland for the Palestinians is at the core of Middle East tensions and he called for the creation of a West Bank Palestinian state.

#### Roman Catholic Reactions - Domestic

On June 9th, three days after the Israeli forces entered Lebanon, Archbishop John R. Roach, the President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York, the President of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, issued a joint statement urging an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from that country. The two leaders noted that "Catholic Bishops have a particular relationship and solidarity with the Christian community in Lebanon...we call on the United States to play an active and vigorous role in the United Nations and with Israel directly to bring about a ceasefire and withdrawal...the United States is a major power in the United Nations and a close ally of Israel and should use its good offices to expedite these two goals...an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon and the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces." The two Catholic leaders called for the resolution of the "larger issues of the Middle East: Israel's security, the achievement of a homeland and independence for the Palestinians, and an ending-of-a-virtual state of war in the region."

M.E. Church



Pax Christi USA, an American branch of the International Catholic Peace Group called for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Pax Christi asserted the "further use of force by any side without negotiating these essential rights can only continue what has become an endemic state of war." Pax Christi supported the position set forth in 1973 by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, calling...recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs...inclusion of them as partners in any negotiations, acceptance of their right to a state in compensation for past losses, to be paid not only by Israel but also by other members of the international community responsible for the 1948 "Palestinian partition plan." Pax Christi also urged that all prisoners taken in the conflict be treated according to the rules of the Geneva Convention.

→ PROTESTANT REACTIONS - International

Protestant Reactions - Domestic

WCC  
The National Council of Churches is made up of 31 Protestant and Orthodox denominations. A few days following Israel's entry into Lebanon, the NCC's President, Bishop James Armstrong, sent a telegram to President Ronald Reagan urging an immediate ceasefire along with "Israeli-Palestinian negotiations as a necessary means of resolving this conflict." The NCC telegram also asked the President to take "bold action unencumbered by formulas of the past," and for "an immediate and total ceasefire by all parties." Approximately a month later, on July 13th, Dr. Richard Butler, the NCC's Middle East Director, testified before a sub-committee of the House International Affairs Committee.

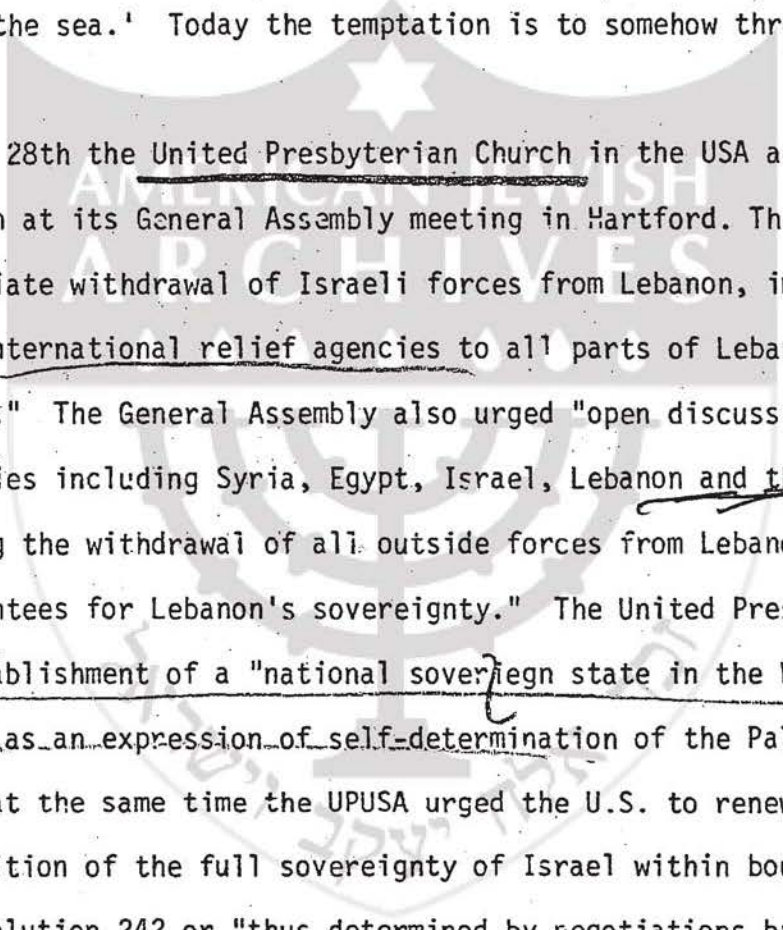
The NCC official visited Lebanon from June 20 until July 6, 1982. In his testimony Butler urged Israel not to launch "an all out assault on the city (of Beirut)." Butler stated that his group was "unable to accept the Israeli condition that armed Israeli military escort must accompany any international voluntary agency representative traveling to South Lebanon from Israel." He criticized the "reported refusal of the Israeli authorities to permit erection

of tents or other shelter for persons made homeless in South Lebanon." Butler was also "alarmed by firsthand reports of the activities of the Israeli Army in detaining suspected PLO sympathizers among the Palestinian and Lebanese population."

The NCC Middle East Director concluded his testimony by declaring, "At one time in history there was a slogan, whether real or imagined, of 'throwing the Jews into the sea.' Today the temptation is to somehow throw the Palestinians away."

On June 28th the United Presbyterian Church in the USA adopted a Middle East resolution at its General Assembly meeting in Hartford. The UPUSA called for the "immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, immediate access for bonafide international relief agencies to all parts of Lebanon affected by the invasion..." The General Assembly also urged "open discussion" with all "relevant parties including Syria, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon and the PLO...with a view to seeking the withdrawal of all outside forces from Lebanon and international guarantees for Lebanon's sovereignty." The United Presbyterians supported the establishment of a "national sovereign state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as an expression of self-determination of the Palestinian people" while at the same time the UPUSA urged the U.S. to renew its support for the recognition of the full sovereignty of Israel within boundaries agreed to in U.N. Resolution 242 or "thus determined by negotiations by all the parties." The UPUSA asked its Stated Clerk to "explore with other religious bodies...including action in the courts...in an attempt to see that laws governing the sale or gift of military equipment should be prohibited from aggressive use are obeyed in relations with the State of Israel." The General Assembly also urged the "Congress of the United States to enact legislation making further U.S. military aid to Israel or U.S. participation in any international force in Lebanon dependent on meaningful progress towards the regional nego-

PROBANDAS  
Tunc.





tiation involving all parties noted above, including Israel and the PLO."

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. adopted a resolution at its General Assembly meeting in mid-June 1982 that called for the immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and for the PLO to "cease acts of violence against Israel." The PCUS also requested the United States to "withhold all military aid from Israel until it ceases acts of violence against its neighbor...called upon the U.S. Government to enter into official contact with the PLO at such time as that organization acknowledges the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries."

Dr. William P. Thompson, the Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA and Dr. J. Oscar McCloud, General Secretary of the Church's Program Agency, sent a telegram to President Reagan on June 9th that was highly critical of Israel for having "violated the sovereignty of Lebanon and broken the ceasefire arranged by Ambassador Habib." The United Presbyterian leaders felt the PLO response to the June bombings (by Israel on Lebanon) was "predictable and provided Israel with the excuse needed to invade Lebanon..."

Thompson and McCloud urged the U.S. Government to stop the use of American arms in Lebanon and urged "prompt Israeli withdrawal...rehabilitation of Lebanon and guarantees of its future sovereign independence." The United Presbyterian leaders supported the American "commitment to defend the existence of the State of Israel but that commitment must not be misused to cover aggressive actions...future peace and stability in the Middle East depend on a just negotiated settlement of the Palestinian question."

Dr. Avery Post, the President of the United Church of Christ and Dr. Kenneth Teegarden, the President of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

sent a telegram to President Reagan on June 10th which urged the President to make "firm demands backed by sanctions for Israel to stop immediately military action in Lebanon and return its forces to its own territory...we recognize and support Israel's legitimate security needs, but there is an equally pressing need to maintain American integrity. The United States must oppose armed aggression of one nation against another whether the aggressor be our friend or our foe. Israel has clearly transgressed the bounds of legitimate self-defense." The two Protestant Church leaders called for a relief effort for the "unfortunate people of Lebanon" and concluded that the "political problems in Lebanon cannot be solved by military means."

The general Synod of the Reformed Church in America on June 11th urged all the "states and peoples" of the Middle East to "respect the recognized international borders of the region and the rights of all peoples of the area to national self-determination." The RCA supported UN Security Council resolution 508 that called on Israel to withdraw all its forces "forthwith" and "unconditionally" from Lebanon. The Church also requested Congress to determine whether U.S. military equipment was used illegally by Israel and the Church urged the United States to "stop the transfer of military equipment to the Middle East until it is assured that such military material will be used exclusively for defensive purposes."

On June 19th Bishop James R. Crumley, the President of the Lutheran Church in America, sent a letter to President Reagan that called on the Administration "to work in a creative, consistent and concerted way towards peace... to help facilitate the withdrawal of all foreign powers from Lebanon...at the same time I ask you to stress ever more resolutely with Israel the legitimate needs of the Palestinian people for a homeland in which their political identity



and need for autonomy can be expressed in a positive way..." Bishop Crumley also sought humanitarian assistance for the wounded and homeless in Lebanon.

Dr. Robert W. Neff, the General Secretary of the Church of the Brethren with headquarters in Elgin, Illinois, sent a telegram to President Reagan on June 24th asking the U.S. Government to cease "all arms sales and shipments to all countries in the Middle East" and he called upon "the Soviet Union and other suppliers to join with the U.S. in this initiative for peace. Open direct contact with the PLO... broaden the mandate of Ambassador Philip Habib to deal with the core issues of the Israel-Palestinian dispute not just those relevant to the Lebanon conflict."

#### Evangelical Reactions

An independent Evangelical Christian group, TAV, that is headquartered in California, issued a strong statement in support of Israel in mid-June. "We are committed to the security of Israel...the rebirth of Israel points to God's faithfulness...we are vehemently opposed to anti-Zionism. We do not discourage a reasoned and morally sound criticism of the policies of the Israel Government, but we are opposed to a blind irrational hatred of Zion, a hatred that demands that Israel be judged by an impossible standard of righteousness... we urge Arab leaders to unequivocally renounce the use of terror and embrace the legitimacy of the Israeli State."

#### Ecumenical and Interreligious Reactions

The National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, an organization that includes Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics, issued a statement on June 15th. The NCLCI said, "While deploring war, we understand Israel's need to protect its people from terrorism. As a result of Israel ridding Lebanon of terrorists activities, the security of the region is greatly enhanced...we urge other Christian leaders to encourage our government's support in restoring sovereignty to the government of Lebanon

and in strengthening Israel's security."

✓ ✓ ✓  
Dr. David Hyatt, the President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews supported Israel's actions in Lebanon and denounced any calls for sanctions or rebuke against Israel and called on the PLO to renounce its pledge to destroy Israel. Dr. Hyatt asserted that "the issue still remains, Israel's right to exist." The NCCJ President, A Roman Catholic, said he was "appalled that some of my fellow Christians are now attacking Israel for its Lebanese incursion."

On June 25th a group of 19 prominent Philadelphia community and religious leaders issued a statement urging that "any Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon must be related to firm guarantees for the withdrawal of Syrian military forces." Among the signators were Stephen Board, Editor of Eternity Magazine, an independent evangelical publication; Father Sharbel Lischaa, a Lebanese pastor of St. Maron Church and two other Lebanese Christian clergymen, Father Antoine El Maghariki and Father Loish L. Farek. Also joining in the statement was Matthew Giuffrida, Director of the Parish Witness Program of the American Baptist Churches, Rev. John F. Hardwick, an Episcopal priest, Eugene Pasymowski, President of the Polish American Affairs Council of Pennsylvania and W. Thacher Longstreth, President of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Philadelphia Quaker community.

The Philadelphia group felt a "collective sense of anguish and helplessness at the sight of violence in Lebanon" and called for the ultimate withdrawal of all outside military forces" from that country and the restoration of "genuine sovereignty to the people and government of Lebanon and permanent security for people living near the Israel-Lebanon borders."



Rev. John Cruse, an Episcopal priest and a professor at Huntingdon College in Montgomery, Alabama, and Professor Ruth Bradbury LaMonte of the University of Alabama in Birmingham, organized the Coalition of Justice and Peace in the Middle East following Israel's entry into Lebanon. Rev. Cruse declared, "The Palestinians are homeless, they are refugees who were driven out of their homeland so they moved to Jordan and Lebanon and the Israelis kept taking over." The Coalition is one of several that have been organized around the country and its goals are "an end of U.S. weapon supplies to Israel, removal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and the occupied territories...American foreign policy...based on Palestinian homeland rights, dismantling of Israeli settlements on Arab land, an end to racism, discrimination, aggression and oppression against the Palestinians in Lebanon."

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The Seattle Christian clergymen who travelled to Lebanon earlier this year as guests of the PLO, published a newspaper ad on July 9th, entitled "Death and Desolation in Lebanon," that presented these figures: 40,000 people killed and wounded, 700,000 people homeless. These statistics are the largest numbers that have appeared in any ad or statement since the war began in June. The Greater Church Council of Seattle, the sponsor of the ad, urged that relief funds be sent to the "United Holy Land Fund," which is part of the PLO organizational apparatus in the United States.

#### Black Organizations' Reactions

Bayard Rustin, the President of BASIC, Black Americans to Support Israel Committee, sent a telegram to Prime Minister Begin on June 21st. In it Mr. Rustin said that BASIC "is eager to support exhaustive diplomatic and political efforts to achieve both stability in Lebanon and peace with secure borders in Israel."

Arab Christian Reactions

The Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese, an Arab Church and a member of the National Council of Churches, denounced the "unjustified invasion of Lebanon" by Israel and called Israel's campaign "an armed aggression, a barbaric holocaustic final solution to the Palestinian problem."

Metropolitan Philip Saliba, the Primate of the Antiochian Church, wrote a letter to the editor of the Atlanta Constitution that appeared on July 15th in which he expressed his Church's "profound shock" over the "tragic events in Lebanon." Saliba called for "immediate and unconditional" withdrawal of Israeli troops, "humanitarian aid in Lebanon...the immediate recognition of the human and national rights of the Palestinian people to establish their own homeland on the West Bank and Gaza...the relaxation of United States Immigration laws to permit the immediate entry and residency of Lebanese and Palestinian refugees to the United States."

PERSONAL STATEMENTS

Since June 6 several Christian leaders have issued personal and independent statements about the Israeli campaign in Lebanon. Though not officially representing any Christian body, they nonetheless are important to gaining an understanding of the overall Christian response to the events in Lebanon.

Roman Catholic - Domestic

Dr. Richard C. Lux, Associate Professor of Theology at Sacred Heart School of Theology in Milwaukee and a member of the National Advisory Committee for Catholic-Jewish Relations, published an article in the Milwaukee Catholic paper that was highly supportive of Israel's actions in Lebanon. He felt that



"We Catholics have been utterly indifferent to the suffering and deaths of our sister Catholic Christians in Lebanon" since 1975. Dr. Lux believed that civilians have died (in Lebanon) "due primarily to the fact that the PLO has deliberately positioned themselves and their headquarters in the midst of the civilian population...the Israeli Army has made great efforts to spare civilian deaths...we ought to urge our President and Representatives to press for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the Syrians, the PLO and the Israelis but only after the establishment of a strong central government and an independent Lebanon."

James Handler, representing the Black Catholics of America steered clear of the political aspects of the struggle and said his organization's prime concern was to get relief aid to those who were in need in Lebanon.

Father Joseph Nangle of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men called for an immediate Israeli withdrawal, self-determination for all peoples in the Middle East and even of payment of damages by Israelis.

Protestant - Domestic

Dr. William Howard, President of the National Council of Churches from 1979 to 1981, addressed an open letter to Prime Minister Begin on July 2nd. Dr. Howard had met the Prime Minister during a Middle East visit in 1980, and although the Christian leader was moved by Mr. Begin's talk at that time as well as by a visit to the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, Howard concluded "This is its (Israel's) darkest hour. The invasion and continued occupation of Lebanon by Israel is creating a strong negative backlash of world opinion...that is not likely to subside with the passage of a few days or weeks or months...this situation may further jeopardize Israel's security and to continue to put off into the distant future any possibility for a lasting peace...perhaps as never before

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there is in the international community a willingness to provide for...the mutual recognition of Israel by the PLO and the PLO by Israel."

In late June Bishop Dale White, the United Methodist Bishop of New Jersey, spoke at a news briefing in Washington that was called by Representative Joseph Rahall of West Virginia. Appearing with Bishop White was James Zogby, the Executive Director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Bishop White was highly critical of Israel and cited Israel for its exploitation of the Palestinians on the West Bank and expressed his support of the Palestinians in their quest for self-determination. The Methodist Bishop said that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and he claimed there was considerable evidence which suggested that Israel intended to exert its authority over Lebanon with an "economic annexation that was already under way."

ISRAELI PROPOS  
Bishop White and Rev. Timothy Mitchell, a black clergyman from Queens, spoke at a New York City press conference in late June that sharply condemned Israeli actions in Lebanon, calling them "genocidal" in nature. Both White and Mitchell called for an immediate Israeli withdrawal but not for similar action by the PLO and the Syrians.

Rev. Robert Kyte of the United Church of Christ in Lenox, Massachusetts, wrote a letter to the Editor of the Berkshire Eagle, a regional paper. Rev. Kyte said, "perhaps some see the PLO as the underdog fighting a fanatic and self-absorbed enemy. Historical reality shows it to be the opposite case. The PLO, with a record of fanatic terrorism, making it unwelcome even in other Arab countries, is not worthy of our sympathy. Israel deserved loud support in its attempts to bring permanent peace and security to the Middle East so that all may live and prosper."



REACTIONS FROM THE CHRISTIAN MEDIA

Roman Catholic Domestic

Commonweal, an important American Roman Catholic publication, printed two critical editorials on Israel's campaign in Lebanon. The June 18th issue lead editorial was "The 'Perfect logic' of the Mideast War." Commonweal felt that Israel is "facing an old problem for militarily successful nations...getting in is easier than getting out." The editorial went on to say: "It should be clear that neither side in this dispute is blameless. Messrs. Begin and Sharon provide daily provocation to the PLO almost every day; the PLO in turn regularly arouses Israeli wrath by terrorist actions and inflammatory statements." Commonweal concluded that the "immediate task is to contain the Lebanese fighting, but a new initiative on the Palestinian issue is the very next order of the day. Mr. Begin is buying time in Lebanon but losing time on the West Bank. The world with him."

Four weeks later in its July 16th issue, Commonweal carried another editorial in the form of a question and answer format.

The first question was:

"Can Israel's invasion of Lebanon be justified?"

Answer: "Not by us." The magazine editorial felt the terrorist attack on the Israeli Ambassador to London was overblown and not cause for the Israeli incursion.

Question: "Should the U.S. accede to Israel's wishes on this? (U.S. participation in a military national force in Lebanon?)

Answer: "There are weighty arguments against our doing such a thing. Stationing U.S. troops in Lebanon would turn us into another occupying force, with all the onus from the Arab States that such a position would inevitably entail."

The editorial concluded with "Israel must realize the constant recourse

to military action will not provide any lasting solution. It is for such a solution that the U.S. should work, and it is only with such a solution in view that we should consider a presence in Lebanon."

The June 4th issue of Commonweal which appeared before Israel entered Lebanon contained an article by Father David Barrell, the Rector of the Ecumenical Institute for Theological Research in Tantur. While defending the right of the Jewish people to a state of their own in Palestine, Father Barrell asked whether Israel "under its present leadership is not resolutely engaged in forfeiting that right and respect by its aggressive and unimaginable treatment of the indigenous population" (The Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza)" Barrell's article entitled, "Israel's Scandalous Course" concluded: "As a priest and theologian I am even more dismayed at the impotence of religious spokesmen to bring the finest traditions of Judaism to its rescue in this scandalous moment...(Israel) fanned into paranoia by short-sighted political leaders will carry Israel itself to a second Masada. Yet one also knows that the hearts of its people are strong and stout enough to resist such a suicidal course if only a few grams of imagination could be found in their political and religious leadership."

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magazine

The Jesuit American America in its June 19th editorial sharply criticized the Israeli invasion of Lebanon: "The tragedy is that peace in Galilee or security for Israel in general will never be realized as long as Israel relies on military force to crush Palestinian resistance rather than face honestly and courageously the fundamental issue of Palestinian rights."

On July 3rd America published an editorial entitled, "The Devastation Called Peace?" that sharply criticized Israel's military campaign that "left the city of Sidon a wasteland...Despite its one-sided military victory, Israel's political and diplomatic losses have been grievous...(Israel) will find its suc-

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cess in war has made peace even more elusive...the result of the tragedy for the people of Israel as well as for the victims in Lebanon."

A.E.P. Wall, editor of the Chicago Catholic wrote an editorial for the Chicago Catholic that appeared June 25th. Wall was sharply critical of the PLO which "states its purpose as clearly as Hitler stated his...to destroy Israel... Israel moved this month to clear PLO strongholds from Lebanon. The ultimate goal which the United States may honorably share is to restore an independent Lebanon, reassure Syria, guarantee the rights of the West Bank and Palestinians, encourage a wider appreciation of Arab culture and aspirations, develop personal and diplomatic exchanges between Israel and its neighbors and, of course, guarantee the independence of Israel." Wall went on: "racism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism appear in the media, in government, even in the pulpit because they cover something shameful...it is possible to shed the masks and to find that the world breathes easier without them."

The National Catholic Reporter in its July 2nd issue described the concerns of several American Christian groups including the American Friends Service Committee, as well as citing the statement of Cardinal Cooke and Archbishop Roach. Frances Neely, the AFSC's Middle East specialist declared, "Our position hasn't changed at all, it's just become more strident and outraged. I think if the American people ever become aroused there will be success in our lobbying efforts. That is why the American people need as many facts as possible instead of being spoonfed a few particular points of view...We were appalled, distressed and outraged by the invasion."

John Soriano and Arthur Jones of the National Catholic Reporter concluded their article by stating "Modern Israelis began by forcing life with human tenderness from the unwilling desert. Now they are spreading blood on the sands and blood on their hands."

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The Boston Pilot in its July 16th editorial entitled, "Peace With Justice," asserted that "What we must be concerned about are the fundamental needs of the people of Lebanon. It is true that Lebanon's security is tied to the solution of larger problems in the Middle East: the guaranteed security of the State of Israel; independence for Palestinians and the cessation of hostilities in the area." The Pilot believed that all parties "must act with political vision and moral courage if we are to achieve peace in the Middle East."

The Boston Pilot in the July 16th issue carried a long interview with an American Catholic nurse who had served in Beirut. Sharon Mahoney vividly described the injuries that she witnessed in Beirut during the early days of the hostilities. She was part of a volunteer medical team from the United States that was working in Lebanon. Her visit was sponsored by the Middle East Council of Churches and the Palestinian Red Crescent Society which has ties to the PLO. In addition to Ms. Mahoney, Dr. Anthony Sahyoun, Associate Professor of Surgery at Harvard University and a Palestinian, also spoke at the same news conference as the American nurse. Dr. Sahyoun said, "The Jewish people have never forgotten the Holocaust. This is our (the Palestinian's) Holocaust. It is Holocaust II as far as we are concerned. We want it stuck in the minds of the world."

*Holocaust*

Father Charles S. McCarthy of Brockton, Massachusetts, wrote an OP ED article that appeared in the National Catholic Reporter in its July 16th issue.

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Father McCarthy's article carried the provocative title, "Killing in the Name of Judaism." He compared Christopher Columbus' alleged campaign of cruelty and destruction of the Indians to Prime Minister Begin's campaign against the Palestinians beginning with Deir Yassin in 1948. Father McCarthy wrote, "Like Columbus, ever more full of conviction; Begin continues to this day to murder innocent Arab children at an ever escalating rate...from the angle of eternity, it is im-



portant to know Christopher Columbus' Christianity was not the only Christianity at that time...It is important to record in a way that the simplest soul can understand that Begin's Judaism is not the only Judaism."

Msgr. S. J. Adamo, a columnist in the Philadelphia Daily News, wrote on July 2nd, "This is the first time I have found it necessary to criticize Israel...something has changed and a brutal leadership is in control of the small nation. I must add, however, that not all Israelis are happy with the conduct of the Begin-Sharon team...Israel is too important to the world to adopt the barbaric military efforts that less unenlightened nations have employed... For the Palestinian refugee problem cannot be solved by bloodshed, but by a just and honorable peace for all the people dwelling in the Land of Prophets."

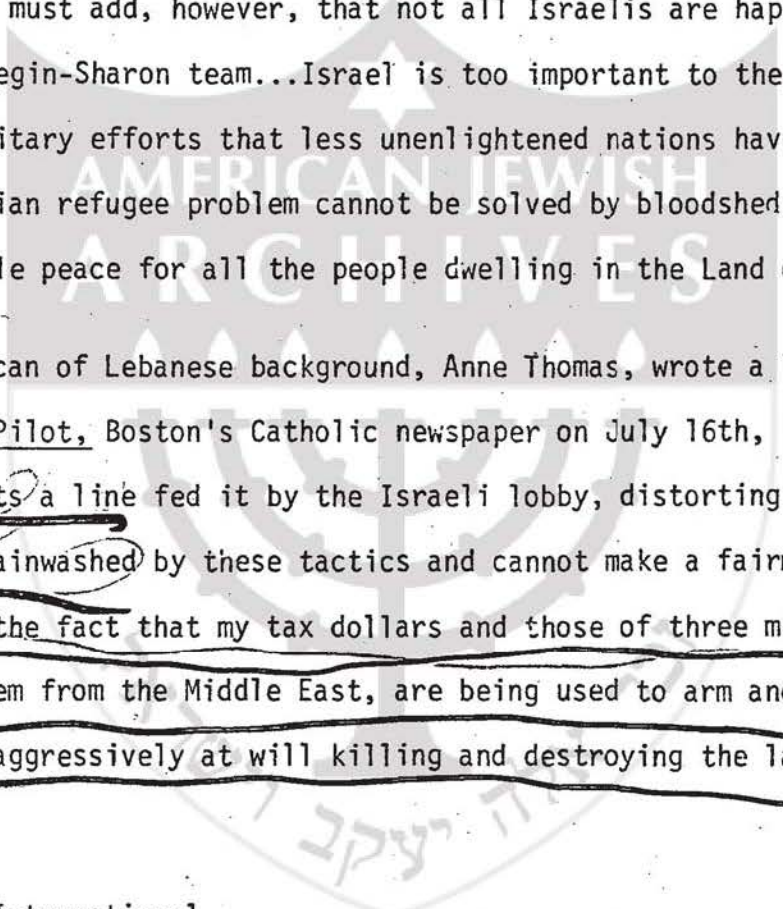
An American of Lebanese background, Anne Thomas, wrote a letter than appeared in the Pilot, Boston's Catholic newspaper on July 16th, "Our Congress shamefully parrots a line fed it by the Israeli lobby, distorting the facts... Americans are brainwashed by these tactics and cannot make a fairminded judgment. I resent the fact that my tax dollars and those of three million of us Americans who stem from the Middle East, are being used to arm and rearm Israel so she can roam aggressively at will killing and destroying the land of our forebears."

Roman Catholic International

Msgr. John Nolan, Executive Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, called for the "Complete withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon." Msgr. Nolan said that about 600,000 people living in Lebanon are Palestinians with 1% of them members of the PLO, and other Palestinians are mostly refugees, he asserted. Msgr. Nolan said the lack of a homeland

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P. 27



for the Palestinians is at the core of Middle East tensions and he called for the creation of a West Bank Palestinian state.

Protestant Domestic

James Wall, editor of the national Protestant weekly, Christian Century, left for Israel and Lebanon immediately after the outbreak of hostilities. Wall's first editorial was written in Jerusalem before he visited Lebanon and was carried in the Century's July 7th issue. Clearly anguished, Wall wrote, "Talking first to Palestinians and then Israelis, forces one to go through an emotional wringer, convinced equally of the moral forces of two diametrically opposed political positions...Israel has achieved its immediate goal of eliminating PLO long range bases in Lebanon, but the ferocity of its attack has harmed Israel's image abroad. This point concerns many Israelis and American Jews, but Israelis here told me that they are willing to pay that price if they can eliminate all terrorist centers and make their borders secure."

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When the Christian Century editor visited South Lebanon he wrote in an editorial entitled, "Did Begin Go Too Far This Time?" He declared, "By destroying the Palestine Liberation Organization's military presence in Lebanon, Israel has solved a short-term problem. Its northern borders are once again free from shelling and raids from PLO attackers. But two long-term problems remain: the commitment of Palestinians to obtaining a homeland of their own, and the impact on Israel--both at home and abroad--of its excesses during the Lebanon invasion.... What is different about this particular venture is that for the first time in its history as a modern state, Israel has waged extensive war outside its own borders, and has done so without widespread public approval...I found among them and other (peace activists) citizens whom I met a greater willingness to criticize the military policies of Prime Minister Menachem Begin than I have ever sensed among American Jews and



other supporters of Israel in the U.S....political debate, even during this tense time of warfare, is intense, constant and open... Leaders articulate objections to the war, but the hope for the future of Israel lies with its average citizens. If Begin and Sharon lost their support, the months ahead will involve considerable national soul-searching, and perhaps even some political changes. Israel wants, and must have, security. But there are limits to how much other countries and peoples must pay for that security. Israelis seem to be saying in increasing numbers that those limits have been exceeded."

In another article in the same issue of the Christian Century, Wall describes his visit to Sidon..."The scene of some of the worst destruction in Israel's recent invasion. Apparently it was also the city where the PLO stored many of its munitions, which the Israelis were eager to show us...we drove up a winding mountain road to another munitions find, this time a much larger and, even to this untrained eye, impressive array of arms...we noted smaller rockets, machine guns, land mines, bullets and mortars--some properly labeled, indicating that they had been shipped into Lebanon directly. Other boxes came through hostile ports; these were labeled "chemicals," and, although I didn't see them, Captain Tuvi told us that some boxes were labeled 'buldozer parts.'.... Most damage in Sidon was in the central city and in the refugee camps, particularly Ain Hilweh, an UNRWA camp with as many as 24,000 refugees...It is the refugee population from Ain Hilweh and other Lebanese camps that concerns relief agencies. More than 100,000 displaced refugees-- half in Tyre, the rest in Sidon--will not be easy to relocate. We saw some of them camped in a banana grove along the highway. Others have been reported living on the beach or in groves further east. How many are left? No one has yet counted.. Added to the uneasiness felt regarding new homes for the refugees is the fact that if the Israelis carry out their stated

goal of returning Lebanon to Lebanese control--which would mean Christian Phalangist control--the future of the Palestinians, many of whom are suspected of PLO sympathies, is uncertain... The months, and even the years, ahead will be difficult for Lebanon and its inhabitants, especially the Palestinians."

Rev. Leonard Bjorkman, a Presbyterian minister in Syracuse, wrote a letter to the Editor of the Syracuse Post Standard. In it he declared, "Israel and the PLO need to talk face to face. The usual argument against that has been upon the precondition that the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist and renounce terrorism. Is it not time for an end to such a precondition that blocks the way to peace? ... and is it not time for the US to play a major role in this process by talking openly with the PLO?"

#### SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Christian leaders who were supportive of Israel's campaign in Lebanon generally expressed an understanding of the Jewish State's security concerns and of the need to protect Israeli civilians from armed attack. These Christians also took note of the severe devastation and terrorism that the PLO and Syrian army have brought to Lebanon since 1975. In their public statements such Christians cautioned against judging Israel by an unfair double standard, <sup>that</sup> did not take into account the real goals of the PLO and the legitimate concern of Israel to protect herself and her citizens. Many felt that much of the Christian response was one-sided and harshly judgmental of Israel. Rev. Kyte of Massachusetts asserted that such actions "struck me as an eager attempt to play moral scorekeeper of other nation's problems."

However, a great majority of the Christian responses, both organizational and individual, was highly critical of Israel. The following points were usually stressed by critics of Israel.

- Israel's attack into Lebanon was an overreaction resulting in an



excessively high number of civilian casualties.

- Critics of Israel called for a reevaluation of the U.S. military assistance program to Israel and many Christian bodies and leaders called for an end to U.S. aid to Israel because of alleged Israeli violations of American law regarding the use of U.S. weapons.

- Many Christian critics of Israel called for immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon although such demands were usually not linked to similar calls for immediate PLO and Syrian withdrawal as well.

- While the majority of American Christian organizations and individuals support the existence of Israel, there was a sharply increased demand for the creation of a Palestinian state and/or independent homeland.

- There was near unanimity within the Christian community on the need for massive relief and rehabilitation efforts in behalf of the victims in Lebanon.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the intense negative Christian response to the Israeli campaign in Lebanon was the great attention that was focused on the Palestinian issue that was coupled with many calls for direct US-PLO and Israel-PLO negotiations. Based on these Christian responses it is clear that the Palestinian issue in all its dimensions has moved in a dramatic way to the front and center of any Christian discussion of the Middle East. This has serious implications for future dialogues and interreligious programming with the leaders of the American Christian community.

Rabbi A. James Rudin

July 22, 1982

ADDENDUM

Ecumenical and Religious Responses

The Syracuse, New York Peace Council publicly declared "There is no justification of Israel's invasion of Lebanon...the Peace Council recognizes the current rise in anti-Semitism, domestically and worldwide. We insist that a defense of Jewish people...can be clearly separate from a condemnation of Israel's aggressive actions. Combatting anti-Semitism must not take the form of defending Israel's every action."

The Syracuse Middle East Dialogue group made up of 15 Jews, Christians and Muslims including Palestinians urged "the United States government and the US citizens to help create the conditions which would enable the Palestinians, the Israelis and the neighboring Arab countries mutually to accept the legitimacy of the State of Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza, of an independent Palestinian state or other structure as determined by the Palestinians.

A group of 47 leaders including members of the House of Representatives, State officials, labor and ethnic leaders, artists, educators, and religious leaders signed an ad that appeared in several Chicago newspapers. The 47 asserted that "At last there is a chance for the rebirth of an independent democratic Lebanon after 7 years of bloody upheaval. At last a decisive blow has been dealt to the PLO and to international terrorism. At last the rank and file Palestinian can deal with the question of autonomy without fear of threat or assassination. We hope the United States and the world's leaders will heed the voices of the many Lebanese who have urged Israel to remain until there is a sovereign Lebanon. This will ultimately bring about those results which are in the best interests of the American people."

Among the signers were Sister Ann Gillen, Executive Director of the



National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry; Sister Jeanne Landry, Religious Education Coordinator, St. James; Father John Pawlikowski, Chicago Theological Union; Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler, Director of the Institute of Women Today and Sister Ann Patrick Ware, Vice President, National Coalition of American Nuns.



memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** July 19, 1982  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Mort Yarmon  
**subject**

I just got this clip from the Philadelphia office. Adamo says it's the first time he has criticized Israel. This time it's clearly on the basis of distorted information. Do you want to do anything about it? I mean like writing to him?





FO-SFB  
June 28, 1982

Harold Applebaum

Ernest Weiner

ARTICLE IN "THE CATHOLIC VOICE" - June 28  
BY BROTHER JOHN SAMAHA

Dan Morris, Editor of The Catholic Voice, the largest Diocesan paper in the area (85,000 circulation) had tipped me that this piece was to be published and I indicated it would be most appropriate.

As you can see, although he has one line that is troubling on the official Lebanese support for the Palestinians, it is, on balance, a hard-hitting exposition of both the PLO and the Syrians as destructive forces in Lebanon.

I shall write a letter to The Catholic Voice applauding Bro. Samaha's analysis.

Best regards.

cc: Rabbi M. Tanenbaum  
Rabbi James Rudin  
Morton Yarmon  
Susie Schub  
George Gruen  
Abe Karlikow

Encl.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 30, 1982  
**to** Robert A. Fox and George M. Ross  
**from** Martin Raffel  
**subject** Editorial on Lebanon in Catholic Paper

I thought you would be interested to see the recent editorial on Lebanon which appeared in Philadelphia's Catholic Standard and Times. Of course, the analysis of who is at fault "in the first place" and the reason behind the invasion of Lebanon is way off base. And this paper has turned an attack on the PLO military arm as an effort to "wipe out Palestinian refugee strongholds".

Yet, considering the past record of this paper, the enclosed editorial is a relatively restrained one. It might have been much worse.

MR:r

encl.

- cc: Dr. Seymour Piwoz
- ✓ Mort Yarmon
- ✓ Abe Karlikow
- ✓ Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum





# Lebanon Becomes Its Own Victim

Have you ever been homeless?

Have you ever been without shelter, or food or clothing?

Thousands in Lebanon today have been driven from their homes and don't know where their next meal or their next night's shelter will be.

They are the victims of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel and of the constant presence of the Palestine Liberation Organization which occasioned the Israeli invasion.

While it is our conviction that the peace of Lebanon would not have been shattered in the first place if Israel had permitted the refugees to return to their homes and that Israel used an admittedly tragic terrorist act against one of its diplomats as an excuse to wipe out Palestinian refugee strongholds in southern Lebanon, the need to fix responsibility for the conflict in Lebanon takes a distant second place to the need to care for those who have been left homeless and hungry.

As always, Catholic Relief Services, the largest voluntary relief organization in the world, has moved in to offer relief to all those in need

— no matter what their religion or political affiliation. A relief effort of such magnitude is extremely costly, however, and the resources of Catholic Relief Services have been stretched beyond belief by the needs of refugees from civil war, volcano and earthquake in Central America, by the continuing needs of refugees in Southeast Asia and by the pressing needs of the victims of famine, drought and political upheaval in Africa.

Lebanon, once called the Switzerland of the Middle East, because it was a prosperous and peaceful island in a sea of conflict, has now become the victim of its own hospitality to the homeless and of its own powerlessness to defend itself from the refugees within its gates and from the armies of its powerful neighbors; first, Syria; now, Israel.

To help those displaced and disoriented in this tragic conflict — many of them our own brothers and sisters in the Catholic faith, and many other Orthodox Christians or Moslems, send a contribution today to Catholic Relief Services, 1011 First ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

FO-SFB  
June 28, 1982

Harold Applebaum

Ernest Weiner

ARTICLE IN "THE CATHOLIC VOICE" - June 28  
BY BROTHER JOHN SAMAHA

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Best regards.

cc: Rabbi M. Tanenbaum  
Rabbi James Rudin  
Morton Yarnon  
Susie Schub  
George Gruen  
Abe Karlikow

Encl.



# Catholic VOICE

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

June 28, 1982

Diocese of Oakland

## Perspective on Lebanon

By Brother John Samaha, S.M.

To gain perspective on the current complex situation in Lebanon, one needs a brief framework of information. Situated on the eastern Mediterranean coast, this tiny republic extends about 140 miles north to south and 35 miles east to west. Geographically Lebanon is a miniature California. The Lebanese population numbers almost 3 million—about half Christian and half Moslem. To this number add about 450,000 displaced Palestinians, mostly Moslem, who have virtually overrun and dominated certain areas in Lebanon.

Lebanon has always been a haven for peoples who suffered religious or political persecution elsewhere. Genuine pluralism has been a common experience for its residents. This country is a unique union of Semitic and European/Western backgrounds and interests.

The huge influxes of strong outside influences in recent decades, however, have violently disturbed the previous calm and balance. A few questions and answers may help focus the challenges facing Lebanon.

• What is the religious mix of Lebanon?

The Islamic peoples are Sunnite Moslems, Sheite Moslems, and Druzes.

The majority of Christians are Eastern Catholics, with a large number of Eastern Orthodox; there are only a handful of Protestants.

• What is the nature of the Christian church in Lebanon?

Christians have always inhabited Lebanon in predominant numbers, in particular the Maronite Catholics, Byzantine Melkite Catholics, and the Byzantine

Orthodox. Events of this century have brought Catholics of the Armenian, Syrian, Coptic and Chaldean rites. Consequently Lebanon has a Catholic hierarchy of more than 20 bishops shepherding separate jurisdictions.

Catholic education has historically flourished and has contributed greatly to the development of all Lebanese people. Christians were essential builders of the country over the centuries and helped bring it to its previous prosperity.

• What is the relationship of Lebanese Christians to Moslems and to Jews?

Christians, Moslems, and Jews of Lebanon have traditionally lived and worked together in mutual respect. Except for Beirut, there was never a large community of Jewish people. Moslems and Christians in the past exhibited harmony.

Political frictions of the past two generations combined with the heavy influx of refugees, mostly Moslem, have multiplied the political and social factions to a staggering degree—some observers estimating as many as 100 factions. The large number of splinter groups in a small territory offers some indication of the complexity of the situation. These people have always been strongly independent and individualistic. Organization and unity come with difficulty; interests are often narrow. In-bred conditions, vote-buying (a common politi-

cal practice in the Middle East), and nepotism weakened the government, and the army was not kept strong in organization or equipment. Complacency was fatal.

Clashes have not been simple Moslem-Christian battles, but also a statement about deep-seated social problems pitting haves and have-nots.

• What is Lebanon's position in the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Officially Lebanon's support is with the Palestinian people who have been displaced from Palestine by the Zionist state of Israel, and left without a homeland. As a member of the League of Arab States, Lebanon is firm in this political stance. When Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq would not accept additional Palestinian refugees, even though the majority are Moslem, Lebanon opened its doors.

Unofficially Lebanon does not like the bold manner in which Palestinians in overwhelming numbers established guerrilla bases which the Lebanese government was not able to supervise.

Mass emigration, numerous refugee camps, high unemployment, and PLO guerrilla activity have been more than the Lebanese government could manage. The Palestinians became an independent entity within Lebanon.

As conditions worsened and Palestinian attacks on Israel increased, Lebanon's sovereignty eroded. The added presence of an army of Syrian occupation troops with the large and organized Palestinian military force have deprived Lebanon of independence.

• Why are many Lebanese Christians welcoming the present Israeli incursion into Lebanon against the PLO?

Many Lebanese Moslems also share this viewpoint. But the vocal Moslem sympathy goes with the PLO and governments of the predominantly Moslem neighboring Arab countries. Christian Arabs are a dominated minority outside Lebanon. The Moslem peoples are



trying to generate a Moslem unity and a spirit of Pan-Arabism.

The strongest, best organized group of Lebanese Christians is the Phalangist Party (the Kataeb), the Phalangists have established Christian enclaves and have marshalled an independent militia to defend people and property. Phalangists hope to restore an independent Lebanon governed by Lebanese

## What is Christian role in Lebanon's drama?

loyal to Lebanon.

Because non-Lebanese factions, particularly the PLO and Syrian troops, have disrupted Lebanon's sovereignty, most Lebanese Christians have welcomed Israel's drive into Lebanon to expel the PLO—and perhaps the Syrian army. They hope the Israeli army will do what Lebanon cannot do for itself. Even in the past a mutual respect existed between Israel and Lebanon.

As Palestinians fight to recover their homeland, Lebanon has been victimized by the PLO, neighboring Arab countries, and also by Soviet bloc and Western bloc nations. Lebanon has become an unwilling staging ground for all the conflicts of the Middle Eastern peoples.

(Author of the above opinion piece is a Marianist Brother of Lebanese descent currently residing with the Marianist community in San Francisco. A former consultant to the Oakland Diocese's Center for Catechetical Ministries, the San Francisco native taught in Lebanon's St. Joseph School at Cornet, Chawan in the mid-1960s. He is a Melkite Rite Catholic.)





# THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTER

815 SECOND AVENUE/NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

Telephone: (212) 867-8400 Cable Address: FENALONG, N.Y.

The Rt. Rev. Milton L. Wood, D. D.  
*Executive for Administration*

August 16, 1982

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th St.  
New York, NY 10022

My dear Rabbi,


I appreciated the opportunity of meeting with you and your fellows last week at the National Council of Churches. I do hope that you and the others have a better understanding of the situation with regard to resolutions, etc., of the NCC. The comments regarding "underhandedness" sounded very familiar indeed, since these are the same kind of complaints which we have along with many others.

You mentioned their study of church and church leader's statements, which you are compiling. I do not know whether you have the resolution of our 1979 General Convention, but include this enclosed for your information to help with your file.

Also, with the very unhappy presumption of bombings last Thursday, our Presiding Bishop has issued a statement, which I wanted you to have as part of your records. Our General Convention will be meeting for its triennial event September 5, and I had thought that we would be waiting for this body and its response to the present Middle East situation, but events last week prevented any further delay.

With all best regards, I remain,

Faithfully yours,



The Rt. Rev. Milton L. Wood

MLW/koc



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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—Middle East problems

House of Deputies

On the tenth day, the Committee on National and International Problems presented its Report #19 on Resolution D-89, and recommended adoption of a Substitute Resolution as follows:

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring. That this 66th General Convention of the Episcopal Church notes with thankfulness the signing of the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty, that it affirms the right of Israel to exist as a free State within secure borders, and that it urges continued negotiations leading to an overall settlement and peaceful resolution of the issues and problems in the Middle East; and be it further

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring. That this Convention expresses support for the opportunity to establish a free and independent Palestinian state which recognizes the State of Israel; and be it further

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring. That this Convention recognizes the uniqueness of the city of Jerusalem and urges a solution which would guarantee free and secure access to the Holy City by people of all faiths; and be it further

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring. That this Convention confirms our oneness in Christ with our fellow Christians in the Middle East, as we also affirm that we are engrafted in the vine of Israel; and be it further

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring. That this Convention expresses our love, concern and prayers for all persons in the Middle East.

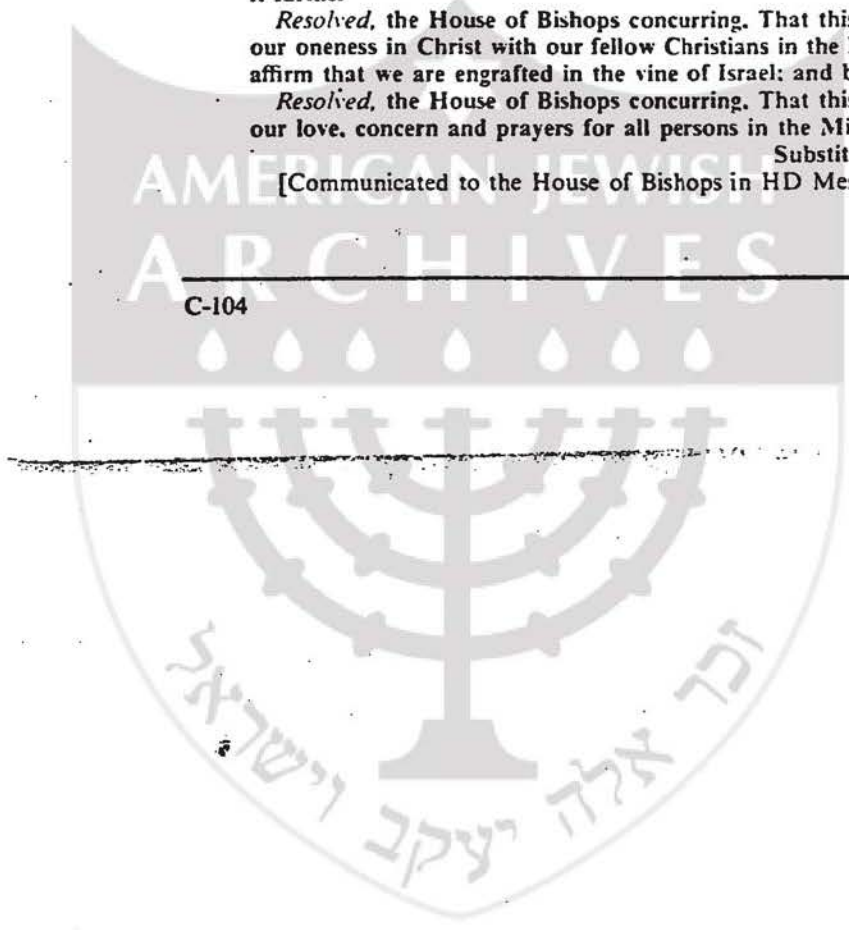
Substitute Resolution adopted

[Communicated to the House of Bishops in HD Message No. 174]

*Episcopal Church -  
General Convention  
Sept. 1979*

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THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN M. ALLIN  
PRESIDING BISHOP, EPISCOPAL CHURCH



815 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

### Statement on Lebanon

The appalling and senseless destruction in Lebanon is cause for the gravest concern by people of good will throughout the world. We are all grateful for the tireless efforts of Ambassador Philip Habib in his efforts to bring about a ceasefire and the return of Lebanon to its own people. A mutual ceasefire which can be depended upon is the first step to an ultimate solution.

The General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 1979 affirmed Israel's need to exist as a free state with secure borders, urged continued negotiations leading to an overall settlement and peaceful resolution of the problems in the Middle East, and expressed support for "the opportunity to establish a free, independent Palestinian State which recognizes the State of Israel." The next step, after the destruction of life and property in Lebanon is stopped, is a mutual recognition of the legitimacy of both an Israeli and a Palestinian State. Peace can only come when both are secure in such a recognition.

Meantime let us pray that the members of our Church and other Churches and members of the Jewish community will respond generously to the desperately needed relief in Lebanon. The Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief is ready with the help of our Church members to serve in this suffering area of our world.

The Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church  
The Rt. Rev. John M. Allin

August 13, 1982



DRAFT

REPORT BY ROBERT S. JACOBS, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE  
INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION, BEFORE THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS  
SEPT. 13, 1982, AT AJC

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There can be no serious nor adequate understanding of the  
public response to Israel and the Jewish people/without taking  
into account the reactions of the Christian world. There are nearly  
a billion Christians in the world, growing numbers of them  
in third world countries; and in the United States, there are  
an estimated 140 million Americans affiliated with the various  
Christian denominations.

And there have been reactions aplenty from Christian leaders  
and various Christian denominations, ranging from the Pope and the  
World Council of Churches to virtually every Christian group in  
the United States and abroad. AJC's Interreligious Affairs  
Department regards the role of Christian leaders of such importance  
in shaping world and American public opinion towards Israel and  
Middle East peace that we have been compiling a comprehensive  
survey of "Christian Responses to the Lebanese Crisis," soon to  
be published.

My remarks are based in part on the preliminary findings of  
that survey:

From a careful examination of the volumes of Christian  
statements, editorials and articles in the Christian press, and  
from dialogues with Christian spokesmen, it is evident that  
Lebanon may well turn out to be a watershed in Jewish-Christian  
relations.

The majority of Christian leaders and groups affirm the

right of Israel to exist and to be secure, but in the next breath many Catholics and liberal Protestants have been highly critical of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. They have tended to ignore or downplay the fact of PLO terrorism and its having been the ~~xx~~ pivotal cause of Israel's actions. Evangelical Christians tended to be more understanding of Israel's reasons for seeking to uproot the PLO, and while not condoning the loss of civilian lives, Evangelicals were mostly sympathetic to Israel's need for self-defense.

The most insidious feature of some of the liberal Christian response was a reckless repetition of the PLO propaganda theme that now Israelis were behaving like Nazis and that Lebanese and Palestinians were suffering a holocaust at the hands of Jews. Thus, a World Council of Churches official from France, declared in July, "Lebanon is now invaded by the Israelis, transformed so soon after the Holocaust into an imperialist and dominating power."

That imagery if allowed to prevail can have far-reaching consequences for Jews and anti-Semitism, for if Jews are no better than Nazis, they have no claim on the conscience of the Christian world and civilized society. IAD has been working intensively to counter this moral obscenity as I shall indicate in a moment.

The most serious political consequence of this angry Christian response is that there have been growing calls by Christian leaders, notably liberal Protestants, for the American government to curtail U.S. military and economic aid to Israel because of alleged Israeli violations of American law regarding the use of U.S. weapons.

A most significant common theme that has emerged has been a growing demand among Christian leaders for justice for the



Palestinians, and liberal Protestants in particular have become more vocal in demanding the creation of a Palestinian state and/or an independent homeland. Some liberal groups, such as the Presbyterians, acknowledged that they were responding to the pressures from their Arab Christian constituents in the Middle East, "their peoplehood."

There was near unanimity within the Christian community on the need for massive relief and rehabilitation efforts in behalf of the civilian victims in Lebanon.

Much of the Catholic and Protestant press has also been severely critical of Israel. A headline in the liberal National Catholic Reporter, is illustrative: "Killing in the Name of Judaism."

A balanced picture requires our acknowledging a small but active group of some Catholics, fewer Protestants, but many Evangelicals were vigorous in their defense of Israel. They placed ads in the New York Times and other papers; gave interviews in secular and religious papers; spoke on radio and TV in defense of Israel.

AJC'S IAD stimulated a column by AP religion editor, George Cornell, who reported on a number of Christian leaders who were critical of the biased media treatment of Israel's case. (quote from story.)

During this difficult period, our IAD was extremely active in seeking to counter the negative trends in the Christian world and to build positive understanding of Israel and Jews. A brief roundup:

1) We participated actively through Donald Feldstein and Marc Tanenbaum in an important meeting with the National Council of Churches in August which was reported in the New York Times and Religious News Service;

2) In cooperation with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Churches, AJC sponsored a luncheon meeting for major Christian leaders and religious media for Menahem Savidor, Speaker of the Israeli Knesset, in this room on Sept. 10. He discussed Israel's views on Lebanon and Middle East peace.

3) We sent education and information materials to every major Christian leader in the United States, and placed articles and AJC statements in most major Christian periodicals.

4) The AP story favorable to Israel was syndicated to 450 daily newspapers around the country.

5) We broadcast a regular series of radio commentaries over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System, and over 45 radio stations.

6) We syndicated interpretive articles and columns in the Christian and Jewish press (copies of which I have here.)

7) We have organized some eight national conferences with major Christian groups in every part of the United States during the coming six months.

Given the prominence of the Middle East issue on the national consciousness, we expect to be exceedingly active and hopefully effective during the weeks and months ahead.

8) We gave active leadership in organizing an Interfaith Lebanon Relief program with the Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service and met regularly with Ambassador Gene Douglas, coordinator of the World Refugee Program of the U.S. Government.