



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

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Again Lebanon, 1985.



Again Lebanon  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
March 31, 1985

The Lebanon has never been a strong nation-state. There's something about the geography of the area, the peoples of the area, which have made it an unsettled bit of real estate on the face of our globe. Whenever those who draw lines have tried to create a country, whenever those who organize structures, political structures, have tried to create a coherent and stable community, the Lebanon has fallen apart into internicing quarrels and so it has been since the dawn of history.

The Lebanon takes its name from the mountains which rise precipitously off a very shallow coastal plain. In Hebrew the word for white is lavon; the word Lebanon means simply the white mountains. And in most of the area which runs from Tyre and Sidan up to Tripoli, the coastal plain may be only a mile or two wide, and then the mountains, four to five thousand feet high, rise quickly and fall off into steep narrow valleys which rise again to the anti-Lebanons until you drop off into the plain which is the nation which we call Syria. There is not a great deal of farm land so the country has often been poor and has always needed to depend upon trade and commerce for its wealth. And because of the difficulty of transportation, of movement, there's been a degree of seclusion between the various communities in the Lebanon, not only in the cities which surround the various harbors in the eastern Mediterranean but also the hilltop villages which have been established in the deep forests behind the narrow defiles of the mountains.

The earliest people we know of in the Lebanon are the Canaanites. Interestingly, the word Canaan which appears in our Bible so frequently as describing the people who were indigenous to Palestire at the time of the conquest by the Israelites, our ancestors, appears very rarely in first millenium documents. They are the Phoenecians, as the settlers of the Lebanon were then called our Canaanites, the direct descendants of those whom the Israelites fought with and ultimately took the land from, the land which we call Judea and Israel.



The word Canaan, etymologists tell us, refers ultimately to a dark blue or dark purple dye which was distilled from certain kinds of water creatures which could be found in that part of the world. And the word Phoenician is simply the Greek equivalent of this dark purple dye of the word almost Canaan. And when the Israelites came in from the east, from across the Jordan, and began to move the Canaanites out of the city-state it had established in Israel; and about the same time the Philistines sea peoples came from Cyprus and Crete and moved the Canaanites off of the coastal plain of the south. The Canaanites migrated, such as survived, to the cities of Sidon and Tyre and Arvad and Biblus and established there strong city-states. They turned their backs to the land and they turned their interests to the sea and they became the great seafarers and merchants of the first millenium. They controlled Mediterranean traffic. Their ships took the tin and the copper and the beaten metalware and the textiles and the dyes of the Middle East across the Mediterranean to North Africa to Spain. Phoenician colonies were established all along the Mediterranean coast and even on the Atlantic coast of Spain and of Morocco. Carthage was a Phoenician town. The Punic kingdoms of Carthage were simply the Latin form of the word Phoenician, the Phoenician country, and so they played a great role in the history of the world, these small harbor city-states during the first millenium. But even at the height of their material culture, they were not able to establish any kind of true political coherence. They shared a language. They shared a culture. They shared general religious points of view, but, like Corinth and Athens and Sparta in Greece, and much later like Ferrara and Mantua and Florence in renaissance Italy, these were city-states, sharing a culture, sharing a language, but who fought constantly with each other for supremacy, for trade routes, for colonies and for advantages.

The word Lebanon means the white mountains, but the color red would be far more appropriate to this little bit of real estate for it has been a killing

in one nature? Were they consecutive? There was a man and then there was a god;



ground since very early in its history. The Phoenician states of the west were destroyed by the Romans. Alexander the Great overwhelmed this part of the world at the end of the 4th century B.C.E. But because of the deep forests and the high mountains and the narrow defiles of the land, imperial powers, whether they be Greek or Roman or Christian or Arab, were generally able to control only the very narrow coastal plain in the harbors and the mountain fastness and the hilltop villages were places where robber bands, where people fleeing from whoever was the most recent invader, or people fleeing from persecution in another part of the Middle East would come and would settle and by their walls and their swords and the lay of their guns establish some kind of feisty independence.

Now, when we look at the present military groups which inhabit the Lebanon, most of these came within the last thirteen or fourteen hundred years, small groups who have established some kind of communal life by fighting with their neighbors, by maintaining their turf, by acting the way the Hatfields and the McCoys have acted in the hills of Kentucky ever since the establishment of settlement in that part of the world. They're hill peoples who carry their weapons with them and who knew that they cannot trust the people in the next village because they would like to have whatever they can take from you.

Now, the first of the modern actors who came into the Lebanon are the Maronite Christians. They come some time after the year 670 of our era, about 12-1300 years ago. They came from Syria, from Antioch. They moved south a few hundred miles and they became, because of one of those bitter theological wars which marked Christianity during those centuries. Once Christianity became established in the Roman world, it was necessary because Romans think this way, almost like modern Germans, that everything be standardized, that there be one way, one theology, one understanding of God. And the great argument which preoccupied the 5th century church was the question whether Jesus was man or god. What was the nature of their Lord? When the man become God? Did man and God co-exist in one nature? Were they consecutive? There was a man and then there was a god;



was there one nature or was there two? And thousands of people lost their lives in battles over this issue until at a conference at Calcedon in 470 a vote was taken and those who argued that Jesus had in fact two natures from the very beginning, won the day, and everybody else, particularly the Menosophites, became heretics and subject to crusades, to attack by the orthodox, particularly by the Byzantine emperors who were the orthodox emperors of the time. And then, because they loved to argue, another serious issue developed and this issue was now that we have established there were two natures in the Lord, were there also two wills? Was there a human will and a divine will or only one divine will or only one human will to correspond to the two natures that were established as being part of Jesus' structure? And again, after much bloodshed, there was in Constantinople in 670 another great council at which time those who argued just as there were two natures, there were two separate wills, won the day and a group called the Menopholites, who had argued that there was only a single will and a double nature, became the heretics and these are the ancestors of the Maranite Christians and because they had centered around one of the great diocesan centers in Antioch, they were now pariahs, they were driven off, and they moved south into the mountains of the Lebanon.

And about 500 years later, for reasons that we need not go into, they were reconciled with the orthodox church, the church of Rome, and because they were the one group in the Lebanon which had ties to Europe, when Europe in the 17th and 18th century, particularly French Catholic Europe, began to be interested in developing the markets of the Lebanon, it was to these now orthodox Catholics that the French turned, and the Maranites saw the advantage of sending their sons to the Sorbonne and of acting as factors for the great French merchant houses in the Middle East; and so they were the first group in the Lebanon to participate in the prosperity which the west began to bring to the Middle East. They tended to create a center in what had been up to then a very small town of Beirut which



becomes the great commercial center which the Maronites, in its early development, largely dominate. And so they have become by the 19th and 20th century the most western-oriented of the independent groups which had somehow survived history in that part of the world.

The next of the groups to come into the Lebanon were the orthodox Muslims, the Sunni. They come with the armies of the Arabs as they move up in the 7th century to conquer the world. And the Arabs managed to dominate the small coastal plain, but again, they can't penetrate and dominate the hill country and so the Sunni are, by and large, the bureaucrats sent down first by the Omayyads, emperors from Baghdad, and later from the Abbasid emperors in Damascus, and they are the senior Arab elite who are the provincial governors and the minor bureaucrats who establish themselves, by and large, in the coastal cities where living is somewhat more comfortable and, for the most part, they make no attempt to go up into the mountains. That belongs to the lesser breeds without the law and these elitists have no desire to mingle with the illiterate, with the peasant, with the feisty Hatfield and McCoy types who are up there defending their turf.

And then, of course, though we speak very easily in modern times of an Arab world or a Muslim world as if it is a coherent and unified entity, the Arab world, the Muslim world, is no more unified than Christendom, certainly not since the Protestant Reformation, and there developed there early, as you know, a great schism between the Sunnis who argue, for the most part, that authority, political authority can be legitimately claimed by whoever can claim political authority. They are the pragmatists, if you will, of the Arab world, that is, if you are general and your army is in control of the country, you are by divine right the caliph of the country provided you are orthodox in your practice. And between the Shiites, the great dissident group, who argue that leadership, the caliphate, belongs only properly to the family of Mohammed, particularly to those who descend from Mohammed's son-in-law Ali. And as you know, there was



a great battle between these two groups in the late 7th and early 8th century. The Shiites lost. They become the underdogs. They become the advocates of the poor. They are those, for the most part, without power. In Persia, in Iran, they've become identified with the attempt of Iranian Persian nationalism to rise again, and we've seen that that's been a persistent movement as we see with Khomeini in our own day. They appeal particularly in their theology to the outside groups, and occasionally when these groups, as some of the Berber kingdoms in North Africa were able to establish authority, Shiite for a period of time would become the dominant religious group in one or another part of the Arab world. But, by and large, they are the poor and the persecuted, and a number of these groups migrated over time into the mountains of Lebanon for defense, for security. They are the semi-literate. They are the poor. They are the peasantry, and they remain such in their mountainous areas down to our own day.

And finally, the last of the major groups to move into the Lebanon are an offshoot of the Shia, we know as the Druze. They are people who begin in Egypt during one of those brief periods of time when, under a dynasty known as the Fatamids in the 11th century, Egypt is ruled by a Shiite group. These are a group of people who, for one reason or another, become convinced that one of the Shiite caliphs, actually a madman by the name of Hakim II, that Hakim when he died did not in fact die but was hidden away by Allah, by God, and that he will return at the End of Days as the Messiah, and when he returns the Golden Age, which all medieval traditions longed, will occur. And they developed around this mystery of the hidden iman a set of ideas about a secret cult, an esoteric cult, which is not to be revealed to anyone in its basic essence, and they left Egypt, they were persecuted in Egypt when the Fatamids fell from power, and they migrated north and they, too, settled as mountain people in the Lebanon and have remained there in Syria and parts of Israel to this day.

Now, whenever any major change occurred in that part of the world there



was a reshuffling of territory and of the relative balance of power between these major groups and some minor groups in that part of the area. When the Crusaders came through then the Christians had a moment when they were able to expand their territorial base. When Seladin and the Arabs pushed the Crusaders out, then the Muslim groups were able to push back the Christians into their mountain fastness.

During the Middle Ages, particularly in the 17th and 18th century, there were various attempts by the feudal nobles who represented these various groups to create some kind of conciliar movement which would minimize the bloodshed, the revenge-taking, the inevitable fighting that was going on, where they could meet, albeit always accompanied by armed bodyguards, and adjust issues over land, over water, over territory, whatever it be between them. And sometimes they were successful, more often than not, they were not. Usually there was one among them who tried to establish his authority as supreme. In the early part of the 19th century, because of the new influence of western monies and French influence, a Maranite chieftain, feudal leader, one of the ancestors of Pierre Gomayel, who is now the President of the Lebanon, tried to establish this kind of authority, but he went, obviously, too far. And in 1860 the Druze, feeling threatened, rose up and there was a terrible massacre of Maranite Christians and several years of war until the French, using the authority which was really that of the Ottoman Turks who were the political power which supposedly controlled the area, were able to reestablish some kind of peace. And the French, because of their particular interest in this part of the world began to do what you see the west trying to do with all the complex problems in the Middle East, to devise some kind of elegant diplomatic solution which would adjust all of the problems of the particular area so that France could continue to benefit economically from its interest and stake there.

And so the French did, in fact, devise an elegant solution, the very kind of solution, I'm sure, western statesmen think they can devise for the West Bank and for Gaza. And what was the solution? The solution was to create a political



entity called Lebanon which would be governed by a democratically-elected leader and Congress, but the voting would not be done as we do it in the United States, one man, one vote. It would be done on an arbitrary division of authority, the Maronites as the largest population group at the time will be guaranteed the presidency which was the most powerfully administrative office; the Sunni Muslims, because they represent a dominant Muslim group, would be guaranteed the prime ministership; the Shiite Muslims as the most populous, but the poorest part of the population, would be guaranteed the speaker of the legislature, and there would be assigned seats in the legislature given on the basis of proportional representation, determined at Kadiseh rather than determined by votes in the Lebanon.

And so in 1923, when the League of Nations gave to the French government a mandate over the Lebanon much like the British were given the mandate over Palestine, the French imposed this very delicate and elegant diplomatic solution and, as is always the case with diplomatic solutions of this kind, it didn't last very very long because there is always a political reality, a power reality, which undermines what diplomats think to be their brilliance. In this case what undermined the French solution was the growing prosperity of the Maronite and Sunni middle-class. It's one of the great truths of the 20th century that the more you have, the less children you have. And so the poorest elements in the population, the Shiites, multiplied, and western medical missionaries were particularly helpful in seeing that more Shiite children survived, and so the proportions of the population changed radically in the 20th century. The Maronites who had been the dominant political power in terms of both the economic prosperity and numbers retained their economic prosperity, but in terms of the population they became second, and then third, to the Sunni and the Shia. And the Shia, being the group which is multiplying very quickly, which is the poorest part of the population, becomes the most populous numerically in the Lebanon.

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The French are able to maintain some kind of *modus vivendi* simply by their authority until the end of the second World War and then, following a long diplomatic history, they grant independence to a country whose borders have been determined by a people who live in Europe and it is assumed that one can have a central authority in a country which in fact has never had a central authority.

And in 1947, just a year before Israel becomes an independent country, the Lebanon becomes an independent nation.

Now, what happens? There's an attempt to maintain the *modus vivendi*, the diplomatic solution which had been shaped by the French. Obviously, those who are better educated and more prosperous are given the advantages in this system which was shaped in 1921 and has now conformed to a new reality in the late 1940's. And there are many elements now which are new. In the first instance, there is a renaissance of Arab nationalism. This is the era where Israel is being established, where there's a great protest in the Arab world against the intrusion of Europe into the Arab world. This is the era which gives rise to Nasarism with its overtones both of Arab nationalism and of a kind of populist socialism which will throw out to the notables the feudal structures of countries like the Lebanon. And so you have in the 1950's, as you'll remember, an appeal at one point from the Prime Minister, the Maronite Prime Minister Shamun to President Eisenhower that we send in our Marines. Why? It has nothing to do with Israel, but because Syria is now sponsoring a Nasarite attack on the Maronite Christians and we, in fact, send in 10,000 Marines and we stabilize for a year or two this situation. But persistently, during the late 50's and early 60's and middle 60's, there were underground revolutionary groups, largely militant Muslim groups, seeking to undermine and overthrow this government which, to a very large degree, serves the interests of the west and serves the privileges of the Christian groups.

And, of course, with the 1947-48 attack by the Arab states against Israel, there is the movement into the Lebanon of about 200,000 Arab refugees. The Lebanon did not fight against Israel in any significant way during that war, but at the



end of the war she is burdened with the largest number of Arab refugees and the Arabs will not allow the Lebanese government to disperse these people though there are jobs for them, there is empty space. They are kept in the camps and become a foistering cancer, another minority to deal with in this part of the world which is already one which is riven by such groups. So there is now a new minority in the Lebanon. There is a new Arab anti-western nationalism at work. There is the inevitable revolution of those who have the least against those who have the most which is taking place throughout the Arab world and the Lebanon stumbles on as best it can. Group begins to fight against groups. Various groups in the Arab world are willing to provide arms to their surrogates in the Lebanon. The Libyans provide arms to the Sunnis. The Israelis provide arms to the southern Lebanese army which protects its border. The Syrians provide arms to the Shiites and also from various parts of the Arab world and from Europe Maronites are able to purchase arms of one kind or another. Quickly these militias' moves become not only the militias that you see patrolling the streets, but they have their underground killing squads and bloodshed leads to bloodshed until the city of Beirut is divided in two between Christian and Muslim sectors, and within the Muslim sector itself there are turfs which belong to the Shiites and those which belong to the Sunnis and those which belong to Haspalah. You have a medieval city as you had in medieval Italy where everybody must carry his sword with him or he will not survive.

Then in 1970 tragedy again comes to the Lebanon. In this case the tragedy begins not in the Lebanon but in Jordan. One of the truths about the PLO is that everybody in the Arab world loves the PLO as long as it's someplace else. The Egyptians which spawned the PLO quickly drove the PLO out. The Syrians, who make the most of the activities of the PLO, were quick to incorporate the PLO divisions into their army. The Jordanians were somewhat more tolerant. Hussein is a very patient, very crafty, man; but, finally, the danger to his own state by the existence of the PLO armed brigades in the north of the Jordan became so



great and the fear of Israeli retaliation so real that you'll recall that he attacked on what they call Black Sunday, a Sunday in August. He attacked the army of the PLO and seriously defeated it and it was routed and the soldiers fled and they fled to Syria and the Syrians said, keep going, and they went and they went and they landed in the Lebanon. And in the Lebanon they drifted to these refugee camps and they became the militia of the refugee camps and then they became almost an army in exile and then they became a state coming into being. And the world has tended to forget that when the Israelis plunged into the Lebanon in the summer of 1982, you recall that they found an almost independent state existing in the southern Lebanon, run by the PLO with arms manufacturing and businesses of various kinds with schools and with its own economic infrastructure and with weapons enough to equip several modern divisions.

So now the Lebanon has not only its traditional minorities who are always warring with one another, but they have an armed state within a state, that of the Palestinians, and there is constant bloodshed and constant fighting. One group will wipe out a village and the other group will wait for a propitious moment and then they will, in fact, retaliate.

Now, as the PLO moved into the Lebanon the attacks on Israel, both from the sea which had begun in the Lebanon and from land, infiltrating across the border and also the rocketing of the cities in the Galilee by the Katyusha, finally led the Israelis to decide that they had better take an action in order to clear out the southern Lebanon further from their border. There was already a buffer zone which Major Hadad and the southern Lebanese army was in fact protecting for the Israelis, and there were some U.N. forces there but they were relatively ineffective. And there began in the summer of 1982 that attack which they call Peace in the Galilee. The original announced purpose of the attack was to move 40 kilometers into the Lebanon which would give the Israeli border some breathing space, which would remove the Lebanese border at least 40 kilometers,

probably longer than any of the Arab groups and so this kind of mystique is



some 24 miles from most of the Israeli settlements, and give them some kind of protection. The first day or two of this attack was monumentally successful. The feared surface-to-air missiles of the Syrians were knocked out. The Syrian Air Force was cleared from the skies. The Israelis broke through the Palestinian strong points in the mountains and they quickly began to move up towards the highway which links Beirut to the east.

And then a fateful decision was made or, rather, two fateful decisions. The first was not to attack the Syrian Army which allowed the Syrian Army to remain in place. It was quickly refurbished, re-equipped, by the Russians and was able, because it sits on about two-thirds of the territory of the Lebanon, it was able to exert throughout the last three years a very strong suasive presence, to be the conduit by which arms and interest and mercenaries and what-not were fed to the various groups the Syrians wanted to sponsor.

The second was Mr. Sharon's decision to plunge on towards Beirut. What was in his mind is not completely clear. Mr. Begin seems to have been almost mystical in his belief that if the Israelis could strengthen the Christian Maronites in the control of the Lebanon they would be doing for the world what the Christian west was unwilling to do, that is, protect the western influence, the Christians into Lebanon, and that the Christians in return would be able to establish a relatively stable government in the Lebanon which would not be a danger to Israel and the Lebanon would join Egypt which Israel would not have to fear in terms of any immediate attack. But his basic interest seems to have been in the public relations which would accrue to Israel for supporting the west's interest in the Lebanon because the truth of the Lebanon, as seen from the Middle East, is that it is a continuation and a completion of the work of the Crusades; that is, the westerners came and the Arabs are patient and ultimately the westerners will be driven out. And the Maronites, the Malachites and the other Christians in Lebanon represent the west though they've lived there for probably longer than any of the Arab groups and so this kind of mystique is



at work and Begin recognized it and Begin thought he would be successful in accomplishing the undoing of the mystique and in showing that West Israel was in fact doing its work, the work that the west was too timid, really, to complete in the Middle East.

Sharon is another case. Sharon is Israel's General Patton, a tough-minded, charismatic human being who seems to believe that you can settle everything the way you settle a prize fight - by war. Everything has a neat solution, someone wins, someone loses, and it's better for Israel to win on the battlefield. And though it was never clear to many in Israel how Israel could win in the Lebanon, if you define winning as taking over a territory, how, in fact, it could capture a town the size of Beirut without tremendous loss and if it captured the town how it could police the town. But he plunged on, far beyond the 40 kilometer line and Israel suddenly found itself at the doors of Beirut, confronting first a world press which saw the bombing of Beirut not as pinpoint bombing of targets but as the indiscriminate bombing of Coventry or of Dresden and sent back, as you will recall, these frantic reports of the destruction of the city, of Israel's violence in war, and Israel was forced to pull up shy of Beirut and suddenly there was a western force interposing itself between the PLO and the Israelis. And you'll remember that famous scene where an American lieutenant walks out directly to confront an Israeli tank as it goes on patrol. Suddenly, instead of doing the bidding of the west as the Israelis saw it - the Israelis were seen as people who were undoing the interests of the west in the Lebanon - and that was the beginning of the turning of the tide for the Israelis. And since that day it has been a sad history. 640 young Israelis have now lost their lives in the Lebanon, several hundred of these just during the period when Israel has already announced that she is going to retreat steadily back to her own borders. The high hopes of 1982 have disappeared, been shattered. The west has no presence in the Lebanon any longer. The feeble attempts of the west to interpose a multi-national force failed completely and we cannot even



protect people of good will, teachers and refugee workers, as they walk about the streets of Beirut. And so the west has lost face in the Lebanon. The Israelis are about to retire. The various factions are doing what they have done since time immemorial, fighting with each other for control, for turf. A new situation has come into being and they want to be sure that they control as much of the land tiguous to their areas as they possibly can. And the dominant force in the Lebanon remains Syria whose army sits there in the Becca Valley which lies between the anti-Lebanon and the Lebanese mountains, and they control what is happening in that part of the world. When the PLO in Tripoli, those who were still loyal to Arafat, began to become independent they simply sent in brigades of the PLO that they controlled and they whipped them in battle. They have been, obviously, providing the explosives for the car bombs. They have been providing passage for the Iranian train Haspalah, the martyr fanatics of the Shiia who have been so violent in their terrorism both to Israel and to other elements in the Lebanon. And it's been a sad, sad history which we've been reading day after day in our newspapers. Israel has had to resort to what it calls an iron hand operation in order even to secure its own lines of retreat as it begins to return to Israel itself.

The Israelis are tired of the war. They think of Lebanon as a swamp which will destroy and suck up into its quicksand any group which attempts to impose its will on that part of the world. And I guess if there's any hope that the Israelis cherish it is that the Syrians as the last remaining imperial power will themselves be drawn into that swamp and will suffer in their term. When one looks at the Lebanon there's a question and the question is this. When the Israelis attacked, the people in the southern Lebanon, particularly the Shiites, welcomed the Israelis enthusiastically. Why, three years later, the sudden reversal of concern? Well, the Arabs have a proverb which says, the enemy of my enemy is my friend. And one of the truths about Lebanon is that each one of these groups which fight for turf and for power hates the other. And the great enemy of the



Shiia in the south is the PLO. The PLO took over their turf. The PLO imposed its taxes on their people. The PLO are Sunni and they are Christian. The Shiites are not. The PLO was, to a very large degree, supported and financed by the Khadafi and the Lebanon. This was a particular cause of anger to the Shiites. Being the poorest and the least organized of all the peoples in the Lebanon, the Shiites responded in the 1950's and early 1960's to the charismatic presence of a religious teacher by the name of Musa ibn Sada. Musa ibn Sada was a Shiite priest who was trained in Iran, in Persia, in one of the great academies there, who returned to the Shiite communities of the Lebanon and organized religious self-help communes called the amal in each of the mountain-top villages of the south which were dominated by his Shiite confreres. And he gave to the Shiites, for the first time, a sense of some power and he gave them the sense that they could gain some presence that had significance in the emerging federal government. They could claim a certain amount of the tax monies to be returned to their communities for various projects of one type or another. He was a great figure, their beloved leader.

And then in 1979 the Libyan government kidnapped Al Sader and he's disappeared. Obviously, they killed him. And the amal, the Shiite, know this full well and they have no greater enemy than Kadafi and if Kadafi is supporting the PLO and the PLO presence there is very visible in terms of its extortion, its taxes, its willingness to kick in your door and take whatever you have, then anyone who liberates you from this force is your friend. But, at the same time, the Shiia, we must remember, are people who have a martyr complex, the way to get to heaven is to be martyred in your cause; and the Israelis, not quite conscious of all of their hopes, of what might or might not be accomplished with the amal, with the Shiia, continued Begin's vision, that Israel would somehow strengthen a strong central Christian Maronite pro-western government in Beirut and that Israel would continue to be supported by the army of Major Haddad which



is Sunni and Christian along its border in southern Lebanon. And even when Haddad died, they continued to give support to this group.

Now, all these groups are the enemy of the amal, the enemy of the Shiia, and against the recommendation of one or two of their military observers the Israelis, instead of saying to the Shiia, this is your turf, police it, all that we demand is peace; what they did was essentially to be concerned primarily with how the Phalange, the Christian groups, would be able to move their army back and forth in order to protect them from various forces in the south and they suddenly became identified in the minds of the Shiia, now they were no longer the enemy of my enemy, they were now the friend of my enemy, and they become my enemy because of that. And so there was a swift reversal of interests, of concerns. Whether or not this might have worked out differently, one can't know in the complex of Levantine diplomacy.

But this much remains clear, that the leading figure, the sort of feudal leader of the Shiites, a man named Barry, was limited in his ability to deal with the Israelis because the Syrians said to him, essentially, if you want to be part of the governing council you can't have anything to do with the Israelis; Syria is still the rejectionist state of all the states that border Israel. But, at the same time, he continues, as do the Shiites generally, to look upon the PLO as their greatest enemy. It's interesting, Barry has been given the political control of West Beirut, of Muslim Beirut. And in West Beirut he has prohibited any Palestinian from bearing an arm. They still look on the Palestinians as their enemy, the number one enemy. And the Shiia, one way or another, will see to it that the PLO and their forces in the Lebanon are never significantly armed again, that is, provided that the Shiia really gain some power in the Lebanon.

So the Israelis have been trying to discover a way to tap this anti-PLO interest of the Shiia and, at the same time, to protect themselves from the violence which has been shown among the Shiia not only by this seeming change of Israel's loyalties but by the fact they have now been interpenetrated by young,



militant, mystic martyr-seeking people who have been sent by Iran, people who are caught up in the mystique that the Shiia will again dominate the world and who are the people who are organizing these raids which are costing so much blood and anguish and making so many sad headlines in the press.

When one looks at the Lebanon today one clearly looks at a country that is no country. There is no central government except on paper. There is an army, but the army can move only when the militias of the various feudal groups allow it passage. And most recently, when the Prime Minister of the Lebanon, Pierre Gamayel, found himself under attack from his own Falange, from his own Christian group where there was a very successful officers' revolt a week and a half ago against his authority, diminished even that support which the present government has. And so what we have essentially is what we've had for the last 2,000, 3,000 years - a group of well-armed, supported largely from the outside groups, at war with one another, angry, bitter, fearful, very little chance that they will in fact come together to create a central government, there's no reason to believe that. And as Israel leaves, the influence, obviously, of the Syrians, rose apace. Israel came into the Lebanon in order to secure the government of the Maronite Christians. Three weeks ago Pierre Gamayel, the Maronite Christian President of the Lebanon, announced that he was fully supportive of all the terrorist attacks against the Israeli troops even as they had announced that they would fully withdraw from the Lebanon.

So what we have for the time-being is a chastened Israel which will retreat to its borders without having gained, really, any of the goals that it sought in the Lebanon except the elimination of the quasi existing Palestinian state. And Israel, which has been shocked by the fact that this was its first voluntary war, it decided the time and the place, and has been its first unsuccessful war, and Israel, where a number of young people for the first time and older men refused to serve in the Israeli Army when the Army crossed the border into the Lebanon,



across the forty-kilometer line in the Lebanon. And Israel, burdened as we are burdened by Vietnam, by the failure of a policy and the consequent lack of faith in those who organize policy, a west which is totally impotent in that part of the world, and the consequence of that is the encouragement of all those in that part of the world who believe that all the influence of the west can be eradicated, the Crusades can be undone, a stronger Syria which temporarily will call the shots in the Lebanon. All the groups will, one way or another, make some kind of peace with Syria. She is there. She's only a mile or two away. Nothing can happen which goes beyond what she will tolerate. Whether Syria will ultimately be drawn down as Israel and as France and as the West were drawn down into the swamp of the Lebanon remains to be seen. Nothing will happen, I am convinced, until the Iraq-Iranian war is over. Syria has sided with Iran. Iraq has good reason to be bitterly angry with Syria which cut off her pipeline to the west and, therefore, her reserves, her ability to buy arms. There will come a day of reckoning between Iraq and Iran, the two radical Arab states, inevitably, but whether it will be sooner or later no one knows. And when it does her ability to involve her troops, her wealth, in the Lebanon will be diminished for one of the great truths of the Arab world is this - what exists today will change tomorrow. You can't count on continuity which is why all of these wonderfully sophisticated diplomatic attempts to create some kind of structure which will allow for a resolution of problems ultimately fail.

The Arab world is going through a number of concurrent revolutions; culturally, intellectually, it must move from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century and that move is now only in its second or third decade. Economically it must move from a pre-industrial society to a post-industrial society for the population which is largely illiterate, untrained, lacking the technological infrastructure which it will require. Theologically, it's riveted by the



Shiite-Sunni divisions. It's driven between the modernists and the traditionalists, the Asdads on the one hand who want to create a modern state even with an iron fist, and a Muslim brotherhood who have determined that the states of the Arab world will be thoroughly orthodox, thoroughly medieval in their practice. The Arab world has not come to grips with what it means to live with the Second World and the First World, how one adjusts, what can one expect and what can one not expect. And we have we, the west, the east, have poured into this world the most sophisticated weapons, the most advanced military technology, and much of this is in the hands of those who a year or two ago have hardly been literate, have a broader geo-political view, the kind of view we like to think of as enjoying ourselves.

It's a dangerous time for the Middle East. It's a dangerous time for Israel. An army which retreats is always an endangered area because once the animals in the jungle sense blood, their nostrils quiver and the talons begin to come out and they get ready to pounce. And Israel will be tested, I'm afraid. By whom, I don't know. But Israel is well quits of the Lebanon. The passions there run so deep, the fears are so old, that it's going to take generations even for a containment policy of some type, what a division of the country in de facto separate little communities will, in fact, be effected.

Lebanon has ruined itself. Beirut was once the great commercial banking capital of the Middle East. Beirut could have been the wealthiest city in that part of the world. It's a beautiful city. The West, the bankers loved to deal in that city. The Saudis and the bankers of the south loved to come up to the freer atmosphere of the Lebanon, but the economy of Lebanon today is in shambles as is the society. No one has won and everyone has lost.

Perhaps the best way to conclude something which has no conclusion is to read to you a little cartoon which tends to appear from week to week in The Jerusalem Post. It's always called Dry Bones. And you see two little figures talking



with each other. And one figure, wearing, looks like a policeman's cap or some kind of big-domed affair, says, remember when we went into Lebanon? And the other fellow says, yes sir. Do you remember how the government pointed out that we chose to fight and didn't wait for the enemy to force us into the war? Yes sir. Well, next time let them start up first. We obviously do better that way.

## Kaddish

Friday

Sunday MARCH 31, 1985

Those who passed away this week

MARIAN SMITH  
FREDERICK W. KLUCK

## Vahrzeits

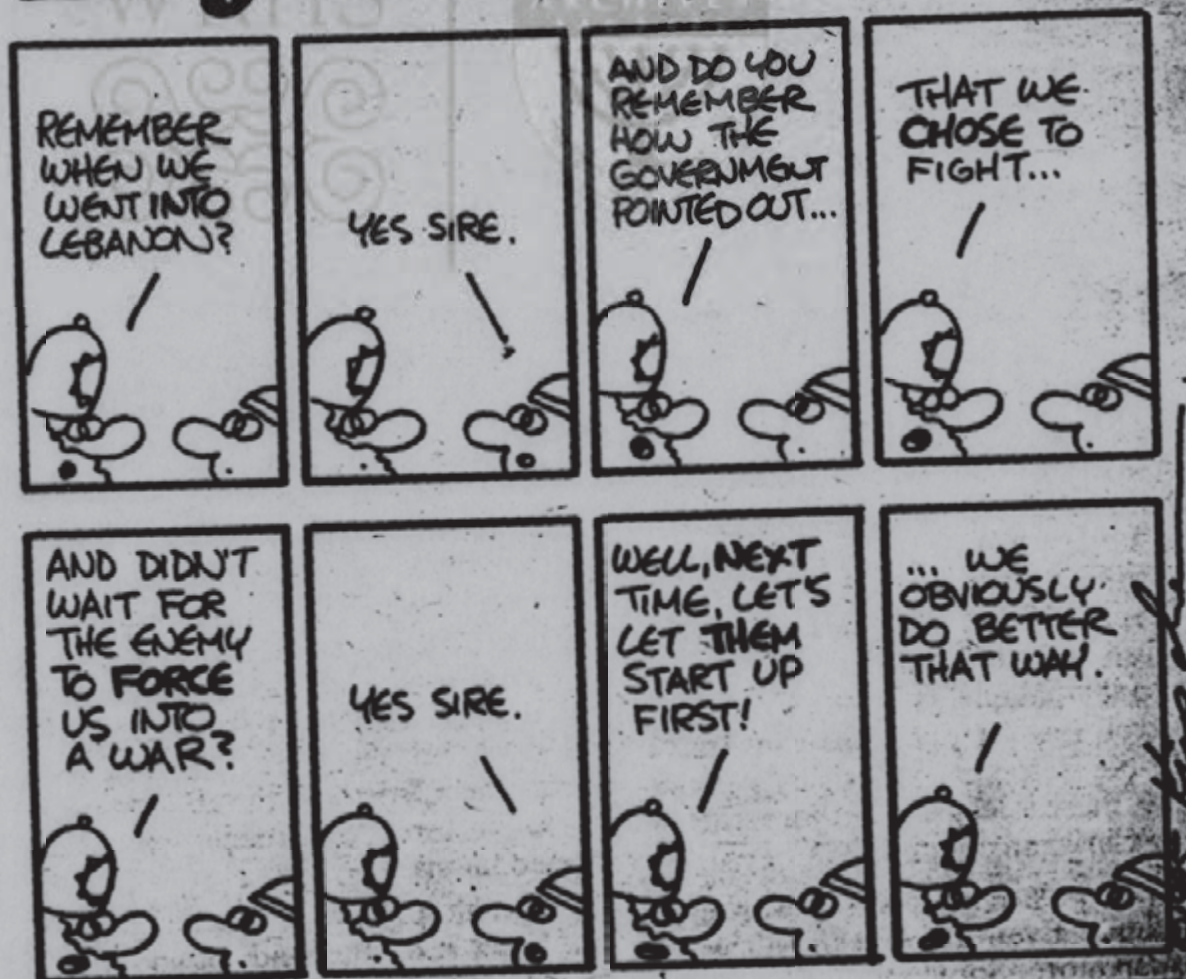
SAMUEL D. WISE  
MANUEL GERDY  
ABE E. AMSTER  
DR. MORRIS E. GANS  
CHARLES TILLES  
ANNIE LEVIN (LÉVY)  
DAVID J. COHEN  
IDA SENOR  
ABE H. BERG  
MALVINA B. DEVAY  
ABRAHAM COHEN  
EMANUEL MARGULIS  
LAWRENCE LURIE  
REBECCA M. NEWMAN  
EDNA G. GOULDER  
MARIE KRAVITZ  
BEATRICE G. SHAPERO  
MARY KLAUSNER  
BLANCHE COHEN  
MARY J. LURIE  
FLORENCE LEFKOWITZ  
EMMA BAKER MYERS  
SUMNER C. WIENER (WEE NER)  
ETTIE DUBIN  
JACOB ROSEN  
EMELIE KAHN SEIDMAN  
RUTH HAUSMAN  
LESTER L. KAHN  
DAVID A. BERGER



# Lebanon — the questions remain

By ABBA EBAN

## Dry Bones





SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
<b>30</b> No School <b>SERVICE</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on <b>AGAIN LEBANON</b>	<b>APRIL 1</b>	<b>2</b> Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Paid-Up Membership Luncheon 12:30 p.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m. TYA Board Meeting 8:00 p.m.	<b>3</b> First Wednesday Discussion Group 8:00 p.m. - Branch	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b> Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel First Seder	<b>6</b> No School <b>PASSOVER SERVICE</b> 10:30 a.m. - Branch Conducted by Temple Seniors Rabbi Susan Berman will preach Lunch and Entertainment for Seniors to follow <b>TMC SECOND SEDER</b> 6:30 p.m. - Branch
<b>7</b> No School <b>SERVICE</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on <b>THE EXODUS — THE REAL STORY</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b> Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch TWA Board Meeting 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m. Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	<b>10</b> <i>BY N Kelo henu</i>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b> Last Day <b>PASSOVER SERVICE</b> Hebrew Graduation 10:30 a.m. - Branch Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	<b>13</b> Classes Resume Bat Mitzvah SARAH DAVIS 11:00 a.m. Temple Chapel TMC TENNIS PARTY 8:00 p.m.
<b>14</b> <b>SERVICE</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak Mavo Program 12:00 - 4:00 p.m. The Temple Branch	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b> Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m. LUNCH WITH THE RABBI Uptown The Somerset 12:00 noon - 1:30 p.m.	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b> YOM HASHOAH	<b>19</b> Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel <b>THIRD FRIDAY</b> 6:00 p.m.	<b>20</b> Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. Bar Mitzvah JONATHAN GALKIN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
<b>21</b> <b>SERVICE</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak 4th & 5th Grade Swim Party	<b>22</b>	<b>23</b> Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m.	<b>24</b> -- MIDWEEK CONFIRMATION CLASSES END -- Administrivia Meeting 7:15 p.m. - Branch TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	<b>25</b>	<b>26</b> ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	<b>27</b> Precious Legacy Trip Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. Bar Mitzvah JOSHUA LEVY 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel Confirmation Weekend Classes End



The case was closed between her last published work and the  
 time of her death. Thereafter there has been no more  
 news of her.

[illegible]

The Russian was a friend of mine in the  
 Russian of the Caucasus

[illegible]

sure way to capture and retain -  
 without any ~~unintended~~ ~~loss~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~  
 because each brand has ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~unique~~  
 and ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~identity~~ - 'the ~~power~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~  
~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~  
 to find ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~if~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~ ~~the~~ ~~user~~



Phenir today column <sup>under</sup> ~~under~~ for bed on you comes in N. Cyprus (2)

Theorem 6.1. Let  $\mathcal{C}$  be a category. Let  $\mathcal{C}^*$  be the category of objects of  $\mathcal{C}$ . Let  $\mathcal{C}^{**}$  be the category of objects of  $\mathcal{C}^*$ . Then  $\mathcal{C}^{**} \cong \mathcal{C}$ .

De la Cruz

~~Plummers Ave - 100~~

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 work - finally under pressure to

13

Deposited

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*Lander - 9 Nov*

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[illegible]



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- Britain - suffer from better - intended decisions just like X.H. -  
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power - interests - justice - a great day - a great day - a great day  
arrived at a great day - a great day - a great day - a great day  
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The success - a great day - a great day - a great day - a great day  
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President - 1st and 2nd - 1st and 2nd - 1st and 2nd -  
1st and 2nd - 1st and 2nd - 1st and 2nd -

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and 71st and 72nd and 73rd and 74th and 75th and 76th and 77th and 78th and 79th and 80th  
and 81st and 82nd and 83rd and 84th and 85th and 86th and 87th and 88th and 89th and 90th  
and 91st and 92nd and 93rd and 94th and 95th and 96th and 97th and 98th and 99th and 100th

1941  
New York was very much interested in the 1st and 2nd  
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To all the people's people - 1st and 2nd  
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Some can serve of deputy. - but in 1779 much  
of the deputation - especially members of the - Council,  
not only much greater - Some members indeed

afterwards were regularly sent to the assembly  
formed. A number of them kept on at the same number  
- much of it increased. The assembly of 1779 consisted of  
The President (moderate) was one of Jesse, Shubert -  
English as well as many -

To explain the moderate, quiet and useful group  
can run into number - some very irregularly  
begin to go to the assembly for peace - also  
general law

Great party - the assembly every day  
a no party - but many of the same feeling -  
less men - eight to twelve men - (x 10)  
Some ) can say the group of my group  
is my friend

Behind the year can be seen a second front -  
- very much better than - 2/3 of the members - only can  
many to see the men as the body - 6 members  
less the rest - The rest were subordinate -  
also to help order just. - but any more men  
superior to the men & group - So much - especially  
So the first from group became less and more  
direct -







✓ Lesson needs answer to a key question - no  
work in it any so if ~~problem~~ can give answer @  
be asked, can avoid.

that to public access - ~~idea~~ - support of law  
 at end - no more ~~idea~~ - and don't want to put  
 power base - So - can ~~idea~~ national power under  
 building

[illegible]

~~Adm -~~ ~~Wright~~

- 1) per unit cost of production is less than the cost of purchase
  - 2) per unit cost of production is more than the cost of purchase
- 
- 3) per unit cost of production is equal to the cost of purchase
  - 4) per unit cost of production is less than the cost of purchase

Lease down - relaxing is not for the same kind of work

Lease down - \_\_\_\_\_  
for down - \_\_\_\_\_

لوت من ماء ~~معدن~~ من ~~معدن~~ (ص 8)

\$ 2 Bona.