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ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

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Marc Jarantbaum

THE WAR THAT WASN'T

(Press Summary, February 14, 1982)

War jitters returned to the Middle East following the recent infiltration of armed Palestinians from the Jordanian-Israeli border. The incident was viewed in Jerusalem as a violation of the cease-fire in southern Lebanon that has been in force since July 1981. At the time, the U. S. sent special envoy Philip Habib on a Middle Eastern shuttle to Damascus, Beirut and Jerusalem to defuse the crisis. Since then a number of incidents have threatened the armistice, including an attack by Palestinian terrorists on a civilian Israeli bus travelling on the outskirts of Jerusalem. On each occasion the PLO claimed that action by Palestinians in the so-called "occupied territories" was not a violation of the cease-fire on Israel's border with Lebanon. Israel regards the acts of violence as the direct responsibility of the PLO command in Beirut and countered with charges that the cease-fire was being violated. Israeli media reported growing concern in the U. S. that Israel would use the incidents as an excuse to invade Lebanon before April 25, when Israel is expected to return the remainder of the Sinai to Egypt. Fears of war increased when Israeli Army Chief of Staff Eitan and Defense Minister Sharon called attention to the serious nature of the infiltration from Jordan. A special military envoy was sent to Washington to warn that Israeli patience was wearing thin.

However, last week Prime Minister Menachem Begin reassured a worried coalition partner, the ultra-Orthodox Agudat Israel, that Israel was not preparing for war in Lebanon, and a number of press pundits thanked the Lord (for both the inclement weather and Agudat Israel) that war did not break out. The flurry of activity and war of nerves appeared not to be taken seriously by the Israeli man in the street.

Polas (Ha'aretz) recognizes that it was Washington's intervention that prevented Israel from using the infiltration from the Jordanian border as an excuse to invade Lebanon. He examines Israel's motive in seeking an opportunity to deal militarily with the threat to Israeli civilian life from the PLO's 300 artillery pieces in Lebanon. An Israeli invasion would be no serious problem for the well-prepared Israeli army, but Washington reacted with a show of concern over possible involvement of the Syrians. This, Polas claims, led the U. S. Administration to insist on Israeli restraint. Surprisingly, having defied U.S. censure when it attacked the atomic reactor in Iraq, bombed PLO headquarters in a Beirut civilian area and annexed the Golan Heights, Israel now acquiesced to American demands. "We had overdrawn our account with the U. S., and, paradoxically, we can

no longer dare act against our nearest security threat," Polas explains.

Polas believes the time has now come for Israel to examine means other than military to achieve its goals in Lebanon. The Syrians have a near permanent presence in Lebanon which current Israeli policy is aimed at ending. The Begin government had hoped to achieve a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon by various tactics that included an undertaking to support the Christian minority against both the Lebanese Moslems and the Palestinians. Polas argues that this is no longer feasible and that the Syrians may have a legitimate interest in maintaining their presence in Lebanon. He suggests that Israel work towards the "Finlandization" of Lebanon, whereby Israel could consent to a Syrian presence if the Syrians agree to keep the Palestinians away from Israel's border in southern Lebanon. Polas knows that the Syrians might reject such an Israeli offer, but they would probably give it some consideration. In any event, such an Israeli overture would do no harm to Israel and would even improve its image following the annexation of the Golan Heights. "Our military effort against the terrorists has come up against a political stumbling block that Israel cannot move. It is, therefore, worthwhile to try a different avenue in order to remove the threat to the security of Israel's northern frontier in a political way; and if this requires a payment to Damascus, the price is worth it."

Yeshayahu Ben-Porat (Yediot Acharonot) charges those who spread the rumor that Israel was looking for an excuse to invade Lebanon, following the recent infiltration of PLO terrorists from Jordan, with committing an act of total irresponsibility. He believes they intended to tie the hands of Israel in the event of far more serious incidents that would include loss of life. In his opinion, Israel backed itself into a corner when it agreed to a cease-fire with the PLO last summer that left the Palestinians holding all the options. He criticizes Israel's policymakers for agreeing to a situation that has allowed the PLO to increase its military hardware and carry out acts of violence in Israel far away from the Lebanese border, while technically the cease-fire is being observed.

"This past week," Ben-Porat notes, "the PLO achieved further success that in some ways overshadows its previous achievements in the cease-fire. Not only did the American administration assume a position that warned and implored against Israeli action in southern Lebanon, but there were also Israeli factors, whose identity is known, that were recklessly quick to warn the Israeli public and the world of a 'criminal plot' that was supposedly thickening on and beyond Israel's northern border." The result, Ben-Porat claims, is that the PLO has been given a free hand to act against Israel in devious ways, as long as they do not do so from Lebanon proper. Ben-Porat concludes with the assertion that the Israeli cabinet has not decided on any course of action in Lebanon, despite the many rumors to the contrary.

Daliah Shachori (Al Hamishmar) places the blame for the war scare on the Israeli government and military which magnified the recent infiltration from Jordan to the extent that observers could only conclude that Israel was planning an invasion of Lebanon. She cites the hasty press conference

with foreign and local military correspondents that was attended by the Israeli Chief of Staff and immediately following the apprehension of the PLO infiltrators from Jordan and the consultations that took place in the Prime Minister's residence, followed by a cabinet meeting that turned the matter over to the Ministerial Security Affairs Committee.

Shachori claims that Mr. Begin decided against military intervention in Lebanon following a meeting with U. S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis, although Israel's Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and other ministers continued to support an invasion of Lebanon. Mr. Begin, it seems, was convinced that Israel would not be understood by the U. S. Administration, nor by public opinion in the West, if it retaliated for the infiltration from Jordan. Shachori analyzes the reasons why the Israeli cabinet was anxious to act in Lebanon at this time. She cites the increasing number of PLO terrorist acts against Israeli civilian targets in the past six months, the increasing military strength of the PLO in southern Lebanon and the possibility that Egypt would be forced to remain silent prior to the withdrawal from Sinai.

Shachori notes that since the cease-fire between Israel and the PLO went into effect a half year ago, there have been 14 incidents on the Lebanese border; five attempts to infiltrate from the Egyptian border; 67 incidents in Israel and the territories in which seven people were killed and 49 wounded; 25 obvious violations of the cease-fire in southern Lebanon, resulting in four dead and many wounded; and 14 attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets overseas, in which seven were killed and 150 wounded. In addition, it is now known that the PLO in southern Lebanon has increased its artillery to 300 pieces, dozens of tanks, tons of armaments, explosives and light arms. The number of Palestinian terrorists in southern Lebanon, Shachori notes, is now estimated between 15 and 20 thousand. These statistics are among the considerations that the Israel Defense Force has had to deal with in deciding on the necessary course of action. The military considerations do not, however, necessarily coincide with the political conditions, Shachori stresses. She concludes with the observation that a military sweep of southern Lebanon would reduce the effectiveness of the PLO, but only for a limited time before it would regroup and return to harass Israel.

Shachori believes that there is no military solution to the PLO presence in Lebanon. She suggests that the Palestinians will continue to act with violence until a political solution to their problem is found. In the meantime, she warns, the Israeli cabinet will probably continue to believe that the simplest and easiest way to put the Palestinians in their place is to invade and occupy southern Lebanon, wipe out the Palestinian terrorists and perhaps take on Syria, as well. Such measures, Shachori concludes, are much easier for the Israeli government to contemplate than to agree to "give up parts of the Jewish homeland" to the Palestinians who seek to achieve their own self-determination.

Edited by Lois Gottesman

Ha'aretz is an independent liberal newspaper.

Yediot Acharonot is independent, but traditionally Likud-oriented.

Al Hamishmar is affiliated with the Socialist Mapam Party.

NATIONAL
CHRISTIAN
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ISRAEL



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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



June 16, 1982

We are deeply saddened by the loss of life, on all sides, in the war in Lebanon. At the same time, the current situation provides an opportunity to reconstitute an independent and sovereign Lebanon, free of the domination of outsiders.

The attached public statement, which was drafted by a small ad hoc group that included, among others, Frank McGlinn, Dennis Clark and Stephen Board, will be sent to appropriate leaders of our federal government.

Please let us know by mail or by calling Stephen Board, Editor of Eternity Magazine (546-3696) or Murray Friedman (564-2460) whether you agree to associate yourself with this statement and how you wish to be identified.

Sincerely,

Dr. Murray Friedman
American Jewish Committee

Stephen Board
Eternity Magazine

g

bc: Stephen Board
Frank McGlinn
Dennis Clark
Abe Karlikow ✓
Harold Applebaum

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.

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6/16/82

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, *Director of Public Relations*

Contacts:
Stephen Board (215) 546-3696
Murray Friedman (215) 546-2460

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHILADELPHIA, June 25 ... A group of nineteen prominent Philadelphia community leaders, representing many religious denominations and varying political opinions, today issued a statement urging that "any Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon must be related to firm guarantees for the withdrawal of Syrian and P.L.O. military forces."

Among the signators was Father Sharbel Lischaa, pastor of St. Maron Church, which serves the Lebanese Christian community of this city, as well as two Assistant Pastors of the church, Father Antoine El Maghariki and Father Loish El Farek.

Another signator, Stephen Board, editor of Eternity Magazine, an independent Evangelical publication, served as spokesman for the group at a news conference this morning at the law offices of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish and Kauffman. A senior partner of the firm, who was also a signator, is John M. Elliott, who is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Irish Society of Philadelphia.

In making his announcement of the statement, Mr. Board declared that it was occasioned by "our collective sense of anguish and helplessness at the sight of violence in Lebanon." He added:

"We believe that, by calling for the ultimate withdrawal of all outside military forces from Lebanon, our statement defines a strategy that may help to prevent future bloodshed in that country."

Mr. Board said that the statement was being sent today to President Reagan, Pennsylvania Senators H. John Heinz III and Arlen Specter, and to members of Congress from the Philadelphia area.

The full statement and a full list of the signators follows:

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

-more-

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
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CSAE 1707

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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 P.L.O. military forces.

Ernesta D. Ballard, Civic Leader

Stephen Board, Editor, Eternity Magazine

Dr. Dennis Clark, Historian

Alvin H. Clemens, President & Chairman of the Executive Committee,
Academy Insurance Group*

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

Father Loish El Farek, Assistant Pastor, St. Maron Church*

Robert A. Fox, Chairman, Philadelphia Chapter, American Jewish Committee

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

Richard G. Gilmore, Banker

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

Rev. John F. Hardwick, Episcopal Priest

Patricia B. Levine, Regional Director, Greater Philadelphia-Southern
New Jersey, National Conference of Christians and Jews*

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

Father Sharbel Lischaa, Pastor, St. Maron Church*

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

Father Antoine El Maghariki, Assistant Pastor, St. Maron Church*

Frank C. P. McGlenn, Business man

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

James Payoun, Member, Philadelphia City Council*; Lebanese American

* Titles are for identification only.

* * * *

6/24/82

#82-960-211

A, EJP, FOR, PP, CP

June 27, 1982

"THE U.S. STAKE IN ISRAEL'S VICTORY IN LEBANON"
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

This is Safed, Israel. Safed is about 50 kilometers from the Lebanese border.

While driving up to this beautiful Galilean city from Tel Aviv this week, I began to understand the full magnitude not only of Israel's dazzling victory over the PLO and Syria, but what a military and political triumph this conflict represents as well for the United States.

On the highways I saw long caravans of Israeli army trucks returning from Lebanon loaded with freshly-painted Soviet tanks and other heavy Russian military equipment. It turns out that Israel's armed forces have captured literally mountains of advanced military hardware provided to the PLO and Syria by the Soviet Union, Libya, much of it paid for by Saudi Arabia.

One informed observer here estimates that the PLO and Syria had stockpiled enough armaments to outfit an army of about one million troops. So much for their moderate, peace-keeping intentions!

Israel's armed forces also tested with brilliant success the most sophisticated electronic devices that destroyed Syria's entire missile batteries in Lebanon and many of their latest Soviet tanks and planes. Those actions demonstrated Israel's military genius, but they also proved the decisive superiority of American military technology over that of Russia.

Beyond that, Israel's body-blows against the PLO and foreign terrorists have given a reeling setback to international terrorism headquartered in Beirut.

While Israelis I have met are proud of their victories, they are everywhere equally concerned over the loss of Lebanese lives. Major Israeli relief efforts reveal that beneath the toughness and determination to survive, these Israeli Jews - in the words of the Talmud - are also compassionate sons and daughters of a compassionate Father.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

July 4, 1982

"FARHAT -- THE NEW PALESTINIAN"

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mousmous, Israel -- Not all Palestinian Arabs hate Israel, nor seek her destruction. Farhat Agbarra is a tall, handsome Palestinian Arab who is committed to coexistence between Arabs and Jews in Israel and in the Middle East.

Last week, my wife and I, sat in the living room of Farhat's lovely mountaintop home in the Arab village of Mousmous. It was the beginning of the month-long Moslem observance of the month of Ramadan, and we enjoyed their gracious hospitality as Farhat, his young and beautiful family broke fast together.

While Farhat and we anguished over the loss of Jewish and Arab lives in the Lebanon conflict, he was far more eager to talk about finding ways to help Jews and Arabs live together in peace and mutual helpfulness in Israel and the Middle East.

Although just 34 years old, Farhat is director of new projects in Israel's Social Welfare ministry. In that job, he knows intimately the real human needs of Israel's half-million Arab population. He spoke passionately of the need for Arab leaders to give up the madness and fantasy of seeking to destroy Israel, and instead to devote their energies and resources to helping the Arab peoples climb out of their poverty.

To advance that goal, Farhat serves as co-director of Interns for Peace in Israel. That is a new kind of Peace Corps in Israel that brings together young Arabs and Jews who work cooperatively in poor Arab and Jewish villages in providing education, medical care, and joint industrial projects.

Judging by what we experienced of the new and real spirit of friendship in these villages, it is clear that Farhat and Interns for Peace are one of the encouraging signs for eventual peace in the now troubled Middle East.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

rpr

AP Associated Press

George W. Cornell
Religion Writer

Aug. 6, '82

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
AJC

Dear Marc,

Thanks for the telephone talk the other day. As I told you, I was putting together a piece on what a segment of Christianity is saying, but needed some of your knowledge. A copy of the story enclosed for your interest, but confidentially, as some response may be added through foreign desk before the story moves.

I'm heading for the short-grass country of Oklahoma this weekend, and be back in September early.

All the best,

George



hold FOR CORNELL PLS 03-05 1030
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AM-Israel issue, Adv 08,1,050
For release AM Sun Aug. 8
Many Christian Leaders Defend Israel, Charge Media Bias
By GEORGE W. CORNELL=
AP Religion Writer=

Many Christian leaders contend that the news media are presenting a biased, misleading picture of Israel's military action in Lebanon.

They say news reports have exaggerated casualties, misplaced blame and ignored broad Lebanese support for the effort to root out terrorism in the region.

"The Lebanese look on the Israelis as liberators, freeing the country from terrorists," the Rev. Franklin Graham, U.S. head of World Medical Missions, said in a telephone interview from that area. "That side of the story is not being told."

While mainline denominational officials have sharply criticized Israel's operations, many other U. S. Christians say Israel's purposes are justified, its tactics carefully restrained and news reports often are slanted against it.

"Israel is being mauled by the media," said the Rev. Franklin H. Littell, a noted United Methodist theologian at Temple University. "I don't think there's ever been so much lying about another country's action, not even in World War II about the Germans."

While U. S. Jewish leaders widely charge unfair, twisted reporting about Israel's action, more striking has been the extent of such criticism among Christian thinkers and evangelists.

More than 100 of them, Protestants and Roman Catholics, conservative evangelists and mainline scholars, signed a half-page ad in the New York Times Aug. 2, protesting media portrayals of the conflict.

They said casualty figures have been "highly exaggerated" and recurring references made to Hitler-type "genocide".

"We are deeply troubled that this technique of the 'big lie' has had such strong impact on the media coverage of the Lebanon situation," the group said.

While such protests have come from a wide Christian spectrum, sympathetic to Israel, such criticism has been particularly pronounced among conservative pastors, television evangelists and others speaking across the country after trips to besieged Beirut.

"The entire press coverage of the Lebanese situation has been distorted in favor of the PLO," says the Rev. Jerry Falwell of Lynchburg, Va., a television evangelist and head of Moral Majority.

He says the whole press emphasis has been on damage and casualties done by Israel, often inflated, instead of on the fact that killings by Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization "are responsible for the entire incursion."

There seems to be a sort of "pact mentality in many media people" against Israel, he says. "They forget that those in the PLO are terrorists, who for years have spread terror and trained and exported terrorism worldwide."

"What Israel is doing is to liberate the people from terrorism," he said in a telephone interview, likening the action to what the United States inevitably would do if terrorist bands in Canada for years had slain Canadians and shelled and raided U. S. border cities.

MORE/////

"If the PLO doesn't leave Lebanon unconditionally, Israel has no choice but to go in and clean out the terrorists."

He said that although press reports ignore it, "the Lebanese people throughout the land are supportive of Israel's action despite the tragedies all around, and rejoice at the hope of becoming a self-governing nation again."

"It's hypocritical of the United States to be critical of what Israel is doing. It's doing a real service for the entire free world."

About 50 U.S. clergymen, about 30 Christians and the rest Jewish, are leaving Monday for Lebanon for a five-day look "at what's really happening," Falwell said, returning Friday to report on it in 50 cities.

Hal Lindsey of Los Angeles, noted for his Bible prophecy books, visited Lebanon in July and has since spoken widely, saying the Lebanese consider the Israelis liberators from the PLO which had "hijacked the nation," killing about 100,000 of its people since 1976.

In a telephone interview, he said news reports about it "have been slanted against Israel, manipulated and in some cases flagrantly misrepresent what is going on there."

Graham, of Boone, N.C., son of evangelist Billy Graham and head of an organization providing medical personnel and supplies in needy areas, charged an instance of misreporting last Sunday when in Beirut at the time of an Israeli shelling of PLO strongholds.

"The PLO retaliated not against Israel positions but by shelling the Christian sector of East Beirut and up to 30 miles to the north. The news reports talked only of the Israeli bombing, not the PLO killing."

He said the PLO has "held Lebanon hostage since 1976," turning "their guns on the Lebanese," slaying thousands, keeping them in constant fear. He said he visited many of them in Beirut and in outlying villages and even those whose homes or shops were wrecked by Israeli shells said "it's a small price to pay to be freed."

"They're thankful to Israel," he said. "But nobody reports that."

Among specific media distortions charged by the U.S. Christians were reports of heavy Israeli destruction in Tyre and Sidon, and early reports of 600,000 made homeless in southern Lebanon when only about 400,000 even live there."

"Places that have been reported totally destroyed are totally intact," said Littell, citing Tyre and Sidon. "What was reported as total destruction in an area was no more destroyed than inner Philadelphia."

Falwell said casualty figures are given out daily by the "Red Crescent," a Beirut humanitarian organization often confused as the Red Cross, but headed by Arafat's brother. "You can imagine why figures are so exaggerated and distorted against Israel," Falwell added. "Certainly the press knows this. It must want distortions."

Also cited was the town of Damour, south of Beirut, where reports told of heavy civilian casualties, but the religious critics say the town was seized by the PLO in 1976, 12,000 of its people slain, the rest put to flight, and the town made a PLO base.

"Now its people are moving back from where the PLO made them flee," Littell said.

Also charged were TV scenes early in the Israeli incursion, showing damage from the 1975-76 civil war, without saying so, implying it was newly done by Israel.

"The PLO is to blame for every innocent being hurt in Lebanon," Falwell said. "If Arab leaders were speaking candidly, they'd be rejoicing and thanking Allah for what Israel is doing. The Arabs are scared to death of the PLO, far more than of Israel."

2nd Adv AM Sun Aug. 3. Sent --AP--NY-03-06 2026EDT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 11, 1982
to Area Directors
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject AP STORY ON CHRISTIAN REACTION TO MEDIA BIAS ON LEBANON CONFLICT

George Cornell, religion editor of the Associated Press, has just written an excellent story reporting on Christian leaders who have criticized "the news media (for) presenting a biased, misleading picture of Israel's military action in Lebanon."

This AP column is usually carried in some 450 newspapers across the country, as well as overseas, and therefore represents an important response to the wave of anti-Israel "media chic" reporting in recent weeks.

I bring this to your attention with the suggestion that you may wish to bring this story (of course, without the covering letter) to Christian and Jewish leadership in your community.

I would appreciate your sending me copies of any clippings of this story as it appears in your local press.

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

82-700-64

George W. Cornell
Religion Writer

Aug. 6, '82

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
AJC

Dear Marc,

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AM-Israel issue, Adv 08,1,050

For release AM Sun Aug. 8

Many Christian Leaders Defend Israel, Charge Media Bias

By GEORGE W. CORNELL=

AP Religion Writer=

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"If the PLO doesn't leave Lebanon unconditionally, Israel has no choice but to go in and clean out the terrorists."

He said that although press reports ignore it, "the Lebanese people throughout the land are supportive of Israel's action despite the tragedies all around, and rejoice at the hope of becoming a self-governing nation again."

"It's hypocritical of the United States to be critical of what Israel is doing. It's doing a real service for the entire free world."

About 50 U.S. clergymen, about 30 Christians and the rest Jewish, are leaving Monday for Lebanon for a five-day look "at what's really happening," Falwell said, returning Friday to report on it in 50 cities.

Hal Lindsey of Los Angeles, noted for his Bible prophecy books, visited Lebanon in July and has since spoken widely, saying the Lebanese consider the Israelis liberators from the PLO which had "hijacked the nation," killing about 100,000 of its people since 1976.

In a telephone interview, he said news reports about it "have been slanted against Israel, manipulated and in some cases flagrantly misrepresent what is going on there."

Graham, of Boone, N.C., son of evangelist Billy Graham and head of an organization providing medical personnel and supplies in needy areas, charged an instance of misreporting last Sunday when in Beirut at the time of an Israeli shelling of PLO strongholds.

"The PLO retaliated not against Israel positions but by shelling the Christian sector of East Beirut and up to 30 miles to the north. The news reports talked only of the Israeli bombing, not the PLO killing."

He said the PLO has "held Lebanon hostage since 1976," turning "their guns on the Lebanese," slaying thousands, keeping them in constant fear. He said he visited many of them in Beirut and in outlying villages and even those whose homes or shops were wrecked by Israeli shells said "it's a small price to pay to be freed."

"They're thankful to Israel," he said. "But nobody reports that."

Among specific media distortions charged by the U.S. Christians were reports of heavy Israeli destruction in Tyre and Sidon, and early reports of 600,000 made homeless in southern Lebanon when only about 400,000 even live there."

"Places that have been reported totally destroyed are totally intact," said Litell, citing Tyre and Sidon: "What was reported as total destruction in an area was no more destroyed than inner Philadelphia."

Falwell said casualty figures are given out daily by the "Red Crescent," a Beirut humanitarian organization often confused as the Red Cross, but headed by Arafat's brother. "You can imagine why figures are so exaggerated and distorted against Israel," Falwell added. "Certainly the press knows this. It must want distortions."

Also cited was the town of Damour, south of Beirut, where reports told of heavy civilian casualties, but the religious critics say the town was seized by the PLO in 1976, 12,000 of its people slain, the rest put to flight, and the town made a PLO base.

"Now its people are moving back from where the PLO made them flee," Littell said.

Also charged were TV scenes early in the Israeli incursion, showing damage from the 1975-76 civil war, without saying so, implying it was newly done by Israel.

"The PLO is to blame for every innocent being hurt in Lebanon," Falwell said. "If Arab leaders were speaking candidly, they'd be rejoicing and thanking Allah for what Israel is doing. The Arabs are scared to death of the PLO, far more than of Israel."

2nd Adv AM Sun Aug. 3. Sent --AP--NY-03-06 2026EDT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 16, 1982

to H. Applebaum, D. Geller, M. Tanenbaum & M. Yarmon

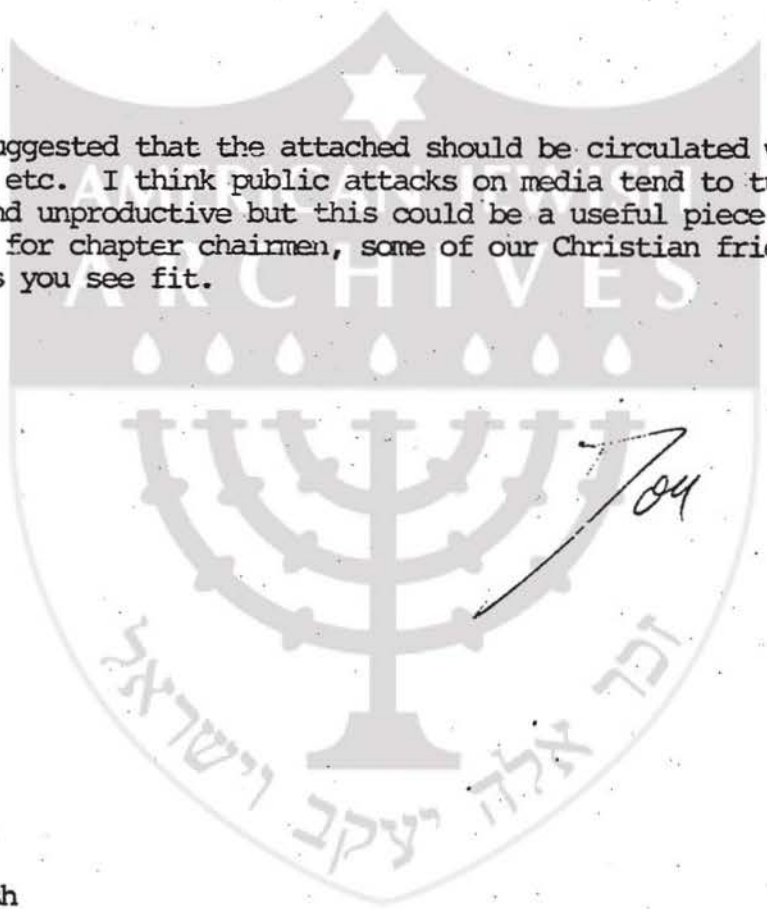
from Donald Feldstein

subject

It's been suggested that the attached should be circulated widely, advertised, etc. I think public attacks on media tend to turn out defensive and unproductive but this could be a useful piece used selectively for chapter chairmen, some of our Christian friends, etc. Use as you see fit.

DF:tg
attachment

cc: S. Hirsh



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Original documents
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The great swindle of 1982

By CARL ALPERT

In recent weeks the Western world has been treated to one of the major brainwashing experiences in recent history. Via television, radio and press the public has been subjected to a huge swindle in the communication of information from the Middle East.

Whether the systematic misinformation that has been disseminated is the result of deliberate and malicious anti-Israel influences, or of a breakdown in Israel's public relations program is for the moment not important. The fact remains that an inaccurate, distorted report of what has been going on in Lebanon has contributed to a completely erroneous conception of Israel's objectives and actions.

It has been said that a camera does not lie, but everyone who has ever clicked the little machine knows full well that the camera is highly selective, recording only what it is aimed at, to the exclusion of all else.

You can judge the accuracy of what you read and saw and heard in recent weeks by asking yourself if your local media of communications gave any kind of prominence to the following:

1. While focussing on Israel's siege of Beirut, did any major TV network or news agency make it clear that the PLO has hijacked an entire city and was holding its population hostage, as they have previously held all of Lebanon hostage?
2. Where were any pictures of the cheers and tears of relief with which Lebanese village after village greeted the Israelis who had freed them from terrorist occupation?
3. Did any of the scenes of roads packed with refugees make it clear that many of these were Lebanese villagers now making their way back home to southern Lebanon, from which they had fled after the terrorist invasion began seven years ago?
4. Was there ever any adequate correction or apology when it was ultimately revealed that the early PLO claims that Israelis had killed thousands of civilians was shown to be a figment of Arab imagination, cooked up by propagandists to prejudice the public?
5. Did you see the breathtaking pictures of the enormous underground depots of weapons and ammunition and heavy equipment which the PLO had been stockpiling for its future massive assault against northern Israel?
6. Who reported how PLO armed guards prevented civilians from getting food supplies from the UNRWA warehouse in Beirut?
7. Was there adequate and full explanation that some of the recent full-page ads in American papers, presenting utterly false statistics on Lebanese casualties, were in fact hoaxes, and that the prominent organizations presumed to have endorsed the ads disavowed such signatures?
8. Did TV prominently feature the Red Cross ship at Junia, deliberately shelled and hit by PLO guns?
9. Did anybody know how many Israeli soldiers had been killed and wounded because they refrained, under orders, from firing on civilians?
10. Were there any pictures of the corpses of Lebanese patients in the Sidon Hospital, whose bodies had been

drained of blood to provide transfusions for wounded PLO terrorists?

11. Did TV take its viewers up and down dozens of streets in Sidon, untouched by battle, in a city where selected pictures made it appear as if the whole city has been razed?

12. Where were any closeups of the truly awesome damage done to buildings in Damour, so that viewers could see the weeds growing out of the ruins - ruins created by the PLO when they had seized the city long before and had massacred much of the Christian population?

13. Did the media of communication make anything of the fact that the PLO had turned Lebanon into a center of international terrorism, where trainees came from the German Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Italian Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army, the Irish Republican Army, and other lesser known bodies from other countries? Did any of this get through to Western public opinion?

14. Did the PLO permit any pictures to be taken of its terrorist "heroes" as they hid behind women and children to fire their guns into the Christian quarters of Beirut?

15. Public opinion has been disturbed by the fact that civilians are falling victim in Israel's attempts to root the terrorists out of Beirut. But where was that public opinion during the recent bloody civil wars in Lebanon, when thousands of Christians were massacred, as the terrorists took over? Is there a double standard? And where is the sense of proportion?

When this is all over, there are many questions that intelligent people will be asking, and many explanations that the media of communications will have to give if they wish to retain public confidence.

[end]

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6 U.S. Rabbis Hail Begin's Call for an Inquiry

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

A group of leading Reform, Conservative and Orthodox Jews yesterday hailed the decision by Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel to ask for an inquiry into the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut.

The six Jews said the "tragic events make it urgent that every step be taken by all the appropriate parties involved, directly or indirectly, including Israel, to determine how this tragedy occurred."

In Jerusalem, Mr. Begin asked the Chief Justice of the Israeli Supreme Court today to head an inquiry into Israel's involvement in the massacre last week.

'These Heartless Atrocities'

But the move by Mr. Begin fell short of the full impartial judicial commission proposed by the opposition Labor Party. And the Chief Justice, Yitzhak Kahan, postponed a decision on the request because of two related cases before his court.

In a joint statement read by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jew-

ish Committee, the group welcomed Mr. Begin's call for an inquiry, and said it was "in keeping with Israel's moral and democratic tradition."

The declaration, issued at the committee's headquarters, condemned the "immoral actions of those who perpetrated these heartless atrocities."

Commenting individually, some members of the group said some news coverage of the massacre had been unjustly critical of Israel, and appealed for a fair assessment as more facts become known.

Inquiry Urged by Rabbis

In addition to Rabbi Tanenbaum, the group included Rabbi Gerson D. Cohen, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Rabbi Joseph B. Glazer, executive vice president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rabbi Norman Lamm, president of Yeshiva University; Rabbi Martin Steinberg, dean of the Hebrew Union-Jewish Institute of Religion and Rabbi Walter Wurzbarger, president of the Synagogue Council of America.

Rabbi Wurzbarger was among the Jewish clergymen who expressed dis-

appointment earlier in the week that Mr. Begin had not immediately called for an inquiry.

Yesterday he applauded Mr. Begin's call for an investigation and said one goal should be to determine "whether the Israeli Government could have done anything to prevent those massacres."

He said Jews could not rest on the fact that "worse crimes have been perpetrated by other nations" because "we are the people who have upheld standards of morality."

Rabbi Wurzbarger said that "if the failure of the Israeli mission contributed to this unfortunate catastrophe, then we have to realize that no one is immune from the shattering effects of a climate of violence."

Some members of the group cautioned Americans against prejudging Israel and said some news accounts prematurely blamed Israel for the massacre.

Rabbi Lamm said "overreaction" in some news accounts had "savaged Israel and the Jewish people." He characterized such reports as a "rhetorical pogrom" and "journalistic mugging of the state."

7-9-27-82

RABBIS EXPRESS ANGUISH OVER MASSACRE IN BEIRUT (460)

By James C. O'Neill

NEW YORK (NC) – Six rabbis, representing the major branches of American Judaism, joined shortly before Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement, to voice their "profound moral anguish" over the recent massacres of Palestinian civilians in Beirut.

The religious representatives of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Judaism in the United States at a news conference Sept. 24 called the massacres "wanton bloodshed."

Yom Kippur, a 24-hour period of reflection, repentance, fasting and prayer, was observed Sept. 27, starting at sundown the night before.

In a joint statement read by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, the group said:

"We declare as an act of Jewish conscience our condemnation of the immoral actions of those who perpetrated these heartless atrocities and we extend our heartfelt condolences and consolation to the bereaved families."

The rabbis also hailed the decision of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to ask for an inquiry into the massacre of the Palestinian refugees and said the inquiry should be conducted in Israel.

"We trust that, in keeping with Israel's moral and democratic tradition, a high level and independent investigation will soon be launched in Israel to establish the facts and determine responsibilities," their statement said.

The rabbis also demanded a "parallel inquiry" by "appropriate bodies as to how it was possible for tens of thousands of Christian and Moslem civilians, both Lebanese and Palestinian, to be tortured and massacred, to be obliterated since 1975 under PLO and Syrian domination of Lebanon."

In addition to Rabbi Tanenbaum, participants in the press conference were: Rabbi Gerson D. Cohen, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser, executive vice president, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rabbi Norman Lamm, president, Yeshiva University; Rabbi Paul M. Steinberg, dean of the Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion, and Rabbi Walter S. Wurzburger, president, Synagogue Council of America.

Rabbi Wurzburger said, "We are all in a state of deep shock and mourning over the massacres." He added, "No Jew can be content to rely on the fact that worse crimes have been perpetrated by others."

He said there is a need to learn "whether the Israeli government could have done anything to prevent these massacres." He also said "I'm sure it will not be a whitewash. I am convinced they will determine what has caused the failures."

Several of the rabbis urged the American press and public not to prejudice Israel or its government until the inquiry was completed. Rabbi Lamm objected to the "one-sided barrage of criticism in the media" reporting on the Beirut massacres and subsequent developments in Israel. He called reports in American newspapers and television "a rhetorical pogrom" and a "journalistic mugging of the state of Israel."

Rabbi Glaser in a more conciliatory note suggested that "perhaps now we realize on all sides that it is a time for healing... Understanding must come from all sides with a will to start anew."

END

....OVER PLEASE....

Israeli inquiry into Lebanon massacre staves off collision with American Jews

By William Bole
Religious News Service Staff Writer

NEW YORK (RNS) Just as the American Jewish community and the Israeli government appeared to be on a collision course, Jewish leaders praised Prime Minister Menachem Begin's decision to set up a limited inquiry into the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian civilians in Beirut refugee camps.

Meanwhile, some mainline Christian denominations placed responsibility for the massacre on Israel and renewed their calls for the removal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon.

At a press conference here, leaders of major Jewish organizations and educational institutions said they were satisfied with Mr. Begin's delayed move to appoint an investigation team headed by the chief justice of Israel's Supreme Court, Yitzhak Kahan. But the Prime Minister did grant the commission the power to subpoena witnesses, provoking protests from critics in Israel.

The Israeli government "now acts in completely Jewish fashion," Rabbi Walter Wurzberger, president of the Synagogue Council of America, said of the appointment. "I am convinced it will not be a whitewash."

He said he was "not convinced at all that there is any culpability" on the part of Israel, but added that he believed action would be taken against Israeli officials if that turns out to be not the case.

During the two days preceding the press conference, such major Jewish organizations as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and the Synagogue Council of America had publicly disagreed with Israel's early rejection of an investigation into the massacres. Rabbi Wurzberger had said in his official statement that he was "dismayed" by the Israeli government's response to the pleas for such a commission.

In an unusual joint statement the American Jewish Committee and Congress had urged "a full and free" investigation by Israel.

But the appointment by Mr. Begin, in the midst of a whirlwind of criticism in Israel that still threatens his government, appears to have averted a widening of differences between the Israeli government and American Jewish leaders. Yet, it was unclear whether the commission, which cannot force witnesses to testify before it, would live up to the calls for a free inquiry.

Christian groups that had been critical of Israel's June 6 invasion of Lebanon expressed shock and outrage over the killings and linked the violence in Lebanon to the presence of Israeli troops.

The American Friends Service Committee declared in a statement that Israel "must share responsibility for this loss of life." The Quaker service organization said, "Israel's occupation of West Beirut in the wake of the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel, rather than preserving the peace as it was purported to do, in fact simply set the stage for the violence and bloodshed which followed."

The AFSC called on the Reagan administration to suspend all U.S. economic and military aid to Israel pending a speedy withdrawal from Lebanon. It also urged "a thoughtful reassessment of U.S. relations with Israel in light of current Israeli policies."

.....OVER PLEASE....

The president of the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Dr. Avery D. Post, appealed to the church's 1.75 million members to press Congress and the president to consider withdrawal of all aid to Israel and on calling for "an international fact-finding commission" into the massacre.

And, in a startling accusation, the executive vice-president of the UCC's Board for World Ministries gave credence to what he called the "widely" held view in Lebanon "that Israel in some fashion planned and accomplished the assassination of President-elect Bashir Gemayel" because he would not allow Lebanon "to remain a dependent client of Israel."

The official, Dr. David M. Stowe, who just returned from a trip to Lebanon, added in a statement that Lebanese also believe the killings of the Palestinians "by militia groups armed and sponsored by Israel" reflect Israel's determination "to achieve a final solution of the Palestinian problem" by making life for them "impossible in Lebanon and on the West Bank and Gaza as well."

A top level committee of the United Presbyterian Church commended the Reagan Administration's Sept. 16 statement supporting Lebanon's call for the "withdrawal of Israeli forces, which are in clear violation of the cease-fire understanding to which Israel is a party" and which declared that there is "no justification for Israel's military presence" in Lebanon. The statement was issued by the executive committee of the denomination's program agency board.

And, in a brief statement, a top National Council of Churches official said she was "horrified and outraged at the news" of the massacre but did not point a finger at Israel. NCC General Secretary Claire Randall also called for "stronger United Nations presence in Lebanon to help strengthen the ability of Lebanon to provide security for all its inhabitants."

At the press conference called by Jewish leaders, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee read a joint statement by the speakers there which expressed "profound moral anguish over" the brutal atrocities apparently committed by Lebanese Christian militiamen. Israeli newspapers have reported that senior military commanders and government officials knew the Palestinians were being killed 24 to 36 hours before Israeli troops, stationed about 100 yards from the refugee camps, acted to stop the slaughter.

Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon has acknowledged he sent the Christian militiamen into the camps in order to root out Palestinian guerillas, but denied that he instructed them to kill innocent civilians.

The Jewish representatives at the press conference focused their attacks on Israeli's critics and in part the media for not having raised an outcry over previous massacres in Lebanon by the Palestine Liberation Organization. They urged that an Israeli investigation into the Beirut killings be accompanied by "other inquiries" into such incidents as the reported Syrian massacre of 30,000 of its own people in April in the city of Hama.

Rabbi Norman Lamm, the president of Yeshiva University, decried what he called the "overreaction" to the Beirut slaughter, explaining that Israel's critics have "used this to savage the state of Israel and the Jewish people." In addition to the AJC, the Synagogue Council and Yeshiva, other organizations represented at the conference were the reform Central Conference of American Rabbis, The Jewish Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

September 24, 1982

STATEMENT OF AMERICAN JEWISH RELIGIOUS LEADERS ON MASSACRES IN BEIRUT

We, representatives of the major branches of American Judaism — Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform — motivated by the moral ideals of the Jewish religion and responsive to the lessons of Jewish history, feel compelled to express publicly and jointly our profound moral anguish over the tragic loss of lives of Palestinian civilians during the massacres in Beirut last week.

Having experienced the trauma of abandonment by the world and the callousness to Jewish suffering during the Nazi holocaust as well as much of our history, we are determined not to sit idly by in the face of this wanton bloodshed. We declare as an act of Jewish conscience our condemnation of the immoral actions of those who perpetrated these heartless atrocities, and we extend our heartfelt condolences and consolation to the bereaved families.

Jewish tradition has affirmed over the past 4,000 years the central conviction of our faith that every human being is created in the sacred image of God, and that each human life is of infinite worth and preciousness. This High Holy Day Season which will be climaxed by the observance of Yom Kippur beginning this Sunday evening, attests powerfully to the Jewish conviction that God is the Creator of the universe, and that all mankind are equally members of God's human family, deserving of the right to life, dignity, compassion and mutual love.

Judaism teaches that murder is the greatest of all sins; resort to violence must be avoided utterly unless it be for the purpose of self-defense. War and aggression in self-defense are permissible only if they prevent the perpetration of an even greater evil. But there is an obvious difference between killing in self-defense and killing an innocent which Judaism categorically forbids.

It is for these reasons — religious, moral, and historical — that we have taken this step to condemn the terrible destruction of the lives of the Palestinian civilians.

It is now common knowledge that the recent Beirut massacres were perpetrated by Christian militias. Nevertheless, the obligation that the Israeli Government assumed when Israeli troops took over West Beirut and their proximity to these tragic events make it urgent that every step be taken by all the appropriate parties involved, directly or indirectly, including Israel, to determine how this tragedy occurred.

...more...

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

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We welcome the news that, in keeping with Israel's moral and democratic tradition, a high-level and independent investigation will soon be launched in Israel to establish the facts and determine responsibilities.

Since every human life is precious in the eyes of God, conscience requires us to demand that parallel inquiries be undertaken by appropriate bodies to determine as to how it was possible for tens of thousands of Christian and Muslim civilians, Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrians, to be tortured and massacred since 1975 under PLO and Syrian domination. Here, too, responsibility must be fixed questions must be asked why the silence and indifference of the world community in the face of these civilian massacres, and appropriate actions taken against the murderers in order to prevent repetition of such acts of destruction.

We believe it is essential that the world pay greater attention than in the past to combatting the religious and ethnic fanaticism, group hatreds, and bigotry which have fueled the engines of destruction of which the Beirut massacres are only the latest instance. We ask religious leaders of all faiths and all people of good will to join in calling for an end to this destructive pattern of fanaticism which is the staging grounds for the Beirut massacre.

Finally, we call upon our own Government to do everything possible to speed the departure of all foreign armies, to work toward the restoration of civil order until such time as a strong Lebanese central government can establish itself.

On the eve of the Day of Atonement, we pledge ourselves to work together with peoples of all faiths and creeds to bring about the final disappearance of injustice and oppression and to advance the cause of human rights and universal peace. The Jewish High Holiday liturgy most aptly expresses these common human goals in the words, "And may all wickedness be vanished as a smoke and may evil rule be removed from the earth."

Rabbi Gerson D. Cohen, Chancellor
The Jewish Theological Seminary

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser, Executive Vice-President
Central Conference of American Rabbis

Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk, President
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
(represented by Rabbi Paul M. Steinberg, Dean)

Rabbi Norman Lamm, President
Yeshiva University

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

Rabbi Walter S. Wurzbarger, President
Synagogue Council of America

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The Philadelphia Inquirer

review & opinion

section

F

◆◆ Sunday, September 19, 1982

Pope and Arafat

A 25-minute meeting shakes religious relations

By Linda Loyd
Inquirer Staff Writer

When Pope John Paul II met with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat last week, the pontiff incurred the wrath of world Jewry and put in jeopardy years of painstaking progress in Catholic-Jewish relations.

Why did the Pope take such a risk? And why now?

One explanation, offered by some in the Church, is that John Paul sees himself as a peacemaker.

"If you're going to try to be a peacemaker, you really have to talk to both sides," observed the Rev. John Sibel, director of communications for the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

On Jan. 7, the Pope met with the Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, urging a just and stable Middle East peace.

"The invitation was out [to Arafat] a while back," said Father Sibel. "A Palestinian priest had been working on it, trying to get the Holy Father to talk to Yasir Arafat for three years. If the Israelis refuse any contact

with the PLO, then how can they work towards peace?" Father Sibel said. "You need someone to be an intermediary."

The meeting between Arafat and the Pope was arranged after the Palestinian leader had already been scheduled to address a meeting in Rome of the International Inter-Parliamentary Union, a gathering of delegates from 98 nations, Father Sibel said.

The Pope and Arafat met for 25 minutes at the Vatican Wednesday.

Critics of the meeting, including the Israeli government and many Jews around the world, and some Christians, asserted that the meeting between John Paul and Arafat conferred dignity and status on the PLO.

The Israeli government angrily charged that the Pope had met with the head of "an organization of murderers." The Vatican retorted angrily that Israel's response was "an outrage to the truth."

The Pope "probably sees Arafat as a moderate stability element in the (See MEETING on S-F)



OVER PLEASE.....

A brief meeting shakes Catholic-Jewish relations

MEETING, from 1-F

Palestinian nationalist movement," said Leonard Swidler, a Catholic theologian who teaches courses at Temple University on Jewish-Christian dialogue.

The pontiff "obviously, from things he has said in the past, feels the Palestinian people have legitimate claims to appropriate national expressions," Swidler said. "And he sees that as a fundamentally human-rights issue. Therefore, he feels, as leader in the Catholic Church, that he needs to express himself on the matter, because it's a moral issue.

"It would seem he also hoped to have at the same time a still further moderating influence on Arafat," Swidler said.

The Rev. Gerard Sloyan, another Catholic theologian who teaches at Temple, said the Pope "very well knew he was putting in balance the alienation of the worldwide Jewish community. That was absolutely clear to him. So he made a calculated risk in the interest of some forward movement on Middle East peace.

"You could fault him for his judgment," Father Sloyan said. "I don't want to engage in a defense or an apology. I note with extreme interest what he did. He engaged in some loss of face in the interest of what he must see as the greater good, namely progress in peace in that region."

One prominent American Jewish leader, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the national inter-religious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said he had been told by "reliable Catholic authorities" that the Pope used the meeting to try to influence Arafat to recognize Israel and turn to peaceful negotiations.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said in a telephone interview from New York that he understood, from sources whom he declined to name, that the Pope had had "strong" words with Arafat. He said he had been "reliably informed by Catholic authorities" that the Pope "confronted Arafat about the immorality of the PLO's resort to murder and violence, demanded that



PLO leader Yasir Arafat meets in Rome with Pope John Paul II

the PLO recognize the existence of the state of Israel, and called on the PLO to give up murder and killing and turn to peaceful negotiations."

The Pope apparently also "expressed his abhorrence and condemnation of the massacre of nearly 100,000 Lebanese and Palestinian Christians and Muslims in South Lebanon, and he supported keeping Jerusalem as a unified city with international guarantees for the holy places," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. "That position is in stark opposition to what Arafat wanted from the Pope in terms of support for the Arab-Muslim position on Jerusalem."

But another Jewish leader, Rabbi Leon Klenicki, co-director of interfaith affairs of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), said, "There are all sorts of rumors concerning what the Pope said to Arafat."

"One version is that he recriminated Arafat for terrorism and what happened in Lebanon under the PLO's mandate," he said. "Another version is that the Pope just listened patiently to the explanations and pointed out at the end the need that

Israel and a Palestinian state should exist in the Middle East. It's very difficult to know what really happened."

Rabbi Klenicki, who is a member of a working study group that meets with the U.S. Catholic Conference to consider problems in Jewish-Catholic relations, said he saw two possible reasons why the Pope granted an audience to Arafat.

One theory was that John Paul met with Arafat because the Pope believed that he had a "pastoral obligation to listen to everybody; in that area he was very naive," Rabbi Klenicki said.

Another theory for the meeting, he said, was the Catholic Church's "concern" for the Third World "because at the end of this century the vast majority of Christians will live outside the Western world, mainly in the Third World."

"That might have been one reason why the Pope gave that meeting to Arafat and the PLO, because of the romantic connotations of the PLO liberation with similar movements in the world," he said.

Jewish groups were not alone in expressing concern over the meeting with Arafat.

"I have inside information that there is division among American bishops, and great concern among lay leadership in the Catholic Church concerning the meaning of the meeting," Rabbi Klenicki said in a telephone interview.

A group of Catholics attending a leadership conference of the National Inter-religious Task Force on Soviet Jewry in Washington early this week sent a telegram to Archbishop Pio Laghi, apostolic delegate to the United States, that said:

"As Roman Catholics, we are deeply disturbed at the prospect of our Holy Father, himself the victim of violence, granting an audience to Yasir Arafat, a person whose reputation has been built on terrorism and the murder of innocents. It would seriously impede the Vatican from playing any constructive role in future Middle East negotiations. We urge the [Vatican] Secretariat of State to oppose such a meeting."

In Philadelphia, Jerry Rosen, community consultant for the ADL, agreed that "it's not just a Jewish issue. I have heard from people who are not Jewish that they did not think what the Pope was doing was correct."

Will the meeting with Arafat have a detrimental effect on Jewish-Catholic relations?

Swidler, the Catholic theologian, said he thought not.

"My judgment is that it's a very

temporary thing," said Swidler. "The uproar is not going to be deep-going in its negative affect. My guess is that probably sometime in the foreseeable future, when an appropriate opportunity presents itself, the Vatican will do something on the public level to sort of balance things out vis-a-vis Israel."

"I hope it blows over," Rabbi Tanenbaum said, noting that international Jewish groups "have had a number of very positive developments in our work with the Vatican delegations. I would hate to see that jeopardized by this one episode, as serious as it is."

Although the meeting with Arafat was "unfortunate," Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "the Vatican made a very serious effort to cut its losses" and "prepared itself to make sure that Arafat would not hijack the Vatican for PLO purposes in this meeting."

The Vatican did so, he said, by releasing a statement to the news media immediately after the meeting to make the Pope's message clear.

Asked about the strident response to the meeting by the Israeli government, Rabbi Tanenbaum said that while he "understands" why Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin acted as he did, "I regret that the language was as intemperate as I think it was."

"It is possible, especially for diplomats and heads of governments, to say strong things without being unnecessarily alienating," he said. "Israel needs all the friends it can get. The majority of Catholic people in this country have been great friends

of Israel. It would be unfortunate if they were placed in a position of having to choose between their loyalty to the Pope and the Vatican and their support of the people in the state of Israel.

"By putting the opposition to Arafat's visit in such stark terms, I'm afraid one of the effects can be to lead Catholics to have to make that choice."

"Also, one of the negative byproducts," Rabbi Tanenbaum said, is that "that kind of vigorous reaction, with that kind of angry language, creates the impression that the sole issue is that of Begin versus the Pope, when the real issue is the immorality of Arafat's having access to the Pope."

"So people are now discussing the Begin government's reaction rather than the issue of what was morally unacceptable about Arafat being received in the Vatican."

However, part of the blame for the wrong focus rests with the Begin government, Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

"Yes, I am being critical," he said, hastily adding that he felt "a limitation, an inhibition," in publicly criticizing Israeli government policy because "Israel is so surrounded by enemies, people are determined to destroy it."

"When you're up against the wall, you have very heavy responsibility before you contribute to that campaign [of criticism]," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. "But in conscience, you know a lot of things going on are wrong. How do you say it without playing into the hands of the enemy?"

OVER PLEASE.....

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The Christian-Jewish dialogue picks up static

After years of drawing together, tensions over Israeli policies and plight of the Palestinians divide religious leaders

By James L. Franklin
Globe Staff

It was not until the 1960s that we saw the first denominational statements clearly rejecting anti-Semitism. Is that commitment sufficiently strong to get us through this period? Twenty years is not much time when we are dealing with very deeply ingrained Western historical attitudes."

The speaker is Rabbi Eugene B. Borowitz, professor of Jewish Studies at Harvard Divinity School.

His alarm at the deterioration of Jewish-Christian relations is magnified by the fact that he has been both a long-time critic of Israeli policy and one of those most committed to improving relations between the two faiths.

Relations between Christian and Jewish leaders in the United States are under great strain in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacre in two Palestinian camps in Beirut.

Differences are greatest between leaders of the organized Jewish community and national leaders of mainline Protestant churches.

But the visit to the Vatican of Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, strong criticism of the Catholic Church by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and a stern reaction by the Vatican are straining Catholic-Jewish relations, as well.

Unsubstantiated charges

The rhetoric dividing mainline Protestant and American Jewish leadership is unusually strong.

In one case, a major church leader repeated unsubstantiated charges about Israel in a letter to President Reagan asking

US sanctions to ensure Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon. Rev. Dr. David M. Stowe, executive vice president of the United Church of Christ's Board for World Ministries, repeated charges he heard from some Lebanese Christians "that Israel in some fashion planned and accomplished the assassination of Lebanon's president-elect, Bashir Gemayel, because he would not allow Lebanon to remain a dependent client of Israel."

Dr. Stowe, who returned from a visit to Lebanon after the massacre, said many Lebanese believe the killings reflect Israel's determination "to achieve a final solution of the Palestinian problem."

In response, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum complained of "a liberal Christian elite who have been issuing statements of collective Jewish guilt without having a scintilla of evidence." He compared the ready assumption that Israel and even Jews in general were somehow guilty of what took place in Beirut to the detestable charge - the Christian belief, once widespread and now generally repudiated, that Jews were collectively responsible for the death of Jesus.

"Political bureaucrats in the churches' machinery are trying to exploit the situation by coddling favor with the Arab world and the Third World, abusing their role in the churches," he said.

Rabbi Leon Klenicki of the Anti-Defamation League in New York insists that the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches are "aiding with guerrilla groups and terrorist groups like the PLO. Leaders of these church groups are Israel, he says, 'as part of the anti-liberation forces in the world. While that is not true, it is becoming part of Jewish-Christian dialogue."

There is some confirmation of that analysis from Christian leaders. "At their best, Christians are on the side of the underdog, the victim," said Dr. Stowe of the United Church of Christ.

Victim to victimizer

"There has obviously been a shift in Israel's position from being the victim to being the victimizer," he said. "as its image of being the victim of European anti-Semitism and Arab oppression is slowly replaced by the realization that here we have the fourth-strongest military power in the world."

However, there are Christian scholars who believe that persistent anti-Jewish beliefs among Christians determine how the churches react to issues affecting Jews and the state of Israel. "Christendom has been teaching contempt for Jews for so long, patronizing well behaved ghetto Jews, that it doesn't know how to treat Jews who stand up for their rights," said Rev. Dr. Franklin Littell of Temple University in Philadelphia, a United Methodist minister.

Rev. Edward H. Flannery of Our Lady of Providence Seminary in Warwick Neck, R.I., agrees: "One has to be careful not to cast indiscriminately the charge of anti-Semitism. But the general anti-Israeli reaction among church leaders is rooted in latent and unconscious anti-Semitism, which takes the shape of anti-Zionism."

Estrangement between the Jewish community and American Protestant leadership was heightened over the past two years as the National Council of Churches prepared a major new policy statement on the Mideast, urging both the US government and the Israelis to deal with the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"Some Jewish bodies have called on us to denounce the part of our policy statement asking the US government to talk with the PLO, which we have refused to do," said Paul A. Hopkins, Mideast area liaison for the United Presbyterian Church.

"There has also been some intimation

Hopkins said, "that if we did not do so, Jewish relations with ecumenical bodies like the National Council would deteriorate and relations with the Moral Majority would increase."

Fundamentalist and right-wing Christian political groups like the Moral Majority have pledged strong support for Israel based on their literal reading of the Bible.

But for mainline or liberal Protestants there is open debate on "whether passages in the Old Testament related to the conquest of Canaan and the allocation of the land are central to the theology of Judaism or Christianity," in Dr. Stowe's words.

Vatican role

The Vatican's apparent goal of playing a role as peace broker between Israeli and Palestinian interests is suspect to some Jewish leaders. "The willingness of the Pope to grant an audience with Arafat was viewed with great suspicion and resentment by Jews because nearly 40 years after the establishment of the state of Israel, the Vatican still refuses to officially recognize the state of Israel," said Rabbi Sanford Seltzer of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

But Eugene Fisher, who handles Catholic-Jewish relations for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington, insists that Israel has the same status in its relations with the Vatican as does the United States, with extensive official dealings short of full diplomatic ties. The meeting with the PLO leader, Fisher said, "was an attempt to bring about reconciliation, and not an endorsement of the PLO."

Even some of the strongest critics of Israel and American Jewish leadership, like Hopkins of the United Presbyterian Church, insist they are fundamentally committed to the security of Israel.

(A.F.P.)

...but we can't stand silent while people who are deprived of a homeland are driven from pillar to post," said Hopkins, who said he saw new hope in the growing number of Jewish leaders who are calling for a diplomatic solution to the Palestinian problem.

Local relations

Despite the sometimes acrimonious exchanges between national leaders, relations on the local level apparently have not been affected.

For instance, local Catholic-Jewish committees in Boston, New York and Brooklyn criticized the Pope's decision to meet with Arafat. Local and regional councils of churches became spokesmen for Jewish alarm at the National Council of Churches' dealings with pro-Palestinian organizations.

And angry Jewish leaders are looking to these local organizations for support. "There are solid foundations laid in every city," said Rabbi Tanenbaum. "While many people in the pews are upset, the fact remains that the general state of mutual respect and helpfulness between Christians and Jews has hardly been affected."

But it is not completely clear what will happen in the future. Joan Campbell, who watches local and regional ecumenical affairs for the National Council of Churches, calls this "a crucial moment for Christian-Jewish relations."

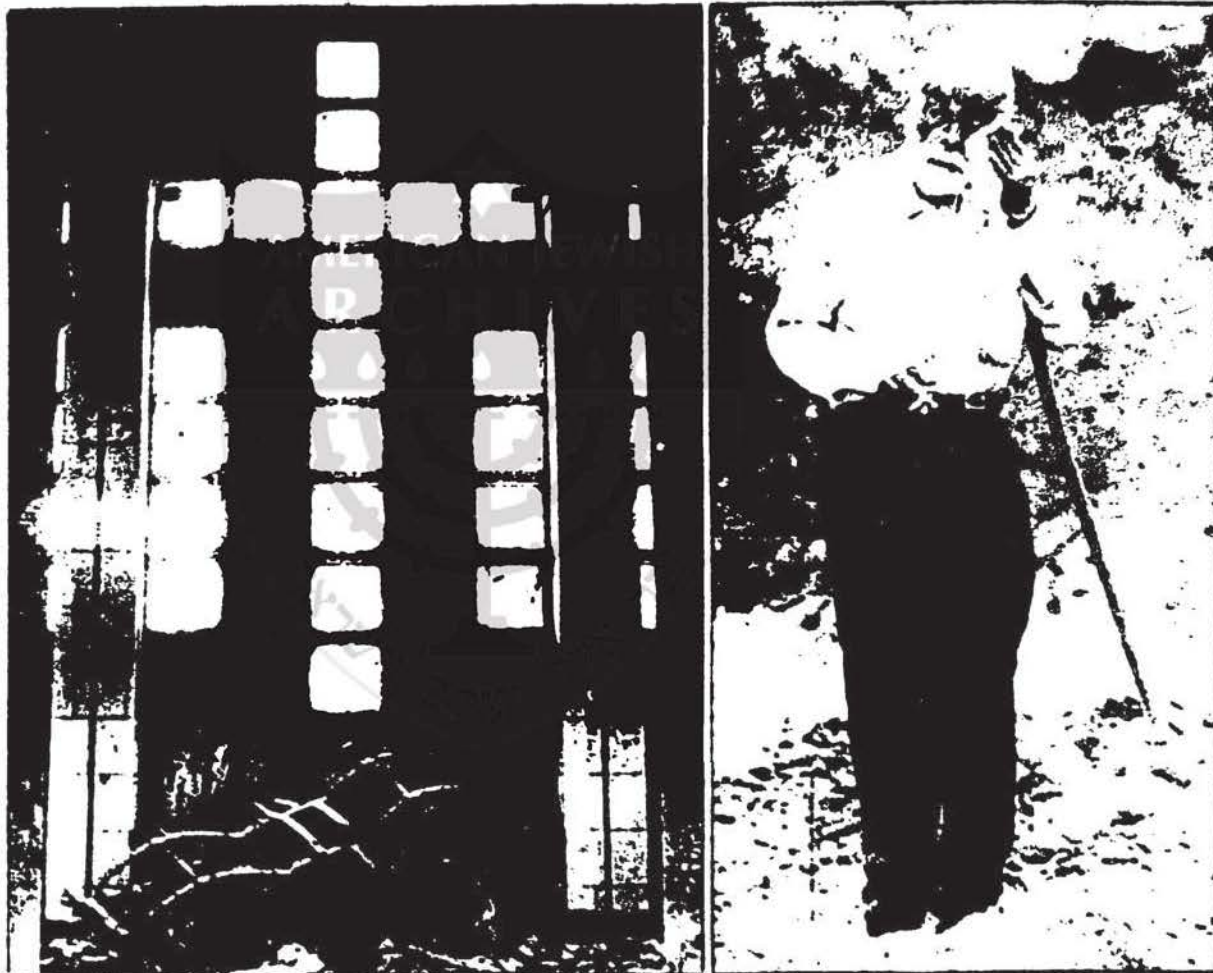
"At this point, the dialogue between the two communities has not been broken," she said, "but there has not been an attempt on either side to have a public dialogue on the Middle East crisis."

J. Richard Butler, Mideast secretary for the National Council of Churches, insists the council is not likely to retreat from its strong position on Palestinian rights. But he agrees that Christian and Jewish leadership "at all levels... have to keep in touch with each other."

Eugene Fisher of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops admits that the "strain" in Catholic-Jewish relations "has risen to the surface" after Arafat's visit with the Pope and Begin's blast at the Vatican. Yet he too agrees that "American Catholics should sit down with American

Jews and go through things that have been raised in a way that is sensitive to the feelings of the two communities and responsive to the complexities of these questions."

Fisher, like other Christian leaders, believes that the progress in Christian-Jewish relations "will not be taken back. There is no way the church can go back to earlier problems that existed."



Left, wreckage of a vehicle found inside a Christian church south of Beirut. Right, an elderly Palestinian man cries during a memorial service for the massacre victims.

LPI APHOTOS

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Beirut and New York: shock and aftershock

ISRAEL HAS JUST ONE FRIEND left in the world," Ed Koch once said. "It's not Europe. It's not the American President. It's New York City." Koch said that two years ago, but the remark seems more pertinent today. How is the Menachem Begin government playing in New York, where Israel's emotional and financial support has long been centered?



Owen
Moritz

Well, the actions of the Israeli Defense Force in Lebanon right up to the West Beirut massacre and Begin's performance during and afterward, including a cover-up that was blown apart by a vigorous Israeli press, have left us all unsettled. Those events have brought self-questioning, divisiveness and suspicions of a double standard — of what Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum calls a "selective morality." And, ironically, maybe they even claimed a very true friend of Israel, the mayor himself.

While those around him may deny it, Koch lost his gubernatorial bid in a personality contest. He had managed to arouse a broad front of opponents, from labor unions to upstaters, even after a remarkable reelection victory in 1981. In the end, he may have paid the price for zeal, for being headstrong, argumentative and perhaps too aware of his special place in history, for his tendency to attack critics, instead of their arguments, maybe for being too committed. These are, incidentally, the same criticisms made of Prime Minister Begin. And Begin's hard line has galvanized opponents. This, too, coming after a remarkable reelection victory in 1981.

Did anti-Israel sentiment resulting from the massacre hurt Koch? Surely, it didn't help someone who considered the fate of Israel a proper concern for a mayor. David Garth, the mayor's media adviser, is quoted as being among those who suggest the massacre might have hurt, especially with Koch being photographed here with Ariel Sharon, the hard-line Israeli defense minister. Controller Harrison J. Goldin says "many factors" went into Koch's defeat. "But, yes, events in the Mideast had an effect. It's hard to say what kind of effect... But in all likelihood [they were] an element in his defeat."

There are other ways to measure the massacre's impact on New York. One is donations. The United Jewish Appeal says a special fund-raising campaign since the Lebanon invasion in June, combined with its regular drive, has raised \$5 million more than last year. UJA authorities say they have received only four letters of protest so far. But fund-raising can take its toll, too. The mayor of Tel Aviv, in town last week on a fund-raising mission, was attacked by muggers on the street.

ANOTHER MEASURE is the split among Jewish leaders. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, a former president of the American Jewish Congress, writes that Begin and Sharon must go "because they have lost the power to speak for Israel among its friends. The most precious asset of Israel, its credibility, is now severely damaged." But Rabbi Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is among those who worries about a "selective morality" at work. He and other rabbis met recently to express their "profound moral anguish over the tragic loss of lives of Palestinian civilians" in the West Beirut massacre and to welcome the Israeli government's decision to empanel a special inquiry.

But he wonders aloud: Where were the media and critics, and the clergy, too, during previous bloodbaths. Tanenbaum is among those who have asked for a similar public inquiry into the deaths of "tens of thousands of Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian civilians who have been massacred and tortured since 1975 under PLO and Syrian domination. About this bloodbath, the world has been scandalously silent. Therefore, we rabbis reject the clamorous prejudgement of Israel as guilty, and solely guilty, as sheer moral hypocrisy."

Rabbi Tanenbaum worries about "scapegoating." In a *Newsweek* poll, 77% of those Jews polled say they are worried about an increase in anti-Semitism because of Mideast developments. A lot of us are worried.

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After the massacre: A day of reckoning

By Joseph Berger
Newsday Religion Writer

IT WAS an event entirely in keeping with the Jewish days of awe and introspection that end with Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, on Monday. Six leading American rabbis, representing all three major branches of Judaism, went before a press conference yesterday and engaged in a kind of public self-examination over the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut.

There was anger at Israel's critics, but also at Israel, a sense by some that they, too, had been touched by the events and were in some way culpable, yet also a sense of frustration that they should be held to so lofty a moral standard by a world that had its own warehouse of culpabilities. There was ambivalence and ambiguity and a cutting of fine distinctions, and somehow it was all appropriate.

The rabbis were Norman Lamm, president of Yeshiva University; Gerson Cohen, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Joseph Glaser, executive vice president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Walter Wurzburger, president of the Synagogue Council of America; Paul Steinberg, dean of the Hebrew Union College; and Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, the panel's sponsor.

They began with a joint statement expressing "profound moral anguish" over the killings and condemnation, "as an act of Jewish conscience" of those who committed the atrocities.

"Having experienced the trauma of abandonment by the world and the callousness of Jewish suffering during the Nazi Holocaust, we are determined not to sit idly by in the face of this wanton bloodshed," the statement said. They welcomed what appeared to be the change of heart by Prime Minister Menachem Begin in launching an inquiry into the massacre, and also called for parallel inquiries into the murders of thousands of Christian and Muslim civilians in Lebanon since 1975.

While the call for "parallel inquiries" appeared to be their way of putting the massacre into some sort of context, there were some in the audience who felt it to be a way of dodging the self-critical focus. Wurzburger tried to correct that impression in an emotional statement of his own.

"No Jew, no matter what the standard of morality in the world, can be content to realize that worse



Palestinian women, above, search for the bodies of relatives in the Sabra refugee camp. Yesterday, six rabbis including Marc Tanenbaum, left, and Gerson Cohen, right, held a press conference to discuss the killings and the world reaction.



Having experienced the trauma of abandonment by the world and the callousness of Jewish suffering during the Nazi Holocaust, we are determined not to sit idly by in the face of this wanton bloodshed.

—Joint statement of six rabbis

crimes have been perpetrated by many other nations," he said. "We are the people that has upheld the standard of morality."

Borrowing from Hebrew, Wurzburger, who heads Congregation Shaaray Tfila in Far Rockaway, harkened back to the fact that after the Yom Kippur War in 1973, there had been an investigation into the "mechdal — the failure" that had allowed the Egyptians to cross the Suez Canal as forcefully as

they did. "I believe that this year on Rosh Hashanah we have also a *mechdal* — some kind of failure. . . and there has to be a serious investigation whether the Israeli government could have done anything to prevent those massacres.

"But let us also realize, that if perhaps omission and some neglect contributed perhaps to this unfortunate catastrophe, nonetheless we have to recognize that we live in an age of violence and terror and no one is immune from this shattering effect. Instead of preaching to the State of Israel, I believe we would do well to look into our own souls, to look into our own government and find out whether we truly kept our destiny with moral values or whether we betrayed the sanctity of moral life."

In response to a reporter's question about the repentance Jews might feel during Yom Kippur that starts tomorrow night, Cohen said: "Every Jew who will be in synagogue will feel a sense of responsibility for the climate of opinion that allowed Begin to resist an inquiry for so long, that permitted [Defense Minister Ariel] Sharon to say the things he did in defiance of a desire to clear the air. Therefore, the spirit of penitence pervades us all."

But he, too, reminded the listeners that the killings were done by Lebanese militiamen, not by the Israelis themselves, a fact he suggested had gotten lost in the near-total spotlight that has been turned on Israel. The "penitence is not for a wrong that was committed but for a wrong that was done in our presence and for support of a situation that might have enabled that." With an ironic edge to his voice, he said he would also pray for penitence of a world that permitted the My Lai massacres in Vietnam, the Holocaust of World War II, the terrorist attacks on Israelis over the years.

Wurzburger acknowledged that as a result of the

climate in Israel there might have been some "indifference," that the climate of war produces a kind of insensitivity, "but I do not believe there was deliberate neglect.

"I would say, however, that over the years the Israeli army, while not an army of angels, has prided itself on its policy of 'purity of weapons,' that it is an established fact that the army sustained heavy casualties because of its effort to spare the lives of civilians in earlier stages of the Lebanese war."

The anger welled up repeatedly. Cohen said there had been a "prejudgment," both from outside and within the Jewish community, over Israel's culpability; much of the "prejudgment" over what has happened "is simply undisguised anti-Semitism." Lamm said there had been a "selective morality" in evaluating Israel and said Israel had been the target of a "one-sided barrage of criticism in the media since the Lebanon campaign, and I consider it no less than a rhetorical pogrom, a journalistic mugging."

But he, too, laid responsibility on Israel, conceding the Israeli "presence in Beirut while this occurred is an offense against their [the Israelis'] moral sensitivity, and the outrage is very real."

Then, in a more sanguine note, he added: "The very outrage taking place in Israel — that response itself is a very salutary thing. It shows the moral quality, the moral values are still there." /H

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MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • Plaza 1-4000

from the desk of HAROLD APPLEBAUM
Field Services Program Coordinator

To: CRC's

The following enclosures should be of interest to you:

1. William Petschek National Jewish Family Center Newsletter, Volume 2, No. 4, Fall 1982

Did you know...the majority of new households in the 1970's included non-family members?...the average number of persons per American household dropped from 3.14 to 2.75?...the majority of families today (52.3) are headed by unmarried individuals? Many other startling facts, and implications for the Jewish family, are reported in a lead article, "How the Family 'Figures' in the 1980 Census." Also in this issue is a review of innovative synagogue programs addressing family needs, an article on havurot and a review of Paul Cowan's An Orphan in History: Retrieving a Jewish Legacy.

2. Statement of American Jewish Religious Leaders on Massacres in Beirut, released at AJC Headquarters, September 24, 1982.

On September 24, six religious leaders expressed their "profound moral anguish over the tragic loss of lives of Palestinian civilians during the Beirut massacres," and called for "a high-level and independent investigation in Israel to establish the facts and determine responsibilities." The complete text is enclosed. Signatories were Rabbi Gerson Cohen (Jewish Theological Seminary), Joseph B. Glazer (Central Conference of American Rabbis), Alfred Gottschalk (Hebrew Union College-Institute of Religion), Norman Lamm (Yeshiva University), Marc Tanenbaum (American Jewish Committee), and Walter Wurzburger (Synagogue Council of America).

3. Report on Recent Litigation in Which AJC Has Participated, September 1982. Prepared by Andrea Klausner, Discrimination Division, Domestic Affairs Department.

AJC has filed a brief amicus in recent months regarding: fundamentalist Christian schools which are demanding tax exemption; a school board's removal from library shelves of "educationally unsound" books; a state decision to exclude the children of illegal aliens from public education; a claim of sex discrimination by women excluded from executive positions in a U.S.-based Japanese firm, and other cases.

Additional copies available on request.

HA/br
October 13, 1982
#82-310-60
Enclosures

CRC - CRC A



REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228882, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

Marc Lanenbaum

THE WAR IN LEBANON, THE REAGAN PLAN

AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL

Ever since the June 1981 elections, public opinion polls have indicated that the Begin government was doing very much better than it had done during the first three years of the first Begin administration. Overwhelmingly, Israelis approved its policies on the West Bank; the Labor Party's forecasts that the country would have to pay heavily for the "election economics" adopted by Finance Minister Aridor just before the elections did not come true. In spite of the continuing high inflation, people on the whole did not suffer, because of the automatic indexing system operative in Israel. Although the Treasury and the balance of payments were in poor financial shape, there was plenty of money in the pockets of almost all Israeli citizens. The government was working quite well as a team -- attacks by one minister against others, which had been the hallmark of the first Begin government, no longer occurred. The constant leaks from the cabinet were accepted as a norm.

So in the polls the popularity of Prime Minister Begin and his government increased, each poll showing that if an election were held, the Likud would have made further gains, while Labor would suffer losses. On the personal level the popularity of Shimon Peres, the leader of the Labor Party, decreased further and further, with Yitzhak Rabin's standing gradually increasing, showing him to be the second most popular man in Israel after Menachem Begin.

In April 1982 the possibility of an invasion of Lebanon in order to destroy the PLO was first mooted in political circles. It is now well known that the actual decision to go into Lebanon was postponed on two occasions, and was finally taken in the wake of the attempted assassination of Ambassador Argov in London. In the course of the discussion as to whether Israel should go into Lebanon to smash the PLO, Labor repeatedly made known its objections, seeing no overwhelming, compelling reason for mounting this operation. The ceasefire of July 1981, negotiated by U. S. Special Envoy Philip Habib, was holding quite well; the PLO did not actually constitute

a real danger to Israel's security: it had even held its fire against the townships and villages of northern Galilee; thus, in Labor's view, there was at that time no real *casus belli*.

When Prime Minister Begin and Defense Minister Sharon decided to launch the invasion of Lebanon, they informed the Labor opposition of their decision a few hours before it was implemented. Labor then found itself in the dilemma which it has not been able to shake off since: how could Labor, politically and electorally speaking, come out publicly in opposition to a military action designed to safeguard "Peace for Galilee", and to push the PLO 40-45 kilometers northward?

In its heart of hearts, the Labor leadership remained convinced that the action was not really necessary at that time; however, in the circumstances it decided to go along and support the government. Labor realized that the action was being implemented in any case, so that its opposition would have no practical effect on government policy. It could not take upon itself the responsibility for publicly espousing a policy which could be seen as sapping the morale of the soldiers fighting at the front. It must always be remembered that the Israel Defense Forces are literally a "people's army," with reservists from all walks of life mobilized to shoulder the burden of any military action.

So Labor said to itself that a military confrontation with the PLO was probably inevitable at some time, even if not strictly necessary at the present, and so, in the Knesset debate two days after the war broke out, the Labor party voted with the government against the no-confidence motion proposed by the Communists. However, the left-wing Mapam party, though part of the Labor Alignment (Ma'arach), did not participate in the vote.

On the fourth day of the war, when it became clear to Labor leaders that, though the 45-kilometer mark had been reached, the Israeli army was pushing north towards Beirut, they met and decided to send a delegation to Mr. Begin in order to obtain clarification and explanations of the action.

Mr. Begin gave them the explanation which has since been repeated many times -- that it was inevitable the Army would have to fight even the Syrians, who were shielding

PLO units in the eastern sector, etc, etc. Labor's dilemma became compounded: it was now most certainly against the extension of the war beyond the 45-kilometer line. But how could Labor come out publicly with that policy at a moment when Israeli casualties were running into the first hundred and the Israeli army was engaged in fierce and highly successful fighting with the Syrians? How could Labor do so at a moment when the world media and world public opinion were sharply turning against Israel on the basis of television reports of tremendous destruction and high civilian casualties in southern Lebanon?

Yet at the same time Labor leaders could no longer stifle their own consciences. They came out and said that the government was deceiving the country; that Mr. Begin and Mr. Sharon were in fact deceiving the cabinet itself, which had never decided upon the extension of the war. They felt that some of the orders given to the army with regard to the methods to be used against the PLO were highly questionable from the point of view of sparing civilian lives in Lebanon. Above all -- entering Beirut would be a first-class historic mistake, in Labor's view.

Labor settled on the following positive policy: now that Israel stood near Beirut, and although the country and the cabinet had been deceived by the government with regard to the expansion of the war, all fighting should now cease. The PLO had been destroyed, but the additional objectives of getting the PLO out of Beirut, getting the Syrians and the PLO out of all of Lebanon and the establishment of a stable and pro-Israel government in Beirut -- all these were, in Labor's view, very desirable objectives, but they were not worth the life of one single Israeli soldier.

By now the Israeli national consensus no longer existed. An important segment of the population, having approved the first stage of the war, no longer approved of what was going on in Beirut. This brought forth angry reactions on the part of the Prime Minister and government spokesmen, accusing the Labor Movement of being unpatriotic, of sapping the morale of the fighting troops in Lebanon and of aiding Israel's enemies in the Arab world and elsewhere.

Labor countered that it was its fundamental duty to criticize government policies when they were regarded as detrimental to the country. Labor pointed to the fact that actual fighting had largely ceased, and that it had loyally supported government policies during the first stage of the war, and even expressed its criticism of the second stage only in muted ways so long as the actual fighting was still raging in Beirut.

However, the small left wing of the Labor party, grouped around Knesset member Yossi Sarid, and the Mapam party did not altogether contain their conviction that the war had been unnecessary from the very start. Mr. Begin defiantly seized on the expression as being so unpatriotic as to oppose a "glorious war of liberation -- the liberation of Galilee and the liberation of Lebanon."

The discussion now centered on what was to be done in Beirut. Labor came out strongly against entering West Beirut; party head Shimon Peres came out strongly against the unnecessary bombing and shelling of the city, and against depriving the civilian population in West Beirut of water and electricity. Yitzhak Rabin, who at any given moment is always a little more pro-government than Peres, since this is considered a more patriotic stance and is therefore likely to win personal popularity within the Labor Party and in the country as a whole -- agreed with Labor's policy that the eviction of the PLO and the Syrians from Beirut and Lebanon and the establishment of a stable government was not worth the life of even one Israeli soldier, yet he was in favor of tightening the blockade of Beirut by depriving the population of water and electricity for as long as it took for the PLO and the Syrians to leave the Lebanese capital.

Mr. Begin continued to berate Labor without let-up for having broken the national consensus and for having in fact opposed "the most glorious war in Israel's history." He continued to brush the entire Labor Movement with the tar of the more extreme anti-war views of the left wing. Mr. Peres' protestations were to no avail. Mr. Begin was on to a good thing, and here we have the sum total of Labor's tragic situation in Israel today.

In Israeli society today there are no votes in moderation. Labor cannot outflank the Likud by being more extreme, since that is against its ideological convictions. Mr. Begin constantly exploits Labor's relative moderation in his own demagogic manner. The result is that Labor's popularity decreases further and further in the public opinion polls, and so does that of Mr. Peres.

At this point, public opinion polls showed that if there were to have been an election immediately after the Lebanese war, Mr. Begin would, for the first time in the parliamentary history of this country, have achieved an absolute majority of 61 seats out of 120, and Labor would be down from the present 50 to 38 at the utmost. Mr. Rabin remained the second most popular candidate for the Prime Ministership after Mr. Begin.

Then came the new Reagan plan, and the same picture repeated itself: the government blasted the Reagan plan and American policies in ever-increasing intemperate and extreme language (most of which has not been textually reported abroad); at the same time, anyone who dissented was accused of being unpatriotic and aiding the policies of Israel's opponents. But Labor likes the Reagan plan. It finds in it an altogether surprising acceptance of its own thesis that the Palestinian problem and the future of the West Bank can only be solved by a compromise agreement in which parts of the West Bank are to be returned to Jordan, and the national identity of the Palestinians finds its solution within a Jordanian-West Bank association. This has been Labor's platform since 1967. Labor is pleased by the fact that the world's major power and Israel's greatest friend now supports a policy which Labor had been advocating in isolation and which had been derided by the Likud as being both unpatriotic and utterly unrealistic, since Jordan would never agree to negotiate on this basis. Now it appears that the U. S. had secured from Jordan a readiness to negotiate in principle.

But in electoral terms and in terms of Israeli public opinion, the Labor position was again a suicidal one. Foreign Minister Shamir berated Labor for adopting an attitude of supporting the policy of "a foreign power" ("Goyim" is what he really means) against Israel's own national government.

Once more Mr. Rabin was to a significant extent closer to the government line, thus evading charges of lack of patriotism: at a press conference in the United States he declared, as did the Government of Israel, that the United States was entirely wrong in putting forward a position of her own, and that she has now forfeited the role of honest broker and mediator between the parties. The Labor leadership realized that this was at sharp variance with the line that it had crystallized in Israel. So one of Mr. Rabin's personal friends and supporters in the Labor leadership prevailed upon to telephone him in the United States to get him to make an additional statement which would be closer to the official Labor party line. And Mr. Rabin did so, adding like Labor in Israel, that the Reagan plan's support for Jordan's association with the future of the West Bank was fully in line with what Labor had advocated since 1967 and with the policy that he himself had pursued when he was Prime Minister.

So, once again, we are faced with the spectacle of the Labor party weakened electorally as a result of policies that it holds with full convictions and which are more moderate than those of the government, and weakened internally as the strength of its leader, Mr. Peres, is gradually further undermined, with Mr. Rabin on the constant ascendancy.

Mr. Begin's proposal for advancing national elections from June 1985 to June 1983 created a grave dilemma for Labor, since the earlier the election, the worse the prospects for Labor. On the other hand, in the democratic world a parliamentary opposition is always supposed to be anxious to seize a chance of early elections and make a renewed attempt to unseat the government of the day. It would be unseemingly for Labor to appear frightened of the electoral result, and therefore eager to postpone the evil day as long as possible.

The situation in the Knesset is that if Labor were to respond to Mr. Begin's invitation to join the Likud in a motion to dissolve the present parliament and hold early elections, then the two major parties would have an easy majority. This was Mr. Begin's challenge. Labor took a more prudent course: knowing full well that Mr. Begin's opposition partners were all opposed to early elections because of their own reading of their electoral chances, and assuming that Mr. Begin would not wish to force an early election upon his coalition partners against their will, Labor adopted the tactic of saying that it was prepared to face the nation at any time, but would respond to the Begin challenge only if it were officially and formally made. In other words, if Mr. Begin would have his way and come to Labor and propose early elections in June 1983, Labor would not say no. Labor, as we have just said, knew fairly well that this would not come to pass.

Indeed, at the present time and in the foreseeable future Labor's electoral chances are bleak. Like any party in that situation it wishes to postpone elections in the hope that "something positive will turn up."

Shimon Peres' personal position approaches a tragedy: the chances of him ever becoming Prime Minister of this country are fast slipping away. If a leadership conference were to be held in the Labor Party in the near future, it is almost certain that many of his erstwhile supporters would abandon him for the sake of Yitzhak Rabin, not so much because of political convictions but because the realization is growing within the Labor Movement that its chances would be enhanced if Rabin, rather than Peres, led the party into an election against Begin.

However, the tragedy of the Labor Movement at the present time goes much deeper than that: First, there are no votes in moderation in this country, and Labor will always be more moderate than the Likud. Second, there has been no

change since the 1981 election in the trend of the second-generation immigrants from the Moslem countries having abandoned Labor by the hundreds of thousands.

Mr. Begin feeds and is fed by the strident, militant mood of the country. Moderate Labor is to some extent a helpless bystander. The word "helpless" is not, of course, true in the literal sense. There are still hundreds of thousands of Labor voters in this country, but their number is gradually dwindling and the camp of "Begin, the King of Israel" is constantly increasing.





REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

Max Losenbaum

BOOK REVIEW

MOSHE NEGBI: "JUSTICE UNDER OCCUPATION"

The Israeli Supreme Court versus the Military Administration in the Occupied Territories

This book, published towards the end of 1981 in Jerusalem, is important reading for anyone interested in the legal and human rights situations in the areas administered by Israel since 1967. The importance of the book is enhanced by the prospect that the present form of military government in the West Bank and Gaza is unlikely to change in the near future, and that, unfortunately, further physical and legal clashes between the inhabitants of these areas and the military administration are likely to occur.

Mr. Negbi is a Jerusalem attorney who holds a Master of Arts degree in Jurisprudence from the Hebrew University. He has taught courses in Administrative Law and on the Jurisprudence of the Israeli Supreme Court at the Hebrew University; he has published research papers on security and defense constraints on the freedom of the press in Israel. Since 1969, Mr. Negbi has served as a news editor and as the Legal Commentator at the Israel Radio.

The main purpose of the book is to examine in detail the effect of the intervention of the Israeli Supreme Court, in its capacity of a High Court of Justice, in the military administration of the administered territories, through the acceptance and the pronouncement of judgements upon petitions from residents of these areas against the military government.

The Supreme Court of Israel, in addition to its function as a Court of Appeal in criminal and civil cases from judgments of the District Courts, also sits as a High Court of Justice. Section 7 (a) of the Courts Law of 1957 reads: "The Supreme Court sitting as a High Court of Justice shall deal with matters in which it deems it necessary to grant relief in the interest of justice and which are not within the jurisdiction of any other court or tribunal." The High Court differs from other courts in Israel in that its jurisdiction is primarily directed to litigation between the individual and the government. Its particular function is to safeguard the pre-eminence of the rule of law by judicial review of the actions of public authorities, insuring that the

latter carry out their functions properly, neither exceeding nor misapplying powers.

Mr. Negbi gives great, and well-deserved, credit to successive Governments of Israel since 1967 for accepting High Court intervention in the administered territories. This credit is particularly well deserved for the following reasons: (1) There is not a single precedent in the history of conquered areas where the inhabitants have recourse to courts of the conquering country. No international convention, no international body, nor any other government, made it mandatory for Israel to accept this situation. It was a decision arrived at by the free will of the Israeli Government after 1967, and maintained by the present government.

(2) This attitude has been all the more laudable due to the fact that the Israeli High Court of Justice never determined whether indeed it had the legal authority to accept petitions from inhabitants of the administered areas and to pronounce judgment on them. In fact, at least one Judge of the High Court is of the opinion that such legal authority was in fact non-existent. Nevertheless, the High Court, basing itself on the fact that the Government of Israel accepted the intervention of the court in the administration of the territories, refrained from ever finally ruling on the question of its authority. Had successive Israeli governments challenged the court's authority in this area, the court might have been forced to rule that it had no authority to accept petitions from inhabitants of the administered areas.

(3) When, after the conquest of the administered areas in 1967, Israel accepted the High Court's intervention, it must have known full well that this would make the life of the military administration much more difficult, and would probably impose serious constraints on various administrative and political policies of the military government. This is indeed what happened. Mr. Negbi describes the various attempts by successive governments to find ways and means of avoiding or circumventing the constraints imposed by the possibility that the High Court might interfere with certain measures as a result of petitions submitted by inhabitants. Nevertheless, Mr. Negbi stresses, there has been no formal move to change the situation. During the term of office of the first Begin government, Ariel Sharon, who in his capacity as Minister of Agriculture was in charge of the rapid settlement program on the West Bank, and Gush Emunim settlers on the West Bank who had lost cases before the High Court, did in fact press for a basic change in the legal situation. More than that, various options for doing so were considered by the Attorney General. However, no formal moves were made in the Knesset, due to the fear that a majority would not be obtained for changing the juridical situation that had existed since 1967.

Mr. Negbi gives full credit to the man who singlehandedly created this situation in 1967: Justice Meir Shamgar, now a Judge on the

Supreme Court, and at that time Attorney General of the Israel Defense Forces and Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Defense. The combination of his strong and authoritative personality with his generally acknowledged juridical expertise, particularly in the laws of war, put him in the position of being the final authority in Israel regarding the status and authority of the military government in the administered areas. When the first petition was submitted to the High Court, Mr. Shamgar decided that the military administration would not challenge the authority of the court to deal with it, and there was nobody who dared to object. In 1968, Mr. Shamgar was appointed Attorney General and Legal Advisor, and in his new capacity he was able to enshrine the de facto situation in a formal document, thus establishing government policy on this matter. Mr. Shamgar has since explained that he was fully aware of the dubious juridical basis for High Court intervention, as well as the likelihood that such intervention would on occasion obstruct government policies. To him this was a matter of conscience. He felt that if the inhabitants of these areas had no recourse to any court of law, the military administration would be able to operate in an unbridled manner, free of any supervisory legal authority. He thought that such a situation would be contrary to the principles of human rights which should apply to inhabitants of conquered areas just as to citizens or inhabitants of any other area.

Thus, through the supervisory functions performed by the Israeli High Court of Justice, the purpose of which was to insure the maintenance of the rule of law as laid down by international law and by the liberal norms of the Israeli legal system, the inhabitants of those areas benefit from a juridical situation unparalleled in conquered areas anywhere in the world at any time in history.

Mr. Negbi traces in detail every major case that the High Court dealt with, in various categories: (1) land problems: the expropriation of land for new settlements; the seizure of land by Gush Emunim settlers; the requisition of land for public or military purposes, etc.; (2) cases of the expulsion of anti-Israeli agitators from Israel and the administered areas; (3) government policy with regard to various economic enterprises on the West Bank and the censorship of newspapers and books, etc. Mr. Negbi then describes the various ways and means adopted by the military government to prevent or circumvent the interference of the High Court by using various legal loopholes in order to fulfill their aims.

Mr. Negbi then concludes:

Successive Israeli Governments certainly paid a price for this situation, and, nevertheless, allowed it to continue. Expulsion orders against agitators were rescinded or postponed as a result of High Court intervention; Gush Emunim and even government-sponsored settlements on the West Bank were evacuated, and plans for settlements were not carried out.

The local population certainly benefitted. The High Court interventions did not, of course, reduce the political hostility to Israeli rule, no more than their economic progress with Israeli financial aid reduced that hostility. Perhaps, one should not expect this to occur, since it is a given anywhere in the world that strong nationalist sentiment overrides considerations of law or even of economic gain. One may say that this legal situation mitigated to some degree the local population's feeling of total lack of freedom.

As for the military administration, the High Court did not completely exorcise willfulness or rough suppression, both of which are built into any military rule. Often, the Court was unable to help, but possible excesses were certainly prevented in quite a few cases. As for the Court itself, there is no doubt in Mr. Negbi's mind that its work with regard to the administered areas substantially increased its stature as a fair-minded Israeli institution both inside the old Israel of the pre-1967 period and in the administered areas.

Now as to the final conclusion from the point of view of the Israel government: We have already mentioned that the military administration paid a price. However, long-term and more basic objectives of the Government and the military administration were not seriously affected. The growing de facto annexation of the West Bank proceeded apace and was not in any substantial way hindered by interventions of the High Court. On the other hand, the Government of Israel was and is able to maintain that a restraint on its military administration in the administered areas through law, by means of the High Court, is consonant with the constitutional and legal principles of any civilized and democratic state.

It is no accident that the PLO keeps urging the inhabitants of these areas not to submit petitions to the Israeli High Court.

The situation thus represents a moral principle. Inasmuch as morality is one of the essential components of Zionism and of the Israeli endeavor, the legal situation is a strong moral weapon for the Israeli Government and the Israeli citizenry.

For anybody who may be interested in delving more deeply into the subject of Mr. Negbi's book, the following reading material is recommended: the booklet issued by the Israel National Section of the International Commission of Jurists, issued in 1981, entitled "The Rule of Law in the Areas Administered by Israel;" another relevant piece of reading is the article by Mr. Ian Lustick in the Autumn 1981 edition of the Middle East Journal, entitled "Israel and the West Bank After Elon Moreh: The Mechanics of de facto Annexation."

May 17, 1982



REPORT

Marc Zambbaum

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee
Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

The Second Exodus

(Press Summary - December 25, 1983)

The evacuation of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and thousands of his loyalists from Tripoli, Lebanon, last week, was met with mixed emotions in Israel. Only a year ago, Mr. Arafat and his armed followers were forced to leave Beirut under Israeli guns. This time, his departure from Tripoli was hampered by those same guns. Now, observers are wondering if this second exodus from Lebanon is a watershed in the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel.

The Israeli establishment was troubled this past weekend by the meeting between Mr. Arafat and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak that followed the PLO departure from Tripoli. Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir described that meeting as a blow to peace and other government sources expressed the fear that events could lead to a revival of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's peace initiative in the Middle East that would put Israel on a collision course with the U.S. Administration.

Many Israelis, however, had been bewildered by what appeared to be their government's indecisive action against the PLO in Tripoli. If anything, it should be recalled that Mr. Arafat's evacuation of Tripoli was caused by Syrian-supported rebels within the PLO, who had almost literally pushed him and his men into the sea. In fact, Israeli war ships had apparently been attempting to keep Mr. Arafat and his opponents at each other's throats, where they would be too occupied to engage in terrorist activities against Israeli targets. The Israeli naval bombardment of the PLO in Tripoli was an Israeli signal that was meant to persuade Mr. Arafat

that he and his men could not escape by sea. Nevertheless, the Israeli tactic did not succeed and the naval blockade of Tripoli became an empty gesture when Mr. Arafat was escorted out of Tripoli by a French naval armada.

One member of the Israeli cabinet, former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, had demanded that Mr. Arafat not be allowed to leave Tripoli alive. Mr. Sharon's successor, Professor Moshe Arens, did not agree. In an interview with Eitan Haber, the military correspondent of Yediot Achronot, Professor Arens claimed that Israel could have prevented Mr. Arafat's departure from Tripoli or, alternatively, either captured or killed him, but that "we are not head-hunters," he said. The reason, however, that Israel did not act to hamper the evacuation, he added, was due to the intervention of friendly powers. "Every sane Israeli will say that we should strike; that we should have objected (to the evacuation, but) should not enter into confrontation with friendly ships."

The friendly powers that Professor Arens mentioned, included the United States, according to Ha'aretz, in an editorial following Mr. Arafat's departure from Tripoli and his meeting with President Mubarak in Egypt. In the lead, entitled "Why did the U.S. Save Arafat?" the newspaper attempts to answer that question. "Whoever wondered and could not understand why the U.S. worked to save Arafat from the Tripoli trap, can find one of the explanations in the meeting between Arafat and the Egyptian President. It was necessary to save Arafat and his men from the (naval)blockade in order to pave the way for burying the war hatchet between Arafat and Egypt -- as a pre-condition to reviving the Reagan plan."

Nevertheless, the Ha'aretz editorial is skeptic. It warns that the U.S. calculations may prove to be wrong in the long run. Accordingly, Mr. Arafat must now try harder to prove to his opponents in the PLO that he has not abandoned the armed struggle. "Washington assumed that Arafat would now be free of the pressures of the objecting organizations in the PLO...The American leadership that bothered to watch over Arafat as a helping tool to realize the Reagan plan, may be disappointed once again."

The editorial in Davar, published by the Opposition Labor Party, is far more optimistic than the independent Ha'aretz. Davar views the meeting of Mr. Arafat and President Mubarak as justifying the U.S. action that led to the evacuation of Tripoli. The editorial writer notes that if the meeting between the head of the largest Arab country and the PLO chieftan leads to dialogues between Mr. Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein, then "the U.S. should be congratulated" for its efforts.

But Davar is not optimistic that King Hussein is about to join the peace process. "Without the approval of the Arab League to nullify the Rabat resolution, and without any sign from Israel that there is something to discuss, the dangers to Hussein from such a step are greater than the success."

For the most part, however, the Israeli press expressed concern over the way that the government has dealt with the entire Tripoli incident. Motti Basok, writing in Al Hamishmar, published by the Opposition Mapam Party, claimed that 18 out of the 20 cabinet members had to depend on press reports to know what the government was intending to do about Yasser Arafat and the PLO in Tripoli. "While the IDF was shelling Tripoli, France, Greece and Egypt were anxious to know what Israel was planning. The Prime Minister and the Defense Minister also kept us in the dark...the U.S. was pushing...Ambassador Lewis was absent from Israel, (so that) his deputy did (the pushing)...the pressure became more and more aggressive. The U.S. explained that it was interested for humanitarian and political reasons to evacuate the terrorists. The U.S. claimed that if Arafat and his men remain in Tripoli, the renewal of the war would cause further destruction in the city as well as the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians. The U.S. also claimed that the departure of the terrorists from Lebanon was a common interest of (the U.S.), Israel and Lebanon..."

Basok writes that Prime Minister Shamir acted alone when he told the Number Two man in the American Embassy in Israel that Israel would agree to the evacuation of the PLO from Tripoli.

"The Prime Minister did not bother, at this stage, to bring (Defense Minister) Arens up to date on the newest developments. When the latter found out, after reviewing documents in the Prime Minister's office, he was boiling with rage. But, in his usual manner, Arens quietly accepted, without remonstrance, the Prime Minister's authority. (And) the Chief of Staff and the IDF changed their plans." After nearly ten days of consecutive shelling, the Israeli naval force moved south to allow the Greek liners to enter the port of Tripoli.

Hirsh Goodman, the military correspondent of the Jerusalem Post, claims that "what Arens and the Prime Minister were apparently trying to avoid was the escape of Arafat (from Tripoli) without his being forced to make at least a minimal commitment that he would abandon his terrorist activities against Israel...The idea behind the blockade and the sporadic shelling...was to make Arafat ...pay something for his escape..."

Goodman explains that Professor Arens had been playing his cards very close to the chest, leaving "the UN, the Greeks and the French apprehensive, while at the same time pulverizing Arafat's last positions with increasing intensity..." , but what the Defense Minister did not take into account was how much the U.S. wanted Arafat out of Tripoli. "Shamir gave the guarantee without Aren's approval, leaving the Defense Minister pursuing a policy of brinkmanship off Tripoli..."

Now that Mr. Arafat and his 4,000 men have left Lebanon, Arel Ginai, writing in Yediot Achronot, examines the consequences of "Lebanon without Arafat and Arafat without Lebanon." Things will never be the same again for either, he suggests, although the greatest change will be felt in the PLO ranks. "But regretfully, (the departure) does not solve the many problems of Lebanon; not even the Palestinian problem: thousands of armed Palestinians, members of the El Zaika, the Palestinian Liberation Army, Fatah rebels led by Abu Musa (and) members of Achmed Jibril's organization...all remain in Lebanon. And there are also more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees, a population whose demographic

weight influences the fragile balance between the (various) Lebanese communities. And among this large Palestinian population are many potential terrorists."

Arel predicts that the remaining terrorists in Lebanon, who are supported by the Syrians, will do more than before to prove that they can do a better job than Arafat. They can be expected to step up the terror campaign against the IDF. The result, he adds, is that Israel will not remain passive and could carry the fight back into the terrorist strongholds in the shadow of the Syrian army. As such, there is now greater possibility of confrontation between Israel and Syria.

On the other hand, Arel sees no reason for U.S. optimism, now that Mr. Arafat was aided in his departure from Tripoli. Accordingly, the PLO Chairman cannot maintain his leadership without the support of George Habash and Naif Hawatma, leaders of the two strongest factions in the PLO that are not under Syrian influence. These two are not enamored by the idea of a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They reject the idea of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation. Consequently, there is hardly any future for the Reagan Peace Plan in these circumstances. What is certain, Arel concludes, is that "with Arafat or without him, the Palestinian problem will not disappear."

#

DRAFT STATEMENT ON LEBANON

Both as Americans and as Jews, the American Jewish Committee shares the deep concern of the American people and government over the continued conflict in the Lebanon. The daily loss of lives and the wounding of innocent people is a tragedy which the international community should not be allowed to continue to respond to with such complacency.

The mounting efforts of the Druse, leftist Palestinians, and Shiite Moslems, backed by the military and political support of Syria and the Soviet Union, to undermine the present government of Lebanon constitutes a clear and present danger to the possibilities of creating a unified, independent, pluralist Lebanese state.

Western democracies, in particular the United States as the standard bearer of constitutional democracy in the world, have a profound stake in helping assure that anti-democratic forces do not succeed in overwhelming the present Lebanese government and replacing it with a pro-Soviet, pro-PLO regime.

The American Jewish Committee believes that the overwhelming majority of the American people will understand how vital a stable, democratic Lebanon is to the American national interest and to peace in the Middle East, provided that the Administration of President Reagan undertakes to make that case effectively. During the recent brutal shooting down by the Soviet Union of the Korean airplane and its innocent civilian victims, President Reagan and his administration demonstrated their impressive capacity to create such a deepened understanding of the moral and strategic issues at stake. As a result of such effective interpretation, numerous nations responded with appropriate outrage and ~~xxx~~ with effective practical actions.

The American Jewish Committee believes that it is essential that the American people and the international community come to a similar enlarged understanding of the full meaning of what is at stake in the present Lebanese conflict for the future of establishing a pluralist democracy in that country, and of its critical role, side by side with Israel, in preventing the further expansion of Soviet ~~pa~~ penetration and hegemony in the Middle East. Such deepened comprehension of the vital American and Western democratic interests that are involved provide the essential basis for mobilizing American public opinion, political support, and appropriate military responses.

Therefore, the American Jewish Committee urged President Reagan and his administration to undertake during the coming weeks such a major education and interpretive program of the vital American interest in helping strengthen ^{the} Lebanese government in the defense of its sovereignty based on national ~~reconciliation~~ reconciliation and on peace with Israel.

We also urge our government to pursue its diplomatic efforts to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon, ~~xxx~~ particularly those of Syria, the PLO, Libya, and Iran, in addition to those of Israel which have already initiated withdrawal moves.

Until these withdrawals by all foreign forces take place and internal conflict is overcome, we believe that international peace requires the strengthening of the multinational forces, including the American military presence, as a significant deterrent against all disruptive forces from outside Lebanon.

NEWS FROM

NCCJ

Telephone (212) 688-7530

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

43 WEST 57th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

HARRY A. ROBINSON
Vice President and
Director of Public Relations

FOR USE AT ONCE

NCCJ PRESIDENT SUPPORTS ISRAEL'S
LEBANESE ACTIONS; CALLS ON PLO
TO RENOUNCE ITS PLEDGE TO DESTROY ISRAEL

NEW YORK, June 23--Regarding Israel's military incursion into Lebanon, the President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews has denounced any calls for rebukes against Israel and called on the Palestinian Liberation Organization to renounce its pledge to destroy Israel as a first step to finding a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In a strong statement of support of Israel's action released from his headquarters here, Dr. David Hyatt, reminded everyone that "the issue still remains Israel's right to exist."

The NCCJ leader, a Roman Catholic, said that he was "concerned about the survival of my Jewish brothers and sisters in Israel, and I am appalled that some of my fellow Christians are now attacking Israel for its Lebanese incursion."

Dr. Hyatt said that he had spoken out against the terrorist acts of the PLO in the past and that "no other country has moved to help Israel stop PLO terrorism."

(more)

"Israel has no guarantees from the United States nor the United Nation for its future security," Hyatt said. "Neither our Government nor any other has yet suggested any credible means of guaranteeing Israel the necessary safeguards for real peace," he declared.

He cited the PLO's "avowed aim" to destroy Israel and noted the shelling of Israeli villages from Lebanon and the constant world wide threats to Israeli diplomats and their families.

"Against these forces is there any wonder that for its self-protection Israel invaded Lebanon?" he asked. "The lessons were clear."

In pointing out that following expulsion from Jordan, the PLO has fomented civil war in Lebanon and effected a PLO-Syrian takeover, Hyatt hoped that as a result of the invasion "the Lebanese can reorganize their citizenry and regain control of their country."

"We all find it painful to see civilians made homeless by bombings and surely it is a sad Israeli victory in this angry war," Hyatt continued.

"But where does it all end? The Palestinians are not going away even if the PLO no longer exists, and Israel will continue to fight for its survival," he said.

"The time has come to find an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As a first step, if the PLO hopes to continue as a credible political entity, it must, through its Palestine National Council, renounce its pledge to destroy Israel and seek peace through constructive dialogue.

"We pray that Israel's gallant efforts in quarantining world terrorism will be recognized by all who value democracy and freedom; and that reason, common sense and pragmatism will combine to forge a peaceful solution to the overall problem," Hyatt concluded.

(more)

The complete text follows:

As President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, I often have spoken out against the terrorist activities committed by the Palestine Liberation Organization on innocent Israeli men, women and children.

Moreover, as a Catholic concerned about the survival of my Jewish brothers and sisters in Israel and the preservation of human rights in the Middle East, I am appalled that some of my fellow Christians are now attacking Israel for its incursion into Lebanon.

I have emphasized the heinous acts of the PLO and stressed that the issue still remains Israel's right to exist.

The PLO was driven from Jordan by King Hussein after its members attempted to assassinate him and destroy his Government. They then retreated to Lebanon and have succeeded in turning that country into a battleground between Moslems and Christians and in essence effecting a PLO-Syrian takeover.

No other country has moved to help Israel to stop PLO terrorism - not the U.S., not a single one of the European NATO powers, not the U.N. - and certainly not the Soviet Union which arms the PLO.

Israel has no guarantees from the United States nor the United Nation for its future security. Neither our Government nor any other has yet suggested any credible means of guaranteeing Israel the necessary safeguards for real peace.

How long was Israel expected to sit quietly by while her citizens were felled by the PLO - a force which denies Israel's right to exist and whose avowed aim is its total destruction.

Israelis on their kibbutzim, in their moshavs and in their cities and villages were the targets of PLO shelling from Lebanon night after night in recent weeks while at the same time, outside their boundaries, one Israeli ambassador was gunned down by a PLO assassin and all Israeli diplomats and their families serving abroad were and still are under the constant threats of bombing, kidnapping, and murder at the hands of the PLO.

Against these forces, is there any wonder that for its self protection Israel invaded Lebanon? The lessons were clear.

Israel's defeat of the PLO is a major blow to international terrorism. The PLO has been a primary instrument of the Soviet Union for the training and arming of its subversive world-wide terrorist network. Israel's defeat of the PLO will free many moderate West Bank Arabs to speak out in behalf of a negotiated Arab-Israeli peace that acknowledges Israel's right to exist without fear of PLO retribution. In the past the PLO has successfully silenced all Palestinian and Arab moderates by intimidation and murder.

(more)

Hopefully Israel's defeat of the PLO will now permit the Lebanese to reorganize their citizenry and regain control of their country.

We all find it painful to see civilians made homeless by bombings and surely it is a sad Israeli victory in this angry war.

But where does it all end? The Palestians are not going away even if the PLO no longer exists, and Israel will continue to fight for its survival.

The time has come to find an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As a first step, if the PLO hopes to continue as a credible political entity, it must, through its Palestine National Council renounce its pledge to destroy Israel and seek peace through constructive dialogue.

We pray that Israel's gallant efforts in quarantining world terrorism will be recognized by all who value democracy and freedom; and that reason, common sense and pragmatism will combine to forge a peaceful solution to the overall problem.



WE SPEAK AS CHRISTIANS WHO SHARE A COMMON CONCERN FOR ISRAEL in spite of many theological and political differences. OUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL is part of a commitment to peace and justice for all people in the Middle East.

We believe that it is the basic right and duty of every government to ensure the safety and security of its citizens. Hence we hold that the Israeli action against the heavily armed PLO and Syrian forces in Lebanon was a justified response of a sovereign state to repeated provocations and attacks against the civilian population of the Galilee.

We protest the widespread use of references to Hitler, genocide and the holocaust in reports on the events in Lebanon. We believe that resort to such language has its source in a well orchestrated campaign by people who not only oppose Israeli policies but seek to slander the Jewish people as a whole.

While we as Christians deeply lament all victims of this military action, and particularly the loss of life among civilians, we also note the growing number of independent reports from the scene confirming the Israeli claims that the original casualty figures were highly exaggerated and we regret that this technique of the "big lie" had such a strong impact on the coverage of the Lebanon situation in the media.

We are encouraged by the voices that are coming from the Lebanese people themselves, telling the world about the true nature of the PLO and Syrian presence and about their own aspirations for a new Lebanon. We hope and pray that the Lebanese people will grasp the historic opportunity to re-establish a strong government authority with representation from all the people and serving the welfare of all the people.

We urge our own government to continue to work in close cooperation with Israel, our most dependable ally in the Middle East, in exploring the possibilities of reconstituting a free and sovereign Lebanon as well as new opportunities that now exist for negotiations with Arab states and Palestinian Arabs for a comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East.

* Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

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The American Jewish Committee



European Office 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

April 16, 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: Foreign Affairs Department
From: Nives Fox
Subj: Lebanon

Life continues "normally" in ever-astounding Lebanon: that is to say, in the manner people have come to accept as normal after the extended warfare of 1975 and the subsequent Syrian occupation. There is relative calm, occasional shooting, vendettas, and bombings are just part of the usual scene. It is "normal" to have the country torn by internal factions, its own government powerless, with Palestinians and Syrians each both manning their separate armies and exercising authority. Within this context, however, there is a kind of stability. Three new banks have recently been opened, trade is brisk, people are busily working, and reasonably satisfied.

Of course, it is also normal routine to turn the radio on before leaving one's house and listen to the news, lest a square or street one is going through, or to be the site of trouble, so that one can re-route one's destination accordingly. Sometimes a meeting or a chore must be postponed for another day....

Though the major party of the Jewish population in Lebanon departed years ago, the 600-700 who remained do not diminish in number. They too work unmolested and even continue to prosper. One can count some 140 families plus the single businessmen on extended stays whose families live abroad.

Though Jews live like all other Lebanese, subject to identical dangers and advantages, they still are more vulnerable and must take additional precautions others need not. What for others would be a simple altercation can lead, for the Jew, to serious difficulties. This is compensated by the fact that, as a group, Jews still are more privileged than either Christians or Moslems, provided they mind their own business and stay out of politics --

No other group can claim, as the Jews can, that it can count on the cooperation and help of both the official government, the Syrians and the Palestinians, in case of mishap.

There were a few incidents in recent months:

-- A couple was picked up and held in a Palestinian camp for a week of questioning because they had been denounced as spies. They were not; but had incurred strong displeasure by standing firm in bargaining for the sale of some property. The charge of spying stuck for so long because it became evident that the couple had visited Israel. (Weddings, bar mitzvahs, family visits make for frequent trips by Lebanese Jews to Israel. These are usually taken via Cyprus, as a precaution, but the detour is not foolproof, for Jews are few enough to be fairly known by now, easily recognized in Cyprus, and their destination or return quite obvious.)

Community leaders convinced the captors of the couple's innocence. They were released without ransom or other conditions being imposed, through direct Syrian intervention and then Palestinian cooperation. During his detention, the man was asked to write down places visited in the past five years. He listed Israel as one, explaining that he was visiting his dying father and adding a note, "Would you, as sons of a dying father, not have done the same?" His wife, who scolded and threatened her jailers, fared less well. She was beaten and suffered mental anguish when they told her "We'll let you see your husband when we shoot him for being a spy." Both were holders of Canadian passports, and were shaken enough by the event to sell their properties and leave definitively, for Canada.

It should be noted that though the Lebanese authorities and the Canadian consulate were asked and tried to help, it was only when the Jewish community got busy with the Syrians that positive results were achieved. Later, as news of the couple's departure became known, community leaders were given to understand that, really, it was too bad, the couple need not have become so alarmed.

-- A synagogue out of use for some time (only the large synagogue in Beirut is functioning) was broken into during a wave of shelter-seeking refugees from the south. (This happens every time Israel bombs southern Lebanon). Even before action could be taken, the Palestinians cleared out the synagogue, replaced the broken lock, reinforced the doors with an iron bar and handed the keys to the community, with apologies, and a request that it should feel free to address them for aid if such problems ever came up again.

-- A businessman by the name of Israel, driving to Tripoli with a Moslem associate who had invited him to visit there, was arrested during a routine roadblock. The guards at first were satisfied with a cursory look at his passport cover. But

Mr. Israel's identity card fell from his passport as he was pocketing it. This was examined carefully, and the name Israel was enough for arrest. The word "Israelite" has been a source of great confusion for most Syrian soldiers since the occupation of Lebanon. Years ago, Syrian authorities issued a circular explaining that when this was marked as a name or religion on identity cards it meant simply that the person was Jewish and had no connection with the State of Israel. Community leaders distributed photocopies of this circular to the Jews in Lebanon, urging that it be carried at all times along with the rest of the documents. Mr. Israel, unfortunately, did not have it when he was arrested; and so was held on suspicion of spying. For over a week his Moslem friends in Tripoli tried to do everything possible to free him. In desperation, they finally contacted the Jewish community in Beirut. Of course, the matter was rapidly clarified and Mr. Israel promptly released. "Had the Moslem associate contacted us immediately," said our friend from Lebanon, "he could have saved Mr. Israel and himself a week of great worry."

The community is more than glad to have managed to steer its affairs in such a way as to limit these types of incidents and, in need, to have the cooperation of all the groups in authority. The succession of the above-described episodes, however, albeit resolved, did not help their sense of security. After the release of the couple a meeting was called at which all were strongly urged to avoid problems and refrain from trips to Israel. But less than two weeks later, another family took the Cyprus-Israel route to celebrate a bar mitzvah.

Jews in Lebanon all hold valid passports with visas to somewhere 'outside,' just in case; and get regular reminders to keep this safety measure up-to-date. As in the past, there are no problems about acquiring visas, and the U. S. and other foreign governments cooperate fully.

The weekly visits of a *schohet* (the same person) from Damascus continue smoothly, the slaughtering still being done in Bhamdoun, where there are a few Jewish families. The meat is then delivered to those in Beirut from this little hill town near the city.

The community is a bit worried about funds, and claims that its once-prosperous coffers are now being depleted. The property it owns brings no income from rentals, and hasn't for years, for it was damaged during the 1975 fighting and subsequent upheavals. There is not enough money available for the costly repairs needed. There are some 15 families in need of aid, and this is given. But the bottom of the barrel is showing, they say, and they have only some \$45,000 in reserve, which they calculate will last less than a year. The situation probably is not tragic, since by and large Jews living in Lebanon are far from welfare cases, and should have little trouble taking care of basic needs.

The community is making arrangements for Passover matzot and

and wine supplies directly this year. Until now, this was supplied by the JDC. Last year, JDC agreed to send matzot, but not wine, provided shipping costs were covered. Given such provisos, the Council (12 members) -- established over a year ago and meeting regularly -- decided to handle its needs independently.

Certainly one cannot speak of an influx of Jews in Lebanon, but there is still the occasional addition. A Lebanese Jew who had settled in Milan decided to return some six months ago, for he was not doing well in Italy. He is again prospering in his native Lebanon.

And there are still left in Beirut two Jewish banks, from old times.



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