# THE LINK

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# SOME THOUGHTS ON JERUSALEM


by
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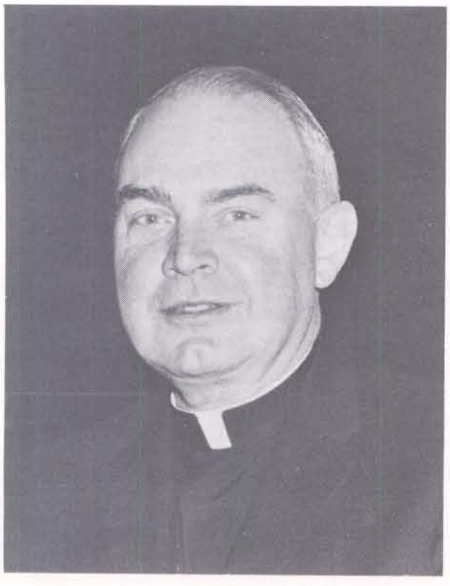
## 1.
## The Gravity of the Present Situation

Speaking at the World Synod of Bishops in Rome last Fall, Cardinal Stephan I Sidarous, the Coptic Patriarch, posed an uncomfortable question. "Why," he asked, "are Christians so unmoved by the tragedies in Palestine?"[1]

It is not a new question. In one form or another the Arab world has been asking it ever since the establishment, in 1948, of the State of Israel on land the Arabs of Palestine had lived on and considered theirs for centuries. It has been asked in bewilderment, in anger, in bitterness. Yet it remains, after 24 years, still unanswered.



After several years as Middle East resident Field Director for the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, Joseph T. Ryan became President of that organization in 1960 and National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. He has been Archbishop of Anchorage since 1966.

It is possible, of course, that there is no adequate answer to such a question. As the scale of world tragedy mounts to incredible dimensions—the Congo, Biafra, Vietnam, and Pakistan spring immediately to mind—even the most sensitive Christian conscience can be forgiven a desire to withdraw into indifference.

It is my belief, however, that with respect to the Holy Land this indifference cannot—must not—continue. It is not only scandalous, as the Melchite Patriarch, Maximos V Hakim, suggested to the same World Synod last year, but also dangerous.[2] Such indifference is, in fact, at the heart of a problem that drew me back to the Middle East. *That problem is no less than the possible extinction of an effective Christian presence in the Holy Land.*

To some, such a sweeping statement may sound faintly dramatic; to others it may sound like an unacceptable exaggeration. It is neither. As far back as 1969, eminent spokesmen for all faiths—including His Holiness, Pope Paul VI—began to issue warnings that if the present displacement of Arab populations in the Holy Land continued, not only would the Muslim presence be endangered, but the Christian presence as well. Such warnings came, have come, and are still coming, from the Catholic and Orthodox Bishops in Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Haifa, from Catholic and Protestant pastors in Jordan, from the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury and from the experienced Franciscans, Catholicism's custodians in the Holy Land for seven centuries.

In the early part of this year, 1972, I returned to the Middle East to study the situation again firsthand. I spoke at length with priest-scholars (e.g. Jesuits who have lived in the Middle East for years), exiled Palestinians, both Muslim and Christian, dedicated people who have lived and worked in the Holy Land most of their lives, and the Israeli Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek.

This is the conclusion I offer for your most thoughtful consideration:

*If we, the Bishops of the United States, do not focus our attention on the problem immediately, the role of Christianity in the Holy Land may soon be reduced, in the words of Archbishop Pio Laghi, Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem, to "no more than keepers of museums and curators of shrines."*[3]

## 2.
## Three Pillars for a Platform

Before proceeding, however, I think it important to describe the platform from which I speak and to review quickly the events that have led up to today's controversy.

My platform rests—solidly, I believe—on three pillars. The first is my unequivocal opposition to the implacable persecution that the world has visited on Jews for centuries, culminating in Adolf Hitler's monstrous bloodbath of the 1930's and 1940's. Had my people, the Irish, who have not been without tears to shed, ever faced the mindless hatred that has been the lot of so many Jews throughout history, I too might seek a homeland where I could be both accepted and safe, I too might defend it ruthlessly.

The second pillar is that, after years in the Middle East with the pontifical Mission for Palestine,[4] I believe I know the worst as well as the best of the Arabs and the Arab world. I have benefited from Arab industriousness, artistry, generosity and unstinting hospitality; but I've also had occasion to comprehend why writer James Morris

could once describe the Arabs as often "pathetic . . . maddening . . . quarrelsome . . ."[5] I have seen within the Arab world impressive evidences of progress, including developments significant to lasting peace; but I would not suggest that the media coverage which focuses on the sensation and the exotic —coups and camels, violence and veils, assassinations and antiquities— is unfounded.

But my third pillar is this: Neither compassion for Israelis nor dismay at a people we, a Western people, do not understand, should blind anyone to the essential fact concerning the Holy Land—indeed concerning the entire Middle East—today: that the foundation and expansion of the State of Israel has constituted, for more than a million innocent Arabs, as grave a violation of human rights as any in the annals of history! It is a violation that we the Bishops of the United States must now begin to take into account lest the Church in future time be accused of condoning injustice to the peoples of Islam as She has been and is even today accused of being silent in the face of the horrible holocaust of Jews in the 30's and 40's.

## 3.
## The Expansion of Zionism

Because of Leon Uris's famous *Exodus*—a novel, incidently, that many people mistakenly accept as history—most Americans are familiar with at least the more heroic highlights of the Israeli story. Less widely-known, perhaps, is the story of Zionism, the political movement that transformed a 19th-century fantasy into a 20th-century mini-power with a population of 3 million people and a military capacity that is proportionately the match for any force in the world.

Practically speaking, Zionism was the creation of Theodor Herzl. Theodor Herzl was an Austrian journalist assigned to cover the famous trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army captain falsely convicted of espionage by the French army in 1894. Horrified at an anti-semitism so evil as to condemn an innocent man like Dreyfus to years on Devil's Island, Herzl wrote a pamphlet called *Der Judenstaat, The Jewish State*. In that pamphlet he persuasively argued that the Jews of the world would never be safe from persecution and harassment until they had their own country. In 1897 he also organized a world-wide congress of Jews who agreed with his conclusions, and the movement that would be known as Zionism began its 51-year struggle to find a homeland.[6]

One of the most interesting aspects of that struggle, and one of the least widely known, is that Zionism did not decide that Palestine was to be the homeland until later. In 1905 some Zionists, who just wanted a haven, seriously considered taking over Uganda.[7] But to Eastern European Jews no homeland would do but Palestine—where the Israel of the Old Testament centered and which was a major home of Jews until the Romans drove them out. That, of course, more than 1,800 years before Theodor Herzl wrote his pamphlet.[8]

To the Palestinians, whose Arab ancestors have lived in Palestine since the Seventh Century—and who also claim descent from the ancient Canaanites of the area—this reasoning had a faintly unreal sound to it. They see the relationship of the Old Testament Israelites to the Holy Land as somewhat like that of the white, English Protestant settlers of Seventeenth Century Rhode Island, whose coming abrogated the rights of neither the earlier Narragansett Indians nor of the descendants of later non-white, non-Protestant or non-English land buyers.

The analogy is imperfect, but it illuminates Palestinian feelings on the infectious—if untrue—cry, "a land without people for a people without land," by which Zionism tore up the Arabs' historic deed, dismissed its overwhelming population majority, and set out to persuade such world leaders as Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Harry Truman that Jews in Europe had a stronger claim on Palestine than the Arabs who 'merely' lived there.[9]

Astonishing as it seems in retrospect, that claim was eventually accepted. It took years of patient and brilliant negotiations. It took millions of dollars. And—although it is now fashionable to pass lightly over this—it took terrorism.[10] To be sure, this terrorism was never officially condoned and it was largely the work of outlawed extremists. The fact remains, however, that among numerous incidents, Jewish terrorists blew up the King David Hotel in 1946 and killed more than 200 British soldiers;[11] and that Jewish terrorists, in a preview of our own My-Lai massacre, attacked a small Arab village called Deir Yassin in 1948 and, according to the International Red Cross, executed 254

Jordan Tourist Information Office

Arab Christians tread "The Way of the Cross."

Arab men, women and children.[12] Extremists also assassinated U.N. Mediator Folke Bernadotte—apparently for recommending international, rather than Israeli, rule in Jerusalem.[13]

Amid post war outrage at Nazi genocide, however, opposition to this terrorism naturally tended to be muted and in 1947 the United Nations, overriding the feeble, fumbling protests of a people who then, as now, were much more at ease with rhetoric than practical politics, recommended dividing Palestine into two countries. One was Arab Palestine, the other Israel.

In the ensuing war of 1948 the Arabs were defeated by Israel; in the conflict of 1956 and in the war of 1967 the Arabs lost again. Each time a larger tide of terrified refugees poured out into historic Jericho, onto the West Bank of the Jordan River, into the Kingdom of Jordan and beyond,—most of them never to be permitted back, never to see their homes again. And each time Israel extended its borders a bit further—this last time to include Jerusalem, a city sacred to three religions and the focus today of what may be the last act in the Arab attempt to retain even a trace of influence in a land they have inhabited for centuries.

Arab Information Center

Homes and land in Jerusalem owned and occupied by Arabs for centuries are expropriated and destroyed.

## 4.
## Plans to Eliminate Jerusalem's Gentiles

Early in the preparation of this presentation, I concluded it would be nearly impossible to simplify the controversy now surrounding Jerusalem—or, for that matter, any issue which involves diplomacy, international law, religion, geography, architecture and aesthetics and, moreover, touches vital interests of the Governments of Israel and Jordan, the United Nations, the Vatican, Islam, and the entire Christian and Jewish populations of Jerusalem.

Eventually though, amid bundles of statements, summaries, rebuttals and clippings, I unearthed three short comments that at least reduce the problem to its essentials.

One was made by Mr. Z. Sharef, Minister of Housing in Israel, during a discussion of the urban renewal master plan for the "Greater Jerusalem" region. Housing projects in the Old City, he is quoted as saying, were "to reinforce the Jewish character of the city."[14]

Another was made by Shimon Peres, Minister of Immigration in Israel. "The essential thing about this plan," said Mr. Peres, "is that it be a plan for the population of a united city with a numerous, stable and permanent Jewish majority."[15]

The third comment is much shorter; and, for me, it is the final reason why I am writing this paper and why I believe the Bishops of the United States should act. It was made by the Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem, Archbishop Laghi, as we drove from the refugee camps of Jordan back across the Allenby Bridge into Israeli held territory. "When the Arabs leave Jerusalem," he said, "Christianity leaves with them."

Here, then, in summary, is the problem of Jerusalem:

1. Israel is quietly but inexorably exerting pressure on Arabs to quit Jerusalem and the occupied West Bank.

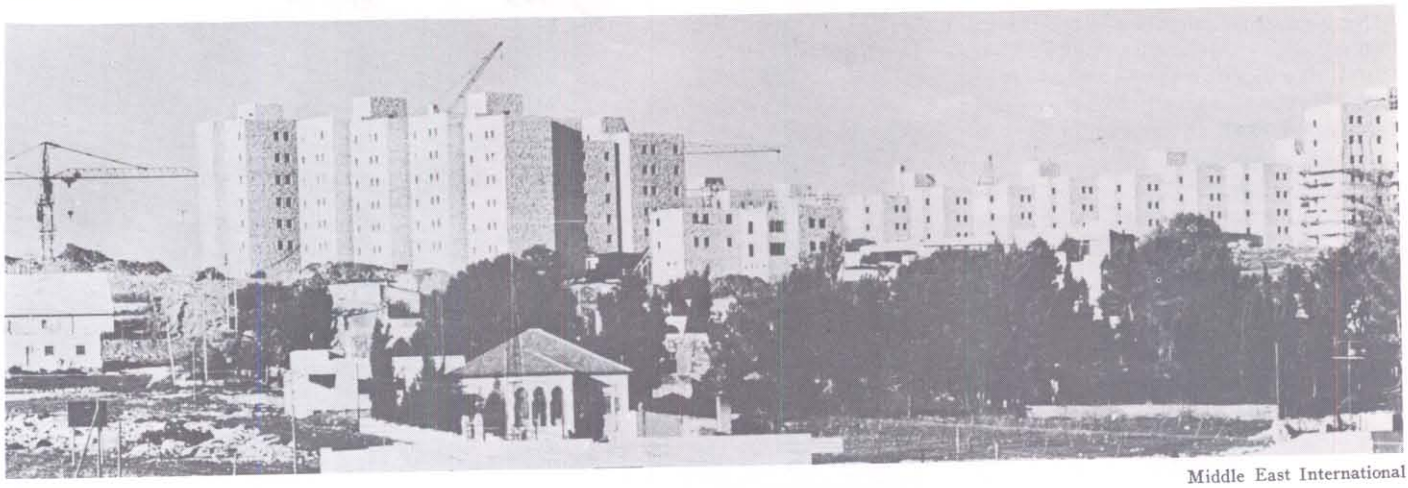
2. Among those Arabs are some 180,000[16] Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Christians.

3. If those Christians—Arab Christians—go, the Christian presence goes with them, leaving the Bishops and priests and other ministers of God to preside over historic, but empty, museums.

There is another important aspect that I must mention, too. Israel has constructed tall clusters of apartment buildings on a place called French Hill, the northern end of the ridge of hills that sweeps in a great arc around and above the walled 'Old City'—what most tourists, Westerners, think of as Jerusalem. These apartment buildings are important for two reasons. The first reason, the one that ignited and fueled the controversy on which I am now commenting, concerns the aesthetics of constructing, on the city's heretofore sacrosanct hill, huge clusters of buildings so tall, so modern, and so dominating, that they destroy the entire character of this beautiful city. Having stood one morning in front of Shepheard's Hotel where I stared with shock at the housing complex, more like Brooklyn Heights than Jerusalem, and at a great yellow scar that the gov-

Arab Information Center

Arab business premises are marked for investigation by Israeli authorities.



Middle East International

New housing developments for immigrants from overseas deface Jerusalem's hills.

ernment's untrammeled bulldozers have left on those lovely, green hills, I can only cheer on Lewis Mumford and other notables who criticized the government for permitting this intrusion.[17] To put it another way: —In the years when I worked with the Pontifical Mission in the Middle East, I spent too many pleasurable and inspiring moments admiring the ancient golden walls, the tall shape of the cypress trees, and the timeless beauty of those hills, to tamely accept housing and roads policies that cannot help but change irrevocably the biblical character of an area in which, as one distinguished Arab writer put in a confidential paper he showed me, "spiritual significance is symbolized in stones and landscapes . . ."

The second reason concerns me even more. The buildings on French Hill, whether aesthetically acceptable or not, whether essential to housing needs or not, symbolize a policy of Jewish determination to dominate a city as holy to Christianity and Islam as it is to Judaism. These buildings, I remind you, are being constructed on land which is not Israeli territory, on land which Israel has been expressly and repeatedly forbidden to occupy or use, land which in many instances Israel has expropriated, often without compensation, from Arabs.[18]

To clarify this, I must go back to 1947 and recall for you that when the United Nations Resolution recommended dividing Palestine into a Jewish country and an Arab country, neither side was to get Jerusalem. Indeed the U.N. partition resolution of November 29, 1947, expressly *excluded* Jerusalem from the settlement[19] ("corpus separatum" was the language the U.N. used) and expressly stated that this "corpus separatum" would, when it was set up, be under *international sovereignty*. In short, Jerusalem was to be neither a Jewish city nor an Arab city—and from that day to this there has been no change in this stand.

## 5.
## Israeli Plans and International Protests

Admittedly, Israel conquered half of Jerusalem in 1948 and the rest of it in 1967. Admittedly, Israel named West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. Admittedly, Israel officially annexed the Jordanian half of Jerusalem in 1967. But not only have these actions *not* been ratified by the world community, they have been *condemned*. The United Nations has repeatedly passed resolutions condemning Israeli actions that consolidated Israel's control; and with Resolution 298, dated September 26, 1971,[20] the U.N. explicitly called on Israel to take no further steps in the occupied sector of Jerusalem to change the status of the city or prejudice the rights of the inhabitants or the international community.

And the United States has been no less adamant. As late as December, 1969, Secretary of State William P. Rogers made it abundantly clear that however much the United States might sympathize with many Israeli goals, it still did not accept Israeli seizure of Jerusalem during the 1967 war or the officially announced annexation of the city shortly afterwards.

"We have made clear repeatedly in the past two and one-half years," Mr. Rogers said, "that we cannot accept unilateral actions by any party to decide the final status of the city" (of Jerusalem).[21]

More recently—on February 16, 1971, after the Israeli government made public its plans for the housing construction on the hills of Jerusalem —the State Department's Robert J. McCloskey said that "unilateral actions that tend to be regarded as changing the status of the city (would be) unacceptable."[22]

That comment was a prelude to an even more pointed statement issued June 9, 1971, by Charles W. Brady of the U.S. State Department to the effect that construction of housing or any permanent civilian facilities in occupied zones—which Jerusalem is—is a violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949, which, by the way, Israel signed. Since you, like me until I looked it up, probably haven't the vaguest notion of what the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 says, let me summarize it. The Fourth Geneva Convention, written with World War II still freshly in mind, prohibits occupying powers from transferring parts of its population into occupied territories. And in Israel, Mr. Brady said, this prohibition extends to "construction of permanent facilities which have the intent of facilitating the transfer of the Israeli population into occupied territories."[23] In other words: The Geneva Convention's ban applies to the apartment houses going up on French Hill and also to two other major housing developments included in Israel's "Master Plan" for "Greater Jerusalem."

I should like to say here that since this prohibition, along with the international prohibition of conquest as grounds for retaining territory, was the basis in law for my belief that Israeli construction is illegal, I decided to take it up with Teddy Kollek, the mayor of Jerusalem. It was possible, I thought, that in their zeal to defend the Arab case, critics of Israel, as they sometimes do, had misstated or overstated the legal grounds, or left out the Israeli counter-arguments, or just

simply misunderstood the whole situation. So in an interview with Mayor Kollek I put the question to him in these words: "In 1968 the U.N. reaffirmed its stand that acquisition of property by military conquest is inadmissible; I have been wondering, therefore, how the building program on French Hill and Mount Scopus can be justified. Would you help me understand Israeli thought in this regard?"

Mayor Kollek's answer is instructive. "I am not a lawyer," he said. "I am the mayor of a living city." In short, Mayor Kollek does not intend for one moment to let legality stand in the way of a policy that can have no other outcome than what one source said would be ". . . the gradual reduction of the Christian and Muslim character of the city to a secondary role."

## 6.

### In Reply to Misrepresentations

Actually, that "gradual" reduction of influence may not be so gradual, as has been pointed out to us by the Catholic Bishops of the Holy Land.

According to them—Archbishop James Beltritti, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, Greek Melchite Patriarchal Vicar, Archbishop Joseph Raya, Melchite Archbishop of Galilee, and Bishop Kaldani, Auxiliary Bishop of Nazareth—the Israeli government is already exerting tangible pressures on those Arabs who remain in Israel, but disguises this pressure as quite natural precautions against commando terrorism. For example, what the Israeli government calls "Administrative Detention" is no more than the "internment" that British soldiers are currently applying so indiscriminately, and unwisely, in Northern Ireland—and with similar results. Under "Administrative Detention" the government can arrest and detain Arabs indefinitely, without charging them with any offense or bringing them to trial. Worse, the Bishops say, they can also be exiled to Jordan—again without trial.

And administrative detention is only one way. Archbishop Raya told me that the Israeli Knesset—the legislature—is considering a law enabling the government to approve, or disapprove, teachers in private schools, and even to close such schools, for reasons of "security." The law, conveniently, does not define what the government means by "security."

Archbishop Raya also told me—and I saw examples personally—how, to permit police to identify Arabs instantly, the government renews all non-Israeli driving licenses on the 15th of the month, while Israeli licenses are renewed on the 1st of the month.

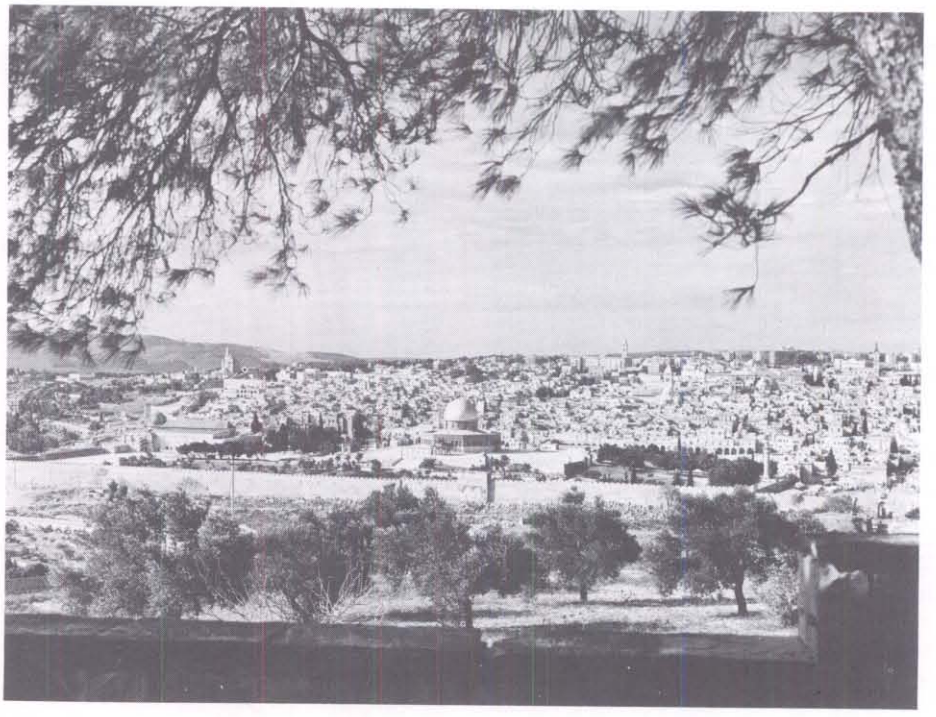
In search of commandos, Arab homes are bulldozed into rubble. In addition, the government has instituted a "slum clearance" program in the Old City. Slum clearance is undeniably necessary, but it will, according to two rather substantial sources, force thousands of Arabs out of Jerusalem. One source is the December 25, 1971, issue of *The Economist*, a prestigious British magazine which, in a 12-page special report on the Jerusalem problem, said: "There is no denying the fact that 6,000 Arab people are being evicted to make way for 600 Jewish families."[24]

The other source is an Israeli newspaper, *The Jerusalem Post*. On February 10, 1972, *The Post*, in a discussion of Israel's Master-plan for "Greater Jerusalem," said this: "The Plan . . . calls for reducing the population of the Old City, which numbered 24,000 in 1967, by some 5,000. Most of this reduction will be in the densely populated Muslim quarter."[25]

And more is to come. As a consequence of Russia's recent, and still baffling, decision to permit increased immigration of Russian Jews into Israel, the Israeli government has announced that it will add another 15,000 apartments to the 17,000 already under construction—most of them in the Jerusalem area.[26] With estimates for 1972 immigration to Israel running as high as 100,000,[27] I do not think I am being an alarmist if I wonder how high above Jerusalem the next construction project will climb, or wonder if perhaps some other quarters of the Old City might already be marked for expropriation and evacuation.[28]

In fairness I should insert here that despite the comments of Mr. Sharef and Mr. Peres that I cited earlier, the Israeli government is not acknowledging the existence of any campaign of "Judaization." The government denies that there is a *total* drop in the Christian population and says that any decrease is due to natural attrition, the result of emigration that began many years ago. And in my interview with him Mayor Kollek did acknowledge that 2,500 Arabs—mostly Muslim—were moved from the Old City in what he called an "urban renewal" program. He also acknowledged that 2,500 more were then being "urged" to move. But he denied that these were "evictions," insisted that the Arabs were adequately compensated for moving, and, asked directly about "Judaization" of Jerusalem, said I should not blame it on him, "but on King David."

This, I must explain, is a reference to Israeli claims that Jews have *always* outnumbered non-Jews in Jerusalem. It is a persuasive argument if true, so let me at once quote *The Economist* again: "The Jews claim to have been in a majority in Jerusalem for over a century. Such claims depend upon a careful choice of boundaries. As late as 1931 the census gave the number of



Jordan Ministry of Information

Traditional setting for Holy City of three faiths may be destroyed.

Jews in the sub-district of Jerusalem as 55,000 out of only 133,000."[29] And that census was done by the British, then ruling Palestine under the League of Nations Mandate system.

*It is clear that a campaign to "Judaize" Jerusalem is openly, undeniably, underway, that such a campaign is illegal, and that direct, unambiguous opposition to it from both the United States and the United Nations has had no effect whatever.*

*To me, it is also overwhelmingly clear that the Catholic Bishops of the Middle East need our active, public, support if this campaign is to be prevented. Otherwise, Christiantity as a living presence will be driven out of the Holy Land.*

Permit me, therefore, to restate and review the Catholic Church's position on Jerusalem.

## 7.
## The Vatican Position

This position, which has been explicitly stated and consistently reaffirmed, can be reduced to these three propositions:

1. The Church holds that "this city of unique and mysterious destinies should be protected by a special status, guaranteed by a juridical international presidium."[30]

2. The Church insists on full religious and civil rights for Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem—and all the occupied territory.

3. The Church is alarmed at the exodus of Christians.

I do not suggest that the position has been always described that succinctly. Too often, unfortunately, diplomatic considerations demand a circumspection of language that sometimes leads to ambiguity. But that, nevertheless, *is* the position of the Church. It was the position of Pope Pius XII. It was the position of Pope John XXIII. And it is most assuredly the position of Pope Paul VI. He stated it to the College of Cardinals, December 22, 1967. He repeated it on December 15, 1969. He repeated it a third time on March 14, 1971, a fourth time on April 9, 1971, a fifth time on June 24, 1971, and a sixth time on December 23, 1971.

It is also the position of those much closer to the situation: the Catholic Bishops and priests of the Middle East. In statement after statement they have warned that Israeli *political* sovereignty over Jerusalem will mean Israeli *religious* sovereignty.

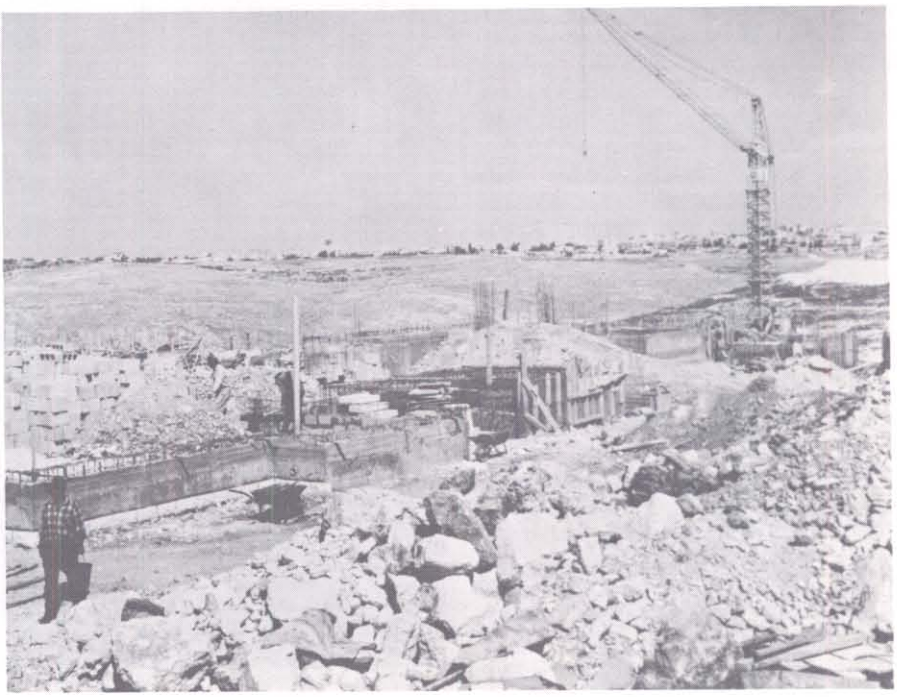
The most famous of these statements is the 1970 Christmas message of Archbishop Raya of Galilee in which he described the exodus of Christians as a "distressing stampede without hope or joy."[31] But it is far from being the only one. Statements on the same theme have been made by the Very Rev. Pierre Azzi, Superior of the Lebanese Maronite Order,[32] by the Rev. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., before the U.S. House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee, Sub-Committee on the Near East,[33] and by churchmen in Algeria such as Cardinal Leon-Etienne Duval, Archbishop of Algeria; Pastor Pierre Rochat, President of the Reformed Church in Algeria; Pastor Jacques Blanc, Director of the C.C.S.A.; Jean Marie Raimbaud, Bishop of Laghourt; and Jean Scotto, Bishop of Constantine.[34] It was also discussed by Maximos V Hakim, the Melchite Patriarch who, on October 22, 1971, condemned "measures taken unilaterally to change the status of Jerusalem." The same prelate called attention to the condition of Palestinians, both Muslim and Christian, who "have been forced by the thousands to leave their native land" and asked the world's Christian leaders to give the situation "the publicity they deem necessary."[35]

And the statements continue to come. At Christmas, 1971, in an unprecedented move, all the Catholic Bishops of the Holy Land—Archbishop Beltritti, Archbishop Raya, Archbishop Capucci and Bishop Kaldani—joined the Franciscan Custos of the Holy Land, Father Roncari, in a direct appeal to the Bishops of the United States in which they explicitly opposed any "imposed settlement of people and town planning schemes . . . which upset the balance of ethnic groups and of the three religions."[36]

The Bishops of Egypt have also appealed to the Bishops of the United States. Since that appeal was concluded in terms that are basically so rational, I should like to quote it: "We think," they say to the Bishops of the United States, "that it might be difficult for you to understand our people. There are all too many ties uniting you and the Jewish people, and all too few with the Arab world . . ."

"No one denies," they go on, "that the Jews have been treated unjustly in the West. However, one does not redeem an injustice by committing another." . . . and "This injustice is, sad to say, sometimes accepted by our brothers of the West, either out of sympathy for the Jewish aspirations to live in the Holy Land or because of the technical achievements of Israel."

There are many such statements available and they add up to this: There is a crucial problem in the Holy Land and if it is to be solved, only we —the Bishops of a country to which Israel must listen, if it is to survive— can solve it. It is a complex problem, no doubt, and I would be the last to suggest that right is exclusively on the side of the Arabs. Control of commandos is hardly an unreasonable step. Housing, in Mayor Kollek's "living city," is undeniably important. Com-



Arab Information Center

In spite of protests building continues.

pensation for expropriated land has probably been granted in many cases but is not acknowledged. Statistics are always open to debate and the housing developments on French Hill which have exercised so many well-meaning people are not, in fact, unattractive to all. Yet amid the complications and confusions there are certain aspects which are crystal clear:

—Whether it is eviction or evacuation, Arabs, in increasing numbers, are being moved out of Jerusalem.

—Whether it is "urban renewal" or "Judaization," Jews, in increasing numbers, are being moved into Jerusalem.

—Whether we like it or not the combination of those two facts can end, forever, the Christian presence in the Holy Land.

—Whether we like it or not, we, the Bishops of the United States, are the only body to whom the Bishops of the Middle East can appeal.

I will condense my recommendations to the Bishops thus:

—Speak up and speak up now.

—Make the world know that Christianity and Islam are in Jerusalem by right, not by sufferance.

—Make the world know that Christianity does not—cannot—accept the ethnic domination of, or the political sovereignty of, one religion over others.

—Make the world know, as Father Robert Graham urges, that Jerusalem, birthplace of the Church, is a "Holy City" not only by the promise made to Abraham, "the father of many nations" (Gen. 17:4), but by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from *Le Messager,* Cairo, Dec. 5, 1971, p. 2.
2. From the text of the Intervention of H. B. Maximos V Hakim, as reported in *Al-Montada,* No. 48/49— Document II, Synod, 1971, Rome.
3. A remark made to a writer who accompanied me and Archbishop Laghi during a trip from Jerusalem to Amman to inspect Pontifical Mission operations in January, 1972.
4. Editor's Note: Before assuming his present position in 1966, Archbishop Ryan served for six years as President of the Pontifical Mission For Palestine and National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. Prior to 1960 he was resident Field Director in the Middle East of the Pontifical Mission For Palestine.
5. *Islam Inflamed,* James Morris (Pantheon Books, N. Y. 1957) p. 319.
6. Numerous sources, but the most dispassionate is probably *The Columbia Encyclopedia,* Third Edition, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1963, p. 2383.
7. *Columbia Encyclopedia,* p. 2383.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Columbia Encyclopedia,* for fact. Interpretation, the writer's.
10. Columbia Encyclopedia, p. 1053.
11. *The Middle East in World Affairs,* Lenczowski, George; Cornell University Press, 1962; *The A.B.C.s of the Palestine Problem,* Arab Women's Information Committee, Beirut.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Columbia Encyclopedia,* p. 206.
14. *The Controversy Over Jerusalem,* unpublished ms. by Reverend Edward H. Flannery, p. 18.
15. Archbishop Pio Laghi's "Aide Memoire," a rebuttal to Father Flannery's Paper, unpublished.
16. Archbishop James Beltritti, Patriarch of Jerusalem, quoted in *The Daily Star,* Sat., Oct. 23, 1971.
17. Quoted in the *New York Times* editorial, Feb. 17, 1971.
18. George C. Wilson, *Washington Post News Service;* in Paris *Herald Tribune,* Oct. 17-18, 1971.
19. *Columbia Encylclopedia,* p. 1080.
20. U.N. Resolution 298, Sept. 26, 1971.
21. "Jerusalem Reconsidered," unpublished ms. by Reverend Joseph L. Ryan, S.J.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *The Economist,* Dec. 25, 1971, p. 40.
25. *The Jerusalem Post,* Jan. 10, 1972, p. 8.
26. *Los Angeles Times News Service,* Jan. 29, 1972.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *New York Times News Service,* Jan. 29, 1972.
29. *The Economist,* Dec. 25, 1971, p. 38.
30. Pope Paul VI, June 24, 1971, quoted in *Osservatore Romano,* June 25, 1971.
31. *Message of Galilee,* Archbishop Joseph Raya, Dec. 1970.
32. *Al Montada* No. 48/49—Document III, Synod, 1971, Rome.
33. Summary of Hearings of that Committee.
34. *Al Montada* No. 45/49—Document I, Synod, 1971, Rome.
35. *Al Montada* No. 48/49—Document II, Synod, 1971, Rome.
36. Statement of the Catholic Bishops of the Holy Land and the Custos of the Holy Land.

Jordan Ministry of Information

Sources of spiritual help and strength for centuries may be lost forever.

# IN BRIEF

In late summer two books which promise to be of significant interest to readers of The Link were received. Each merits and will be given a longer review than space in this issue permits. The notes which follow will serve to quicken the interest of *Link* readers. Sufficient quantities of each title have been purchased to enable AMEU to get reduced prices. We are following our established policy of supplying these books to readers of *The Link* at 40% less than list prices plus cost of mailing and packing. A postage paid wallet envelope is included to facilitate ordering.

**NASSER, by Anthony Nutting, 493 pages. $10.00. E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. New York, 1972.** Our price $6.50.

Of this book, the *London Financial Times* said, "This biography gives, in addition to gripping narrative and a masterful organization of facts, an insight into Nassar and his times which will be difficult for any other Western writer to emulate." *Kirkus Reviews* comments that Nutting, making use of his personal acquaintance with the men and events, offers well known historical elements, accompanied by fresh information and evaluations, which spares neither the Big Powers' reputations nor Nasser's.

(*Continued on following page*)

# IN BRIEF

(*continued from previous page*)

**STORM OVER THE ARAB WORLD, by Eugene M. Fisher and M. Cherif Bassiouni. 429 pages. $8.95. Follett Publishing Company. Chicago, 1972.** Our price $5.50.

David G. Nes described the book as "An amazingly comprehensive and detailed chronicle of Twentieth Century developments from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. Arranged conveniently both as to countries and key issues, those chapters dealing with the Zionist conquest of Palestine, modern Egypt and the background of the 'June 1967 War,' are particularly revealing. United States efforts to achieve a settlement during the past three years and their failure in the face of Israeli intransigence, brings the authors' chronicle up to the present moment in Arab history."

**CONQUEST THROUGH IMMIGRATION, HOW ZIONISM TURNED PALESTINE INTO A JEWISH STATE, by George W. Robnett. 407 pages. $4.00. Institute for Special Research. Pasadena, California, 1968.** Our price $2.50.

This older book has recently come to the attention of AMEU. A friend whose judgment is highly respected has said that is the most revealing treatment of the subject he has seen. Carefully documented research shows how two great democratic nations collaborated with militant Zionism to set the stage for "ethnic confrontations" which have wracked the Middle East during the last 25 years. This book should be of interest to those who would know more of the facts behind the intricate political twists which led to the establishment and growth of the Zionist state of Israel.

### Previously Listed Books

When the present stock of A. J. Arberry's *Religion in the Middle East* is exhausted, the price for this work will be raised to $37.50 less 40% and AMEU will discontinue its distribution. The hard cover edition of Uri Avnery's *Israel Without Zionists* is no longer obtainable. Our supply of both titles is strictly limited and orders will be filled on a first come, first served basis. An adequate supply of A. C. Forrest's *The Unholy Land* is presently on hand. Orders will be filled promptly.

Great difficulty is being encountered in obtaining supplies of Moshe Menuhin's *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* and Sabri Jiryis' *The Arabs in Israel.* At present neither title is carried on the wallet envelope. AMEU endeavors to fill orders on the day they are received. It is embarrassing and costly to inform those who request books from us that a delay in shipping an order is necessary.

### Christmas Cards

Beautiful Christmas cards which support the work of UNRWA can be purchased at $1.00 a packet of ten from Anne Kalessis, Liaison Officer, UNRWA Liaison Office, United Nations, New York. Equally beautiful cards offered by The Friends of Jerusalem Society can be ordered from Litia Namoura, 161 Henry Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

### Travel

Those planning to travel to the Middle East, either as a part of a conducted tour or on individually arranged itineraries are invited to consult with AMEU who is prepared to assist them in planning for the trip and making reservations, introductions and all other arrangements.

**THE LINK**

aims at maintaining contacts among Americans who believe that friendship with the people of the Middle East is essential to world peace, who would contribute to this goal by spreading understanding of the history, values, religions, culture and economic conditions of the Middle East, and who would—in this context—press for greater fairness, consistentcy and integrity in the U.S. policy toward that area.

It is published by A.M.E.U. (Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.) whose directors are:

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