

## Facing the Charge of Anti-Semitism

Paul A. Hopkins

In a meeting of the Israeli Cabinet on September 1, 1991, Minister without Portfolio, Rehavam Ze'evi, branded President Bush a liar and an anti-Semite, who is "conducting a political fight on the backs of millions of Jews." The President's crime: his delay in considering Israel's \$10 billion loan guarantee request.<sup>1</sup>

Ze'evi, who comes from the far right-wing in the current Likud government of Israel may well represent all right-wing parties in the coalition government — the most radical right-wing government in Israel's history.

One could take comfort in Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Aren's quick repudiation of Ze'evi's charge on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*. But the matter hasn't died there. More recently, in talking with Jewish friends, the characterization of Bush as an anti-Semite came up once more.

This time it was in reference to remarks he made at a televised news conference while 1,000 Jewish leaders fanned out on Capitol Hill to seek prompt Congressional approval for the loan guarantees. Referring to the Jewish lobbyists, Bush depicted himself as "one lonely little guy" against "a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working the other side of the question."<sup>2</sup>

This comment has been taken by some in the Jewish community to mean that they, Jewish Americans,

have no right to lobby Congress on behalf of Israel — which shows Bush's anti-Semitism.

This question of anti-Semitism is both complex and sensitive when dealing with Israel and the American Jewish community. Before trying to understand it, however, it may be relevant to take a look at how the word and the implications surrounding it have been used since the Nazi Holocaust. Let me do this first through personal experience.

### Protestant Response to Nazi Persecution of Jews

I served for seventeen years on the national staff of my denomination. Most of that time was spent working on Africa. Since I covered the entire continent except for Egypt and North Africa, I had minimal contact with the problems of the Middle East.

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The one outstanding memory of those years was of the development work done by Israel in African countries emerging out of colonialism. For me the October 1973 war had to do with the punishing increase in the cost of gasoline for poor African nations and their breaking of rela-



tions with Israel — with the consequent loss of development aid.

Then, in 1980, I became responsible for our work in the Middle East. The impact of my first visit to Israel, the West Bank and Gaza was unforgettable. Primarily, what I learned about life under Israeli rule in occupied territories seemed surrealistic. It was totally out of context with what little I had learned in Africa and from the media at home. After

the first impact of the experience had worn off, the second impact was the similarity of the life of Palestinians in the occupied territories to that of the people of color in South Africa. Later, at home, I spoke of these mind-shaking experiences. Several colleagues took me aside and asked if

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## About This Issue

In the summer of 1939, 83 percent of Americans opposed the admission of European refugees, mostly Jews, into their country. Despite that, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (USA) joined with other American churches in 1940 to petition the US Government to help these uprooted and oppressed people. And it urged its own members to offer them sanctuary, generous financial aid, and prayers.

Many of these European Jews went to Palestine, where their influx led to the uprooting and oppression of the indigenous Arabs. Most Americans, in their support of the persecuted Jew, failed to see the persecuted Palestinian, even after Israel's 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Those who did say something—usually those who had travelled to the Middle East on business or as tourists—were often dismissed as prejudiced or divisive.

In 1980, Paul Hopkins became the Presbyterian Church's Overseas Mission Secretary to the Middle East. His first visit to the West Bank and Gaza brought him face to face with hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees languishing under Israel's military rule.

When he came home to report what he had seen, his criticism of Israel brought him face to face with something else he didn't expect: the charge of "anti-Semitism."

Paul has written of this experience in the Fall 1990 issue of *Journal of American Presbyterians*: *Journal of Presbyterian History*. This Link issue condenses that account and adds material from other sources.

Paul Hopkins' experience is not unique. Nor is that of the Presbyterian Church. Many Americans, Protestants and Catholics, have sought justice for the Palestinians, as have Americans of no religious affiliation. And many Jews, risking the charges of "self-hating Jew" and "traitor" have also said No to Israel's brutal occupation. This issue is dedicated to all those who have looked beyond the polls, beyond politics and, perhaps most difficult of all, beyond the labels, to see a people in pain.

Our Book & Audio-Visual Section on pages 13-16 includes many new offerings, plus several special discount offerings.

John F. Mahoney  
Executive Director

I was aware of the implications of what I had been saying. Naively I responded that I was, little knowing some of the unhappy confrontations ahead.

It did not take long before the charge of anti-Semitism was leveled at me for the first time in my life; and added to that was another: my denomination was pro-Arab and pro-PLO and had been guilty of being silent during Jewish suffering throughout the Nazi Catastrophe and Holocaust. Because of these experiences during my years working on the Middle East desk, I spent six months after retiring researching the denomination's history during the Nazi period of Middle East policy development.<sup>3</sup>

I found that at the 1916 General Assembly (while our mission in the Arab world was at its peak) we adopted what was termed the "Blackstone Memorial," petitioning the President of the United States "in behalf of the persecuted Jews of Europe," to call "an international conference of the Powers to consider the condition of the Jews, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed wise and best for their permanent relief."<sup>4</sup>

Then, in 1933 as Hitler's Third Reich began to show its teeth to its Jewish citizens, 1200 Protestant clergy in North America (including many Presbyterians) published a manifesto stating:

We Christian ministers are greatly distressed at the situation of our Jewish brethren in Germany. In order to leave no room for doubt as to our feelings on this subject, we consider it an imperative duty to raise our voices in indignant and sorrowful protest against the pitiless persecution to which the Jews are subjected under Hitler's rule.

After admitting to the religious and racial prejudices existing in America "against which we have repeatedly protested" the Manifesto continues:

We are convinced that the efforts made by Nazis to humiliate an entire section of the human

family are liable to cast the civilized world back into the clutches of medieval barbarism. We deplore the consequences which may ensue for the Jews and also for Christianity which tolerates this barbarous persecution, and more particularly, for Germany herself. We are convinced in thus protesting against Hitler's cruel anti-Semitism we are acting as sincere friends of the German nation.<sup>5</sup>

In November 1935, The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches in America (FCCCA), whose General Secretary was Presbyterian, published a statement that Germany's treatment of the Jews "is unworthy of a great nation... We protest against this policy because the philosophy on which it is based is a heathen philosophy... It is an attempt of a tribal heathen movement based on race, blood, and soil, to separate Christianity from its historical origin and a Christian nation from its religious past."<sup>6</sup>

In October 1939, the Executive Committee called for a day of prayer to be held on November 20 for the suffering and the refugees — a call in which the Roman Catholic Church and Jewish Organizations quickly joined. In connection with this day of prayer the FCCCA issued "an appeal to all church people to respond generously to the efforts for the relief of refugees as carried on by the American Committee for Christian German Refugees and also by the Catholics and Jewish Organizations."<sup>7</sup> And throughout the period leading to the outbreak of war, the Protestant Churches, joined in the FCCCA, remained committed to doing everything in their power to find some way of rescuing the refugees from Nazi terror.

On April 8, 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a telegram to "a small number of persons" asking that they meet with him on April 13 in the Executive Office to "undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which pri-

vate individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany."<sup>8</sup>

Among those present at this meeting were Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who would serve as a liaison with the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Rt. Rev. Michael J. Ready of the Catholic Bishops Committee. The Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary of the FCCCA and a Presbyterian, was to be the liaison with the American Committee for Christian German Refugees. The President told the assembled group that "the problem of securing the funds for carrying out whatever plans the international conference may adopt will have to be met by private individuals and organizations" because he did not seem to be very successful "in getting Congressional action." He added that "at least for the President" it would be unwise to start a public dispute with regard to a change in the immigration quotas.<sup>9</sup>

As a result of that meeting and the close inter-faith cooperation which resulted, the FCCCA set up a program for reception of refugees, "both Christian and Jewish," in Protestant churches across America.<sup>10</sup> In February 1940, the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees made a gift of \$125,000 to the FCCCA "as an acknowledgment on our oath of the sympathy and support of the leaders of the Protestant Churches for all victims of religious and racial persecution."<sup>11</sup>

At the May 1939 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Commissioners heard a report on Nazi treatment of the Jews and on growing anti-Semitism in America, and adopted the following resolution:

We learn with deep sorrow of the continued persecution of the Jewish people in other lands. Our hearts go out in sincerest sympathy to these victims of fanatical hatred and brutal oppression.

Moreover, we view with pro-

found misgivings the evidence of a growing anti-Semitism in America. We believe that the Christian Church dare not be silent in the presence of anti-Semitic propaganda. We urge that anti-Semitism be combated aggressively in our Churches, by informing people as to the truth about the Jewish race, by laying renewed emphasis upon the

*Moreover, we view with profound misgivings the evidence of a growing anti-Semitism in America.* - General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1939

Christian principle of human brotherhood and by encouraging fellowship between Jews and Christians.<sup>12</sup>

The same Assembly requested the Board of National Missions to launch a special appeal for funds "on behalf of Jews and Non-Aryans... Through no fault of their own they are being deprived of occupation, impoverished and forced to flee. They are slowly and inexorably being annihilated by a process which is unbelievably brutal and which involves the most refined torture of the human soul."<sup>13</sup>

In 1940, the Board of National Missions reported to the General Assembly:

Jewish refugee work deals with a people whose rootlessness derives... from a deliberate uprooting by the... Nazi regime, and, like freshly dug roots flung up to die, these men, women, and children have been thrown on the charity of the world. Small charity they have received. In Palestine new limitations on land purchases by Jews, following drastic curtailment of Jewish immigration, strike a severe blow to the dreams of those who would have seen Palestine a refuge for Jews. America, the "asylum of the persecuted," has admitted only 75,000 refugees

since 1933... hundreds upon hundreds are wanderers, refused asylum at port after port, living in a nightmare of uncertainty and utter despair.<sup>14</sup>

In September and October 1942, Samuel Cavert visited France and Switzerland. He was asked by the Director of the World Jewish Congress to try to determine, as has been reported, that deportation by Nazis

really meant extermination. Cavert confirmed that report by cable.<sup>15</sup> That disclosure led to the following resolution on anti-Semitism adopted at the Biennial Assembly of the Federal Council on December 11:

The reports which are reaching us concerning the incredible cruelties towards the Jews in Nazi occupied countries, particularly Poland, stir the Christian people of America to the deepest sympathy and indignation. It is impossible to avoid a conclusion that something like a policy of deliberate extermination of the Jews in Europe is being carried out. The violence and inhumanity which Nazi leaders have publicly avowed toward all Jews are apparently now coming to a climax in a virtual massacre. We are resolved to do our part in establishing conditions in which such treatment of all Jews shall end... For those who, after the war, will have to emigrate from the war-ridden lands of Europe, immigration opportunities should be created in this and other lands.<sup>16</sup>

On January 6, 1943, the heads of six Jewish organizations which comprise the Synagogue Council of America, met in conference with official representatives of the FCCCA. This report of the meeting appeared in the Federal Council Bulletin of February: "Several fruitful sugges-

tions emerged as to ways in which the churches might help to develop a stronger support for the needs of refugees from Europe, a measure of relief in the form of food for at least some of the Jews in Europe, and a safe and respected place for Jews in the post-war world."<sup>17</sup>

The commissioners to the 1943 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church called upon its members to "protest against the wholesale and ruthless persecution of Jews now going on in many lands of Europe under Nazi domination... to give all possible aid to those who are the victims of this legalized anti-Semitism, and to urge unceasingly all possible Government action... here and abroad, to assure the rescue of as many of the European Jews as possible from their threatened complete annihilation and extermination."<sup>16</sup>

This record, which is only a small part of the total activity of that sad period in world affairs, is evidence of the concern shown by Protestant leaders for the Jews of Europe and the efforts made to open doors both here and in other countries. It should also be noted that the references to Palestine view Jewish land purchases and immigration in a positive light. By this time most of the mission infrastructure of the Presbyterian work in Arab countries had already been established. The concern for Jews who were suffering and dying under Hitler's horrors was based solely on human beings in need. Political considerations played no part in these policies and activities.

## Presbyterian Response to Israeli Persecution of Palestinians

It was through its Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations (COEMAR) that the Presbyterian Church carried out its mission in the

Middle East. Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, COEMAR became involved in the support of Palestinian refugee workers. Their work was frustrating because of international politics and was compounded by their knowledge that the churches of Europe and America remained ignorant of the magnitude and urgency of the emerging Palestinian crisis.<sup>19</sup>

Two major ecumenical conferences in 1951 and 1956 brought together American and European donor agencies to the Middle East where they saw firsthand the crisis

*Almost all of them had one thing in common. They had traveled to the Middle East on tourism or business and had taken the opportunity...to talk with Palestinian Christians.*

of the Palestinians and heard for the first time what happened to them in the periods immediately before and during the 1948 war. Although no significant policy followed these two Middle East meetings, consciences were awakened by the plight of the Palestinian people.

During most of the time the World Council of Churches (WCC) which was then mostly a western church body, especially in its leadership, reflected concern for Israel based on western guilt feelings related to the Holocaust. In 1966, the first General Secretary of the Council retired and his successor, an American, opened the WCC leadership to churches of the third world. As new staff leadership entered the scene, a change occurred in WCC attitudes toward Israel. And as attitudes changed in the WCC, they began to reflect back to member churches in America and Europe.

The June 1967 war was a watershed in Jewish-Christian relations. Despite Israel's overwhelming victory on the battlefield, American Jews saw only that Israel was threatened, and panicked at the thought that the Arab threat to "throw Israel into the sea" might actually occur.

On the other hand, reports to

overseas boards of the churches from refugee workers and ecumenical channels gave a different picture. It was based on Israel's own evaluation of the situation: Israel's military had prepared well for the crisis which they foresaw and, when UN observers were withdrawn, was ready to unleash its forces before Arab forces were prepared for battle. This perspective was in line with that of Israel's Foreign Minister at that time, Abba Eban, who had said: "Israel is in a posture of preparedness but not of alarm. Her forces are capable of defending the vital in-

terests and the territory of the State."<sup>20</sup> Since that time Israel's military leaders of that period have confirmed Eban's judgment.<sup>21</sup>

Until the 1967 war, church leaders involved in overseas affairs had believed that Arab intransigence made peace efforts unlikely. After the war, and Israel's overwhelming defeat of the Arab forces, the question became one of the intention of Zionism: would a militarily powerful Israel with strong U.S. political backing be prepared to make peace with its defeated Arab neighbors? And that question soon became the focal point of Protestant policy development.

In the Presbyterian Church, however, it took almost five years of quiet inter-board struggle to bring the matter to a head. The board working in the U.S. did not want to offend their Jewish colleagues by bringing the question of Israel to the fore. COEMAR itself was somewhat divided. Its division of relations included relations with Jewish organizations and its leadership had no wish to upset the good relations which they then enjoyed. Its mission division was influenced more by its contacts with the WWC, missionaries in the Middle East and Relief Workers.

The delay in tackling the Middle East issue from at least September 1967 until June 1971 suggests something of the countervailing forces at work within the denomination. Ralph Clark Chandler, the Secretary for International Relations at the time, reports that there was something of a "Mexican standoff" over the issue between the Board of Christian Education (to which he reported) and COEMAR, and especially between the two General Secretaries of those Boards. He remembers that there were pressures from the Jewish community to keep the denomination from going public with an official policy, pointing out that Jewish cooperation on national issues, such as civil rights, abortion, and Vietnam, could be jeopardized should the denominations express a view such as that held by "the missionaries." He added that the denominations had a number of "politically naive people around in those days" who didn't understand the Jewish pressure groups nor the justice issue because they lacked Middle East field experience.<sup>22</sup>

The Advisory Council on Church and Society (C&S) was the denominational body which presented policy statements to the General Assembly on social, economic, and international affairs. By the time the 1970 General Assembly mandated C&S to return a draft policy statement on the Middle East, Dean H. Lewis had been named the new Director of C&S. Lewis early on learned of the intention of COEMAR to seek a Middle East policy statement and found himself joining those who sought to prevent such a development. Following the General Assembly mandate, however, he organized a Task Force that was well balanced in its perspectives on the Middle East.

The Task Force brought its recommendations to the 1972 General Assembly which after much debate approved it for study in the churches. The spirit of the report can be discerned in its refusal to pick be-



Jewish refugees arriving in Palestine, May, 1948.



Palestinian refugees arriving in Jordan, Summer, 1967. Many had been made refugees earlier in 1948.

tween the persecuted. It simply concluded: "The cup of suffering caused by displacement, pogroms, crusades, and holocausts is full. Solutions must be found at some level beyond the attempt to weigh the suffering of one people against that of another."<sup>23</sup>

The chair of the Task Force, Elwyn A. Smith, had good relations with many Jewish leaders and several wrote him after receiving copies of the report to congratulate him on the statement. He later told this writer that he came to the work of the Task Force "sensitive to Israel's need for defense and that the report first produced reflected his feelings."<sup>24</sup>

But the 1972 report caused the missionaries in the Middle East great dismay. They had earlier (Spring 1968) sent an "Open Letter to Christians of the West" in which they stated their view that western Christians were uninformed about fellow Christians in the Middle East and largely influenced by Zionist views. They urged their western Christian colleagues to "be sensitive and responsive to the present Middle Eastern tragedy," looking "beyond the one-sided reporting and opinions current in the West." The missionaries obviously felt great disappointment over the 1972 report and made their feelings known to the C&S and to congregations at

home. In doing this they did not endeavor themselves to the Task Force but they made sure that their voice was heard even from a distance.

Lewis began to feel that a clash would occur at General Assembly. He had never been to the Middle East himself and now felt that it was important to go there in order to be in a position to defend the Task Force at General Assembly. In Beirut he had wide-ranging conversations with the missionaries and Palestinians, and in Israel with Jews of all persuasions. He remembers that it was Israeli Jews in the peace movement who impressed him most. From them he learned of the dissent inside the Israeli community over treatment of Palestinians under Israel's rule. What Palestinians had said in Beirut and East Jerusalem about the oppressive nature of Israeli military rule was authenticated by the Jews who saw the need for peace and an end of occupation. This trip was a turning point in Lewis's understanding of Middle East issues and was to have a major impact on the final report.

Later, following a series of conversations in the U.S. with Palestinians, Israelis, Arabs and American Jews of all shades of opinion, as well as State Department people with Middle East experience, Lewis discussed

his experience with some leaders of American Jewish organizations. They told him he was naive and pressed their point of view. As a result he began to feel that the organized Jewish leadership seemed unwilling to consider opportunities and options which might lead to peace.<sup>25</sup>

As the Task Force prepared for the writing of their final report to General Assembly, they were conscious that their perspectives had changed. The desire for close relationship with the American Jewish community remained; but in addition there was an understanding of the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination. The issue of justice for a people who had lost homes and land for a cause over which they had no responsibility (the Holocaust) became a dominant issue. And the seeming lack of deep commitment to seeking peace on the part of the Israeli government and its friends in the American Jewish community was troubling.

Thus, the report approved by the 1974 General Assembly was quite different from the one accepted for study in 1972. It pointed out that "To ignore injustices that have been commonplace is not reconciliation. A people 'reconciled' to its own suffering and humiliation is not truly reconciled."<sup>26</sup>

And it went on to say that:

...if preliminary steps toward peace and justice are to be successful in the Middle East, the following criteria should apply in the evaluation of any proposed settlement: The right and power of Palestinian people to self-determination by political expression, based upon full civil liberties for all... provision should be made for just compensation or restoration of Palestinian property and land, and the satisfactory settlement of all Palestinian refugees, including return where feasible and desired. The Palestinian people should be full participants in negotiations concerning any of these matters through representatives of their own choosing.<sup>27</sup>

The same rights were claimed for the Jewish people and the State of Israel with the added provision that "Provisions should be made to assure Israel's security and to support its development." And this important sentence was added: "Christians must repudiate in unambiguous terms all forms of anti-Semitism and must explore ways by which the church might respond to the continuing human needs of the Jewish people both in Israel and in other lands."<sup>28</sup> Moreover, "Boundaries of all states in the area should be mutually defined and accepted. In this process Arab states should recognize Israel as a sovereign state, equal in political and legal status to any state in the Middle East, and Israel should assure neighboring Arab states that it renounces any extension of its mutually defined and accepted boundaries. Effective means should be established to guarantee these assurances until a true community of peoples in the Middle East makes such measures unnecessary."<sup>29</sup>

Lewis gives credit to COEMAR and its successor agency, The Program Agency, for the achievement of church-wide support for the adopted report. But he especially

mentioned the tenacity of the missionaries who throughout the study provided background and informational studies. At one time, as indicated, they were considered a biased, interfering pressure group. By the time the Task Force had done its homework, they became more appreciated for the contribution they were making.<sup>30</sup>

However, there were other factors. Lewis himself, following his Middle East field experience made a significant contribution to changing the thrust of the study. Smith says that he, too, changed during the course of the study and states that he was content with the final product at the end of the Task Force's work.<sup>31</sup> Concerned members of local congregations, people in many different capacities, also made their voices heard.

Almost all of them had one thing in common. They had traveled to the Middle East on tourism or business and had taken the opportunity to break away from the "tour bus" mentality to see for themselves, and to talk with, local people, especially with Palestinian Christians. They became aware that the common American media picture of Israel left much to be desired. They heard the story of the Palestinian people's loss of homes and livelihood, and came to understand them as *people*, not just refugees or terrorists.

## Facing the Charge of Anti-Semitism

The balance exhibited by the Presbyterian Church policy statement, I assumed at the time, would only be challenged by rabid proponents of either Israel or the Palestinian cause. After the years of working on the Presbyterian Middle East desk, I am well aware of my denomination's policies and am careful to make public presentation within that framework. Why then the charge of being anti-Semitic?

Dr. Arthur Hertzberg in his book "Being Jewish in America" argues that "The reality of our present relationship with the highest bodies of Christianity is that there are no difficulties on all those issues such as race and poverty on which we are prepared to behave as an international religious community... The stumbling block, the rock on which the new unity breaks, is the singularity as religious phenomenon and the intensity as present policy of the Jewish involvement in Israel." He goes on to add "... that all of the anti-Jewish movements of this day, including the overt attacks from Christian quarters, are divorced from religious motifs, and... their central target is the great endeavor of Jews really to behave like conventional modern men in a national state of their own."<sup>32</sup>

There is some truth in what Hertzberg says. I have spoken with a number of Christians who have little or no contact with the Middle East and know nothing of the real problems there, yet they are rabidly opposed to Israel. But to generalize from that observation would be a great injustice to others, Christians and Jews, who know the area and its problems and have a deep concern based on their religious convictions.

Many Jews whom I know feel that what is happening in Israel today is a blot on Judaism. Knowledgeable Christians, who know of the presence of a significant Christian church in the Middle East and are aware of what our western Christian failure to work for justice is doing to their security, have another reason to be concerned for peace in the area.

The issue then becomes a debate among the American people, not over Israel's right to exist, but over that nation's treatment of its minority Palestinian population and the Palestinians they rule in the occupied territories by military might supported by U.S. equipment, policy and funds. For those concerned over these issues, the support given Israel

by the U.S. government is a rightful subject of open debate.

But Israel's friends in the U.S. do not seem to care for an open debate of these issues. They prefer to have Israel presented as a small state surrounded by millions of Arabs who have much land, the only democracy in the Middle East, "just like us Americans." When someone, Christian or Jew publicly presents Israel in another light, then the organized Jewish Community reacts in ways which are meant to discredit the critic. Let me illustrate this point by a personal experience and also from the experience of others.<sup>33</sup>

About four years ago I spoke at one of our Presbyterian Church adult education groups. Normally I am not challenged with the charge of anti-Semitism in such a context. But on this occasion the neighborhood newspaper covered the talk and reported it correctly but with none of the concern with which I had carefully couched my remarks. The next Sunday several Jews attended the class and challenged me on the basis of the reported remarks from the previous Sunday. We had what I believed to be an open and honest exchange and I thought the matter was ended.

Then I received a copy of a letter sent to a staff member of our local Presbytery from the Anti-Defamation League. A copy of the letter had gone to the pastor of the church and the coordinator of the adult education program. None was sent to me by the ADL, nor was I contacted by them directly. The last paragraph of the letter stated: "You, certainly, must recognize how these remarks harm and damage the good name of the Jewish people and their relations with their Christian neighbors. The many complaints we have received certainly bear this out." Copy of the letter was also sent to the editor of the neighborhood paper and was published in full. The letter raised a number of charges, three of which are illustrative of the subject being

considered. I cite below in bold type some of the views objected to, and give the responses I would have presented in a live exchange with the objectors:

One, "...his comparison of Israel with South Africa is inaccurate, inappropriate, and highly biased." I doubt that the ADL director had much or any field experience in South Africa. I had traveled to that country many times over the seven-teen years I served on the African desk and knew apartheid from the perspective of all the various peoples of that country. I had also, by that time, been in Israel and the occupied territories on many occasions. I had been careful to distinguish between Israel and the militarily occupied territories ruled by Israel. My remarks were directed to the comparison of the Palestinians under Israeli rule in the occupied territories and people of color in South Africa. Neither have the same rights in civil law, they cannot vote, they pay taxes but are poorly cared for (regarding education and health) as compared with the ruling class. One could go on. Fortunately, the situation has improved in South Africa, but sadly, not in Israel.

Two, "the President's hands are tied by the pro-Israeli lobby" and "we are sold out to Israel." The reference was to the influence of the Israeli Lobby (the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee - AIPAC) in the Congress. The outstanding example (among many) is the defeat of Senator Charles Percy, a Republican from Illinois and chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. The story is told by former *Time* magazine journalist Edward Tivnan in his book, "The Lobby": "Percy's Jewish problem began in 1975, after a trip to the Middle East. He charged that Israel had missed opportunities to negotiate and urged its leaders to talk to the PLO, provided the group recognized Israel's right to exist be-

hind secure borders." By 1984 Percy was further tarred by his vote on behalf of the sale of AWAC plans to Saudi Arabia, a decision which AIPAC had fought and lost. Tivnan continues: "Thousands of Jews from all over the nation, however, donated \$3 million to Simon's campaign (Percy's opponent) — 40 percent of his total funds... Tom Dine (Executive Director of AIPAC) told a Jewish audience in Toronto, 'All the Jews in America, from coast to coast, gathered to oust Percy. And the American politicians — those who hold public positions now, and those who aspire — got the message.'<sup>34</sup>

In the 1988 elections, 78 pro-Israel Political Action Committees (PACs) made a total of \$5,432,055 in direct contributions to 479 candidates for congressional office. The single issue focus of these PACs makes them larger than any other special interest group in Washington. While not a PAC in the sense that it gives money, AIPAC nevertheless wields the political clout of the giving of these pro-Israel PACs when it comes to lobbying.<sup>35</sup>

Representative Mervyn M. Dymally, a California Democrat who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, said AIPAC was "without question the most effective lobby in Congress." He added: "There is a high level of intolerance among the AIPAC leadership and a very arrogant response to any criticism of Israel. Indeed, if I were a member of the Knesset, I would be freer to criticize Israel than I am today as a member of Congress."<sup>36</sup>

Alfred Lilienthal, in his book "The Zionist Connection II," points out that "The Anti-Defamation League does its share cooperating in 'converting' congressmen at critical moments. Opposition to sending the deadly C-3 concussion bombs to (Israel) immediately brought overt suggestions from this group that the opponents were secretly anti-Semitic. That's the pervasive force they strike in the hearts of the members



up here,' one Capitol Hill aide was quoted as saying. 'If you're in opposition to anything Israel wants, you get a big white paintbrush that says you're anti-Semitic.' Congressman David Obey (Dem.-Wis.) expressed it this way: 'If you question their programs, they say you are their enemies and against them... I defend Israel, but not irrational policies that would lead to war for both of us.'<sup>37</sup>

This Israeli control of Congressional Middle East policy inevitably spills over to the Administration. President Gerald R. Ford, dissatisfied with Israeli willingness to work for peace, called for a "reappraisal"

*When any country can count on such control in the U.S. Congress, the integrity of our democratic system of government has been betrayed.*

of U.S. policies in the Middle East. While his statement did not mention Israel by name its meaning was clear: unless Israel was more cooperative in working for peace, U.S. aid would be reevaluated.

Overnight AIPAC drafted and circulated a letter, which became known as "the spirit of 76," and which carried this message to the President with the signatures of seventy-six Senators: "We urge that you reiterate our nation's long-standing commitment to Israel's security by a policy of continued military supplies, and diplomatic and economic support."

Faced with such bipartisan opposition, the President gave in and dropped his effort for a more evenhanded approach to peace in the Middle East.<sup>38</sup>

The Reagan Administration also bowed to Congressional pressures when it tried to sell stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Lawrence Eagleburger, the No. 3 State Department official, had attempted to negotiate concessions from Thomas Dine, Executive Direc-

tor of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). He failed, but this very effort prompted *The Washington Post* to question "the propriety of the administration's making deals on foreign policy issues with a private, special-interest organization." And it prompted King Hussein of Jordan to complain: "the U.S. is not free to move except within the limits of what AIPAC, the Zionists and the State of Israel determine for it."<sup>39</sup>

Incidents of AIPAC influence in Congress affecting presidential action in seeking peace in the Middle East could be multiplied. Just recently, in connection with the consideration of \$10 billion in loan

guarantees for Israel, *The New York Times* reported that Senators Robert W. Kasten, Jr., Republican of Wisconsin, and Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, were trying to "seek enough co-sponsors to claim at least the 67 votes needed to override a veto..." It goes on to report one House aide who insisted on anonymity as saying: "Israel's supporters have been pressing on this for several months at every opportunity." The article continues: "The center of that national voice is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, known as AIPAC, one of the most determined, single-minded and effective lobbying groups in the capital. Its executive director is Thomas A. Dine, and 'Dine's on the phone constantly, to everyone,' as the House aide put it... He and other registered lobbyists at AIPAC can get Congressional attention in a hurry. They talk with Congressional leaders and help devise strategies and round up support. Few lobbies do it as well. Few are also as reluctant to be quoted in the press."<sup>40</sup>

Does this submissiveness of the Congress to Israel's lobby tie the

President's hands? One final item regarding the present \$10 billion loan guarantee issue should leave little doubt in anyone's mind. In a Reuters dispatch Prime Minister Shamir is quoted: "At this moment the struggle is internal between (U.S.) congressmen who support and who express understanding of the needs of Israel and the administration. We don't see any reason to change our position." The article goes on to say: "An unsmiling Shamir refused to directly comment on Bush's statement, but made clear that he expected lobbyists from American Jewish groups to ignore Bush's opposition and step up pressure on Congress for immediate approval of the aid.

Shamir in this case was wrong but only because President Bush dug in and threatened to go to the American public — a threat which Israel's lobby takes very seriously.<sup>42</sup> However, when any country can count on such control in the U.S. Congress, the integrity of our democratic system of government has been betrayed. But let the issue be clear: friends of Israel have a right to lobby for their cause. Lobbying, evil as it can become, is presently a legitimate activity in our country. But when senators and representatives are made submissive because of getting campaign funds and other gratuities; if they are subjected to threats and innuendo should they fail to vote according to the wishes of any pressure group; if they no longer think first of the national interest of their country because of special interest pressure, then the national interest has been sold out.

Three, that the press and major publishing houses feel the pressure of Jewish organizations not to publish or distribute news or books unfavorable to Israel.

Elisabeth Elliot had been a writer of several best-selling books published by Harper & Row over a period of eleven years, when the publisher suggested that she write

a book on Israel. She agreed. Harper & Row paid her travel and gave her the normal advance on a commissioned book.

Elliot went to Israel in the latter part of 1967, expecting to be bowled over by the new excitement in the Jewish state's June victory.<sup>43</sup> She came back having seen the good and the bad, the joy and the anguish, the kindness and the cruelty, asking the question: "Is there in Zion liberty and justice for all? Or, as Jeremiah asked long ago, "Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, Look and take note! Search her squares to see if you can find a man. One who does justice and seeks truth..."<sup>44</sup>

After the book was finished, the cover approved, the book listed in the catalog of forthcoming books, something strange happened. She was invited to lunch and told that the book was unpublishable. When she expressed surprise and asked why it was unpublishable, the president of Harper & Row told her that she had treated "a sensitive subject insensitively." The publishers recommended that she return to Israel for further research, which she declined to do. She asked for specifics regarding the charge of insensitivity. They could not provide them but promised to write to her. She then discussed the matter with her agent, who was Jewish, and he called a number of times trying to get the letter which had been promised. It never came. Finally, tired of waiting, the agent suggested moving the book to another publisher. Mrs. Elliot agreed. He sold the book to Doubleday in 24 hours.

The point which makes this story so significant was that Harper & Row did not turn the book down when their editor first read it, nor in any of the normal processes of publishing. Furthermore, Mrs. Elliot had had a very successful record of working with the publisher and it was they who wanted the book on Israel. To then turn around and tell her that the book she had written at their re-

quest was unpublishable, for them meant risking their relationship with an author who had a long record of writing successful books. Why did they do it? She asked her agent that question. He had read the book. His answer was a brief one: Somebody got to them.<sup>45</sup>

Hal Wyner is an American correspondent for a West German and Swiss newspaper. In October 1989 he wrote a piece on "press timidity" for the New York Times, in which he stated:

It was clear from the outset that the Israeli army was using unnecessary force to put down the mass demonstrations that marked the first months of the *intifada*. More than that, the troops deliberately provoked demonstrations in order to apply that force...

For journalists who witness such events in the territories, there is little question about the facts; the problem is how to report them... It is clear that, as far as Israel's image in the world is concerned, any objective description of what is going on is extremely damaging. And it is not surprising that the Jews of the world react strongly to the reports. Because of this, even the most uncompromising journalists generally make an effort to tone down their articles.

As difficult as it may be to believe, most stories on the *intifada* that appear in the Western media are characterized not by exaggeration but by understatement. In spite of this, many non-Jewish correspondents have had to deal with accusations of anti-Semitism, while Jewish journalists (myself included) are censured for 'self-hatred.' I have noticed that neither the facts that I report nor the weight that I attach to them are ever seriously challenged. The most common complaint has been... 'You don't know what harm you are

doing. You are providing the anti-Semites with ammunition...'

Since anti-Semitism has its roots not in the truth but in distortions of the truth, I do not see how I can in any way do a service to the Jewish people by concealing or distorting the truth when it comes to Israel. I am not prepared to sacrifice my own values as a concession to anti-Semitism. The issue is not self-hatred but self-respect.<sup>46</sup>

Americans rightly celebrate their Bill of Rights which, for 200 years, has granted them the freedom of expression. If anyone cannot criticize Israel without harassment and being called ugly names, then those who attempt to create an atmosphere of fear need to look to the cause they support. As Hal Wyner makes clear, the truth flourishes in openness. Thus it should be possible to have a civilized conversation where the critic can be challenged and through open debate the facts come out. That is the American way — not suppression of views by measures used so often by Israel's friends.

## What Are We To Expect

The current peace conference and the issue of the \$10 billion loan guarantees to Israel are likely to create a period of testing over these issues in the months and years ahead. President Bush has apparently determined to no longer treat Israel as a special interest ally because of domestic political considerations, but to consider it a friend which needs peace as much as its neighbors do. In making that decision he has undoubtedly counted the cost and decided to stand up to lobby pressure, going to the American public with the facts if necessary.

At the same time, Prime Minister Shamir is resentful of having lost what

he feels is Israel's rightful special status as America's closest friend in the Middle East. As Evans and Novak see it: "So, unreasoning or not, Israel intends to press its grievance with the Bush administration in terms as hard as necessary to restore Israeli clout in the U.S. government."<sup>47</sup>

This, of course, is all part of the plan: Israel threatens the United States if we do not go along with their wishes. Pro-Israeli commentators warn of the dangers of trying to work for peace in the Middle East; they note that all previous efforts have failed, which of course they have. But none of them has looked at the cause of the failure — Israel's control of Congressional decisions on U.S. Middle East policy.

*...because of the bondage of Congress to the Israeli lobby, the President's only strength lies with the American people.*

Wolf Blitzer, in a book copyrighted in 1985, quotes an unnamed "veteran State Department Middle East hand" on what would likely happen if an American Administration attempted to induce Israel to leave the West Bank and Gaza: "...a serious crisis would immediately erupt between the United States and Israel... This, in turn, would quickly result in a full-scale Israeli mobilization against the administration in office. The arena would be American public opinion, as reflected in Congress, the news media, the labor unions, the think tanks, the churches, universities and elsewhere." Nor would it end there. Blitzer continues: "U.S. officials are aware of one other potential development such pressure tactics on Israel could trigger, namely an Israeli military response. Israel, they know, is still the most powerful military force in the Middle East. But an Israel uncertain of continued U.S. support might conclude that its qualitative advantage on the battlefield would soon erode in the absence of additional American arms shipments. Thus, there would be

strong pressure within Israel... to embark on a preemptive strike against the Arabs..."<sup>48</sup>

That has been the accepted wisdom in Washington ever since President Eisenhower told Israel to withdraw from Egypt in 1956. And that "wisdom" has been a total failure. But it is the image of Israel that its lobby plants so well: "Don't go against Israel's interest or you will get hurt." In reality, any serious consideration by Israelis of losing American support would cause most of the electorate to quickly call for a peace agreement. Israel's current ideological government stays in power because they have up until recently convinced their public that they can have their own way and

American support, too. Thus Israeli settlements are eating up the West Bank and Gaza at a rate which indicates that in only a few years Palestinians will be living in something akin to Bantustans, under worse conditions than South African blacks in 1985. President Bush has realized this and has another vision of Jews and Palestinians living in peace with security and justice for both peoples. But because of the bondage of Congress to the Israeli lobby, the President's only strength lies with the American people.

George W. Ball, deputy secretary of state under two presidents and former U.S. ambassador to the U.N., now retired, feels that the Israeli lobby is overrated in the power that it can deliver. He feels that the lobby's instrument of greatest power is its willingness to make broad use of the charge of anti-Semitism: "They've got one great thing going for them. Most people are terribly concerned not to be accused of being anti-Semitic, and the lobby so often equates criticism of Israel with anti-Semi-

tism."<sup>49</sup> John Foster Dulles, a Presbyterian, would have agreed with Ball but put it another way at a time when the Eisenhower administration was in conflict with Israel: "It is impossible to hold the line because we get no support from the Protestant elements in the country. All we get is battering from the Jews."<sup>50</sup>

The combat has obviously been engaged. Israel will test George Bush to the breaking point; Congress, at best, will be of little help. If George Bush is to remain strong for the contest, he must have the support of the American people. A recent poll shows that a significant majority of the American Jewish community supports the principles for which the President is working: 88% support territorial compromise; 79% would agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state after an interim period of self-rule; 78% support a settlement freeze in exchange for \$10 billion in U.S. backed loan guarantees; 91% believe active U.S. involvement is necessary for peace and 95% said both sides should be pressed to be more flexible. All the answers suggest that 100% would insist that Israel's security be safeguarded in any final arrangement.<sup>51</sup>

That is the crux of the problem for all Americans. The kind of Jewish support suggested by the poll indicates that we Americans are not so significantly divided as some would have us believe. Our difference lies, however, in the deep, very deep fear in the Jewish community — played on by lobbyists and fundraisers — that Christians do not really care whether Israel continues to exist. For that reason, in the days to come, it is imperative that any arguments and disagreements be based on facts — not on attempts to make people keep quiet when they disagree, not making them fear to speak up because of blanket accusations, and not without concern for the fears of our Jewish fellow Americans about the future of Israel.

This will be a difficult and sen-

sitive period. We Americans are going to be at risk of misunderstanding one another over many issues. But if we can confront one another as those who truly seek peace and security, with justice for all the peoples of the Middle East, we can finally reach that goal which has for so long seemed so elusive.

## NOTES

1. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Israeli rightist: Bush an anti-Semite, September 16, 1991, p. 9A.
2. *Ibid.*, Bush vows to veto backing for Israeli loans this year, September 1, 1991.
3. This research resulted in a twenty-three page paper published in *American Presbyterians*, Fall 1990, pp. 143ff.
4. Minutes of the General Assembly PCUSA (1916) pp. 185f.
5. Freudenburg, *La Persecution des Juifs en Allemagne*, cited in Johan M. Snoek, *The Grey Book* (Assen, van Gorcum, 1969), p. 83.
6. Snoek, p. 84.
7. Federal Council Bulletin (October 1938) p. 13.
8. Original telegram addressed to Rev. Samuel Cavert, Federal Council of Churches, in rare documents collection, Department of History (DOH), Presbyterian Church (USA).
9. Cavert, "Memorandum on White House Conference on Refugees: FCCCA Archives, DOH, Hertzler Fishman, American Protestantism and a Jewish State (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), omits reference to the President's Advisory Committee and implies through his section title - Against immigration to the United States" - that the FCCCA was unconcerned for refugees and did not work for changes in immigration quotas; both implications are untrue.
10. Federal Council Bulletin (October 1939), p. 8. Fishman, *op cit.*, argued that Christian leadership opposed Jewish nationalism and a homeland in Palestine and for support leaned heavily on the *Christian Century* as a publication which spoke for Protestant leadership. This paper has used FCCCA Archives as source material, not the *Century* and finds that insofar as Fishman indicts the FCCCA or Protestant leadership for lack of humanitarian concern for European Jews he appears to be ill-informed.
11. Federal Council Bulletin (February 1940), p. 7.
12. Minutes of the General Assembly PCUSA (1939) p. 167.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.* Report of the Board of National Missions (1940), p. 37.
15. Dr. Rieger's letter to Dr. Visser 'tHooft (April 14, 1965) Archives of the WCC, Geneva. Cited in Snoek, p. 261. Rieger was reporting on his earliest knowledge of the Nazi plan of Jewish extermination.
16. Federal Council Bulletin (January 1943), p. 12.
17. *Ibid.* (February 1943).
18. Minutes of the General Assembly PCUSA (1943), pp. 258-f.
19. Millar Burrows, Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology, Yale Divinity School, wrote to Samuel Cavert on February 6, 1949: "I've been wanting to get in touch with you concerning the Arab refugee problem ... about which Christian organizations are maintaining an appalling silence ... The indifference of American Christians ... can be explained only by their ignorance, but for that I cannot but hold our church leaders in part responsible."
20. Abba Eban, *An Autobiography* (New York, Random House, 1977), p. 344.
21. In an interview with the Hebrew newspaper *Ma'ariv* (April 4, 1972) Chief-of-Staff Halim Bar-Lev stated: "We were not threatened with genocide on the eve of the six-day war, and we had never thought of such possibility." In the same article, General Ezer Weizman, Chief of Operations, said: "There was never a danger of extermination... This hypothesis had never been considered in any serious meeting." Later when Weizman was urged not to speak so frankly in view of diaspora Jewish feelings, he said: "The Jews of the Diaspora would like, for reasons of their own, to see us as heroes, our backs to the wall. This desire of theirs, however, will not affect the reality of the situation." (*LeMonde*, June 3, 1972).
22. Ralph Clark Chandler, telephone interview (March 31, 1990).
23. Peoples and Conflict in the Middle East-A Preliminary Report for Study (1972) p. 39.
24. Elwyn A. Smith, telephone interview (May 10, 1990).
25. Dean H. Lewis, telephone interview (April 7, 1990).
26. *The Middle East Conflict, A Presbyterian Report* (1974), pp. 7-f.
27. *Ibid.* p. 21.
28. *Ibid.* p. 22.
29. *Ibid.* p. 22. These are three of seven criteria in the report.
30. Lewis, *op cit.*
31. Elwyn A. Smith *op cit.*
32. Arthur Hertzburg, *Being Jewish in America, The Modern Experience* (New York, Herzl Press, 1979) p. 38-f.
33. One of the most notable cases I've found of discrediting critics of Israel is that of A.C. Forrest, as reported in his book, "The Unholy Land" (The Devon-Adair Co., Old Greenwich, CT., 1971). Available from AMEU, see page 14, Ed.
34. Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby, Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1987) p. 187-f.
35. Richard H. Curtiss, *Stealth PACS: How Israel's American Lobby Took Control of Middle East Policy* (Washington, American Education Trust, 1990) p. 103-f.
36. *The New York Times*, Pro-Israel Group Exerts Quiet Might As It Rallies Supporters in Congress, July 7, 1987 p. 8.
37. Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II, What Price Peace?* (New Brunswick, North American, 1978), p. 261.
38. Paul Findley, *They Dare To Speak Out, People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, CT. Lawrence & Hill Co. 1985) p. 100-f.
39. Findley, *op cit.*, p. 31-f.
40. *The New York Times*, Pro-Israel Lobby Readies For Fight, September 15, 1991.
41. *The Philadelphia Enquirer*, Shamir stands firm against Bush threat to veto \$10 billion in loan guarantees, September 14, 1991.
42. *Ibid.*, U.S. links aid for Israel to the settlements, September 18, 1991 p. 3-A.
43. Elisabeth Elliot, *Furnace of the Lord, Reflections on the Redemption of The Holy City* (New York, Doubleday & Co., 1969) p. 2.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
45. Telephone interview with Elisabeth Elliot December 2, 1991.
46. *The New York Times*, *News of the Week In Review*, Israeli Brutality, Press Timidity, October 8, 1989.
47. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, *Why Shamir is Angry*, *The Washington Post*, November 27, 1991.
48. Wolf Blitzer, *Between Washington and Jerusalem, A Reporter's Notebook* (New York, Oxford Press University, 1985) p. 13-f.
49. Findley, *op cit.*, p. 127.
50. *Ibid.* p. 119.
51. *The Jerusalem Post*, International Edition, Poll finds many U.S. Jewish leaders disagree with Shamir, Week ending November 30, 1991.



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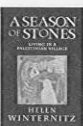
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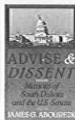
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*Kamal Boullata, Olive Branch Press, 1990, 120 pp., cloth*  
Palestinian school children depict their occupied world in watercolors. Called by *Life Magazine* "a touching, often disturbing collection of sketches." Illustrated: over 140 plates; 76 in color. 9 3/4" x 5 3/4".  
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How Israel blackmailed US with nuclear threat and gave USSR secret documents stolen by Jonathon Pollard.  
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- TOUGH JEWS**  
*Paul Brines, Harper-Collins/Basic Books, 1990, 277 pp., cloth*  
A tough love look at Jewish justification for brutalizing Palestinians. The author goes on to show how this post-Holocaust, pro-Israel machismo is corroding traditional Jewish values.  
List: \$19.95; AMEU: **\$14.50**



- STEALTH PACS:** How Israel's American Lobby Took Control of U.S. Middle East Policy (updated ed.)  
*Richard H. Curtis, AET, 1990, 217 pp., paper*  
Lists the 145 pro-Israel political action committees run by AIPAC, which politicians they supported, and how much they gave.  
List: \$14.95; AMEU: **\$9.50**



**□ BEYOND INNOCENCE AND REDEMPTION: Confronting the Holocaust and Israeli Power**  
 Marc H. Ellis, Harper & Row, 1991,  
 214 pp., paper  
 Jewish theologian probes distortion of Holocaust theology into tool of victimization.  
 List: \$13.00; AMEU: \$10.50



**□ ASSAULT ON THE LIBERTY**  
 James Ennes, Random House, 1979, 299 pp., cloth  
 The author was an officer on the bridge during the prolonged and brutal attack on the USS LIBERTY by Israel planes and torpedo boats in 1967 that killed 34 American crewmen and wounded 171 others.  
 List: \$14.95; AMEU: \$11.50



**□ ISLAM THE STRAIGHT PATH**  
 (expanded ed.)  
 John L. Esposito, Oxford Univ. Press, 1991,  
 230 pp., cloth  
 Readable introduction to Islam and guide to understanding complex issues related to Muslim belief and practice.  
 List: \$21.95; AMEU: \$15.25



**□ PITY THE NATION: The Abduction of Lebanon**  
 Robert Fisk, Simon-Schuster/Touchstone, 1990,  
 678 pp., paper  
 The author, who witnessed almost 15 years of terror in Beirut, brilliantly portrays the horror of a war-torn nation. He covers the key events in Lebanon's betrayal and introduces the reader to the major figures in the conflict.  
 List: \$16.00; AMEU: \$13.50



**□ FROM BEIRUT TO JERUSALEM**  
 Thomas L. Friedman, Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1989, 525 pp., paper  
 Disillusionment of a Jewish-American newsmen in the Middle East. US National Book Award.  
 List: \$12.95; AMEU: \$9.75



**□ A PEACE TO END ALL PEACE: Creating the Modern Middle East: 1914-1922**  
 David Frankin, Acon, 1989, 635 pp., paper  
 Author draws on vast numbers of specialized studies to recreate the behind-the-scenes drama of what was happening in Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, Afghanistan and Central Asia during the decisive period just before and after WW I.  
 List: \$14.95; AMEU: \$12.95



**□ NO TRUMPETS, NO DRUMS: A Two State Settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**  
 Mark A. Heller and Sari Nusseibeh, Hill and Wang, 1991, 183 pp., cloth  
 NEW! Based upon an intense debate between two prominent scholars—one Israeli and one Palestinian—this book may foreshadow future negotiations concerning borders, water, Palestinian refugees, Jewish settlers and security arrangements.  
 List: \$19.95; AMEU: \$14.50



**□ A WOMAN OF NAZARETH**  
 Hala Deeb Jabbour, Olive Branch Press, 1988,  
 223 pp., paper  
 Weaving a tale of love and tragedy set in Beirut in the 1960's and 70's, this novel depicts the life of a young Palestinian woman from Nazareth who leaves the protective circle of her refugee community to discover the world beyond its borders.  
 List: \$9.95; AMEU: \$8.95



**□ THE THIRTEENTH TRIBE**  
 Arthur Koestler, Emmsary Pub., 1976,  
 255 pp., paper  
 Author traces history of the Eastern European Khazars who converted to Judaism in the 8th century and reflects on the implications of this history for Israel and the Jewish diaspora.  
 List: \$8.95; AMEU: \$7.50



**□ IMPERIAL ISRAEL: The History of the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza**  
 Michael Palumbo, Bloomsbury-London, 1990,  
 344 pp., cloth  
 In this book, the author of *The Palestinian Catastrophe*, shows how the '67 War, far from being forced on Israel, was but the next stage in its long planned colonization of the West Bank and Gaza. AMEU is the sole US distributor of this book.  
 List: \$39.95; AMEU: \$24.95



**□ PALESTINE AND ISRAEL: A Challenge to Justice**  
 John Quigley, Duke Univ. Press, 1990,  
 337 pp., paper  
 The author, who is a professor of Law at Ohio State Univ., argues that the Zionist movement violated many of the conventions and agreements of international law in the establishment of Israel and that the Palestinians hold good legal title for the state of their own.  
 List: \$18.95; AMEU: \$16.50



**□ AFTER THE LAST SKY: Palestinian Lives**  
 Edward W. Said, Pantheon Books, 1986,  
 174 pp., paper  
 A prominent Palestinian writer uses a collection of startling black and white photographs as starting point for a moving description of his people.  
 List: \$14.95; AMEU: \$10.50



**□ BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT HANDED: Arab Women Talk About Their Lives**  
 Routharia Shabbat, Indiana Press, 1991,  
 256 pp., paper  
 This vivid documentary records the lives and struggles of ordinary and extra ordinary women in the Arab world. In voices often spirited and brilliant, these women from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Algeria tell how they are shaping the world they have inherited.  
 List: \$12.95; AMEU: \$11.75



**□ ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**  
 20 Minute Video, Amnesty International, 1989  
 Dispassionate documentary in Israeli human rights abuses during Palestinian uprising, with interviews with lawyers, doctors, political prisoners, and commentators such as Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times*.  
 List: \$20.00; AMEU: \$16.50



**□ CHILDREN OF FIRE**  
 Videocassette: VHS, 50 Minutes  
 One of few documentaries of life under curfew. Producer Mai Masri and film crew sneak into Nabhus while it was a closed military zone. Their monthlong filming preserves a moving, at times even comic, portrait of the Palestinian uprising as seen from its real center: the family and children. After its recent premiere on BBC television, London's *Daily Express* wrote: "If you closed your eyes you could have been witnessing the Nazi occupation of the Warsaw ghetto."  
 List: \$50.00; AMEU: \$49.50



- PALESTINIAN COSTUMES AND EMBROIDERY: A Precious Legacy**  
*The Monayyar Collection*  
35 minute, color videocassette of an extensive collection of rare, antique Palestinian dresses, jewelry and accessories. Available in English and Arabic.  
List: \$50.00; AMEU: \$25.00



- JORDAN'S STORMY BANKS: 1991**  
*Presbyterian Church, USA*  
This 30 minute video reviews the history of Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is presented from the perspective of Christians living under a military occupation.  
List: \$19.95; AMEU: \$14.95



- USS LIBERTY SURVIVORS: Our Story**  
*Sligo Productions*  
This 68 minute documentary presents interviews with *USS LIBERTY* survivors taken during their 20th anniversary reunion. Also included is film footage from the US Navy archives and private sources. If the book doesn't bring tears to your eyes, this will.  
List: \$50.00; AMEU: \$39.95



- LETTER FROM PALESTINE**  
*28 Minute Video, York Associates, 1989*  
Barred from most public TV stations in the U.S., this documentary shows how Palestinian medical services have to function under Israel's military occupation.  
List: \$30.00; AMEU: \$25.00

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