

UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE  
INSTITUT UNIVERSITAIRE DE HAUTES ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES

**The Catholic Press, the Birth of Israel  
and the Problem of Jerusalem, 1947-1950.**

**A Study of the Catholic Press in France,  
the United States, and the Vatican.**

**THÈSE**

présentée à l'Université de Genève  
pour l'obtention  
du grade de Docteur ès sciences politiques

par  
Ronald Joseph BROWN  
(U.S.A.)

Thèse N° 413

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

One of the most unforeseen and surprising developments of the post-Second World War period has been the emergence of religious states as a determining factor in the global relations between people. Beginning with the state of Pakistan in 1947, Saudia Arabia, and Israel in 1948, and more recently the Islamic Republic of Iran, the dire, and for many, the optimistic prediction of Marx and other futurists that religion was fated to wither away, being replaced by secular national states, states based on the working class, has been proven wrong. In fact, quite the contrary has happened. The above states, plus a plethora of religious movements, both sub- and supra-national, have emerged which seek to reconstruct a world order along religious lines. In Latin America, the Christian Liberation Theologians are contributing at every level to the violent overthrow of the long standing dictatorships. Nicaragua, the most sucessful example, claims to be both a Socialist and Catholic state with priests in the highest echelons of government. In Africa and the Philippines a similar Christian liberation movement is emerging, very often indirect competition with like-minded Muslim revolutionaries. In Poland, the Catholic Church, while hardly revolutionary in either theology or ideology, is nevertheless playing a revolutionary role of sole opposition movement and representative of the popular aspirations against the Marxist government imposed by Moscow. Even in the United States, such "Fundamentalist" Protestants as Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggert and others are increasingly perceiving the United States as a potentially "Christian Republic." The American Catholic hierarchy is likewise becoming increasingly involved in the issues of poverty, unemployment, the arms race, the nuclear threat and other issues which were as little as twenty five years ago considered as lying on the state side of the church-state divide.

Elsewhere militant Shi'ites, Sihks, Christians, Jews and Muslims are atempting to transform the existing world along the lines demanded by their particular world vision. It is hardly surprising that such states and movements have posed many and serious questions for the practitioners and theorists of diplomacy and international relations. Some have portrayed these recent events as a temporary aberration in the steady march of humanity towards secularization and the supremacy of the national states as the pinnacle of the social, economic, political and military organization of the Earth's inhabitants. Others, on the other hand, lump Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism into the category of "trans-national" organizations or movements which, as the name implies, still recognize the national identity as fundamental in the realms of economy, society, politics and military, but concede a nebulous sphere to the religious. Still others are willing to admit the

co-existence of a multi-dimensional world with sub-national, national, inter-national, trans-national and world organizations in which religion functions on all levels. However, few if any are willing to undertake the serious study of the autonomous level of Inter-Religious Relations, or even to recognise the existence of this domain on an equal par with Inter-National Relations.

It is precisely the aim of this work to contribute to such a study. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 resulted in many ways in the first modern global confrontation between two religious communities. This crisis not only pitted two sovereign institutions which represented world Catholicism and Judaism, but resulted in a bitter and protracted diplomatic, theological and military struggle over the city of Jerusalem itself. This struggle mobilized not only the armies of Israel and her neighboring states, but the world press; Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and secular, the United Nations with its actual Catholic majority in the General Assembly, public opinion in Europe and the United States, the diplomatic resources of Catholic Latin America, the Philippines, Lebanon, Europe and even the Communist bloc, the religious orders, clerics, hierarchy and dignitaries of the Jewish, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Muslim worlds, the loyal followers of these religious communities in the most remote areas of the world, plus the theological and spiritual leaders and critics of Judaism and Christianity. Finally, the highest officials of both the State of Israel and the Vatican eventually entered the struggle, as well as the governments of the European and Latin American states, the United States, the Soviet Union, Asia and the Middle East.

The study of Inter-Religious Relations is obviously a vast, complicated and as of yet unexplored field. For this reason, I have limited my contribution to an analysis of the reactions of the Catholic Press in France, the United States and the Vatican to the birth of the State of Israel and the problem of Jerusalem from 1947 to 1950. During this period the United Nations adopted the resolution to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states with an international zone under UN control for the city of Jerusalem and its surrounding area. This resolution, adopted in November 1947 was followed by the declaration of the Independence of Israel in May 1948, its subsequent invasion by the Arab armies, the partition of Jerusalem and finally after protracted and bitter diplomatic maneuvering, theological discussion and press campaigns by Israel and the Vatican, the UN General Assembly reaffirmed its intention to internationalize the Jerusalem area in a resolution of December 1950. During this short period of three years one of the first and most intense episodes in Inter-Religious Relations took place.

France, the eldest daughter of the Church, defender of the Christians in the Middle East, host to major theological and clerical institutions and the site of flourishing Catholic and Jewish communities and press, constituted one of the major arenas where Catholics confronted Jews over the question of Israel and Jerusalem. Likewise, the United States, a

relatively new and inexperienced nation in International Affairs, especially Middle Eastern affairs, had wealthy and numerous Catholic and Jewish institutions and press organizations which sought to introduce their international concerns into the American foreign policy of the post-war period. Finally, since this is a study of Catholic attitudes and reactions, the Vatican with its immense world prestige as the most visible religious and Christian leader cannot be ignored. The Vatican claimed ancient rights in Palestine and was willing to mobilize all the forces at its disposal to ensure that these rights would be respected.

### Methodological Problems

The serious study of the autonomous level of Inter-Religious Relations requires a rather unique methodology in view of the fact that few scholars outside of the traditional clerical class and theologians have considered the problem of how one religious community interacts with another. As concerns Catholics and Jews, this problem received considerable attention following the Second World War when the Catholic role in the Holocaust was heatedly debated. However, this literature only highlighted one aspect of the problem, how Catholics perceive and relate to Jews. This is an age-old problem which deserved study especially when the distorted teachings, preachings and theology of the Catholic Church undeniably led to contempt towards the Jews.

The establishment of the sovereign state of Israel, which claimed to be a "Jewish" State, adopted the biblical name "Israel," eventually claimed to represent the historical and contemporary world Jewish community, and insisted on including Jerusalem within its boundaries and declared the city its "eternal capital" in 1950, elevated the hitherto "Jewish-Catholic" problem into an "Israeli-Vatican" problem. Here we find two sovereign religious entities, both claiming the title and inheritance of biblical "Israel" as well as Jerusalem as their spiritual center. While this may be anticipating the conclusion of my thesis, it nonetheless underlines in a dramatic fashion the complex and unique manner in which religious communities interact, enter into conflict, and, at times, cooperate. It furthermore illustrates the first methodological hurdle that this work must confront; How do religious communities perceive each other?

The bulk of the literature on the question of Israel and the Jerusalem problem approaches the issue from the angle of inter-national relations, thus assuming that both Israel, the Catholic Church and the then engaged parties reacted to social, humanitarian, economic, military, ethnic, political or possibly an ill defined and usually ignored "religious feelings." This latter element was generally ignored or relegated to the religious fanatics who were well equipped to handle it and who, it was generally assumed, caused the problem in the first place. No attempt was made to penetrate into the murky theological, mystical or spiritual forces which rendered the "Jerusalem

problem" unsolvable, even until today. The most obvious contradiction, that the "Jewish" state claimed to be a secular state, while at the same time adopting the name "Israel," employing the Mennorah as the state symbol, a prayer shawl as its flag and welcoming all Jews as instant citizens was generally ignored by secular scholars and observers, but was received with outrage by Catholics, many Protestants and secular Jews alike.

Thus the major and crucial methodological problem which this work will address will be to accurately and thoroughly present the numerous and varied Catholic perceptions of the events from 1947, and to an extent before, to 1950, and by implication to the present. The major source for these perceptions will be the many periodicals and journals of the Catholic religious orders, communities, theological centers, schools and opinions of individual clerics and hierarchy members as well as the "authoritative" pronouncements of each.

The second methodological problem will be, How does one distinguish between a purely religious or theological position and a political position? For most "Western" thinkers, the categories of church and state, religion and politics, have been historically determined and defined, as have the disputed grey areas which have been assigned to the catch basin of the "Church-State PROBLEM." However, the Catholic-Jewish confrontation over Jerusalem has forever blurred this distinction. For Catholics, the Palestinian refugee issue was perceived as a deliberate attempt by Israel to remove a living Christian presence from the Holy Land. Likewise, for the "sovereign" Pontiff in Rome, UN de facto sovereignty over Jerusalem was not a political or legal issue, but rather, a question of UN "universal" sovereignty as opposed to exclusive Jewish sovereignty. The Catholic press made much of the parallels between the universality of the Church and that of the newly created UN Organization as opposed to the exclusivity of the Jewish people. Thus, for many Catholics the UN, with its universal mission and membership was viewed as a possible instrument for the equally universal Catholic Church. Likewise, a UN universal protectorate over the disputed city of Jerusalem was of both political and theological significance.

A further major methodological problem will be, How to evaluate the multitude of "Catholic" positions on the State of Israel and Jerusalem? The dynamic of Catholic policy formulation is as complex, if not more so, than that of any nation state. On any one issue, opinions vary and are subject to a complicated sifting process which pits religious order against order, cleric against cleric, theologian against theologian, newspaper against newspaper and Vatican official against official. Very often a "definitive" pronouncement by a congregation or the Pope himself does not necessarily clarify the issue or give rise to a unified position. Furthermore, differences of opinion between Catholic parties or even between Catholics and Jews which seem to the secular viewer as insignificant, are often in fact of crucial importance when viewed from a theological or religious standpoint.

A final methodological problem which will have to be confronted is, Is it possible to objectively view the period 1947 to 1950 in light of the Second Vatican Council? The mere knowledge that the Council took place and radically altered the Catholic perception of what the Church was about and what it should be doing in the world, tends to distort any attempt to reconstruct the period under study. One is inclined to pre-judge the then Catholic values and goals as mere examples of the dire need of the Church for reform. One tends to ignore the underlying theological positions of the Church as having been totally rejected by the Vatican Council. However, this is far from the case. In actual fact the same alternative visions and goals of the Church that then were in vicious conflict, still animate the Church and in essence form the life blood of the Church itself.

There are obviously many other methodological problems which this work will be forced to confront. However, the above are in my opinion the most threatening to the success of this thesis. The method I have chosen is to meticulously chronicle, day by day, the perceptions, observations, attitudes and even isolated utterances reported in the Catholic press, from the most mundane to the most spiritual. Sources ranging from the American diocesan newspaper to the prestigious and authoritative L'Osservatore Romano, from the devotional Ave Maria magazine to the highly intellectual Etudes, and from the conservative Roman Jesuit Civiltà Cattolica to the French leftist Témoignage Chrétien will be analysed. A rigid historical approach will be followed both in form and in analysis due to the belief that when when a particular comment or observation was made was as important as what was said or observed.

This method, both because of its scope and attention to chronology, will no doubt result in a mass of details and cross references. However, I am convinced that only such attention will result in a clear understanding of what the Church perceived as events from 1947 to 1950, what theological, ecclesiological and political factors determined these perceptions, how these perceptions changed and evolved during the four years under study and finally, how each periodical or individual integrated these perceptions into a more or less coherent picture of how the establishment of the State of Israel and the Jerusalem question affected the Church. Only a detailed chronology of not only who said what, when, but also who ceased saying anything when and when did someone begin saying something will be able to chart the radical transformation of the Church and the State of Israel.

The often perplexing observations and comments made by the Catholic press will be fleshed out by recourse to a wide variety of documents including UN Reports and speeches, the secular world press, statements and writings of leading Catholic spokespersons and official documents from parties interested in Israel or Jerusalem. Finally, secondary sources will be used to add depth to the issues under discussion.

The general outline of this study will follow a rigidly chronological pattern. Chapter 2 will describe the evolution of the various Catholic periodicals and personalities associated with them. Special emphasis will be placed on the general orientation of the publication and its process of opinion formation. Chapter 3 will stress the widely varied criteria from which the opinion-makers evaluated the Palestine Problem during the pre-Partition period. These criteria ranged from the purely political, military, economic, theological, religious, to literary and speculative. The underlying theme of this chapter will be that there was no single Catholic position on either the Palestine or Jewish questions, but rather different and often contradictory opinions.

Chapter 4 will trace the evolution of the opinions of the Catholic opinion-makers when confronted by the Palestine War and especially the struggle for control of Jerusalem. It will be seen that certain opinion-makers fell into silence, others revised their opinions, while still others engaged in often violent inter-Catholic debates. Special attention will be placed on the emerging general trends which eventually climaxed in an "official" position endorsed by the American hierarchy and supported, with reservations, by Rome. European Catholics, on the other hand, remained bitterly divided.

This latter, primarily European, dissenting opinion will be studied in detail in Chapter 5. The opinion-makers who composed this group were not only at odds with the official Catholic reaction to the Palestine and Jerusalem questions, but they also held a radically different view of the nature of the Church (Ecclesiology) and of the involvement of the Church in contemporary world affairs in general. The "official" Catholic initial criticisms, overt hostility and eventual condemnation of this tendency, will form the immediate context for the "Catholic Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem."

Chapter 6 will be devoted to this crusade. Its twin origins: to impose a semblance of internal discipline on a divided Church and to defend Catholic interests in Jerusalem, will be emphasized. In addition, it will stress the symbolic importance of the crusade as a bid to reassert the presence of the Catholic Church as a factor in a world increasingly divided into mutually hostile American and Soviet blocs. Another theme which will be stressed is the instruments at the disposal of the Church, a sovereign world power with nearly a billion members, to pursue an independent foreign policy in a world dominated by industrial and military might. During the crusade the Church was able to communicate its message and mobilize its followers from the most forsaken parish to the most erudite intellectuals.

As a conclusion, the confrontation between Israel and the Catholic Church will be analyzed as a contribution to a better understanding of the forces of organized religious communities in contemporary world affairs. There is no doubt that religion is playing an increasing role, both destructive as well as constructive, as seen in the events in Lebanon, Iran, Israel, Latin America and elsewhere, where the potential for religious-inspired conflict and upheaval is present. Traditional scholars

have been at a loss to understand these events and integrate them into a discipline which adequately responds to the urgent need for such a discipline.

The importance of this study

It is my hope that this study will give insights into how religious communities and institutions interact with each other and even more importantly how the Catholic Church and the State of Israel were both transformed through their confrontation during 1947-1950. In both cases ancient themes, symbols, beliefs and institutions were reinterpreted, adapted or abandoned, while new ones were created. Just as certain Jewish leaders and thinkers, when confronted with the challenges and disasters of modern anti-Semitism, responded with a radically original secular Zionist ideology, so did the Catholic Church respond to the challenge posed by the rebirth of a "Jewish" sovereign state after almost 2000 years of exile, with a reinterpretation of its own vision of the Church as a Christian commonwealth.

The importance of this study, however, far transcends this limited period of four years. On one hand, the awareness that the Church could only confront the "Jewish" state through recourse to its own largely forgotten political ideology of Christendom, was to deeply trouble Catholics until the present. On the other hand, the equally painful awareness by Jews that the "secular" Zionist ideology and state could only legitimize its own claims to Palestine, Jerusalem and to represent the Jewish people, through recourse to its rootedness in Jewish religious beliefs, was likewise to trouble the state until today. In both cases, the confrontation between Israel and the Church radically transformed each. Furthermore, this transformation was the result of the assimilation of, or emergence from within, of certain traits or features which altered the character of each religious community, its institutions and theology.

As will become evident in this thesis, this transformation of both Israel and the Church was not a haphazard or accidental process but rather a systematic and scientific process in which an institution assumed many of the characteristics of its opponent. In sum, the state of Israel began to act as a "church" in the sociological sense of the term, while the Church began to act as a political community.

The framework of analysis for this complicated transformation is drawn from the work of Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Church (1888). Troeltsch isolated the "Church" and "Sect" types of religious organization and traced the theological, institutional (ecclesiological) and social expressions throughout the centuries of both types. Crucial to this thesis is Troeltsch's argument that the theological position adopted by a community will determine its ecclesiological structure and consequently its social-political involvement in the world. In summary, theology, ecclesiology and social involvement of a religious community, constitute an interlocking matrix in which the beliefs and structure of the

Church determine the degree and scope of its involvement in world affairs and likewise, any major initiative in the area of social or world affairs will necessitate an equally major transformation of its ecclesial structures and theological beliefs. Thus, the challenge posed to the Church by the establishment of the state of Israel and the problem of Jerusalem stimulated a radical transformation of, or attempt to transform, the Church on these three crucial levels of its existence.

Theologically (or ideologically) this transformation can be most vividly seen in the reinterpretation of traditional symbols, myths, beliefs and rituals. For example, a crucial debate, which will be analysed in detail in chapter five, is the theological significance of the name of the new state, "Israel," which was and still is laden with theological meaning for both Jews and Christians. In this case the Zionist attempt to secularize the name Israel was a failure and the religious content overwhelmed both the state and its leaders. This is a vivid example of the inner vitality of symbols which often resist reinterpretation.

Secondly, on an institutional (ecclesiological) level, the self-perception of the role and importance of the Church and the State of Israel will be followed and the changes in this self-perception will be chronicled. The portrayal of Israel as the protector and representative of world Jewry, as seen, for example, in the Law of Return and citizenship, placed it in a unique institutional role. The Church, likewise, in demanding a major role for itself in the administration of an international Jerusalem enclave under UN sovereignty, was clearly acting more as a state than as a traditionally conceived church.

Finally, on the level of the mass mobilization of its members in support of their respective causes, both Israel and the Church rejuvenated ancient and adopted modern means of mass mobilization, communication and influence. The newly created UN Organization contained a clear Catholic majority in the General Assembly which was mobilized in a variety of innovative ways. American and European Jews and Catholics, governments and supporters were subjected to a barrage of propaganda, information, demonstrations and vigils which applied all the methods of modern technology to their causes. This level will be treated primarily in chapter six.

It is precisely at the levels of theology, institution and mass mobilization, that the Iranian Islamic Revolution, Latin American Liberation Theology, American Protestant Fundamentalism, Israeli Gush Emunim, Indian Sikh, and others, have galvanized their followers into significant forces for social, political and religious change. In doing this, they have freely borrowed from other communities, or resurrected long forgotten examples.

As the world becomes increasingly troubled by such Inter-Religious conflicts as Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, Christians and Muslims in Lebanon, the Philippines and Africa, Muslims and Jews in Israel, Sikhs and Hindus in India, and Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims in Iran and Iraq, which often lead to outright war, it becomes increasingly

necessary to undertake the scientific study of Inter-Religious Relations. The need is even more urgent now as the traditionally accepted barriers between religion and politics, church and state, are under attack by many, if not all, religious communities. Long enclosed within their ghetto of private or individual concerns, religion has burst into the public arena with a vengeance resulting in religious involvement in the economies, legal systems, immigration policies, education systems, defense policies, and elections of many states. Likewise, one religious community responds or reacts to the initiatives of another community. Often this is done with the greatest of reluctance and even internal opposition. The most recent and dramatic example is the reluctance of many communities to respond to the success of the Islamic Republic in Iran in achieving its ideal of an Islamic State. There is no doubt that this example has emboldened and encouraged other communities to take on even the most firmly entrenched opponent, be it Western supported "secular" dictatorships, or elected democracies, or Marxist inspired Socialist states. While few communities openly refer to the Iranian model of revolution or violent change, it is without a doubt forcing an equally radical re-evaluation of means, methods and goals of other communities. For this reason the study of Inter-Religious Relations assumes an importance it previously did not have.

#### Sources

Source material for such a study poses a particular problem. In any institution the size and complexity of the Catholic Church with its emphasis on orthodoxy (right thinking) opinions and ideas evolve and are diffused in a very complex and circuitious manner. Internal mechanisms such as the possibility of silencing individuals, subtle "reminders" of their vow of obedience, denying a writer or thinker access to the "Catholic" press or teaching institutions, and the ultimate censure of excommunication tend to create gaping lacunae in the source material of any topic of Catholic interest. For this reason, I have chosen the Catholic press as the only source capable of presenting a continuous flow of information on the topics under study, a readily accessible body of information, as well as a structural framework from which to evaluate the opinions and ideas expressed.

A periodical or newspaper possesses a life of its own; it is born at a particular time, within a set of circumstances, by an or group of individuals, grows, flourishes or dies, attracts or loses the support of new individuals and groups, and incorporates responses to current events and intellectual trends into its already existing identity. Likewise, new publications arise in response to new circumstances and challenges or older publications cease to exist for the same reasons.

An excellent example of this dynamic, can be seen in the incorporation of such current developments as the establishment of the UN, World War II, the Cold War, and other military-political world events into the theological, spiritual and

historical vision of each Catholic publication from 1947 to 1950. This formed the immediate context for the incorporation of the establishment of the State of Israel and the Jerusalem problem into the editorial opinion and reporting of the publications under study.

In addition to the context into which Israel and Jerusalem issues were placed and the opinions expressed on these issues, other conclusions can be gleaned from the study of a particular publication. Which Catholics were attracted to the publication, which ceased any association with it, even temporarily? Were there historical precedents for involvement in such issues and what attitudes were taken at that time? Did the publication continue to be involved in the issues or did it cease in 1950? Was there an abrupt change in either editorial policy or editor during the period? Were articles from its pages reprinted in other Catholic publications, (a common practice by the Catholic press)? Was the publication subjected to attacks by other Catholic publications or clerics?

Many other questions will be posed throughout this thesis, each aimed at achieving an insight into the inner workings of Catholic policy formulation, theological and doctrinal evolution and the complicated encounter between two major world religions. Each publication will open a window to the issues under study and illuminate a small area of obscurity and confusion that can then be studied in both isolation and interrelation to other publications. The newspapers and periodicals I have chosen are by no means exhaustive, but will none the less illuminate how a significant portion of Catholics in the United States, France and at the Vatican confronted the issues of Israel and Jerusalem.

In selecting my sources, the major consideration was in presenting an accurate and in-depth insight into the many divergent and often contradictory tendencies within the Catholic Church in the United States, France and at the Vatican. As a result, certain popular and widely read newspapers are attributed the same importance as a relatively obscure publication by a little known religious order. As already mentioned this thesis is a study of both elite opinion as well as popular opinions and attitudes. Therefore, each publication will be evaluated as presenting an insight into the attitudes of a particular religious order, diocese, lay organization or ecclesiastical body.

A second consideration influencing my choice of sources was the fact that the Catholic press is the major vehicle for the Catholic opinion-elite composed of clergymen, theologians, hierarchy members, intellectuals and Catholic political leaders, in which to express opinions on the Israel and Jerusalem questions as well as the other urgent questions of the day. It is likewise the major source of information on Catholic news for most Catholics. As a result, the opinions expressed by the elites in the United States, France and at the Vatican on the theological and political implications of these questions were integrated into the larger context of the efforts of the various publications to come to terms with the modern world and Catholic

attitudes towards it. As will be seen throughout this study, the striking characteristic of the post World War II period was the profound sense of crisis that pervaded the Church.

The American Catholic press, long locked in bitter struggle with anti-Catholic movement and tendencies, was slow to emerge from its German, Irish, Italian and Polish ethnic ghettos. As a result, the position of most American Catholic publications was extremely isolationistic on any issue. However, the role assumed by the US Government after World War II as the defender of the Free World compelled American Catholics to formulate a coherent Catholic policy on international affairs. This policy incorporated two previous practices of reacting to each foreign crisis on its individual merits, as had been done in the Mexican and Spanish Civil Wars, while at the same time conducting heated campaigns to "prove" that American Catholics were as patriotic, if not more so, as any other American. Not until after the Second World War did a combination of national Catholic organizations, dedicated leaders and a campaign conducted by the Catholic press convince American Catholics of the need to elaborate a coherent, collective and consistent international policy for confronting world problems.

The Catholic newspaper which most avidly supported this abrupt change from traditional isolationism was The Tablet of Brooklyn. Its importance as the most outspoken Catholic newspaper in the USA, resulted from its location in the largest concentration of Catholics (as well as Jews) in the United States, the largest metropolitan center in the country, the seat of the leading Catholic prelate in the country (Cardinal Spellman) and the presence of the headquarters of many national Catholic organizations. It was likewise often quoted by both the world Catholic and secular press as representing the "official", albeit conservative, American Catholic position.

For purposes of comparison, the New World of Chicago, the second major concentration of Catholics; the syndicated weeklies, The Register printed in Denver, Colorado and Our Sunday Visitor printed in Huntington, Indiana were systematically analysed.

American Catholic magazines, in contrast to the newspapers, were generally ethnic in origin, were aimed at a national readership and were usually associated with a religious order, organization or lay group. In choosing these periodicals, the major consideration has been the prominence of the sponsoring organization, and the attention given by them to the Jewish, Israeli and Jerusalem questions.

In the USA, several orders published periodicals that enjoyed national reputations. Catholic World, a monthly founded in 1865 by the American religious order of the Paulists, held as its apostolate the conversion of America. Its influence in America was widespread due to its intense nationalism and efforts to present Catholicism as compatible with Americanism.

Ave Maria was established in 1865 by the founders of Notre Dame University, French Catholic refugees from revolutionary France. Through its firm belief that the best defense of the Church is a vigorous counterattack, the fathers

of the Congregation of the Holy Cross became a bastion of isolationism and Catholic orthodoxy. Its formula for a popular success was the promotion of Catholic devotion with a family magazine

The Sign, published by the Passionist Order founded in Italy in 1720, was like the order itself, dedicated to the contemplation of the Passion and apostolic work. The periodical first appeared in 1921 and combined devotional articles with topics of international interest.

America, a weekly published by the Jesuits, has since 1909 attempted to raise the intellectual awareness of American Catholics. It has not hesitated to take positions that were judged liberal by the more conservative Catholic press, and rapidly became a highly respected journal of educated Catholic opinion.

The Franciscans, like the Jesuits, are numerous, international and enjoy world prestige. Their long involvement in the Holy Places is reflected in the periodicals the order publishes, plus the numerous articles written by members of the order which appeared in many Catholic newspapers and magazines. The major Franciscan Holy Land periodical in the USA is the Crusader's Almanac founded in 1884.

The only lay Catholic periodical which closely followed the evolution of the Palestine question was Commonweal, a weekly founded in 1924. It has a reputation for high literary merit, independent liberal opinions and militantly independent of "official Catholic" guidance. As a result, it has achieved a large non-Catholic readership.

A final category of periodicals which has been analyzed is composed of those which did not systematically follow events in Palestine but nevertheless, at a particular moment, published one or several significant articles which were of consequence within the Catholic world. Often these articles were sponsored by a particular Catholic organization or group which had hitherto remained silent on the issues.

The Knights of Columbus, for example, the largest lay fraternal organization in the USA, has published its own monthly magazine, Columbia since 1921. It reaches over a million homes and is devoted to family issues. Its editorials and articles usually reflect the opinion of the American hierarchy on any issue.

Social Justice Review is published by the conservative lay organization, Catholic Central Verein (later Central Union), founded in 1885 as the major lay organization of German Catholics. It exhibits an outspokenness for the cause of conservatism which is often compared to the outspokenness of Commonweal for the cause of liberalism.

Catholic Mind, one of the oldest US reprint magazines, was founded in 1902, and prints articles, speeches, statements and documents by leading Catholic figures, hierarchy members and the pope himself.

Catholic Digest, founded in 1936, was widely read by non-Catholics and claimed a pass-along readership of 650,000 in 1950. It appealed to the Catholic masses and was instrumental in

forming many of their attitudes towards the issues of popular concern.

In contrast to Catholic Digest, The American Ecclesiastical Review, a monthly started in 1889, and The Priest, were aimed at the clergy. Their articles, usually authoritative and written by clergymen or theologians, expressed a strong influence on the parish priest and subsequently the Sunday sermon.

Many of the above-mentioned publications and newspapers published statements of position which were issued by such Catholic organizations as The Catholic Association of International Peace, The National Catholic Welfare Conference, The Pontifical Mission for Palestine, The American Catholic War Veterans Association, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Near East Welfare Association, Fordham Conference for Eastern Rites, The American Hierarchy and many others. Such statements were instrumental in forming Catholic opinion in the USA.

The French Catholic press had no such ethnic minority divisions to overcome, and as a result, had long subscribed to the idea that France was a deeply Catholic nation in spite of episodic anti-clerical and republican outbreaks. Consequently, the church expected French foreign policy to include a strong Catholic component in it. Likewise, the French Catholic press was more receptive to intellectual and political trends in France, and a wide variety of publications reflected this active participation in the national intellectual and political life of the nation. A direct consequence of this active participation was the division of the French Catholic, like the French secular, press into rival left and right tendencies.

In France, most newspapers were of a national circulation as opposed to the local diocesan circulation in the USA. As a result, they were all located in Paris and reflected the various divisions within French society as a whole. La Croix, established in 1880, was the most prestigious, and most widely read newspaper and was often cited by researchers and other newspapers as representing "official" French Catholic opinion. The prestige and influence of the newspaper was further enhanced through its publication of regional editions that covered the entirety of France.

Other newspapers extensively studied were L'Aube, La France Catholique and Temoignage Chretien, each being representative of a particular political tendency within the French society.

L'Aube, founded in 1932, was the voice of the Catholic left (Progressive Catholics), and the Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens, the French Catholic Labor Union. In 1944 it became the principle organ of the Catholic members of the post Second World War governments.

La France Catholique, established in 1925, represented the very conservative Federation Nationale d'Action Catholique (FNAC), with its national network of organizations for students, farmers, women, youth, sailors, scouts, children, teachers and families.

Temoignage Chretien, created in 1941, is the

representative of a long tradition of leftist Catholic militancy which denounces all forms of oppression from a strong Christian position. The newspaper was outspoken and did not hesitate to take a position on an issue which was clearly explosive.

Publications by religious orders were no less abundant in France than in the USA.

Cahiers Sioniens, a quarterly founded in 1947, was the publication of the French religious order of Notre Dame de Sion. This order was devoted to work among the Jews and its publication was the continuation of the previous periodical, La Question d'Israël, which had been founded in 1922. The influence of this order during the period 1947-1950 extended well beyond the confines of France and the French speaking world.

Catholicité, which first appeared in 1944, published special editions devoted to an intense analysis of a particular problem facing the Church. Its 1948 issue was devoted to the situation in Israel. The high intellectual calibre of the periodical, plus its dedication to "l'Eglise universelle," made it into a major Catholic forum of debate.

Etudes, published by the Jesuits, was founded in 1856 and remains one of the longest lived Jesuit, French Catholic as well as Catholic periodicals. Its prestige is derived from the prominence of its parent religious order for intellectual acumen and often maverick views.

L'Association internationale des Chrétiens et juifs began publishing a periodical entitled, L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne in 1948 which brought together many of the French Catholic, Protestant and Jewish intellectuals concerned with the question of Israel. Its dedication to Jewish and Christian friendship, as opposed to the synthesis of Cahiers Sioniens, encouraged many Catholics to use the periodical to express views often at odds with "official" Catholic opinion.

Esprit was created in 1932 by Emmanuel Mounier and rapidly became the forum for a dialogue between Catholics, Communists, Jews, Zionists and other groups. Its revolutionary social and religious analysis of the contemporary world made it into one of the most controversial and interesting post-war Catholic periodicals.

La Documentation Catholique, a bi-monthly which first appeared in 1919, reproduced texts and documents already published and is, in general, of an official nature. It draws on official statements and the world Catholic press, and often seeks to present both sides in disputes which divide Catholic opinion.

The Vatican press differs entirely from that of either the USA or France. It is, to all intents and purposes, the "official" spokesman of a sovereign world power. However, the two Vatican publications, the Jesuit Civiltà Cattolica and L'Osservatore Romano, founded soon after the loss of the Papal States, reflected the retrenchment of the Vatican behind Catholic orthodoxy with its deep suspicion of any abrupt social, theological or political change,

La Civiltà Cattolica, founded in 1850 by the Italian

Jesuits as a gesture of fierce loyalty to Pope Pius IX following the suppression of the Papal States, has remained a bulwark of loyalty to the popes and conservative Catholicism. Its self-imposed purpose is always and in all matters to reflect the thinking of the Holy See and Christian principles. Its opinions are always regarded with close attention in both religious and political circles.

L'Osservatore Romano has always been considered and treated as the official voice of the Vatican. Its articles are regularly reprinted in the Catholic press and referred to in the secular press. Its editor is appointed by the pope and enjoys his confidence.

The pontifical Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, sponsors various national editions of its mission periodical entitled Mission Catholique in France and Catholic Missions in the USA. These periodicals reflect the position of the Congregation on issues of Catholic concern.

A final category of Catholic press which goes beyond the strict limits of this study is a number of Catholic periodicals and newspapers which were published outside France, the USA and the Vatican. They are at times cited for two reasons. Firstly, they often reprinted articles written by French, American and Roman churchmen who had already been analysed within their respective contexts. Secondly, articles which appeared in such periodicals were often reprinted by the French, American and Vatican press and at times exerted a crucial influence on the periodicals analysed.

One such major Catholic newspaper in this category is The Tablet of London which was founded in 1840 and was often cited as the major voice of British Catholicism. It enjoyed great prestige during the period of the British Mandate in Palestine when British Catholics were centrally placed to serve as intermediaries between Rome and London. In particular, Archbishop Arthur Hughes, Apostolic Nuncio to Egypt until 1949, strongly influenced American and Vatican leaders on developments in the Arab world. The Tablet of Brooklyn and L'Osservatore Romano frequently reprinted articles from the newspaper and it was cited in the secular press for its strong anti-Communism and fear of an Arab anti-Christian holy war.

Another periodical often referred to is the French Canadian review, Relations, founded in 1940 by the Jesuits. On one hand it reflected the variety and breadth of opinion which existed within the Jesuit order and on the other hand it was an example of the striking difference between the French and US perceptions of the Palestine and later Jerusalem question, both of which were present in the periodical.

Il Quotidiano, published in Rome by the Italian Catholic Action Movement, was likewise often cited by the other Catholic newspapers especially concerning its early and uncompromising stand on the Jerusalem issue.

Other periodicals referred to include Blackfriars, a monthly review edited by the English Dominicans; The Month of London; UNITAS, an international quarterly of the Association Unitas; and published in Dublin.

In addition to the Catholic press, other sources are available. Numerous works exist which analyze various aspects of the questions. However, the majority of these present the issue from one viewpoint only, Catholic, Christian, Zionist, Jewish, Arab, etc., and the emphasis tends to be on one aspect of the problem; Holy Places, sovereignty, demography, political, religious. As a result, most studies tend to over-simplify the issue and conclude that the Catholic position was determined by one issue solely. This was clearly not the case.

Memoirs have also been a major source, and these have been written by Americans, British, Zionists, Jewish and UN personalities. Unfortunately, few Catholic clerics have written memoirs, and those that were written were generally apologetic in nature.

## Chapter 2

### The Evolution of the Catholic Press

#### 1. Introduction

Each of the Catholic periodicals and newspapers analysed reflects an independent origin and evolution which are determined by the circumstances of its founding, the founding and editing personalities, the social-political environment, and its relations with the Church hierarchy. These factors not only determined the general character of the publication, but its perception and reaction to the unfolding problem of Palestine. Each publication, as a result, merged the long standing Catholic givens of the Jewish "problem", emergence of Zionism, the holocaust, Palestine War of 1948, independence of the State of Israel, and UN efforts to internationalize Jerusalem with its already existing character.

#### 2. Background of the American Catholic Press

In 1908, Pope Pius X removed the American Church from the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Thus, it was no longer regarded as a "missionary church" of the long established European ones, but was placed on an equal footing with those of France, Spain, Italy and Germany.

Throughout its history the American Church had focused its attention on the problems of assimilation and ethnic division. It also sponsored an ambitious university, high and grade school building program, church construction campaign, missions to rural Catholics and programs to integrate Catholics into the economic, cultural, social and political fabric of the USA with remarkable success.<sup>1</sup> Central to this program were two phenomena that appeared on the American Catholic scene in the early 19th Century. First, the establishment of national organizations to group and coordinate the numerous charitable, educational and religious activities which had already been established on the

1. The major sources for the background of the Catholic Church in the USA are; MOTT, American Journalism, BAUMGARTNER, Catholic Journalism, SHEPPARD, Twentieth Century Catholicism, MC AVOY, A History of the Catholic Church, GREELEY, The Catholic Experience, plus articles in the New Catholic Encyclopedia including; "Press, Catholic, USA," and under the names of the periodicals, editors and religious orders. See also, America, February 19, 1955, "Present position of the Catholic Press," Jerome Breunig, pp. 532-535; DALE, The American Apostolate, pp.283-284; and The Religious Press in America, ed. MARTY.

ethnic and local level. Second, the establishment of a strong diocesan English language press directed at all Catholics regardless of ethnic background or language.

#### Emergence of national Catholic organizations

In 1910, with the formation of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the first unified organization of the charitable works of the Church was established. Within 10 years, 30 centers had been established on a diocesan level, aiding the Catholic needy, orphans and destitute. This organization attempted to coordinate the charitable activities of the older organized groups such as the German Central Verein and the Irish National Benevolent Union founded in the middle of the 19th Century, plus the more recent Italian and Polish groups.

Another major step in this process of forming an American Catholic identity, in opposition to an ethnic Catholic identity, was the creation of the Catholic University of America in 1889 in Washington D.C. In addition to the goal of "Americanization" of the university, it also sought to lift the intellectual level of Catholic scholarship. Archbishop Ireland said in the inaugural sermon; "This is an intellectual age ... Catholics must excel in religious knowledge ... they must be in the foreground of intellectual movements of all kinds. The Age will not take kindly to religious knowledge separated from secular knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

Another event which stimulated the process of Americanization was the outbreak of the First World War and the eventual American involvement in it. Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore assured President Wilson that the American Catholic resources would be mobilized to assist in the war effort. In 1917, the National Catholic War Council was established to elaborate a unified and coordinated plan of action for the numerous Catholic organizations seeking to engage in different kinds of war related activities. During and following the war, the NCWC instilled in American Catholics, "a deep consciousness of their resources, their strength and their responsibility, and provided a plan of Catholic unity and coordination that was to affect the history of the Church in America."<sup>3</sup>

Reflecting the awakening sensitivity of the American Church to problems and issues that reached far beyond the confines of

2. ELLIS, John Tracey, American Catholicism, p.119

3. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "National Catholic Welfare Conference," Vol. 8, p.226. For detailed accounts of the relations between the American Church and the government, see, DOHN, Nationalism and American Catholicism, and especially the two works by FLYNN, American Catholics and the Roosevelt Presidency 1932-1936 and Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937-1945.

any one diocese or ethnic group, the NCWC was transformed into the National Catholic Welfare Conference, NCWC, in 1919. In order to overcome suspicion by many American and European bishops that the NCWC was a new type of ecclesiastical jurisdiction impinging on the autonomy of the local bishops, the organization clarified its status as a voluntary body depending for membership and support on the free choice of each bishop and which furthermore possessed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or compulsory authority.

In spite of the voluntary nature of the NCWC, its moral persuasion was drawn from its Administrative Board which was composed of ten bishops elected by the assembled American bishops, which served a one-year term, plus all the American Cardinals. Consequently, all the major American Catholic organizations were eventually grouped under one of the seven departments of the NCWC; Education, Press, Social Action, Legal, Lay Organization, Immigration and Youth.

The NCWC was, and still remains, purely advisory to the hierarchy, but it has become the highest authoritative body within the American Church. The pronouncements of the NCWC are made in the name of the entire hierarchy after being submitted to the assembled prelates at their annual meeting.

The NCWC quickly recognised the need for a permanent body to orient and coordinate American Catholic participation in world affairs, as well as to give this involvement a Catholic character. Consequently, in 1927, the Catholic Association for International Peace, CAIP, was founded at the instigation of the NCWC to educate "all men of good will about their obligations" to attain world peace through justice and charity. Bishop Thomas J. Shaban, rector of the Catholic University of America, was named honorary president, and judge Martin T. Manton of New York City was elected president.<sup>4</sup>

A statement on international ethics was the first of many such statements, each prepared by a study committee. The pamphlet publication of the CAIP has pioneered in proposing many policies that eventually gained the endorsement of the NCWC. Among these were proposals for foreign technical assistance, a federated Europe, a world police force and a world bill of human rights. It took a firm position on the world threat of Communism as early as 1931, the necessity of halting Japanese aggression in 1932 and the consequences of the Munich Pact in 1938. The CAIP was a fervent supporter of the UN and American participation in that organization, but was strongly opposed to

4. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Catholic Association for International Peace," Vol.3, p.264. For a discussion of the impact of the CAIP on American government policy see, EBERSOLE, Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital, and the very critical BLANSHARD, Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power.

granting the USA or any other state the right of veto in the Security Council. Annual conferences as well as publications were devoted to these and other topics. The Catholic Almanac described the work of the CAIP in 1955 as, "to prepare, or promote preparation of, writings on the social teachings of the Church on peace and international relations; to bring about the diffusion of these writings; and to help Catholic lay organizations and schools take their part in the movement for a peaceful world."<sup>5</sup>

The CAIP and NCWC keenly felt the need to distribute information on the life and thinking of Catholics on world, as well as American, affairs. To achieve this end, the National Catholic News Service, NCNS, which had come into existence already in 1919, assumed an increasing importance. The NCNS offered Catholic publications, a weekly news service, feature service, news picture service, editorial information service and special supplements.

The major obstacle to the efforts of the CAIP and NCWC to increase American Catholic awareness of their world responsibilities was their character as a scattered minority within a "Protestant" America. Most Catholics were separated from their fellow religious by ethnic, linguistic and geographical distance and from their fellow Americans by distrust and fear of the often evoked "Catholic threat to Protestant Anglo-America." In addition, many Catholics preferred the security of their ethnic ghetto to the insecurity of assimilation. For this reason, the English language Catholic press in the United States assumed a character very often at odds with Catholic popular sentiment and at times employed rather brutal tactics in breaking down ghetto walls.

The role of the press during the post-immigrant period was emphasized by Pope Pius X when he said to American Catholics, "In vain you will build churches, preach missions, found schools; all your good works, all your efforts, will be destroyed if you cannot at the same time wield the defensive and offensive weapons of a press, Catholic, loyal, sincere."<sup>6</sup>

The English language press, in union with the national Catholic organizations, made great strides in battering down the ethnic barriers and forging a common American Catholic identity. Nevertheless, a steady flow of European immigrants continued to strengthen the ghetto walls and mentality which reinforced the isolationistic and ethnic sentiments of many Catholics. As will be seen later this conflict between those Catholics who urged an energetic American Catholic "foreign policy" were resisted by those who feared European and foreign entanglements.

5. Catholic Almanac, 1955, Felician A. Foy, ed., Paterson, N.J., St. Anthony's Guild, p.514.

6. Catholic Almanac, 1954, p.396.

During the early part of this century, the Catholic press, both English and foreign language, was still generally owned by founding laymen. Gradually, however, local bishops assumed control of the press and many were given the subtitle, "Official organ of the diocese." The Tablet of Brooklyn, for example, was bought by the diocese in 1909 for \$5,000 from its founder, William P. Lawler. Under such diocesan guidance the press attempted to integrate the various ethnic and local Catholic communities into a broad American whole.

In addition to strictly Catholic news, usually at a diocesan level, national and international news slowly became part of the Catholic press. However, such news followed the general plan of answering attacks or publicising news of nationalistic interest, e.g., Irish freedom, Italian immigration, Polish persecution. The First World War spurred the American Catholic press to take a systematic and sustained interest in world events, but this interest was still largely a negative reaction to events. Since many American Catholics had fled, and continued to do so at this time, from economic, political, religious and social hardships in Europe to seek a better life in the New World, they adopted and strengthened an already existing tendency towards isolationism.

Various attempts were made to establish a truly national Catholic newspaper in the early 1900s, but each attempt failed. The NCWC Press Department and the Catholic Press Association, CPA, (1911) both strove to consolidate a national information system. The CPA had as its purpose, "to promote the educational, literary, news and business interests of the papers concerned, and to establish closer fraternity among Catholic editors." International news was distributed to the local diocesan papers, but a national newspaper remained an elusive goal.

In 1939, John Mark Gannon, then Bishop of Erie, Pa., and later episcopal chairman of the CPA, initiated a drastic plan to get the diocesan newspaper into every Catholic home. The last Sunday of February and the first of October were designated as Catholic Press Sundays and each diocese would act as guarantor to the publisher for each name on the parish list. Bishop Gannon's work resulted in a phenomenal growth in the Catholic press. In 1925, the American Catholic press had a total circulation of 6.4 million; by 1932, 7.3 million; and by 1944, 10.6 million. This includes magazines and newspapers, both in English and foreign languages. By 1964 there were to be 121 weekly newspapers with a circulation of 4,569,230 and 350 magazines with a circulation of 12,934,017.

During the first half of the 20th Century, The Tablet of Brooklyn, under the editorship of Patrick F. Scanlan, emerged as one of the most vocal and outspoken Catholic newspaper in the USA. In its capacity as the "official voice" of the Archdiocese of New York, it grew in circulation and importance. By 1908 it

had a circulation of 13,000; by 1939, 95,000; and by 1944, 107,000.

The New York metropolitan area had become the most important concentration of Catholics and Catholic institutions in America, as well as the port of arrival for the millions of Catholic immigrants during this period. The Tablet consequently assumed the role of representing the national and international interests of the Church. For example, in 1921, when the first in a series of laws was passed by Congress that would drastically limit the flow of immigrants from the countries that had supplied the bulk of recent Catholic immigrants, The Tablet did not hesitate to respond with a violent riposte. During this period when the bulk of the American press was struggling to forge an "American" Church out of the millions of immigrants, The Tablet assumed a leading role.

The Tablet perceived itself as a newspaper contending on a broad front with the enemies of Holy Mother Church whose unique contribution to this was its "fire and brimstone headlines."<sup>7</sup> Its mission was to project a rock of strength "in the midst of religious and moral decline everywhere else."<sup>8</sup> It deplored liberal Protestantism with such headlines as, "Blind Guides," "Entertainment vs Religion," and "Despair of Protestantism." Articles and editorials stressed that not only was Catholicism inherently superior to Protestantism, but that it constituted the best hope for America in the 20th Century.<sup>9</sup>

The Tablet was especially noted for its running battles with the secular press which it accused of seldom reporting Catholic news, and that when it did it presented an unfriendly and distorted view. Shortly after its founding, the newspaper was locked in a debate with the secular press on how the US should respond to the revolutions which began in Mexico in 1911. The overthrow of the 34-year dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz was followed by a violent anti-clerical campaign led by Victoriano Huerta and his opponent Venustiano Carranza. President Wilson's initial "watchful waiting" and eventual recognition of the Carranza government was condemned by The Tablet as turning his back of the sufferings of Mexican Catholics. The paper demanded "Equitable treatment of Catholics in the editorial pages of the secular press, otherwise war!"<sup>10</sup> It declared that American recognition of Carranza would be an "open insult to 16,000,000 Catholics in the United States," but Wilson was unimpressed. Hereafter, The Tablet and the Catholic press in general was

7. BROWN, Alden, V., The Tablet, The First Seventy-Five Years, The Tablet Publishing Company, 1983, p.5.

8. Ibid., p.14.

9. Ibid., p.15.

10. Ibid., p.17.

to remain convinced that a Catholic perception of world events was sharply different from that of non-Catholics, and that the secular press was strongly anti-Catholic.

The failure of The Tablet to sway Wilson did not dampen its convictions that the Church was the only hope for America. Managing editor Scanlan declared that a new stage had been reached in the history of American Catholicism. At first persecuted and then tolerated, as of 1934, Catholics would now fearlessly exercise a power and influence in American society. "The Church Persecuted and the Church Tolerated" he wrote, had become "the Church Aroused."

The Spanish Civil War of the mid-1930s once again aroused The Tablet and placed it at odds with not only much of the secular press, American government but certain Catholic periodicals as well. The liberal Spanish Republican government of 1931 had severely limited the traditional rights of the Church and during the ensuing civil war, a violent anti-clerical campaign erupted. The Tablet vigorously supported General Franco and attacked the Republicans as "A Threat to Civilization" who had completely succumbed to the machinations of Moscow." For The Tablet, the battle lines were absolutely clear, "The conflict now looms as a war between communism on one side and Christianity and its allies on the other." The Tablet's support for Franco and clearcut, right-wrong position, was opposed by the radically pacifist position of Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker (established in 1933) and the Commonweal, a lay periodical, established in 1924 which adopted an agonized neutralist stance.<sup>11</sup>

Both the Mexican and Spanish civil wars reinforced The Tablet's tone and mission as the defender of the Church, both at home and abroad. In 1939, Scanlan clearly summarised the attitude of the paper when he wrote in an editorial, "The question for us (editors) is, Who is for God and who is against God? Who favors religion, who is against it? This is the all important issue. Nothing else matters a great deal."<sup>12</sup> Scanlan's criteria remained the guidelines for the newspaper until his retirement in 1968.

The Chicago New World is much more typical of the bulk of the American diocesan newspapers than The Tablet. It sought to inform its mid-Western readers of local, national and international news from a Catholic perspective, but avoided the outspoken attacks against the secular press which characterised The Tablet. During the Spanish Civil War, for example, it strongly supported Franco but did not elaborate this position into a general criticism of the non-Catholic press and American Government policy. Its total paid circulation in 1950 was

11. Ibid., p.33.

12. Ibid., p.39.

nearly 171,000 which made it one of the largest Catholic newspapers in the United States. The only other papers which surpassed 100,000 subscribers were the Milwaukee Herald Citizen, The Tablet and the Michigan Catholic of Detroit.

The syndicated Catholic Register of Denver and Our Sunday Visitor of Huntington, Indiana, grew rapidly following their establishment in 1929 and 1937 respectively. Their expansion forms part of the general growth of national Catholic organizations that marked the inter-war period. By 1938, The Register had grown to 19 editions with a circulation of 400,000 and by 1955 had reached 35 editions, with a total circulation of nearly 700,000. The Visitor in 1955 had 11 editions and its circulation in 1964 had reached 892,148. The Register and Visitor chains served the more sparsely inhabited areas of the West and South where Catholic schools, universities and organizations were rare. In most cases their readers resided in small towns and rural areas and possessed little knowledge of Catholicism, little interest in international affairs, and even less in Palestine. The newspapers perceived their role to be one of educating Catholics in their faith and keeping them abreast of events within the Church. Nevertheless, they form a necessary basis for comparison for The Tablet and New World on such issues as isolationism vs internationalism; the perception and importance of the Palestine and Jerusalem questions; and the role of the Church in American national life. Catholic periodicals during the post-immigrant period likewise grew in number and circulation, and reflected the growing complexity of the American Church.

The Catholic World, a monthly devoted to general literature and science, was founded in 1865 in New York by the recently founded American order of priests, the Paulists. The establishment of the Paulists typifies the internal struggles then plaguing the American Church. Isaac Thomas Hecker, a convert to Catholicism, had joined the German Redemptorist Order, along with two other converts.<sup>13</sup> Their desire to preach missions to American Protestants was not welcomed by the German order who viewed their apostolate as dedicated to the service of German Catholics in the mid-West. Hecker and his colleagues were consequently expelled from the order. Shortly later, in 1858, with the approval of Rome, the first Paulist motherhouse was established in New York. The new order took solemn promises rather than vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and community life and embraced an apostolate to non-Catholic Americans. By 1964, the circulation of the Catholic World had mounted to 19,900.

13. WARD, Leo R. ed., The American Apostolate, pp.283-284. See also FINLEY, James Gillis, Paulist, for the evolution of both the Paulist Order and the Catholic World during the first half of this century.

Historians of the Catholic press credit the Catholic World with a greater influence than many a periodical with a far larger circulation. Hecker's background as both a convert and of German background made his periodical a revolutionary step in the evolution of the American Catholic press. He was at the same time one of the first non-Anglo-American Catholics to edit an English language periodical and, as well, a firm believer in the compatibility between the American separation of Church and State and the teachings of the Church. The Catholic World held as its ultimate goal, the conversion of America. Hecker and his fellow Paulist, Fr. Augustine Frances Hewit, envisaged a glorious future in the union of the Catholic faith and American civilization.

Ave Maria, a weekly magazine, was founded in 1865 by Fr. Edward F. Sorin, founded of Notre Dame University in Indiana. Sorin was born in Ahville, France and ordained a priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross in 1838, a congregation which had been founded in 1837 by Fr. Basil Anthony Moreau. The first mother house in the USA was in Indiana, founded in 1842 by Sorin.

Ave Maria, which reached a circulation of 49,000 by 1964, has been described as the first popular Catholic journal that discovered a formula to combine the promotion of Catholic devotion with a family magazine. First under Sorlin and then under the long editorial guidance (1875-1929) of Fr. Daniel Eldred Hudson, the propagation of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, whence the name of the magazine, was combined with expressions of a strong Catholic opinion on all issues. Any suggestion of criticism against the Church from any quarter especially aroused the ire of the magazine.<sup>14</sup> Ave Maria believed that the best defence against such attacks was a vigorous counter attack. Rather than trying to accommodate non-Catholic criticism of the Church, such as Hecker attempted to do in the Catholic World, Hudson responded by establishing an iron clad Catholic fortress to resist such attacks. Such an attitude was probably due to the not so distant memories of the French priests who had suffered during the French revolution, as well as the relative isolation of Indiana that nourished strong isolationist tendencies among the large and growing rural German Catholic population of the area.

The Crusader's Almanac, a quarterly, was founded in 1884 by the Franciscans of the Holy Land Commissariat located in

14. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Catholic Press, World Survey," Vol.3, p.317. See also, MARTIN, The Catholic Library World, "Catholic Periodical History 1850-1951," and SHEERIN, Historical Records and Studies, Vol.41, "Development of the Catholic Magazines in the History of American Journalism," 1953.

Washington D.C. It was the first mission magazine in the USA and, as its title implies, was directly concerned with the support and aid of the ancient rights and interests of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. The Commissariat in Washington was one of 69 in 33 countries of the world. The first had been founded in 1333 in Naples by Robert of Anjou following the "redemption of the Holy Places" during the Crusades. The mandated duty of a commissariat was to collect alms for the maintenance of the Holy Places in Palestine of which the Franciscans have custody. The first American commissariat in Washington was followed by ones in California and St. Louis.

The mission of the commissariat, plus the centuries long Franciscan involvement in the Holy Land, resulted in a permanent and unflagging concern for the fate of the Holy Places and the Christian communities there. The Crusader's Almanac was one of the very few Catholic publications which consistently informed its readers of events which affected Catholics in other parts of the world even though it militated for Catholic, as opposed to American, engagement to protect them.

Commonweal, a lay Catholic weekly journal of opinion, was founded in 1924 by Fr. Thomas Lawrason Riggs, Catholic chaplain at Yale University. Its editor from its founding until 1937 was Michael Williams. The periodical explicitly rejected the notion of serving as a mouthpiece of the Church, its hierarchy or of a religious order. The editors promised that it would be "definitely Christian in its presentation of orthodox religious principles and their application to the subjects that fall within its purview." At the same time, they emphasized that the opinions would be those of lay people, even if their opinions were opposed to the more "official" Catholic opinions.<sup>15</sup>

Commonweal rapidly became one of the most influential journals of opinion and its literary merit and independent liberal stance gained it a reading public far beyond the confines of the Catholic community.<sup>16</sup>

From its founding, Commonweal became a Catholic voice that spoke on many issues before the hierarchy or other "official" voices had clarified their positions. Michael Williams's editorial column "Views and Reviews" was one of the first Catholic columns to discuss the implications for Catholics of such issues as the rise of totalitarianism, the persecution of the Church in Mexico, anti-Semitism and the Negro cause. It maintained an open dialogue with other religious communities as well as such interfaith groups as the National

15. See. FELDBLUM, p.4, and VAN ALLEN, The Commonweal and American Catholics.

16. See, SHEERIN, p.11.

Conference of Christians and Jews.<sup>17</sup> Fr. Riggs himself had been active in the work of the latter.

The Sign was founded in 1921 by Fr. Ralph Gorman CP of the Passionist Order. This order had been founded in Italy in 1720 by St. Paul of the Cross, a mystic devoted to the Passion of Christ.<sup>18</sup> The order engaged in apostolic work, especially the preaching of missions and retreats. The first house in the USA was founded in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1852.

The editor of The Sign, from its founding until 1934, was Rev. Harold Purcell. By 1924 it had a circulation of 60,000 and by 1961, 420,000. It attempted to blend an exposition of Catholic teaching with reports and comments on affairs of the world of particular interest to Catholics. In 1942 Gorman, a graduate of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem, became its editor.

Historians of the Catholic press attribute the order's unusual interest in Jews and the the Holy Land to their intense and continual meditation on the scene of the passion. In prayer, penance and solitude, the Passionist dedicates his being to "con-crucifixion" in the continuing Passion of Christ.

America, a weekly, was founded in 1909 by Fr. John J. Wynne, a Jesuit. The periodical was designed to appeal to the educated laity who often found themselves at odds with a Church that seemed to appeal to the masses of uneducated immigrants. Fr. Richard Henry Tierney SJ, editor-in-chief from 1914 to 1925, quickly brought the journal to public attention by taking forceful stands on controversial issues. He was very critical of President Wilson's policy towards Mexico and published damaging facts about the religious persecution by the Carranza regime. He advocated a policy of strict neutralism before the First World War, and was a vocal advocate of Irish independence, a common Irish and Catholic cause.

Fr. John La Farge SJ, editor from 1926 to 1963, became known as the major Catholic advocate of interracial justice and introduced this theme into the pages of America. He also founded the Catholic Interracial Council and edited the Interracial Review as well as serving as an officer of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

#### The American Catholic press and the Near East

American Catholic interest or involvement in the Near East, in general, and Palestine, in particular, was negligible during the 19th Century and well into the 20th Century. With the

17. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Knights of Columbus," L.E. Hart, Vol.7, pp.215-217 and Catholic Almanac, 1955, pp.59 and 654.

18. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Press, Catholic, USA," and FELDBLUM.

exception of the Crusader's Almanac which reflected the considerable Franciscan interests there, the Catholic press merely mirrored the sporadic news stories that emerged from the area such as the Allied conquest of Jerusalem on December 10, 1917, and the intermittent Jewish-Arab riots during the 1920s and '30s. However, no lasting and comprehensive interest emerged from these events.

The first national Catholic organization that focused attention on the Near East was the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, CNEWA, founded in 1926. This organization grouped together several welfare groups that included the Pontifical Commission for Russia which was dedicated to the welfare of Russian refugees following the Communist Revolution and the Catholic Union which worked for the reunification of the Eastern Churches with the Roman Church. The activities of the CNEWA extended over 18 countries, stretching from India and Iran to the Balkans and South to Ethiopia. Initially concerned with the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution and collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and later with the protection of Catholic minorities in Eastern Europe, under Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon who became national secretary in 1943, Palestine emerged as the major preoccupation of the CNEWA. McMahon remained national secretary until 1954.

The outstanding feature of the Catholic population of this heterogenous region is their distinct minority status and adherence to Eastern Catholic rites, including; Maronites, Melkites, Ukranians, Ruthenians, Greek Catholics, Syrio-Malabars, Syrio-Malankara, Chaldeans, Copts and Armenians. Over the years the CNEWA has helped build churches, schools, convents, hospitals, orphanages and leprosaria; offered relief services to the Christians following the frequent anti-Christian outbreaks; and directly intervened with local governments to improve the living conditions and legal status of their Christian populations.

Under the leadership of Msgr. McMahon, the CNEWA turned to the Catholic press as one of the most important means of protecting these Christians from their hostile environments. By means of a weekly column carried by many Catholic newspapers, prolific publications, lectures and articles, the CNEWA became a vocal and well-known national Catholic institution, and the welfare of what McMahon referred to as the "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea" became a matter of concern for American Catholics.<sup>19</sup>

19. America, March 4, 1944, "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea," Thomas McMahon, pp.597-599; Catholic Mind, October 1945, "Return of the Separate Eastern Churches to the Ancient Faith," McMahon, pp. 634-640; and Sign, June 1945,

### 3. Background of the Catholic press in France

France, one of the eldest and most influential Catholic states in the world, had long been recognised as the eldest daughter of the Church by the Popes and the Catholic World in general. Neither the Protestant Reformation nor the French Revolution had permanently destroyed this national Catholic identity, and episodic outbursts of anti-clericalism were interpreted as signs of the frustrated efforts of anti-Catholic and anti-French radicals. The French Catholic press therefore saw its role as ensuring that the French government give due consideration to Catholic interests in both its domestic and foreign policy. The Catholic press felt that it could speak in the name of "La France" with as much legitimacy, if not more, as the government.<sup>20</sup>

In sharp contrast with the long respected American tradition of a clear cut and constitutionally imposed separation of Church and State, French domestic and foreign politics have been traditionally involved with doctrinal and theological issues, and, inversely, theological and doctrinal debates have been inseparable from the larger social-political French contest. The evolution of the French Catholic press has reflected this blending of the spiritual and political.

The origins of the modern Catholic press in France was consequently directly related to a period of national and international French crisis. Following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, the Empire of Napoleon III collapsed, a republic was established and France was forced to sign a humiliating treaty in which it lost the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The Catholic reaction to this defeat and the establishment of the republic was the emergence of a militant Catholicism of combat.

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"Threat to the Holy Places," McMahon, pp.594-596. For information on McMahon see, FELDBLUM, The American Catholic Press and the Jewish State. McMahon was ordained in Rome in 1933 after three years of study there. In 1943 he became Master of Ceremonies for Archbishop Spellman and organized the "Fordham Conference on Eastern Rites" and other activities related to the Near East.

20. The major sources for the evolution of the Catholic press in France are; HOURDIN, La Presse catholique, MORIENVAL, Sur l'histoire de la presse catholique, GODFRIN, Une Centrale de presse catholique, Le répertoire de la presse catholique, ALBERT et TERROU, Histoire de la presse, BELLANGER et. al., Histoire générale de la presse française, plus articles in Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain.

## Catholicism of Combat

The mentality of "Catholicisme de combat" was the result of the conviction that France's humiliation at the hands of Protestant Prussia had been caused by the de-Christianization of France both among the Catholic masses as well as among their leadership. Consequently, this movement sought to "re-Christianize" France from the highest echelons of government and Church to the lowest classes of society.

The aims of this movement were; first, to mobilize popular support for the Church, and second, to emphasize the external, highly visible signs of Catholicism as manifestations of the continuing viability of the Church.<sup>21</sup> This led to the rise of popular Eucharistic devotions which had become common during the 1850s such as, Night Vigils and the 40-Hour Devotion Service. Such devotions were important in strengthening the bond between the clergy and the masses, and as a public proclamation of faith vis-à-vis anti-clerical government officials.<sup>22</sup>

The organizational force behind the "Catholicisme de Combat" was the Assumptionist Order founded in 1945 by Emmanuel Daunde d'Alzon. The order had a threefold purpose; to restore higher education according to the mind of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, to establish a Catholic press to fight the enemies of the Church, and to support the Byzantine-rite Catholics of Eastern Europe and Turkey. The Assumptionists were inspired by personal loyalty to the pope and believed that a French national revival could only succeed if the French Church were totally and publicly loyal to him.

Beginning in 1875, the Assumptionists sponsored annual Eucharistic Congresses at various holy sites in France, first with reluctant and later with enthusiastic support of the hierarchy. Later these congresses were held in other European cities, such as Antwerp and Liège in Belgium, Fribourg in Switzerland, Rome and later in Jerusalem in 1893.

The congresses were organized by the National Pilgrimage Movement which had been founded in 1873 by the Assumptionists Fr. Vincent de Paul Picard and Emmanuel Bailly. The Movement had three main objectives:

1. Prier publiquement pour l'expiation des crimes de la France,
2. Obtenir du ciel le rétablissement du pouvoir temporel du Pape,
3. Servir à rapprocher les classes antagonistes.<sup>23</sup>

21. GODFRIN, J. and P., Une Centrale de presses catholique, Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1965, pp.120-121.

22. SOETENS, Claude, Le Congrès Eucharistique International de Jérusalem (1893), Louvain, Editions Nauwelaerts, 1977, p.176.

23. Ibid., p.155.

The pilgrimages sponsored by the Movement stressed national rather than individual piety and were financed by each participant being assessed according to his or her individual means. As a result, the rich paid heavily, whereas the poor frequently went for free. During the voyage, no distinction was permitted between the rich and poor. Communal kitchens and transport were compulsory for all to underscore the stated goal of the pilgrimage to eliminate all class distinctions and antagonism.

The pilgrimage of 1893, to Jerusalem, engaged over 1500 participants in what was billed as a "pèlerinage populaire de penitence." Picard wrote, "un acte de protestation la plus solennelle contre les principes révolutionnaires. Nous sommes établis pour venger les droits de Dieu et proclamer le règne social du Christ. Les pèlerinages n'ont pas d'autre but."<sup>24</sup>

In 1873, the pilgrimage movement began publishing its own periodical, Le Pèlerin as its official publication, "pour réchauffer le zèle des fidèles."<sup>25</sup> In 1877, Bailly decided to add illustrations, and as a result, circulation increased from a few hundred to over 3,000 within weeks, and eventually rose to 100,000. Le Pèlerin became the first popular Catholic publication in the tradition of the popular penny press ("le journal populaire à un sou"). The paper contained many pictures of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, statues of Notre-Dame de Salut and of holy places in France. Its herald was the Vatican coat of arms, and its motto was, "Adveniat Regnum Tuum." Most articles were devoted to Church news, with emphasis on Rome and Jerusalem. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land were extensively covered and increased as a result.

In view of the success of Le Pèlerin, its editors decided to launch another newspaper, La Croix, in 1880. This paper sought to emulate Le Petit Journal, a 5-centime paper first published in 1863 by Moise Millaud, which had become popular through sensationalist reporting, serialized fiction and illustrations. As Le Petit Journal put it, the paper "sut satisfaire les goûts et les curiosités d'un public à la culture très primaire."<sup>26</sup> By 1869 Le Petit Journal had reached a circulation of 350,000. This success encouraged Picard and Bailly in the belief that the popular press could serve as a means of re-introducing Christ and His Church into a society that was being rapidly secularized.

La Croix plunged into the political battles of the day, demanding the restitution of the Papal States, the suppression of the laws that deprived the family and commune of the right to choose their own school teachers and the laws requiring priests

24. Ibid., p.165.

25. GODFRIN, Une Centrale de presse catholique, p.12.

26. ALBERT et TERROU, Histoire de la Presse.

to perform military service. The newspaper attempted to play the role of rallying point for French Catholics openly proclaiming, "A toute armée, il faut un drapeau et dans la guerre que la France catholique mène contre la Révolution ce drapeau est plus nécessaire que jamais." Its circulation grew from 20,000 in 1886 to 70,000 in 1888, 107,800 in 1889 and 168,000 by 1892.

An integral part of its program was sponsoring practising Catholics as deputies for the National Assembly. In 1896 it organized a "Comité Justice-Egalité, oeuvre électorale destinée à grouper les bonnes volontés catholiques contre les sectaires juifs, francs-maçons et socialistes."<sup>27</sup> La Croix had clearly identified the internal enemies which it considered responsible for the defeat of France by Prussia and the de-Christianization of the masses.

La Croix and Le Pèlerin were quickly joined by regional editions of La Croix, La Croix du Dimanche in 1889, La Croix-Dimanche de l'Aisne in 1890 and La Croix de Seine-et-Marne in 1892. The combined circulation of the chain reached 415,000 by 1895. In 1905 Jérusalem a weekly illustrated review was founded to encourage participation in the pilgrimages to Palestine.<sup>28</sup>

The centralized nature of the French Catholic press is in sharp contrast to its American counterpart which during the later years of the 19th Century was still ethnically divided, possessed no national newspapers and was still preoccupied with the construction of its own infrastructure of schools, church buildings and organizations. In sharp contrast, the French Church was to identify its mission to "jeter les premiers aux maudits qui gouvernent la France le cri de résistance aux lois d'iniquité."<sup>29</sup>

In what can only be described as a fierce struggle for the "soul" of France, the Church confronted the anti-Catholic measures of the republic by attempting to rival the glories of the republic with parallel glories for "la France catholique." Following the defeat by Prussia, the republic turned towards Asia and Africa to reestablish its national glory. French Catholics, likewise, labored to ensure that the republican empire would be equally a Catholic empire in spite of its "republicanism." The Church did not hesitate to remind the government that if its national aspirations took it to Asia and Africa, its Catholic obligations took it likewise to the Holy

27. GODFRIN, op.cit., pp.13 and 135, see also GUY, Vincent de Paul Bailly, Fondateur de "La Croix", and MONSCH, Presse-Actualité, "La Croix" son histoire, March 1965, pp.4-23.

28. GODFRIN, op.cit., pp. 70-76.

29. Ibid., p.13.

Land, where past French crusades, schools, institutions, missionaries and military interventions had established it as the protector of the Christian presence there.

The 1893, International Eucharistic Congress in Jerusalem, organized by the Assumptionists and White Fathers (Missionaries to Africa and the Middle East) was one such occasion when the Church attempted to force the hand of the government. Under the patronage of Cardinal Benoit-Marie Langenieux, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been appointed papal delegate for the occasion (the first papal delegate to visit the Holy Land since the Crusades), and with the blessing of Pope Leo XIII, the congress was transformed into a spiritual as well as political demonstration of French influence in the Holy Land. In addition to high placed religious representatives of the Palestinian churches; the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Louis Piavi OFM, the Greek, Armenian, Coptic and Jacobite Orthodox Churches, the Eastern Churches in union with Rome, Melkite, Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, Maronite and Coptic Catholic Rites, and 374 European Catholic hierarchy members; numerous political dignitaries attended. These included eight European Consuls in Jerusalem, Russia, Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, Spain and the USA, the mayor of Jerusalem, Selim Effendi, and representatives of the Ottoman Government in Palestine.<sup>30</sup>

Even while the Congress was still in the planning stages, hostility between its Catholic supporters and the French government was evident. The presence of both religious and political leaders gave the Congress a semi-political character and was a clear demonstration of French influence in the area.<sup>31</sup> The French Catholic press clearly viewed it as an attempt to exert pressure on the government to include a "Catholic" component in its foreign policy.<sup>32</sup>

The political implications of the Congress were underscored by the publication of a controversial article in a publication of the White Fathers, Revue illustrée de la Terre Sainte entitled "Le Rachat de la Palestine par les Catholiques."<sup>33</sup> The article proposed the creation in Palestine of "un Etat neutre, soumis à l'autorité temporelle du Pape, avec faculté pour lui d'y établir le cas échéant, soit sa résidence, soit tout ou partie du vaste gouvernement de l'Eglise universelle." The article proposed that the project be financed by a "colossal" subscription to be raised by the Catholic world as a whole. In the introduction to the article, the editor suggested that the proposal be studied seriously by French Catholics.

30. SOETENS, op.cit., p.790.

31. Ibid., p.545.

32. Ibid., pp.308-9 and 545.

33. Revue illustrée de la Terre Sainte, January 15, 1892, Marc Passame, pp.401-3. See also January 1, 1897, p.382 and January 1, 1898, pp.154-155.

In Jerusalem, the French Consul, Mr. Ledoulx, objected to the Revue illustrée article by warning of the consequences of such an independent "Catholic" policy in the Holy Land, divorced from that of the French government. In an official memorandum Ledoulx wrote that the consequences might be,

que des utopies de cette nature peuvent produire sur le gouvernement ottoman lui-même ... en indisposant la Sublime Porte et en l'amenant à mettre plus de réserve à l'octroi des firmans et faveurs qu'elle accorde avec une libéralité dont nos établissements religieux profitent largement."<sup>34</sup>

Ledoulx also referred to the negative reaction of non-Catholic prelates, missionaries and consuls in Jerusalem.

The Congress, the Revue illustrée articles and the diplomatic flutter which surrounded them, is but one example of how the French Church was attempting to both re-Christianize France from within and introduce a Catholic component into French foreign policy. In fact, the Church was standing on firm ground when it made such demands on the government. The Catholic component had historically been present from well before the Crusades until the revolution. Even after the revolution government funds and support for French missionaries in Asia, Africa and the Middle East was generous. As late as 1888 France's right and duty to protect Christian interests in Palestine had been recognised in the encyclical Aspera verum conditio. Although the extent of the governments commitment ebbed and flowed with political circumstances, the French Church expected consistent and committed engagement in support of the numerous schools, charitable establishments, churches, institutions and minorities in the region.

The historic French involvement in Palestine was further complicated by the extensive penetration by other European powers into the increasingly unstable Ottoman Empire. Palestine soon became an arena where European rivalries were enacted and where the changing fortunes of the actors were reflected. Such actors as the Russian, French, British, German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian and later American governments, plus various religious groups, Catholics, Orthodox, Protestant and later Jewish, including their trans-national, national and internal organizations, sects and orders all competed for influence, possessions and holy places. Large numbers of Europeans, Armenian

34. SOETENS, op.cit., p.310. "Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères à Paris," Ledoulx à Ribot, 10/3/1892, AAEP, Jérusalem, p.24.  
p.9.

immigrants, and later Zionist and Jewish settlers arrived to further charge an already heated competition.<sup>35</sup>

The Assumptionist Order was not the only group of French Catholics which was alarmed by the failure of France to fulfill its obligations to the Holy Land, its Holy Places and Christian inhabitants. The forementioned, Revue illustrée de la Terre Sainte had been founded by the former White Father, Félix Charetant, who had spent several years in Jerusalem associated with L'Oeuvre d'Orient. L'Oeuvre, which had been founded in 1856, drew its inspiration from Cardinal Charles Lavigerie who believed that the unification of the Eastern Churches (Orthodox) with the Roman Church was possible and even constituted the "devoir catholique" of France.<sup>36</sup> Lavigerie, then Archbishop of Algiers and head of the White Fathers, believed that the only way the Church could flourish, in some cases even survive, in Africa and the Moslem World, was by encouraging indigenous rites with their local languages, hierarchies, ceremonies and traditions. Such "Uniate" Churches which were united to the Roman Church through a personal allegiance to the person of the pope, had long existed among the Copts, Armenians and Greeks where they were known as Coptic Catholics, Armenian Catholics and Greek Catholics, as opposed to their Coptic, Armenian and Greek Orthodox brothers. Lavigerie envisaged the establishment of Arab and African Rites among those already existing. In 1882, the White Fathers took a major step in encouraging local Arab Rites when the Greek Melkite Seminary of Sainte Anne was created in Jerusalem to train priests to work among the Arab population of Palestine and the Middle East in general.<sup>37</sup>

Other examples of French Catholic involvement in the Holy Land at this time was the establishment of the Biblical Institute of Jerusalem by the Dominican priest, Fr. M.-J. Lagrange in 1890. The Institute, and its publication, the Revue Biblique founded in 1892, both established the Dominicans as leaders in the fields of Catholic archeology and biblical studies and reinforced the French Church in Palestine.

35. For works on the European penetration into Palestine, see; ALONZO, La Russie en Palestine, CHOUBLIER, La Question d'Orient, HUREWITZ, The Struggle for Palestine, and BARENTON, La France catholique en Orient.

36. Documentation Catholique, March 16, 1929, pp.671-765.

37. Many of Lavigerie's ideas would be later reflected in Catholic attempts to come to terms with Jewish nationalism. In a striking parallel, many French Catholic intellectuals perceived the formation of a Catholic-Jewish Church of Jewish converts, who while remaining loyal to their Jewish nationalism on matters of language, culture, ceremonies and customs, would never the less be Catholic by faith. This parallel will be dealt with in chapter 5.

In addition to these initiatives undertaken by religious orders and Church hierarchy members, the Holy Land and Jerusalem stimulated many individual and often original initiatives. One such example was the founding of the religious order of Notre Dame de Sion by the brothers Maria Alphones (1814-1884) and Maria Theodor (1800-1884) Ratisbonne. the sons of a wealthy Jewish family both converted to Catholicism and dedicated their lives to the priesthood and missionary work among the Jews of France and the Holy Land. Maria Alphonse founded the Sisters of Sion in 1843 and transferred them to Jerusalem in 1855 to staff the Ecce Homo convent and school for girls.

His brother founded houses for the Christian education of Jewish children in France, but was most known for his many books on the "Jewish question" and Judaism. These include; Questions juives (1868) and Réponse aux Questions d'un Israélite de Notre Temps (1878). Much later the order of Notre Dame de Sion would establish its own periodical, La Question d'Israël in 1922 and Cahiers sionien which would influence many Catholics in their understanding of Judaism and eventually of the State of Israel.<sup>38</sup>

Whereas the above mentioned organizations and periodicals were directly concerned with the fate of the Holy Land and the Jewish question, other periodicals of a more general nature were likewise concerned. Etudes, a Jesuit periodical founded in 1856 by Fr. Gagarian, a Russian Orthodox convert, eventually emerged as one of the most eloquent fora for the expression of Catholics concerned with the Jewish question. Joseph Bonsirvan, Cardinal Jean Danielou and Jacques Maritain among others wrote extensively on anti-Semitism, the Jews and Palestine. These and other theologians and thinkers rendered Etudes one of the foremost organs of Catholic intellectual journalism.

### Catholicism of Combat and the Jews

It was almost inevitable that the Catholicism of Combat which set out to re-Christianize France and the "devoir catholique" to reassert the French protectorate in the Holy Land against the encroachments of Orthodox, Protestants and Jews, would reach the conclusion that in both cases the Jews were largely responsible for the present state of affairs. In fact, anti-Semitism became a constituent part of French Catholic identity.

La Croix which had earned the dubious honor of being the most anti-Semitic Catholic publication in France during the later quarter of the 19th Century, distinguished between the

38. La Question d'Israël, which was established in 1922, later became Cahiers Sioniens. See JUDANT, Jalons pour une théologie chrétienne d'Israël.

"bad Jews", those who followed what the newspaper described as the anti-Christian teachings of the Talmud and Kabbalah, and the "good Jews" which were those who observed the Mosaic Laws, were obedient to their rabbis and accepted exile as their fate. This distinction between good and bad Jews is significant, even though La Croix insisted that the only hope of salvation for any Jew was through baptism. In July 1882, the newspaper wrote; "Quand ils veulent renoncer à ce crime (le déicide), nous les embrassons avec amour et leur restituons tous les privilèges de bénédiction qu'ils ont reçus pour préparer le règne du Messie. 39

Zionism, on the other hand, was viewed by La Croix as just another attempt by the "bad Jews" to escape from their fate of exile, to reject their religious obligations to the Mosaic Laws and to return to the land of Israel against the wishes of God. Zionism was considered a desperate effort by Jews to reclaim their birthright which had been unlawfully usurped by the Church. The Zionists, therefore, planned to destroy the Church, return to Palestine and once again become the chosen people of God. La Croix cited the works of Isaac Luria as arguing that before the Kingdom of Israel could be reestablished and a Messiah placed on its throne, each Jew should convert to Catholicism, descend into the pit of evil (the Vatican) and destroy the Church from within.40

The anti-Semitic temper of the newspaper rose to new heights during the Dreyfus Affair (1894-1898) when "concrete proof" of the evil designs of the Jews were observable. The anti-government and anti-Semitic attitudes of the newspaper finally compelled Pope Leo XIII to force both Picard and Bailly to resign from it, "dans l'espoir d'éviter la persécution menaçante en France et en raison de certaines attitudes concrètes prises les années précédentes par le journal à l'occasion de l'Affaire Dreyfus."41

39. La Croix, "July 1882, "Mystères Talmudiques," March 29, 1898, "Le Complot juif," Supplement by Léopold de Pierre-plate, p.4; and October 28, 1897, "L'Ami des déicides," signed Le Moine.

40. SORLIN, La Croix et les Juifs (1880-1899), Paris, Contributions à l'histoire de l'anti-sémitisme contemporaine, 1967. See also articles, La Croix, October 1880, "Constantinople et Jérusalem;" November 1880, "La Question d'orient qui finit et celle qui commence;" November 1881, "Jérusalem;" and March 1882, "Le Pape et Jérusalem."

41. Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, "La Croix," Vol.3, pp.341-2.

## The French Catholic Press following the First World War

The outbreak of the First World War resulted in a sharp moderation of the Catholicism of Combat that had so influenced the last half of the 19th and early 20th Centuries.<sup>42</sup> This change was marked by the appointment of Fr. P. Merklen as editor-in-chief of La Croix in 1927, a post he was to retain until his death in 1949. Under Merklen's guidance, La Croix abandoned its previous flirtations with the rightist "L'Action Francaise," became a firm supporter of the Republic, endorsed a Catholicism inspired by social and democratic principles and strongly condemned fascism. La Croix was no longer an arm in the combat against the republic, Jews, Free Masons and socialists, but rather, a vehicle to project Catholic values to all the political tendencies in France whatever their political orientation.<sup>43</sup> Under Merkelen it reached a circulation of 170,000.

The Bonne Press publishing house which published La Croix, also grew with the appearance of Documentation catholique in February 1919. This publication replaced four independent periodicals also published by the Bonne Press; Questions (1887), Chronique de la Presse (1900), Revue d'organisation et de défense religieuses and Action catholique (1899). Under the direction of the Assumptionist Richard Miglietti, Documentation catholique reprinted documents of importance in the areas of religion, liturgy, French legislation, world Catholic and secular opinion, international events and Vatican and national hierarchical pronouncements. The encyclopedia, Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, described the publication as including, "en un mot tout ce qui réclame l'attention de clergé, ses droits et devoirs, se trouvent traités largement sur le plan documentaire."<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to La Croix with its independent position vis-a-vis the morass of political parties, tendencies and ideologies which animated French political life, it was inevitable that other Catholics would attempt to identify themselves as Catholics with one or the other of the major political movements of the time.

In 1932 L'Aube was founded by a group composed of Francisque Gay, founder of La Vie catholique; Gaston Tessier, secretary of the Confédération Francaise des Travailleurs

42. SORLIN, op. cit., p.344 and GODFRIN, Une Centrale de presse catholique, p.136.

43. ALBERT et TERROU, Histoire de la Presse, op.cit., p.97.

44. Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, "Documentation catholique," Vol.3, p.947.

Chrétiens (CFTC) and president of the Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Chrétiens; and a group of "Chrétiens-Sociaux" who sought to mediate between the traditional Christians and the influential French Left. Influenced by the Christian democratic ideas of Marc Sangnier, L'Aube became one of the principal organs of progressive Christians and following the liberation of France after the Second World War, it emerged as the official voice of the Mouvement républicain populaire (MRP) founded in 1944.<sup>45</sup>

At the other end of the political spectrum, on the far right, La France catholique was founded in 1925 as the official organ of the Fédération Nationale Catholique (FNC). The General Castelnau, with the support of Cardinal Dubois of Paris, the encouragement of Pope Pius XI (Allocution consistorale of December 18, 1924) and the support of the Assembly of French Cardinals and Archbishops, drew up a program for the FNC with the single aim of;

La FNC se propose comme but de restaurer l'ordre chrétien dans l'individu, dans la famille, dans la société, dans la nation. Pour atteindre ce but, elle est décidée à revendiquer tous les droits et toutes les libertés catholiques.<sup>46</sup>

In 1931 the statutes of L'Action catholique française (ACF) were drawn up by the hierarchy and their implementation was passed to the FNC. The ACF, a lay organization was nevertheless obliged to submit all its important and long term projects to the hierarchy. Branches and organizations of students, farmers, women, youth, sailors, workers, scouts, children, sportsmen, teachers, rural families, professional people and others were established and coordinated under the secretary general.

In 1945 the FNC was merged with the ACF to become the Fédération Nationale d'Action Catholique (FNAC). Throughout these organizational changes, La France catholique remained the voice of the institutional and conservative Church in France. Even during the Second World War, due to the prestige of General de Castelnau, the paper remained one of the few Catholic periodicals in existence in occupied France.<sup>47</sup>

During the turbulent inter-War years, La Croix, L'Aube

45. MAYER, "L'Aube," Etude d'un journal d'opinion and ESTIER. La Gauche hebdomadaire, 1914-62.

46. See ALBERT et Terrou, Histoire de la Presse, and Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, "La France Catholique."

47. See The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Catholic Press, France," Vol.3, pp.296-298, and ALBERT et TERROU, Histoire de la Presse op. cit..

and La France catholique presented sharply differing Catholic views on a major issues facing Catholics. They openly debated such questions as the French response to the re-emergence of a militarized Germany, the external and internal threats to the republic, and the rise of official German anti-Semitism.

The emergence of official anti-Semitism in Germany stimulated not only the newspapers but periodicals such as the Jesuit Etudes to reevaluate Catholic attitudes to Jews and Judaism. Such theologians as Joseph Bonsirvan clearly recognised that the Church was at fault in teaching contempt for Jews, even if only contempt for the "bad" Jews. Nevertheless, he and his fellow theologians were unable to begin the radical and thorough purge of Catholic teaching that the murder of six million Jews by Hitler was to render necessary. Bonsirvan edited a regular column in Etudes entitled, "Chronique du Judaïsme français," in which various aspects of the "Jewish problem" were discussed.<sup>48</sup>

A general review founded during the inter-war period was Esprit. In 1932 a group composed of Jacques Maritain, Jean Daniélou (later Cardinal) and Emmanuel Mounier, with the later as editor until his death in 1950, set out to attack "tout ce qui lui semblait être une force d'opposition" to the Church. The encyclopedia Catholicisme wrote that they fulfilled this task, "avec la hardiesse d'un commando de parachutistes en guerre, il prit position dans les questions actuelles les plus brûlantes."<sup>49</sup> Esprit was not only in the forefront of Catholic condemnation of anti-Semitism, but also condemned colonialism, fascism and later the French use of torture to maintain control of Indo-China and Algeria.

La Question d'Israël which had been established in 1922, (to become Cahiers sioniens in 1947) which had been established in 1922 by the Fathers of Notre Dame de Sion, remained the only Catholic periodical devoted to the "Jewish Question." Among the topics analysed were the relation of Jewish to Christian spirituality, Catholic attitudes towards the Jews, Jewish attitudes towards Christianity, the history of Judaism and contemporary Jewish thought. Fr. Démann of the order developed a unique approach to the Jewish question and later Zionism which was to profoundly influence many French Catholic intellectuals

48. See for example, Bonsirvan's articles in Etudes, August 20, 1928, "Dans Les Arcanes de la Cabbale," pp.385-406; "Chronique du Judaïsme Français," which appeared monthly; and October 5, 1929, "Un Témoignage sur le Conflit Actuel en Palestine," pp.9-15.

49. Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, "Esprit," Vol.4, pp.472-4, for a detailed study of Esprit during the period under study, see, WINOCK, Histoire Politique de la Revue "Esprit," 1930-1950.

following the Second World War and the holocaust.<sup>50</sup>

Later, following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, another periodical would join Cahiers Sioniens in attempting to plot a Catholic and Christian response to the genocide. L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne was established as an organization affiliated with the International Council of Christians and Jews, and as a periodical in 1948. In contrast to Cahiers sioniens which arrived at a theological "synthesis" between Christianity and Judaism which reflected its missionary goal, L'Amitié sought to cultivate "le respect, l'amitié et la compréhension mutuels" between Jews and Christians.<sup>51</sup>

Following the liberation of Paris in 1944, two new Catholic publications appeared, Catholicité and Témoignage chrétien. Catholicité was a review established by Fr. Paul Catrice in 1944, which had as its motto, "au service de l'Eglise universelle." In the form of special editions devoted to special topics of contemporary interest, the review confronted world Catholic problems such as Christian unity in its first issue, and in 1948, the situation of Israel.

In contrast to Catholicité which appealed to a more educated audience, Témoignage chrétien, a leftist Catholic weekly, began to appear in November 1941 as a clandestine tract printed in Lyon. From 1941 to 1944, fourteen separate "Cahiers" appeared as testimony to the Christian resistance against the Nazi occupation and their collaborators in France. They were written by the French Jesuits, Fessard, Varrilion, Daniélou and Chaillet, who later assumed its direction. The Cahiers were implacable in their opposition to the ideology of Nazism and called for a "refus de l'Esprit" by all Frenchmen and women. Chaillet wrote that "la cause du Christ était la cause de l'homme." Jean-Pierre Cault SJ, author of Histoire d'une Fidélité - Témoignage chrétien, wrote, "Les collaborateurs haïssent Témoignage chrétien plus que n'importe quel autre journal de Résistance: il éloignait d'eux, par sa résistance spirituelle, les masses catholiques qu'ils avaient voulu lancer dans une croisade antibolchéviste aux côtés de l'Allemagne nazie."<sup>52</sup>

50. See, JUDANT, Jalons pour une théologie chrétienne d'Israël.

51. L'Amitié Judeo-Chrétienne, September 1948, N.1.

52. GAULT, Histoire d'une Fidélité - Témoignage chrétien, op.cit., p.31. See also, BEDARIDA, Renee, Cahiers et courriers clandestins du Témoignage Chrétien 1941-44, Paris, Ouvrage publié en souscription par Renée Bedarida, 1980, pp.315-325, and DUQUESNE, Les Catholiques français sous l'occupation.

Témoignage Chrétien rapidly became known as the most intransigent, uncompromising and outspoken Catholic voice in France. J.-P. Dubois-Dumée, its post-War editor, J. Baboulène and Chaillet playing the role of "inspirateur tout en restant extrêmement présent" did not hesitate to isolate the moral aspects of each problem and vigorously defend it, in sharp contrast to the majority of the Catholic press which remained silent or awaited official guidelines on controversial issues. Beginning in 1945, the newly created, "Les éditions Témoignage Chrétien" began publishing a series of brochures on the moral perspective of the problems facing the Church, which included, "Buchenwald" by Fr. Leloir (1945), "l'Eglise et le Monde actuel" by Fr. de Montcheuil (1946) and "France, prends garde de perdre ta liberté" by Fr. Fessard (1946).

#### 4. Evolution of the Vatican Press : Osservatore Romano and Civiltà Cattolica

The Osservatore Romano and the Civiltà Cattolica, like the Catholic press in both the USA and France, are inseparable in their evolution and apostolate from the religious, social, political and cultural contexts in which they emerged. The two events that stimulated the adoption of the press by the Holy See and eventually transformed it into a major vehicle of Vatican influence in the world, were first, those surrounding the Crimean War beginning in 1847 and finally concluding with the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, and secondly, the loss of the Papal States in 1870. It can also be argued that renewed Vatican concern for the Holy Land in general was a result of these two events.

Catholic involvement in the Holy Places and Holy Land entered what can be referred to as its "modern period" in 1847. The papal letter, "Nulla celebrior" of July 23, 1847, restored the Latin (Roman Catholic) Patriarchate of Jerusalem following its vacancy since the fall of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The new patriarch, Msgr. Joseph Valerga arrived in Jerusalem on January 17, 1847.

The restoration of the patriarchate was in reaction to the growing Russian presence in the city, both political and religious, which had begun in earnest almost a century earlier. The treaty of Kainardji of 1774 which had recognised a Russian protectorate of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire had also resulted in increased Russian aid and encouragement to them. One of the immediate Orthodox goals was to force the Ottoman ruler to revise the long standing distribution of the rights and possessions of the Christian Holy Places known as the "Status Quo" through an Imperial Ottoman Firman. This attempt was viewed by Catholics as a threat to their traditional rights in and to the Holy Places.

The competition between Orthodox and Catholics came to an explosion on October 31, 1847 when the silver star marking the traditional site of the birth of Christ in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was stolen by the Orthodox. The events which succeeded this theft, the Crimean War, defeat of Russia, confirmation of the original Status Quo of 1757 by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 and its incorporation into the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, are well known and have been the subject of a wealth of research and literature.<sup>53</sup>

The effect of these events on the Vatican was two-fold. First, the Vatican was convinced that the Catholic rights, interests and even presence in the Holy Land were endangered and must be fortified against increased Orthodox and later Protestant encroachments. Second, the traditional reliance by the Church on France as the defender of Catholics in the Near East was placed in doubt.<sup>54</sup>

The Latin Patriarch Valerga, an Italian, arrived in a Jerusalem that was the scene of bitter rivalry between Orthodox and Catholics, the seats of the Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Copt and other patriarchs, Russian, Serb, Rumanian, Syriac and other bishoprics, plus the recently established Protestant (German and British) Archbishoprics. In addition, inter-Catholic rivalries abounded between the long established and jealously guarded presence of the Franciscan Custos, growing German Catholic presence, traditional role of the French, Spanish, Austrian and Italian Consuls in Jerusalem, and the numerous religious orders, hospitals and schools already established in the city. The strong affiliation that existed between these Catholic groups and their countries of origin resulted in an inter-Catholic rivalry that was often even more bitter than the Catholic-Orthodox one. This problem eventually became so acute that Pope Benedict XV issued an encyclical Maximum illud in 1919 that condemned nationalistic rivalry between Catholics.<sup>55</sup>

The re-establishment of the Latin Patriarchate with an Italian as Patriarch was not only an attempt to place its contested and troublesome interests in the Holy Land in order, but it was part of the global attempt by the Church to redefine its involvement in world affairs in general.<sup>56</sup> This redefinition was made even more urgent by the loss of the Papal states in 1870 to the newly unified Italian state.

53. See, SOETENS, Le Congrès Eucharistique international de Jérusalem, 1893, COLLIN, Le problème juridique des Lieux-Saints, D'ALONZO, La Russie en Palestine, ISSA, Les Minorités Chrétiennes de Palestine, LOCK, Der Vatikan und Palestine and MINERBI, L'Italie et la Palestine.

54. See in particular COLLIN, Le problème des Lieux-Saints and Les Lieux-Saints.

55. MARC-BONNET, Henry, La Papauté contemporaine, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, "Que sais-je," 1946, p.37.

56. SOETENS, op.cit., p.545.

Following the loss of an independent Roman state Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) was no longer able to take sides in Italian and European disputes. Its role was limited to mere pronouncements on the moral aspects of the dispute in question or the exertion of individual pressure on particular rulers or factions. Nevertheless, Leo felt that the Church must act to counter the progressive secularization of society, erosion of the influence of the Church in the face of such secular threats as modernism and the theory of the separation of Church and state in Europe and especially France.

Leo's reaction to this growing hostile world environment of the Church, and in particular, of the Vatican, was an increased emphasis on the "Roman" component of the Church with the Pope at its center. As a result, the mother-houses of the major Catholic religious orders were transferred to Rome, the Benedictines in 1893 and Franciscans in 1897, various national seminaries were established and those already in existence were enlarged to control the local churches, unify rites and suppress local rites and irregularities. Catholic education was reformed and the Pontifical universities of Freiburg in Switzerland, Louvain in Belgium and The Catholic University in Washington D.C. were founded, the Pontifical Biblical Commission was established in 1902 to control Catholic biblical studies, and attempts were made to create direct Vatican diplomatic links with various countries to replace traditional reliance on French diplomats. A complex network of nuncios, apostolic delegates and legates acted as diplomatic representatives while a steady stream of encyclicals, aide mémoires, memoranda, allocutions and decrees took stands on the major political, social and intellectual issues of the day.

It was also under the pontificate of Leo XIII that the press became a major component of the Church's policy of reassertion and self-reliance.

The Civiltà Cattolica was founded in 1850 by the Italian Jesuits as a gesture of fierce loyalty to Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) and transferred to Rome following the "suppression" of the Papal States in 1870. Pius gave his approval to the periodical which promised always and in all matters to reflect the thinking of the Holy See. The editor-in-chief has been appointed by, or with the approval of the popes since then. The encyclopedia, Catholicisme describes it as follows;

Elle jouit dans le monde catholique d'une autorité bien connue en raison de la compétence de ses rédacteurs et du fait que certains de ses articles reflètent plus spécialement les vues du Saint-Siège.<sup>57</sup>

57. Catholicisme, "Civiltà Cattolica," Vol.2, pp.1153-4. See also BOULESTEIX, et.al., Pie XI et la Presse; LICATA, Giornalismo cattolico italiano (1861-1943); and MONTALEMBERT, La Presse catholique en Italie.

The Osservatore Romano which began publication on July 1, 1861, as an independent enterprise under the ownership and direction of four Catholic laymen, headed by Marc-Antonio Pacelli, Vice-Minister of the Interior under Pius IX and a relative of Pius XII. Leo XIII bought the paper in 1890 and made it accountable to the second section for ordinary affairs of the Papal Secretariat of State. The editor and sub-editors were, and still are, appointed by papal order.<sup>58</sup> While historians of the Catholic press agree that Osservatore Romano should be considered as semi-official, The Catholic Encyclopedia writes that "Although the Osservatore Romano is not the official organ of the Holy See (see Acta Apostolicae Sedis), the articles by its editors are generally considered to present correct views and interpretations of Vatican thinking."<sup>59</sup> The Catholic Almanac refers to it as "the pope's own newspaper," and the "politico-religious daily newspaper of the Holy See."<sup>60</sup> Georges Hourdin, in La Presse catholique wrote;

L'importance de l'Osservatore Romano vient de ce qu'il est l'organe semi-officieux de la politique vaticane, car l'Eglise a une politique qui n'est pas semblable à celle des autres Etats. Ceci ne veut aucunement dire que les rédacteurs de ce journal participent à l'infailibilité pontificale, mais qu'ils ont pour fonction de donner à leurs indications précises sur les préoccupations romaines et la façon qu'ont les responsables de l'Eglise de juger les principaux événements de ce temps.<sup>61</sup>

Each succeeding pope used the Vatican press as instruments of his own, very personal style of governing the Church, presenting opinions to the world powers and articulating its objectives in both the religious and political spheres. Under Leo XIII the press formed an integral part in his efforts to come to terms with a rapidly changing world in which the Church and Catholic thinking were being progressively eliminated. During the pontificates of Pius X (1903-1914) and Benedict XV (1914-1922) the idea that the Church would attempt to play an independent international role was rejected in favor of reliance on the Austrian Empire. Subsequently, the press played a much less important role. However, during the struggle against

58. New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Osservatore Romano," Vol 10, pp.808-809; Catholic Almanac 1968, "L'Osservatore Romano," p.250; GRABINSKI, Storia documentata dell "Osservatore cattolico,"; LAZZARINI, L'Osservatore Romano; LEONI, L'Osservatore Romano: Origini et evoluzione; and DALLA TORRE, Memorie, especially pp.139-170.

59. New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Osservatore Romano," Vol.10, pp.808-809.

60. Catholic Almanac 1968, p.250.

61. HOURDIN, Georges, La Presse catholique, p.81.

Modernism, and its eventual condemnation as heresy, the Civiltà Cattolica served as the pope's mouthpiece.

Under Pius XI (1922-1939), the Osservatore Romano became the pope's major vehicle for illustrating his thinking on war and peace. The editor during this period was Count Giuseppe Della Torre, who remained at this post from 1920 to 1961. The column entitled "Acta Diurna" of Guido Gonella was the principal formulator of Pius' thinking.<sup>62</sup>

In spite of this "semi-official" nature of the Osservatore Romano and Civiltà Cattolica, both publications reflect the personalities of their editorial staffs, are open to varied and often contradictory opinions and subject to pressures from the countless religious orders, pontifical bodies and ranking prelates within the Church. On various occasions they adopt strikingly different views on a particular issue. Pinchas Lapide, author of Three Popes and the Jews, observed that they reflect the "clashing cliques of conflicting interests" of the Vatican and permitted it to speak "with two voices."<sup>63</sup> However, Lapide continued, at certain times and in the face of various degrees of resistance, the pope managed "to put his foot down in his own house." This was usually done in the form of an authoritative statement, often an encyclical, that stated the position of the pope and effectively silenced the debate. More often than not, papal "prise de position" represented the victory of one or the other of the disputing parties.<sup>64</sup>

#### The Holy See in International Affairs

The attempts of the Vatican to disengage its foreign policy from that of the "Catholic" states and empires of Europe was not a simple or clear process. The Church continued through a process of trial and error to both develop independent diplomatic relations and bring the major centers of Catholic power and influence under the control of Rome. No episode illustrates this complicated and confusing process more than the protracted negotiations over the fate of Palestine following the First World War.<sup>65</sup>

62. New Catholic Encyclopedia, op.cit., p.809.

63. LAPIDE, Pinchas, Three Popes and the Jews, p.96.

64. A case in point where papal intervention was crucial for the Catholic press was the dismissal of Abbé Bertoye and appointment of Fr. Merklen as editor of La Croix, "sur l'ordre exprès du pape" in 1927. see GODFRIN, Une Centrale de Presse Catholique, p.137.

65. For general works on the Church in international affairs, see, AVRO, The Vatican in World Affairs; GRAHAM, Vatican Diplomacy; MERCIER, Vingt siècles d'histoire du Vatican; and PERNAT, Le Saint-Siège, l'Eglise Catholique et la Politique mondiale.

Beginning with the British occupation of Palestine in 1917 until the awarding of the Palestine Mandate to Britain in 1922, protracted negotiations pitted the major European powers, religious communities, local Palestinian ethnic, political and religious groups, and the League of Nations against one another. Such issues as the status of the Holy Places, the question of sovereignty under a mandate, the composition of the various dispute-resolving commissions, the status of the Jewish Agency, the eventual role of local patriarchs and the limits of British power under the mandate elicited countless positions and counter-positions from not only the major concerned groups and nations, but from the many concerned Catholic parties. The major Catholic positions were presented by the Franciscan Latin Custos; Cardinal Gaspari, the Papal Secretary of State; l'Union Catholique d'Etudes internationales (UCEI); the French Government and various concerned Catholic individuals. Of particular concern here is not only the variety of positions offered, but, even more importantly, the complex interplay of the varied Catholic parties.

This period was crucial in the modern evolution of a Vatican diplomatic and institutional instruments for interacting with the League of Nations, and later the United Nations concerning issues which it thought it had a legitimate interest. Two issues are fundamental in this process; first, the nature of Catholic representation. Will the Church be represented by an official Vatican representative such as the Papal Secretary of State, by a religious order directly involved in Palestine such as the Franciscans, by an international private Catholic organization such as the UCEI, by a major Catholic state such as France, by the moral prestige of a pronouncement of the pope himself, such as an encyclical, or by a combination of the above? The second issue concerns the nature of the Catholic claims to be put forward. Were the Catholic interests to be presented as flowing from the legal implications of the internationally recognised inclusion of the "Status Quo" in the Treaty of Berlin, from the moral responsibility for the Church to protect its fellow Catholics in Palestine, or from the very charter of the newly created League of Nations.

Vatican and Catholic opinions varied and clashed on these issues. The very newness of the League of Nations, Mandate system and an international system of law allowed no historical precedents for Catholics to draw upon.

The first attempt to define a position was a letter written by Cardinal Gaspari, Papal Secretary of State to Denis Cochin, French Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on June 26, 1917, just four months before the Balfour Declaration. The letter was in essence a reminder by the cardinal that France had both a right and obligation to defend the Christian minority of the Middle East and Palestine in particular. Gaspari argued that France had been entrusted with this protectorate by the Vatican on behalf of the Catholic world as a whole. If France were to

surrender this trust, as the Vatican feared (and as indeed happened in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923), the Vatican would be free to assign the protectorate, with the sovereign rights and obligations it entailed, to another Catholic power or attempt to assume them herself.<sup>66</sup>

The Franciscan Custos, on the other hand, stressed its long involvement in Palestine in a memorandum entitled Les Lieux Saints de la Palestine issued in 1919. After referring to the "grave usurpation de la part des sectes disidents" (i.e. the Orthodox), it insisted that, "les Catholiques ne renonçaient nullement à leurs droits."<sup>67</sup> Three points were stressed. First, the Holy Places dispute was treated as a legal one, in which analysis of available documents would prove the validity of the Latin possessions and claims. Second, the issue at stake was the need to recognize and to enforce the Franciscan Custos' legal rights in the Holy Places which was a local Palestinian concern. These rights, although accrued from international treaties, were, in fact, limited to the possession of rights in Palestine by a legal body established in that country. The third point of the Franciscan memorandum was that France had, for the sake of caution, not defended the Catholic position, and had furthermore sought to escape from its historical role as protector of Catholics in the Near East. Therefore, it was only reasonable, and legally justified that the Custos be entrusted with the role of Protectorate. The memorandum concluded by listing those Holy Places currently in the hands of the Latins and those that had been "usurped" by the Orthodox.

Finally, still another position was presented by the Union Catholique d'Etudes internationales in the form of a memorandum to the League of Nations in 1921. The UCEI demanded that the local Catholic community be recognised as an autonomous community under the authority of the Latin Patriarch, and not the Franciscan Custos as argued by the Franciscans. This de facto autonomy had already long existed in both legal and administrative fact, which included the determination of personal status, freedom of education and the right to diplomatic and consular protection by the Consul Generals of the major European powers in Palestine. The memorandum also stressed that the protectorate exercised by France, which had been recognised by the international community, the Vatican and the Treaty of Berlin, gave further force to the argument that the Palestinian Catholic community was in fact an autonomous entity. The memorandum drew the conclusion that;

La communauté autochtone des catholiques de Palestine, sous l'obédience du Patriarche latin de Jérusalem, possède, comme tous les groupements analogues, a la fois religieux

66. COLLIN, Le problème juridique des Lieux-Saints, pp. 64-65.

67. Text of memorandum in COLLIN, pp.173-181.

et nationaux, dans le Levant, une autonomie juridique et administrative, qui notamment, détermine l'état des personnes avec une autorité officielle que le pouvoir politique reconnaît comme légitime et hors de conteste.<sup>68</sup>

The UCEI memorandum then referred to the measures needed to protect the Palestinian Christian community. It proposed that the role of the protectorate be maintained and exercised by a permanent international commission consisting of the Consul-generals of four or five European powers and the USA "qui comptent une importante clientèle de chrétiens et de communautés chrétiennes parmi leurs ressortissants de Jérusalem et de Palestine." This commission would be made responsible for the overall supervision of Christian affairs.

Concerning the nature of the proposed Palestine Mandate, the memorandum argued that a Class A Mandate as defined in Article 22 of the League of Nations Charter did not award "un droit de Souveraineté" to Britain. Rather, only a limited "droit de Tutelle... administrative sur les pays dévolus provisoirement à leur contrôle." Thus, a British mandate in Palestine was restricted by the existing legal, historical and diplomatic rights over which Britain was to temporarily administer and guarantee.

In addition to the positions presented by Gaspare, the Franciscans Custos and the UCEI, Pope Benedict himself delivered a Consistorial Allocution on June 13, 1921, which emphasized his personal concern for Palestine. The allocution, "Causa Nobis" stated;

Le sort de la Palestine n'étant pas encore définitivement réglé, Nous déclarons des aujourd'hui que, quand le moment viendra d'en décider, Notre volonté est que soient sauvegardés en leur intégralité les droits de l'Eglise catholique et de tous les chrétiens. Pour ce qui est des droits des Israélites, Nous ne souhaitons certes pas qu'on y porte la moindre atteinte, mais Nous soutenons qu'ils ne doivent en rien prévaloir sur les droits imprescriptibles des chrétiens. A cet égard, Nous demandons avec instance à tous les Gouvernements des nations chrétiennes, même des nations catholiques, d'intervenir énergiquement auprès de la Société des Nations, chargée, dit-on, d'examiner le Mandat britannique sur la Palestine, afin que ces droits ne soient point méconnus.<sup>69</sup>

One conclusion that can be drawn from this rather lengthy digression is that a large number of voices "represented" or

68. COLLIN, pp.223-229 and 202-203.

69. Ibid., pp.206-208, and Documentation catholique, 1921, p.249. See also allocution, "Vehementer Gratium," of December 11, 1922.

claimed to represent Catholic interests during this crucial period. Cardinal Gasperi, the Custos, the UCEI, the Pope and the French government, among others, all intervened and presented positions and recommendations. It will be seen later that this multiple representation was to remain a constant feature of Catholic international representation. In fact, this multiplicity of voices and apparent confusion both among Catholics and outside observers is an essential step in the rather unique method of policy formulation of the Church. It hardly need be said that such confusion can either lead to the emergence of a unified policy or total paralysis. In the case of the British Mandate, the latter was the result. When the positions of the numerous religious orders, institutions, pontifical commissions, Rites, private organizations, individual clerics, diocesan and national bodies, and Catholic press are included, the picture becomes even more confusing and fraught with danger.

A second conclusion is that the Catholic positions were the result of world political, economic and social determinants as much as, if not more than, the theological and religious determinants. The issues of territorial sovereignty, extra-territoriality and internationally recognised possessions and rights related to the Holy Places, Christian community, Holy City and the Holy Land are generally not considered as theological in nature. Nevertheless, the Catholic representatives considered them legitimate Catholic concerns during the protracted negotiations on the mandate. In short, the handy separation between religion and politics, church and state is not so clear for Catholics.

The role of the Vatican press in this complicated policy-making process is crucial. Civiltà Cattolica, the watchdog of Catholic orthodoxy in matters of Church dogma, teaching and morality has consistently taken a conservative view on every issue that has confronted the Church. Osservatore Romano, on the other hand, has traditionally functioned as the daily newspaper of a sovereign world power. In spite of their differences, each publication contributed to the evolving debate on Palestine, the Jews and Israel; Civiltà Cattolica through its attention to the theological aspects of the Jewish problem and Zionism, and Osservatore Romano through its expostulation of the papal attitudes to war and peace.

### The Civiltà Cattolica, the Jews and Zionism

Lapide, in Three Popes and the Jews, wrote,

it was only the final conquest of Rome by Italian troops, and its annexation by the new Italian Kingdom in 1870 which put a long overdue end to Europe's last ghetto. By an act of poetic justice, the year which saw the fall of the

Jewish ghetto walls not only marked the end of the papacy's temporal power but also brought the "ghettoization of the Holy See, ...confined as they were to a walled-in plot of land no bigger than the Jewish ghetto they had erected.<sup>70</sup>

In spite of the merits and demerits of the ghetto during the Middle Ages, by 1870 it had clearly become a symbol of Jewish restriction and repression which the papacy had enforced insofar and as long as it had the power to do so.

The theology and logic behind this policy towards the Jews can be seen in the pages of Civiltà Cattolica which from its foundation in 1850 until 1938, was the chief illuminator of the Church's traditional teaching on the Jews. The major themes of "ritual murders," Jewish "subversive activities" against the Church, Jewish "business cunning" and the permanence of the "Jewish dispersal" as punishment for their murder of Jesus, became part of a complex approach to the modern world and the Church's attitude towards it. A series of articles in 1881-2 by Giuseppe de San Stefano SJ illustrate both the style and content of this approach.

The practice of killing children for the Paschal Feast is now very rare in the more cultivated parts of Europe, more frequent in Eastern Europe, and common, all too common, in the East. ... (The Jews of the West) have now things to think of other than making their unleavened bread with Christian blood, occupied as they are in ruling almost as kings in finance and journalism.<sup>71</sup>

It remains therefore generally proved ... that the sanguinary Paschal rite ... is a general law binding on the consciences of all Hebrews to make use of the blood of a Christian child primarily for the sanctification of their souls, and also ... to bring shame and disgrace to Christ and to Christianity.<sup>72</sup>

Every year the Hebrews crucify a child ... in order that the blood be effective, the child must die in torment.<sup>73</sup>

70. LAPIDE, Three Popes and the Jews, pp.79-80, see also BOSCH, Etudes, "Cent Ans de Journalisme Catholique 'La Civiltà Cattolica,'" February 1950, pp.234-241. In Lapide's work the first five chapters present an excellent summary of how Jews perceived the "Jewish Policy" of Popes Pius XI and Pius XII, plus a summary of the policies adopted by the popes during the Middle Ages and Reformation.

71. Civiltà Cattolica, August 20, 1881, p.478, English translation in LAPIDE, p.81.

72. Civiltà Cattolica, December 3, 1881, p.606, English by author.

73. Civiltà Cattolica, January 21, 1882, p.214, see also LAPIDE, pp.80-81.

In 1891 a pamphlet entitled, "Della Questione Ebraica in Europa," was published by Civiltà Cattolica which summarized the role played by the Jews in the modern world.

In order to undermine the Church's disapproval of their emancipation, the Jews "by their cunning" brought on the French Revolution, and under the guise of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" managed to obtain civic equality. As a further result, the Jews in liberal states "were at the head of the virulent campaigns against Christianity." They also began to "dominate the key positions in most state economies" with the intention of controlling them and exploiting them for their own benefit. In this manner they became "the real rulers" of many countries and were planning "to take over control of the entire world." The Jews were "the race which nauseates," "a foreign tribe," and "enemy of the nations in which midst they dwell." They were "an idle people who neither work nor produce anything; who live on the sweat of others." The only solution to the Jewish problem was "the abolition of their civic equality" and their complete segregation from the rest of the population in all spheres of life, the confiscation of their property, and "the return of temporal rule to the Holy Throne of the Papacy."<sup>74</sup>

The above passage illustrates the complexity of the Civiltà Cattolica's attitude towards the Jews. It is a mixture of folk lore, Catholic tradition, theology, scripture and history. What is remarkable is that such ideas could have been propounded by a Catholic periodical with the prestige of the Civiltà Cattolica.

The above charges towards the Jews were later levied against the Zionists with the addition of more extensive scriptural citations. Following the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland in 1897, an article entitled, "La Dispersione d'Israello pel Mondo Moderno" appeared which stated;

1827 years have passed since the prediction of Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilled: that Jerusalem would be destroyed ...that the Jews would be led away to be slaves among all nations and would remain in the dispersion until the end of the world ... According to the sacred Scriptures the Jewish people must live dispersed and as a 'vagabondo' (wandering) people among other nations, thus rendering witness to Christ not only in accordance with the Scriptures ...but by their very existence. As for a rebuilt Jerusalem that might become the center of a reconstituted state of Israel,

74. "Della Questione Ebraica in Europa," Civiltà Cattolica, 1891, English translation in LAPIDE, pp.80-81. See also FLANNERY, The Anguish of the Jews and POLIAKOV, Harvest of Hate.

we would point out that this is contrary to the prediction of Christ, who foretold that "Jerusalem would be dntrodden by the Gentiles until the time of the Gentiles is fulfilled' (Luke 21:24), that is ...until the end of the world.<sup>75</sup>

Zionism was presented by Civiltà Cattolica as another attempt by the Jews to revolt against the will of God, both anti-Christian and anti-Jewish at the same time. As all Jewish "inspired" revolutionary movements in Europe beginning with the French Revolution, the Italian Risorgimento, and the rise of liberalism, Zionism would prove to be a disaster for the Christians and Jews alike.

This Jewish filter through which the Civiltà Cattolica tended to perceive the outlines of modern history was to cloud its view of the rise of Marxism and Nazism and the Second World War. The only development was that the forces unleashed by the Jews to batter the Catholic Church into submission during the French Revolution, Risorgimento and age of Liberalism were later expropriated by the Bolsheviks and Nazis, to be turned against all religion, Judaism included. E. Rosa published an article in Civiltà Cattolica in 1938, entitled, "La Questione Giudaica E 'La Civiltà Cattolica'," which made this point clear.

(The Communists and the Nazis) fresh from their victories, first in Russia and then in Germany, when they turned against the Jews, noticed that they had in them adversaries who were professional agitators, equipped with new methods and "ideologies" of government, which went far beyond what they had initially claimed as their right due them because of their race or origins. These rights had, at the time, seemed self-evident to them. The resulting anti-Jewish movement, whether by Communist internationalism or Russian Bolshevism, or by National Socialism or German Nazism, was encouraged by the hate or general hostility of these groups toward all positive religion including that of the Jews: on one hand the concealed hate of the Nazis, on the other hand the open hatred of the Bolsheviks.<sup>76</sup>

At the same time the periodical lamented that the "German anti-semitic writers continue to make the incorrigible mistake of linking together in their accusations the Jews and the Pope, the Christians and Christianity."<sup>77</sup>

75. Civiltà Cattolica, May 1, 1897, "La Dispersione d'Israello pel Mondo Moderno," pp.257-271, see also FELDBLUM, p.15 for English translation.

76. Civiltà Cattolica, September 22, 1938, pp.3-16. Translated by author.

77. See LAPIDE, pp.106-7.

The Civiltà Cattolica continued with its anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic tirades until 1938 when in response to German pressure, Italy began to enact German-inspired race laws. In order to justify Mussolini's legislation, the Fascist press reprinted articles from Civiltà Cattolica as evidence of the compatibility of Catholic doctrine and opinion with the severe restrictions on Jewish activities and presence in Italian society. Pope Pius XI openly condemned these laws, as well as racism, anti-Semitism and "every exaggerated nationalism which raises barriers between peoples." In a public speech in Rome on July 28, 1938, he said, "The human race, the entire human race, is but a single and universal race of men. There is no room for special races. We may therefore ask ourselves why Italy should have felt a disgraceful need to imitate Germany." The entire speech appeared on the front page of the Osservatore Romano on July 30, 1938. From that date on, the anti-Jewish tirades of Civiltà Cattolica suddenly halted.<sup>78</sup>

This portrayal of the Jews by Civiltà Cattolica, their destructive role in modern history and the dangers posed to the Church by Zionism, formed a body of thought that was considerable due to the influence of the periodical in the Catholic world. This portrayal strongly influenced world Catholic press, especially La Croix in France, The Tablet of London and other conservative publications at that time. Even following the Second World War and the holocaust, the stereotypes and images of Jews continued to trouble many Catholics, especially among those who sought to improve relations between Catholics and Jews. Nevertheless, such themes as the anti-Christian essence of Zionism, the fear of a looming disaster if a Jewish state should be established and the messianic implications of the return of the Jews to Jerusalem recurred frequently in many Catholic periodicals. Even European, 'liberal' and 'leftist,' as well as American 'materialistic' Catholics could not ignore that this body of thought had gone far in influencing the attitudes of millions of 'ordinary' Catholics.

#### The Osservatore Romano: War and Peace

Pope Pius XII, who ascended the papal throne in 1939, turned toward the Osservatore Romano as his chief means of disseminating his thinking on war and peace, of which the Near East and especially Palestine, eventually played a major role. The column "Acta diurna" of Professor Guido Gonella exposed the complex thinking behind the pontiff's many initiatives to create a stable and just world order following the disaster of the Second World War.

78. LAPIDE, pp.95-96.

The broad outlines of the papal peace plan had been traced in the wartime correspondence between President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII.<sup>79</sup> This correspondence drew on a long tradition of Catholic thinking on war and peace; legitimate defence, violence, just and unjust war, just and lasting peace, minority protection and international institutions. The formula of "a just and lasting peace" first pronounced as a Christmas Eve allocution by Pope Benedict XV in 1916, and later elaborated in a series of letters to the European heads of state, was central in the peace plan presented by the Osservatore Romano following the Second World War.

In a series of twelve articles from January 4 to March 13, 1942, Gonella moulded the numerous general papal statements into a coherent and complete Catholic peace program.<sup>80</sup> Five themes were developed: the liberty, integrity and security of states, the protection of minorities, the limitation and control of conflicts, the respect and revision of treaties, and the need for international juridical institutions.<sup>81</sup>

The central theme of these articles was the state. Gonella recognised that the state was a natural grouping of mankind into linguistic, ethnic, cultural and historical communities. For this reason the liberty, integrity and security of every state was to be respected. However, the two world wars had elevated loyalty to the state to a degree of nationalism that had resulted in the near destruction of many states and millions of people. Therefore, the articles attempted to analyze the necessary and possible means of limiting the sovereign state while respecting its integrity. Gonella concluded that the sovereign state had transgressed the natural limits of its power and encroached on the natural rights of men and peoples; and the rights of the world community as a whole. Echoing St. Thomas, Gonella placed the state within the larger context of the individual and mankind, each of the three levels of human organization being sacred and possessing inalienable rights.

Both Pius XII and Gonella shared the conviction that World War II would be followed by a third if the Church did not assume an aggressive peace-making role. However, as will be developed

79. See TAYLOR, Wartime Correspondence between President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII; HALECKI, Eugenio Pacelli: Pope of Peace; DELZELL, The Pope and Totalitarianism between the Two World Wars.

80. See PERNOT, Maurice, "Le Vatican, la Guerre et la Paix," Politique Etrangère, Vol.2, April 1948, 13th year, pp.153-5,

81. Ibid., p.154, see principally the Allocution, "Grazio" of December 24, 1940, "Les présupposés spirituels d'un ordre nouveau," Acta Apostolis Sedis, 1941, XXXIII, pp.5-14, before the College of Cardinals. See also the Allocution, "Nella Alba" of December 24, 1941 and "Condition d'une paix juste et durable," in Acta Apostolis Sedis, 1942, XXXIV, pp.10-21.

later, the upheaval of the Second World War which had resulted in the crippling of France, Great Britain and Italy, the dismemberment of Germany, the emergence of the USA and USSR, the establishment of the UN as a new world organization, the rise of Asian, African and Near Eastern nationalist movements and the widespread appeal of Marxist revolutionary ideologies and American economic predominance placed the Vatican before a nightmare of variables. The Osservatore Romano addressed each of these variables and attempted to integrate these developments into its own peace-making mission. Its eventual failure, as will be seen, stemmed from its inability to incorporate this mass of variables into its lofty goals of peace.<sup>82</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

The evolution of the Catholic press in the USA, France and at the Vatican reflected at the same time both the universal character of Catholicism and the local interests of each national Church. As a consequence, the Catholic perception of a particular world problem was inseparable from its perception of the internal state of each national Church. To further complicate the horizon of Catholic opinion, each individual newspaper and periodical represented a particular and individual perception and response to both the universal and local problem at hand. These three levels of analysis and reaction, the universal, national and editorial, constitute the inner dialectic of the Catholic press.

As has been seen, on the universal level, the Catholic Church was acutely aware of a profound sense of crisis concerning its accommodation to the modern world, which in its view began with the French Revolution. Since then the Church had steadily lost its privileged position in society and had its dogma and teachings increasingly undermined by new political and philosophical tendencies. On the national level, each Church sought to achieve a modus vivendi with the state which alternated between total accommodation and outright hostility. On the editorial level, each newspaper and periodical represented the individual opinions of its sponsoring religious order, diocese, hierarchy member or organization.

As a result, when the Palestine question began to assume

82. For works on the Vatican, Pope Pius XII and the internal Italian political situation, see MAGISTER, La Politique vaticane e l'Italie 1943-1978, and NICHOLS, The Politics of the Vatican. Gonella, on the staff of the Osservatore Romano from 1933-1944, became Italian Minister of Education in 1946 and together with De Gasperi founded the Christian Democratic Party after the war. His major writings include, Presupposti ad un Ordine Internazionale (1943) and Principi di un Ordine Sociale (1943) plus his numerous works on philosophy and law.

the proportions of a major international crisis following the Second World War, it was perceived as part of the already existing complex of problems, crises and divisions within the Catholic world. On all three levels, the American and French Churches and the Vatican perceived and reacted to the Palestine and later Jerusalem questions as functions of a pre-existing crisis.

In the USA, the Palestine issue became a key element in the debate between the advocates of American isolationism and the supporters of a policy of aggressive internationalism. In France, it emerged as a key issue in the bitter debate between those Catholics who advocated accommodation with Communism and leftist tendencies, and those who argued that any accommodation would in time result in a fatal dilution of Catholic teaching and autonomy. In Rome, Palestine was perceived as a crucial outpost of European-Christian civilization. Its loss to either "Protestant" America or "Atheist" Russia would spell doom for Europe as well as Christendom.

This process of incorporation, however, was not automatic or simple. The long involvement of French Catholics in the Holy Land and the Jewish question, the presence of religious institutions and Holy Places there, the long history of Catholic-Jewish relations and the theological problems posed by the possibility of a Jewish State, further complicated an already difficult question. It is to this process of incorporation that attention must now be turned.

## Chapter 3

### The Catholic Press on the Eve of Partition

#### 1. Introduction

Following the Second World War, Palestine once again flared up in violence as Zionists and Arabs, encouraged and supported by the USA, the USSR and Britain, plunged into a bloody struggle for ultimate control of the area. The outlines of the British presence there, contained in both the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the League of Nations Mandate of 1922, were first to support and facilitate the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and secondly, to do nothing to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities. The inherent contradiction between these two principles necessitated a continuous series of commissions and inquiries to attempt to satisfy Zionists and Arabs. However, the situation continued to deteriorate and finally, on April 2, 1947, Britain announced its intention to surrender the Mandate and request the newly established UN to consider the question at its next session.

A special Session was convened, from April 28 to May 13, at which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, UNSCOP, was created. This eleven member committee was composed of delegates from Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. The terms of reference of UNSCOP empowered the committee "to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problems of Palestine, to receive testimony ... from the mandatory power, from representation of the population of Palestine," and "to prepare a report." In addition, UNSCOP was empowered to "give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity."<sup>1</sup>

UNSCOP held its first meeting in New York on May 26, 1947, and 16 subsequent meetings, its last being held on August 31, in New York, Jerusalem, Beirut and Geneva. It also visited displaced persons' camps in Germany and Austria. Its final report, consisting of three bulky volumes, was submitted to the General Assembly on August 31, 1947.<sup>2</sup> This report contained two proposals; 1) the minority report recommending a unitary state with Jerusalem as its capital, and 2) the majority report recommending the partition of Palestine with Jerusalem as a UN Trusteeship territory.

1. General Assembly Resolution A/307 found in The Yearbook of the UN on Palestine, 1947-48, pp.227-281 and the Yearbook for 1948-49, pp.166-212, Department of Public Information, UN, Lake Success, New York.

2. General Assembly Document A/364.

According to the majority proposal, Palestine was to be partitioned into an Arab area and a Jewish area which would become independent following a transitional period of two years. Before their independence would be recognised, they would have to adopt constitutions in line with the pertinent recommendations of the committee and make a declaration containing certain minority rights guarantees to the UN, and sign a treaty containing provisions of economic collaboration and eventual union between the two states and the Jerusalem territory.

The city of Jerusalem, following a similar transitional period, would be placed under the International Trusteeship System of the UN by means of a Trusteeship Agreement, which would designate the UN as the Administering Authority. The plan contained recommended boundaries for the city and provisions concerning the governor and police force. The plan also proposed boundaries for both the Arab and Jewish states.<sup>3</sup>

At its meeting of November 29, 1947, the General Assembly adopted the majority partition resolution by 33 votes in favor, 10 against and 10 abstentions.

The Catholic press reacted to the UNSCOP hearings and the Partition Resolution with a multiplicity of opinions. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to state that there was no common "Catholic" opinion on the problem, but rather a wide variety of attitudes. The complex mixture of theological and political interests; French, American and Vatican 'national' priorities; concerns of the various religious orders; individual opinions of each Catholic newspaper, periodical and publication; and finally the variety of opinions expressed by leading Catholic laymen and clerics, were freely expressed throughout the establishment and deliberations of UNSCOP.

It is now to this diversity of opinion that attention must be turned.

3. U.N. Yearbook, 1947-48, p.230.

## 2. The American Catholic press on the Eve of Partition

The dominant characteristic of the American Catholic attitudes towards the Palestine question was its lack of both a long tradition of involvement in world affairs in general, and the Holy Land in particular. Consequently, the immediate circumstances became the primary context of the problem as opposed to the French Catholic reaction which perceived the events of 1947 as the present manifestation of an ancient dilemma in which France had long been involved. As a result, an analysis of the American Catholic reaction must stress firstly, the immediate American context, and secondly, the manner in which the Catholic press presented the specific "Palestine Question" to the largely uninitiated and uninterested American Catholic public.

### Isolationism vs Involvement in world affairs

The immediate context was composed of the perennial American Catholic problem of isolationism as opposed to involvement by America in world affairs. American Catholics had always been strongly isolationist, as had been their non-Catholic counterparts. They had internalized the warning of George Washington upon leaving office that the survival and prosperity of America would be guaranteed by avoiding any "foreign entanglements." Furthermore, the countries of origin of American Catholics were generally the more backward and politically unstable of the European countries and, as a result, most Catholics had strong negative memories of their European experiences. Likewise, the average immigrant of whatever religion had generally fled from religious, political, ethnic or economic persecution, further reinforcing the prevailing American sentiment of isolationism. This sentiment reached its peak during 1938-39 when in spite of Hitler's withdrawal from the League of Nations, rearmament in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, remilitarization of the Rhineland, occupation of Austria and demands on Czechoslovakia for the Sudetenland, a Gallup poll showed that a full 84% of Americans opposed sending American forces abroad to fight Germany.<sup>4</sup> Catholic opinion only unanimously endorsed the war following the Pearl Harbor attack. Thereafter, Catholics swung strongly in favour of the war effort, but even then not without strong opposition.<sup>5</sup>

Following the war, this fragile unity among Catholics once again broke down into those Catholics who advocated a return to a strict policy of isolationism and those who demanded a continuation of the war-time policy of American involvement in

4. VAN ALLAN, The Commonwealth, p.85.

5. ADLER, The Isolationist Impulse, pp.333-353.

defence of "Western values and democracy." The regional Catholic newspapers, such periodicals as Ave Maria and the highly prestigious Paulist Catholic World were in the forefront in demanding a "return to the policy of the Founding Fathers, the policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs." This surge of isolationism was fueled by the conclusions drawn by many Catholics that the war, in spite of the idealistic rhetoric used by its supporters, had begat Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and had consequently been won at the loss of the soul of America.

The Commonweal, Sign, America, The Tablet of Brooklyn and Catholic World openly expressed their revulsion at the bombing and the latter called them "the most powerful blow ever delivered against Christian civilization and the moral law."<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, Catholic World remained one of the most vocal critics of any further American involvement in world affairs. Fr. James Gillis, who became editor in 1937, "unrelentingly sought out and exposed any conspiracies that risked dragging the US into the fray of world politics." He also edited a syndicated column which appeared in many diocesan papers entitled "Sursum Corda" which further publicised his views.<sup>7</sup>

In June 1947, Catholic World once again announced its opposition to any US political and military involvement and elaborated a policy of humanitarian, philanthropic and religious aid only to countries that sought such aid. In its view, America should provide an ethical example such that other countries of the world would seek to emulate. Any direct political or military involvement would drag the US into the quicksands of international politics, in which it would be compelled to forgo its moral values in order to maintain its international empire. The dilemma that faced America was between isolationism with the preservation of its moral values and intervention with the inevitable establishment of an empire and loss of any moral scruples about maintaining it.<sup>8</sup>

The isolationists argued that the European states were unable to resist Hitler because their moral and ethical values had been eroded through unjust colonial wars and the unjust use of force to maintain their empires in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Great Britain was cited as an outstanding example, as many isolationists believed that Churchill had dragged the USA into the Second World War to force the "white man's burden" of empire upon the reluctant Americans.<sup>9</sup> The Catholic World feared that further American involvement in India, Egypt,

6. VAN ALLAN, op.cit., p.92; The Catholic World, September 1945, pp.449-452. See also, The Sign, October 1945, p.3; America, August 18, 1945, p.394; and The Tablet, August 11, 1945.

7. See FINLEY, James F., James Gillis, Paulist.

8. The Catholic World, June 1947, pp.248-255.

9. The Catholic World, April 1947, pp.1-2.

Palestine, Greece and China was part of a scheme to support the British Empire, "now a sick old man sitting on America's doorstep."

Opposed to this resurgence of isolationism were the advocates of an American policy of involvement in world affairs, mainly East coast prelates such as Cardinal Spellman, Msgr. Thomas McMahon who headed the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Franciscan Order, supported by the traditionally outspoken Tablet of Brooklyn. These interventionists tried to overcome the isolationists by focusing Catholic attention on two questions that directly affected the American Catholics and could be resolved only by their taking an active interest in them. These two questions were; 1) the fate of 700,000 DPs (500,000 of them Catholics and 200,000 Jewish) in German, Austrian and Italian DP camps, and 2) the suppression of the Church in Eastern Europe by the newly installed Communist regimes there. Both issues dominated the Catholic press throughout 1946-1948 and served as pivotal issues around which to mobilize American involvement in world affairs in general. The Catholic press stressed the point that if Catholics did not pressure their government to intervene on behalf of these Catholics, no one else would do it.

On February 15, 1947, The Tablet of Brooklyn reported that 50,000 Polish children had just been repatriated, and later asked in an editorial why the American government had declined to admit 400,000 "victims of war and Soviet tyranny."<sup>10</sup> The Register referred on May 18 to the recent US legislation that had deprived 370,000 Poles and Yugoslavs of their DP status, and lamented their imminent forced repatriation to certain imprisonment or death. Shortly later the newspaper announced that 438,000 Ukrainians and White Russian Catholics had been deported to Siberian exile.<sup>11</sup>

Commonweal, demanded that the DPs - both Catholic and Jewish - should be dealt with on a humanitarian basis and resettled in the US, other countries of Europe or Latin America.<sup>12</sup> However, since these countries were unfortunately unwilling to admit them, the USA bore a special responsibility to intervene on their behalf.

The American Catholic media, The Tablet in particular, firmly argued that the government should accept a measure of responsibility for all DPs, in view of the traditional image of the country as a haven for the homeless and the persecuted. In order to press these demands, the National Catholic Resettlement Council, NCRC, was formed under the presidency of Msgr. Edward

10. The Tablet, February 15, 1947 and May 27, 1947.

11. The Register, December 18, 1947 and July 13, 1947, p.3.

12. Commonweal, December 12, 1947, p.2196, as well as May 17, 1946, p.109.

E. Swanstrom to cooperate with the Protestant and Jewish refugee agencies.<sup>13</sup> A branch of the NCRC was established in every diocese and an energetic campaign in cooperation with the Jewish and Protestant organizations was begun to halt the repatriation of the DPs and exert pressure on Washington to adopt a liberal admission policy.

In addition to the DP problem, the Catholic press was also deeply concerned by the general suppression of the Church in Eastern Europe and China. On March 29, 1947, The Tablet reported that the Communist government of Romania had decreed the "unification" of the Romanian Christian under the Patriarch of Bucharest, and that 1,750,000 Romanian Uniates and 1,250,000 Latin Rite Catholics had been forced into union with the Romanian Orthodox Church.<sup>14</sup>

At that time, violent anti-Catholic campaigns were being waged in Yugoslavia with the arrest of Archbishop Stepinac, and likewise in Hungary with the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty. On June 14, 1947, The Tablet pointed out that it had been due to the active involvement by Washington that Cardinal Mindszenty had been granted refuge in the American Embassy in Budapest. On the other hand, the Church in Eastern Europe and China was being destroyed with the silence, even complicity of Washington.<sup>15</sup>

The Palestine issue as it existed in 1947 was directly related to the twin Catholic concerns of the DPs in Europe and the suppression of the Church in Eastern Europe. In 1946, President Truman had communicated to the British government his support for the Zionist demand that 100,000 Jewish DPs be admitted to Palestine. The Catholic press was irate at the fact that Truman had taken such a strong position on the Jewish DPs while seeming to refuse to take any serious measures to resolve the plight of the 600,000 Catholic DPs.<sup>16</sup>

Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA, which had within its area of jurisdiction the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as well as, Palestine, objected to the measures taken to help the Jewish DPs while the Christians were being ignored in an article published in The Priest in January 1947. He wrote that the Catholic DPs "...dare not go back beyond Russia's iron curtain, for they, like ourselves, are witnessing what is happening to the faith and the property of their fellow citizens, who were consigned to the all-embracing arms of Stalin." "Only certain death awaits them in the present regimes of terror in their native lands."<sup>17</sup> He continued, "The problem of DPs should, to our mind, be separated from the present situation in Palestine, if only because solving the latter will not solve the former."<sup>18</sup> He stated that

13. The Tablet, January 24, 1948.

14. The Tablet, March 29, 1947, p.3.

15. The Tablet, June 14, 1947.

16. See especially, The Tablet, March 29, 1947.

17. The Priest, January 1947, pp.14-19.

18. The Priest, January 1947, p.16.

American Catholics have a strong and undeniable interest in seeking practical solutions for "all Displaced Persons, equal in their helplessness, in their insecurity, and in their misery." The official demand of the CNEWA was the admission annually of 100,000 Christian and Jewish DPs during the next four years.<sup>19</sup>

In an editorial of June 14, 1947, The Tablet, developed its criticism of the American government for ignoring the Catholic DP problem into a general "Anti-Catholic campaign" being simultaneously waged in the "UN, Eastern Europe, Western Europe and China."<sup>20</sup> Not only were the governments of the Communist countries condemned, but the world press and especially Western governments were criticized as engaged in a campaign to ignore Catholic and Christian interests in the world in general. The identification of such an 'Anti-Catholic campaign' marked a dramatic escalation from a mere call for increased American involvement in the DP issue to American complicity in an anti-Catholic movement of world-wide dimensions.

It was at this stage that the Palestine question emerged as a key element in The Tablet's perception of a campaign to ignore Catholic interests and concerns. Throughout May and June, numerous articles appeared which referred to the danger that the American and other world powers at the UN were out to ignore Christian and Catholic interests in order to arrive at a settlement of the Palestine problem acceptable to the Jews and Arabs. It was feared that the UN would consider only the political, economic and military aspects of the Palestine issue, to the exclusion of religious and moral dimensions in much the same manner that the US government was dealing with only the Jewish DPs in deference to Jewish economic power and ignoring the plight of Christians behind the iron curtain out of fear of the military power of the Soviet Union. As a result, many American Catholics became convinced that it was up to them to defend their interests, in Palestine and elsewhere, by mobilizing public opinion to exert pressure on the US government and at the UN.

It was against this growing impression among Catholics that the world in general was unwilling to come out in vigorous defence of Catholic interests, either in Eastern Europe or the Middle East, that the press began a concerted campaign to "define" the Palestine problem as it existed for Catholics. The need to define the problem which in Europe had already existed in all its complexity for centuries was undertaken by Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA, The Tablet and certain other periodicals. The definition was composed of three elements; 1) the Christian minority of the Near East lives in a state of

19. The Register, February 29, 1948.

20. The Tablet, June 14, 1947, editorial.

permanent danger of extinction, 2) their security can be secured only through a Western "protectorate", and 3) world Catholicism was looking to the American Church to exercise this protectorate.

Msgr. McMahon was instrumental in presenting this perception to the Catholic public. In an article in America entitled, "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea," of March 4, 1944<sup>21</sup> he wrote;

There has never been an example in history of peaceful Islamic-European co-existence. On the contrary, there were the long centuries of fanatic hostility and periodic wars, terminated in recent years only by a European domination based on power and force.<sup>22</sup>

This hostility, he traced to "the exclusionism and ostracism" which the Mohammedan world continues to practice. He cited the "trail of blood which began to flow when the sons of the Prophet reached the fringes of Syria in 633 and did not stop until our own generation."<sup>23</sup> He enumerated the fate of the Armenians in Turkey and Maronites in Lebanon, both the object of massacres.

Two further articles, entitled "Return of the Separate Eastern Churches to the Ancient Faith" in Catholic Mind and "Threat to the Holy Places" in The Sign, further developed his theme of the hostility of Islam to Christianity.<sup>24</sup>

The Palestine situation, according to McMahon, was by no means divorced from his perception of the general situation between Christians and Muslims. He wrote that if the West, the Christian West for him, imposed a settlement on Palestine that was unfavorable to the Arabs, the wrath of Islam would fall on the dispersed Christian minorities throughout the Islamic world from Indonesia to Morocco as had happened so often in the past.<sup>25</sup>

However, McMahon expressed even greater fear of a Jewish-controlled Palestine. Even though Christianity had managed to survive centuries of Islamic rule in Palestine, a Jewish state might now seek to "expel Jesus from His homeland." He wrote that a Jewish state, even if it contained "separate international enclaves for the Holy Places," would still pose a threat to Christianity. He objected to the possibility of a Jewish state for two reasons. First, because the Zionist project of create a Jewish majority in Palestine would threaten the traditional role of the Church as provider of schools, hospitals

21. America, March 4, 1944, pp.597-9.

22. Ibid., p.597.

23. Ibid., p.598.

24. The Sign, June 1945, pp.594-96 and Catholic Mind October 1945.

25. The Tablet, February 26, 1944.

and employment for the Muslim population of Palestine through which the Christians had gained a degree of immunity from expulsion or massacre. Second, Zionism, for McMahon, was not a simple plan to settle Jews in Palestine, but rather it was an ideologically-based movement to achieve a Jewish majority, seize control of the government, and establish a Jewish state, the nature of which was still unclear.

In order to protect the Christian presence there from both the Muslim and Jewish threats, McMahon proposed internationalizing the entire country. However, in this context and at this time - 1944, internationalization was understood by McMahon to be the mere continuation of the supervisory restrictions of the League of Nations Mandate in the case that Britain would surrender it.

If McMahon's articles appear rather simplistic and stereotypical to the sophisticated reader of either then or today, to the average American Catholic reader, totally ignorant of the Palestinian reality, his articles reflected, and to some extent gave official sanction to, the impression that Christian interests and very presence in the Holy Land were threatened with total destruction.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the absolute vulnerability of the Holy Places and Christian minority could easily integrate itself into the more global picture of a Christian world under siege by a hostile world environment. For this reason it was seized upon by those American Catholics who sought to mobilize the Church in favor of strong intervention in world politics.

The emergence of a strong CNEWA position in favor of defending "Catholic interests" in Palestine was accompanied by an interpretation of what those "interests" were. Consistent with a deep American concern for the humanitarian aspects of problems, such as the DP problem, the Palestine issue took very concrete form around the fate of the indigenous Christian population. The CNEWA clearly stressed that the survival, freedom and wellbeing of this minority was the key element in its definition of Christian "interests" in Palestine. McMahon made clear that the survival of this minority "does thrust a special responsibility on the Big Powers to see to it that the rights of this minority, deepened in the groove of history, are not stamped out in the interests of expansion or of that precious flowing gold of the Near East oil." When he demanded

26. Msgr. McMahon, like most American Catholics had little direct knowledge of the Middle East or of Palestine, and the little they had can be traced to stereotypes generally held by Westerners regarding "Eastern" peoples. Likewise, American perceptions of Jews were the result of little factual knowledge. Rather most American drew upon the equally biased common beliefs and stereotypes.

that "Christ" must be kept in His homeland, he was clearly referring to the living presence of a Christian community.<sup>27</sup>

McMahon's fear that the Christian minority faced extinction at the hands of the Jews even more so than at the hands of the Arabs was in his opinion not without foundation. In a letter to UNSCOP dated June 5, 1947, he quoted extensively from a study entitled, Palestine, a study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, prepared by a group of leading American Zionists.<sup>28</sup> Page 533 of the study stated;

Christianity, it will be remembered, is not an indigenous force in Palestine - although it is based on the life and teachings of Jesus. As an organized religion, it is the creation of Rome and always represented in the East the introduction of a foreign civilization. While the Bishopric of Jerusalem dates from the first century, most of the churches today are of foreign origin and are subject to an authority whose seat is in a foreign country.<sup>29</sup>

To a Church which had recently lost millions of its members in Eastern Europe when the Uniates Catholics were declared by the Marxist governments to be Orthodox, the declaration that the Palestinian Christians had no valid ties to Palestine, amounted to a similar attack.

The CNEWA letter to UNSCOP went to great lengths to illustrate that the Christians of Palestine were as deeply rooted in their land as any other community and were entitled to international recognition and protection. The Christian interests, the letter stated, "reach back to the beginnings of Christianity and have been incontrovertably and juridically established since the 13th Century." Furthermore, for 702 million Christians, Palestine was the Holy Land, just as it was for Jews and Moslems, and that its religious rights were as valid as the political, economic or social rights of the present inhabitants. While it was not the role of the CNEWA "to take a partisan stand regarding the group in which sovereignty should ultimately be vested by the UN," nevertheless,

We therefore respectfully pray that this minority of 51,000 Roman Catholics in Palestine, in any system of sovereignty which the Special Committee may see fit to recommend, will actually enjoy not merely that frequently distorted and

27. The Priest, January 1947, pp.14-19.

28. Letter to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, June 5, 1947, contained RACKAUSKUS, Appendix III, pp.73-79, for references to ESCO see, p.74.

29. Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, ESCO Foundation, 1947, p.533.

facetiously neutralized 'guaranteed freedom of religion,' but more specifically, freedom of religious assemblage, freedom of religious organization and development, unimpaired by confiscatory taxation or disabling legislation, in building and conducting churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and similar institutions of welfare and mercy. In fine, we ask for these Roman Catholics of Palestine factual freedom from social, civic and economic discrimination.

It might be asserted that the general guarantees suggested or enacted would prevent the occurrence of such hardships. However, a survey of certain other nations in which such rights and liberties have been theoretically enunciated or even guaranteed by law, will show how effectually they may be disregarded or even subsequently effaced by cryptic legislation. Thus, a future government of Palestine, in default of express and specific guarantees imposed by the United Nations, might conceivably choose to classify some of the Catholic schools to which allusion has been made as 'foreign schools,' and under this pretext, make them the object of discriminatory laws. Or, ordinances might be enacted forbidding an increase in the number of foreign instructors in such educational institutions. It is happening elsewhere just as it has been recently proposed in another nation to forbid by law the teaching of all courses of religion in Christian schools. Examples might be multiplied, but from the few adduced, it should be clear to the Special Committee that our apprehensions are not purely academic and that our appeal for your recommendation of explicit and specific guarantees is justified by experience.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to stressing the indigineous character of the Christian community and the need for "express and specific guarantees" imposed by the UN, the letter vigorously insisted on the "propriety of our appeal." The CNEWA sought to present itself as, to use the UNSCOP's own terminology, "representative of a considerable portion of the population of Palestine." It was only in this capacity that the CNEWA sent its letter of June 5, 1947, and claimed equal status with the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine. This claim was rejected on May 9, 1947, by the sub-committee, along with the claims of such groups as the Agudas Israel, Faith of David Inc., Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, Palestine Communist Party and the Church of God. Nevertheless, the First Committee did recognise that Islam, Jewry and Christianity did

30. RACKHAUSKUS, pp.73-79.

possess "religious interests" in Palestine.<sup>31</sup> What exactly these interests were and how and by whom they should be represented were not specified and was to continue to trouble the UN involvement in the Palestine question.

The strong position taken by the CNEWA and its president, Msgr. McMahon, was by no means the only or even the predominant position of the American Catholic press, institutions or individuals. Just as the CNEWA integrated the Palestine problem into its already existing concerns for the Eastern European DPs, Christian minorities in the Muslim Middle East and efforts to create a modern version of a Christian protectorate, so, as will now be seen, the other Catholic publications approached the same problem from their own perspective.

### The Catholic World

As has already been seen, The Catholic World under Fr. James Gillis, its editor from 1922 to 1948, remained the Catholic bastion of isolationism. His articles in The Catholic World and other publications, his syndicated column "Sursum Corda", his NBC Radio program, the Catholic Hour, and his books, False Prophets (1925) and Christianity and Civilization (1932) extended his influence well beyond the 16,700 readers of The Catholic World.<sup>32</sup>

In an article of January 1946, entitled "Uncle Sam Butts In", Gillis flatly stated that the US must stay out of the Palestine affair.<sup>33</sup> He wrote that if a Jewish state were established in Palestine, this would be due solely to massive American support at the UN and in diplomatic circles. Eventually, if such a state were foisted upon the native population of Palestine, American troops would be required to guarantee its security against the Arabs.<sup>34</sup> If such a situation were allowed to evolve, the US would be locked in a bitter war with some 100 million Arabs. Gillis concluded, "If Zionism imposes a political state on their (the Moslem's) Holy Land, a cataclysm of blood will begin again to drench the earth."<sup>35</sup>

This argument was further developed by another Paulist, Fr. J.E. Uhler in June 1947 in an article entitled, "Greece, Turkey - and then what?", in which the author presented the American

31. United Nations General Assembly Document A/C.1/164, May 9, 1947, report of Sub-Committee 5 to the First Committee. See also Document A/C.1/165 of the First Committee.

32. FELDBLUM, p.139.

33. The Catholic World, January 1946, "Uncle Sam Butts In," p.292.

34. The Catholic World, January 1946, pp.292 and 301-310.

35. The Catholic World, February 1946, pp.396-402.

involvement in the first two countries as the first steps toward an eventual global commitment and global war. Just as the subtle propoganda of Winston Churchill had persuaded the country to come to the aid of the crumbling British Empire, so now the powerful Jewish lobby had persuaded it to come to the aid of Jews attempting to wrest a part of the Middle East from the Arabs.<sup>36</sup> Neither of these problems were the concern of the US he argued. Nevertheless, it was now involved in them, committed to saving the Jews from an aroused Islam and to propping up Britain. What was emerging was a pattern of circumstances remarkably similar to that which had involved it in the Second World War; the US was once again called upon to stop an aggressor nation and to neutralize a foreign political ideology. As before, the American people were being told that this policy would not lead to war. Like the earlier policy of "everything - short of war," this one would "inevitably shatter the peace."

Gillis defended his brand of isolationism, whereby the US should be seen as an example of a country where people of many races and creeds had managed to create a prosperous and peaceful society. This, he said, was "moral interventionism," as opposed to political and military interventionism. If the US became involved in the Arab-Jewish struggle in Palestine, pressure might be exerted upon it to attempt to solve the Turkish-Armenian problem, and even to intervene in the USSR to halt the persecution of Christians there. Gillis was so uncompromising in his isolationism that he objected to American intervention abroad even when Catholic interests, or the survival of the Church in Eastern Europe, were at stake.

Another well-known and highly vocal American Catholic isolationist was John Earle Uhler who considered that US involvement in Palestine would in fact lead to a major war. The only alternative to this disastrous cycle of involvement and war was a return to the policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs of the founding fathers. The present "ruthless imperialism" would succeed only at a frightful cost; "will she (the US) be able to reconcile any decent code of ideals with the methods that she will be obliged to use for victory and to maintain the ensuing peace? Is she to continue to teach the 'American way of life' to conquered peoples at the muzzle of a gun?"<sup>37</sup>

In still another article just following the UN adoption of the Partition Resolution, entitled, "America and the Partition of Palestine" he argued that "it has been America - and America exclusively - which has fostered Zionist agitation. It was America that pushed the partition through the United Nations." Such an "attempt to wrest a large part of Palestine from Islam for the sake of Zionism" would not go unopposed by the Arabs.

36. The Catholic World, June 1947, pp.248-255.

37. Ibid..

Both the US and the USSR were indirectly encouraging aggression, one by succumbing to Zionist pressure, and the other by furthering its evil designs on Palestine and the Near East oilfields. Uhler argued that this new state that would be forever dependent on foreign powers for survival was bound to lead to disastrous results.<sup>38</sup>

The opposition to Zionism by The Catholic World was rooted in the belief that the Muslim world would not stand idly by while Europe, American and the Zionists foisted a Jewish state on the Palestinian Arabs. In the above articles, plus many others with such titles as "Is America Fair to Islam?"<sup>39</sup> the Arab factor was paramount. The only exception to this pattern was an isolated article by a certain Jabir Shibli of January 1946 which argued that the Zionists had plans to transfer the Christian and Moslem inhabitants of Palestine elsewhere.<sup>40</sup>

The isolationism of The Catholic World not only opposed the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, and involvement in Greece or Turkey, but rejected American plans to establish a mutual defence pact with Western Europe, which eventually became known as NATO. Uhler put forward his opposition in such hard hitting articles as "Atlantic charter as a menace to peace" August 1943, "Atlantic Charter retards victory" December 1943, "Russia and World Peace" June 1945, "Russia's advance in the United States" October 1947 and "Russo-American Impasse" August 1947.

### The Crusader's Almanac

The Franciscan Order which published The Crusader's Almanac had been involved in the Holy Land for centuries. For this reason when the problem of Palestine became a major issue before the UN, the Almanac already had a conceptual framework in which to place this most recent manifestation of an ancient problem.

The Crusader's Almanac was edited by Fr. Paschal Kinsel during the UNSCOP deliberations. Kinsel had been educated in Jerusalem and ordained there in 1924. From 1931 to 1945 he had served as president of Terra Santa College in Jerusalem, leaving the Holy City to assume editorship of the Almanac in Washington D.C. Under his editorship the periodical reached a circulation of almost 150,000. While taking neither side in the isolationism vs involvement debate, its argument that the Catholic Church as a world institution must come to the support of the Catholic

38. The Catholic World, March 1948, pp.493-500.

39. The Catholic World, February 1946, "Is America Fair to Islam," pp.396-402.

40. The Catholic World, January 1946, pp.301-310 and February 1946, pp.396-402.

interests in Palestine, was used as ammunition by the interventionists.

In an editorial of July 1, 1945, entitled "The World's Holy Land," Kinsel proposed a UN administration of Palestine under a type of international trusteeship, because of the sacredness of Palestine to all humanity, and the international character of the religious communities and institutions located there. The article presented the Franciscan Custos as one such international institution. Other possibilities such as an Arab state, federation with Syria, a Jewish state, partition with a Holy Place enclave were dismissed as weak safeguards for the "sacred character of Christ's homeland."<sup>41</sup> Kinsel and the Almanac remained convinced that, 1) Palestine must remain united (inviolable) whatever regime was established, and 2) its international character must be respected.

The anti-partition sentiment of The Crusader's Almanac was encouraged by the Anglo-American Plan of 1946 which had recommended a unitary bi-national state. In an article entitled "The Anglo-American Committee on Palestine" of October 1, 1946, Brother Anthony Bruya, former editor of the Almanac then resident in Jerusalem, wrote that he was "gratified" that any future government would be required by the plan to provide international guarantees that the Christian interests in the Holy Land would be fully protected. The redeeming quality of the plan, he said, was that it recognized that the Holy Places could not be segregated into a compact geographical unit. Thus, any plan to partition the area would in principle be aimed at satisfying Arab and Jewish territorial aspirations while ignoring the Christian demands which could not be compacted into a territorial unit.<sup>42</sup>

In the same issue an editorial entitled, "The Holy Places; Who Owns Them?", called for the revision of the "unjust conditions" on the Holy Places whereby "the schismatics" "prevailed at the principal shrines."<sup>43</sup> In this editorial Kinsel traced the history of the various shifts in possession from the earliest period of the Christian presence in Jerusalem, and advocated the revision of the Status Quo of 1757 that confirmed the Orthodox control of the principle Holy Places, leaving only minor altars to the Catholics.<sup>44</sup>

41. Crusader's Almanac, July 1, 1945, "The World's Holy Land," and April 1, 1946, "The Holy Land Must be Kept Inviolable," p.9.

42. Crusader's Almanac, October 1, 1946, "The Anglo-American Committee on Palestine."

43. Ibid., also reprinted in The Catholic Digest, January 1947, pp.87-88.

44. Kinsel later elaborated his position in a book co-authored with Henry Leonard entitled, The Catholic Shrines in the Holy Land, New York, Farror, Strauss and Young, 1951.

The Almanac was not the only avenue of influence for the Franciscans.<sup>45</sup> The order sent a memorandum to UNSCOP in July 1947 and presented oral testimony on July 15 to the same committee when it held hearings in Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> In the oral testimony, Brother Bonaventure claimed to speak on behalf of the Franciscan Custos, the 300 million Catholics and 600 million Christians of the world. He demanded that "solid international guarantees embodying effective protective measures for the safeguarding and preservation of these Christian shrines be assured." He stressed that the "oft-repeated enclave for the Holy Places of Jerusalem and Bethlehem may well ensure these shrines," but requested that a special Commission be appointed to protect the Holy Places in Nazareth and elsewhere in Palestine. Even an enclave restricted to the Old City, he argued, would not include the Garden of Gethsemane, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Mount of Olives, the site of the Ascension and the Cenacle (Last Supper Room).

The need to protect the Holy Places from non-Christian governments which if "unfettered in moments of decision" might attempt to seize or damage them, remained the central issue of the Franciscan Order. The memorandum sent to UNSCOP contained a detailed list of the Holy Places protected by the Status Quo, as well as the numerous shrines, hospitals, schools, convents and residences which it considered to be also in need of protection.

The influence of the Franciscans extended far beyond the pages of The Crusader's Almanac and UNSCOP. As will be seen later, Brother Anthony Bruya, in his capacity as Jerusalem correspondent for the National Catholic News Service, wrote most of the daily dispatches published in the American Catholic newspapers. He literally flooded American Catholics with accounts of Jewish and Arab attacks against Christians, damage to Christian Holy Places and the plight of Christian refugees. In particular The Tablet was to carry almost daily reports of his experiences during the Palestine War.

Interestingly absent from the pages of the Almanac was any reference to either doctrinal or theological aspects of the Palestine question. Reflecting the Franciscan's long involvement in protection and care of the Holy Places, their historical and juridical rights to them. Even the presence of a large Christian community was given second place to the Holy Places.

45. FELDBLUM, in American Catholic Press noted that the Almanac was inaccessible and as a consequence failed to appreciate the influence of the Franciscans in determining American Catholic perceptions of the events in Palestine and Jerusalem, p.5.

46. General Assembly Document A/364 of September 1, 1947.

## The Sign

The Passionist magazine The Sign traced its interest in Palestine to its editor, Fr. Ralph Gorman, who was a graduate of the Dominican Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. In his many articles and editorials in the magazine he stressed that the Arab inhabitants of Palestine were opposed to Zionist immigration and would resist the establishment of a Jewish state by force if necessary. In an editorial in September 1946, he warned that, "Zionist efforts to make Palestine an independent Jewish state in spite of Arab opposition are acts of aggression, and the Arabs would be justified in meeting them as such." He concluded that if such a state were to be created, the US should avoid any involvement in it, leaving it to Britain to impose it on the reluctant Arabs.<sup>47</sup>

Gorman also was suspicious that the Zionists were manipulating the plight of the Jewish DPs in Europe to further their goal of a Jewish state.<sup>48</sup> He argued that the DPs should be settled in Madagascar or Central Africa, provided the native inhabitants be amenable.<sup>49</sup>

However, Gorman's opposition to Zionism was deeper than the mere fear of Arab opposition with the possibility of anti-Christian consequences. In the forementioned 1946 editorial, he wrote, "We are convinced that such a state cannot and should not succeed," (my emphasis).<sup>50</sup> In his view, the diaspora was the permanent state of the Jewish people, and Zionism, was not the solution to the "Jewish problem." As a result, Zionism was an illegitimate attempt to escape God's punishment imposed upon the Jews. This view was widespread both among Christians and Jews, and, as will be seen later, constituted the essential problem which divided Jews and Catholics. However, Gorman did not develop this theme, concentrating in subsequent articles on the emerging Jewish - Arab conflict in Palestine.

## The Commonweal

The Commonweal, in contrast to the majority of Catholic publications, subjected every issue that confronted the Church to open discussion and debate. Edward S. Skillin, editor since 1938, and Charles Gouverneur Paulding, managing editor since 1940, analysed every major world issue from the Spanish Civil War to American foreign policy towards China from a lay Catholic perspective. Even though the publication had only a circulation

47. The Sign, May 1944, p.564 and September 1946, p.2.

48. The Sign, March 1946, p.4, see also June 1947, p.1.

49. The Sign, May 1944, p.546.

50. The Sign, September 1946, p.2.

of 18,000, its reputation as a forum for lay Cathôlic opinion and involvement in world and domestic issues, earned for it a reputation for intellectual excellence among educated and liberal Catholics and non-Catholics alike.<sup>51</sup>

Paulding wrote many of the articles on Palestine and the Jews. His articles illustrated the difficult situation of a Catholic educated to believe that the Jews were a religious people dispersed throughout the nations in punishment for the sin of crucifying Christ, but yet acutely aware of anti-Semitism, the holocaust and the predicament of the Jewish survivors of the extermination camps. This sensativity he gained while in France serving as private secretary of the American Ambassador during the Peace Conference. During his stay there he had been a member of the editorial board of the review Esprit from 1936 to 1940 together with Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Mounier and other progressive Christians.

Following his return to the US, he introduced many of the progressive Catholic ideals of Esprit into the pages of The Commonweal as well as opening the publication to articles from the most enlightened of European Catholics.<sup>52</sup>

On May 17, 1946, The Commonweal frankly confided to its readers that it was at a loss how to approach the Palestine problem.

We have never been able to make up our minds on the subject of Jewish immigration into Palestine, We fully recognise the desperate need of Europe's remaining Jews for a homeland in which they can be reasonably confident of living unmolested. We are likewise aware that the Jewish colonies in the Holy Land have in fact proved a great economic asset to their Arab neighbors. We are aware that the question has been used by Arab nationalists as a means to arouse passions which need never been aroused. But we are likewise and equally suspicious of Zionist nationalism and we cannot withhold our sympathy from the natives of

51. Some of the articles by Skillin include; "American Social Prospect," July 5, 1946, pp.278-9; "Beleagured Spain," February 14, 1947, p.488; "Christian Democrats," December 12, 1947, pp.220-1; "Our Policy in China," August 9, 1946, p.397; and "Postwar Treaty Making," November 19, 1943, pp.110-12.

52. A few of the articles by Paulding include; "Europe Still Exists," August 16, 1946, pp.420-1; "Europe's Socialism," August 22, 1947, pp.444-5; "Foreign Europe," April 20, 1945, p.5; "In Italy Now," January 28, 1944, p.365; "Jacques Maritain Goes to Rome," February 9, 1945, p.413; "Nations United," April 14, 1944, p.637; and "Trap in Greece," Spetember 5, 1947, pp.492-3. See also Catholicism in America, a series of articles from The Commonweal, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953, 242p, and VAN ALLEN, The Commonweal, pp.60-107.

Palestine, who, however shortsighted, seem to prefer to keep their country for their own use. Americans, of all people, can with the least grace criticize others for attempts to restrict immigration. And hence, we cannot make up our minds, especially since we believe that the first duty of our country is itself to provide a haven of refuge to the harborless.<sup>53</sup>

The above quotation is in itself significant because it is one of the very rare instances in which the American Catholic press expressed its concern for the survivors of the extermination camps. Later, in 1947, while it was critical of the Zionist plan to create a Jewish state in Palestine, as it believed it would not eliminate the root cause of the Jewish problem, i.e. anti-Semitism, it did admit that it would "provide a refuge for certain number of displaced persons who have nowhere else to turn."<sup>54</sup> It argued that if anti-Semitism, that "scourge of the world" could be overcome, then there would be no need for a Zionist state. The Western countries were called upon to root out the last vestiges of this scourge from among their own people rather than washing their hands of Jewish blood with Arab earth.<sup>55</sup> It was "our guilt and crime" which was forcing the Jews to go to Palestine.

The above sympathetic view of the Zionist plans to rescue the Jews from anti-Semitism still alive and well in Europe, was compromised by the increasing use of terrorism by the Zionists to hasten the process toward statehood. The Zionist Lechi and Stern Gangs bombed the King David Hotel, killing a great number of British officers quartered there, and used terror tactics against the Arab population of Palestine, such as the infamous Dir Yassin massacre to provoke an Arab exodus.

Paulding reacted to these acts in an article entitled, "Palestine and Murder" of December 13, 1946 in which he wrote that the Zionist terrorists were trying to start a war to force European and American involvement in the Palestine problem.<sup>56</sup> War and murder, he wrote, were self defeating and furthermore a Jewish state founded as the result of such acts would be forced to rely on European and American aid for survival.<sup>57</sup>

In another article in May, he wrote that the creation of a "Jewish fortress in Palestine" poised against the Arab world and

53. The Commonweal, May 17, 1946, p.109; see also October 18, 1946, pp.4-5, and FELDBLUM, pp.68-69.

54. The Commonweal, December 12, 1947, p.202.

55. The Commonweal, February 14, 1947, "Britain and Palestine," J.L. Benvenisti, pp.439-41 and February 27, 1948, pp.483-484.

56. The Commonweal, December 13, 1946, "Palestine and Murder," Paulding, p.222; also March 21, 1947, pp.556-7.

57. The Commonweal, December 13, 1946, p.222.

the world in general, would "not be a step toward this future, or anything save a future of misery, when a certain number of Jewish fanatics forget all the Jews throughout the world and pretend to create, in Palestine, by extreme violence, something that they would call a nation, but which would be nothing but a self-administered ghetto."<sup>58</sup>

These Jewish fanatics were accused of rejecting the humanitarian principle whereby people, including the Jews, should be allowed to live in peace anywhere, "tolerated and respected by their neighbors." Paulding went so far as to equate the terrorists to Nazis, when it equated the future Jewish state to a Jewish concentration camp.

Later, when the UN adopted the Partition Resolution, The Commonweal blandly stated that now that the creation of a Jewish state has been approved, the West has no choice but to go along with it. For the Zionists, "for these noble people we have always had the greatest sympathy and we rejoice with them now," but for the Jews, "we do not rejoice with them now on the founding of the Palestinian state, because the founding of that state has not changed their situation." "Where they (the Jews) have been oppressed and miserable they still are oppressed and miserable. Where they are at home, citizens of a state, they continue to be at home, safe, industrious and contributing greatly to the culture of every state in which they live."<sup>59</sup>

### America

The Jesuit publication, America, attempted to present the deteriorating Palestine situation to its educated Catholic elite in all its complexity. Fr. John La Farge SJ was well aware that Catholic objections to Zionism and their project for Palestine issued from a variety of sources. Some feared that the "secular" even Marxist Zionists would eventually attempt to suppress all religions in Palestine, Christianity, Islam and Judaism alike. Others feared that Arab hostility would lead to a bloodbath between Jews and Arabs. Still others were convinced that at whatever risk and cost, the horrors of the holocaust and the suffering of the Jews justified the creation of a Jewish refuge in Palestine. In spite of its modest circulation of about 29,000, the periodical strongly influenced educated Catholic

58. The Commonweal, May 2, 1947, "The Terrorist," Paulding, pp.53-4.

59. The Commonweal, December 12, 1947, p.202 and February 27, 1948, pp.483-484. FELDBLUM argues that it was the increasing Zionist use of terrorism during the final days of the Mandate that caused the attitude of The Commonweal to shift "from hesitancy to negativism" on the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine. P.146.

attitudes. Beginning with the Arab "riots" of 1929, America attempted to address these various issues.

The immediate concern of La Farge was the Soviet maneuvering to reap any benefits possible from the upheaval in Palestine, both by infiltrating the kindred Socialist elements among the Zionists and by fanning the flames of Arab resistance to Zionism.<sup>60</sup> Both in his articles in America and in his book, Communism and the Catholic Answer, (1936), he gave articulate expression to his fears of Communism. In 1946, in an article entitled, "Soviet Shadows in the Arab East," he stressed that whatever transpired in Palestine, degeneration into total chaos must be avoided since, "this would provide an opportunity too strong for the Soviets to resist."<sup>61</sup> Therefore a, any, solution must be found to avoid chaos.<sup>62</sup>

From a very different perspective, La Farge, like Oestereicher in The Catholic World and Michael Williams in The Commonweal, condemned both Nazi anti-Semitism, and was also convinced that Nazism was equally anti-Christian. For this reason throughout the war he had strongly opposed the Nazis and written numerous articles on its anti-religious ideology.<sup>63</sup> In February he wrote that Hitler's destruction of the Jews had been but a prelude to the destruction of the Church itself.<sup>64</sup> As a result, he responded to the accusations that the Church bore some responsibility for Hitler's massacre of the Jews by condemning this "invidious" campaign to incriminate the Church in anti-Semitism.<sup>65</sup> Like The Tablet, America perceived a vicious anti-Catholic campaign taking shape to discredit the Church and ignore its legitimate concerns in such diverse places as Mexico, Spain, Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Nevertheless, the periodical did not ignore the real suffering by the Jews both during and following the war. However, like the rest of the Catholic press, it was reluctant to accept the argument that Palestine was a realistic or the only solution to the problem of anti-Semitism. It joined the other Catholic media in demanding that a policy of unrestricted immigration into the USA would ensure a long term and peaceful existence for the survivors of the camps.<sup>66</sup> The attitude of America unlike that of The Sign, was not outright opposition to the Palestine option, but rather "apprehension" over the consequences of such a policy.

60. America, December 14, 1929, p.235 and August 1, 1931, p.402.

61. America, August 31, 1946, p.515.

62. America, January 26, 1946, pp.456-58, March 9, 1946, p.595 and June 29, 1946, p.262.

63. America, November 28, 1942, p.200, March 13, 1943, p.630, May 15, 1943, p.141, and June 12, 1943, p.266.

64. The Catholic World, February 1946, pp.438-42.

65. America, May 13, 1944, p.159.

66. America, October 13, 1945, p.32, December 1, 1945, p.239 and July 6, 1946, p.319.

As partition became to be accepted as the inevitable solution to the rival Arab and Zionist demands on Palestine, the probability of a Palestine war began to preoccupy the periodical. In October 1947 it wrote, "Arab threats of military force can hardly be taken very seriously. The Arab states are so poor and underdeveloped that probably their forces could be resisted by the Jews in Palestine."<sup>67</sup> Later in December, it wrote that, "Imposition of the partition plan by force - which apparently will be necessary - can occasion serious difficulties for the United Nations," because that body unfortunately had no international military force at its disposal and that Britain intended to withdraw its forces in any event. Nevertheless, "if this obstacle (Arab intransigence) can be surmounted, there seems no reason why partition will not solve the disturbing problem."<sup>68</sup>

In late 1947, two editorials appeared which discussed the complexities of the partition resolution. The first analyzed the three alternatives to partition: continued British presence, a federated Palestine and international administration.<sup>69</sup> Partition was admitted to be the only practical solution because it had the support of at least one of the parties involved, the Zionists. "In accepting the UN partition proposal, Zionist groups show themselves realistic." "In expressing a willingness to abide by the UN report, despite long-standing prejudice against partition, Zionists made a contribution to peace. This is a hopeful sign." It was noted, however, that the Revisionists (Irgun) still objected. The major obstacle to a peaceful solution remained "Arab intransigence." While "Arab threats of military force can hardly be taken very seriously," the danger of rioting and underground activity posed a serious threat. Soviet support for partition lessened the danger of a US-USSR confrontation. The editorial concluded by stating, "We can only hope that the partition plan can be made to work."

Two months later, a second editorial repeated its support for partition as the only "realistic" solution and noted Arab opposition. The editorial continued by praising the aspects of the plan that took "into full consideration the religious aspect of the Palestine problem." This was due, "in part at least to the efforts of Catholics concerned with the problem."

The Holy Land will remain such, even if the United Nations have to oversee the protection of religious shrines and rights themselves. No constitution can be written for either of the proposed States which would jeopardize

67. America, October 29, 1947, p.90.

68. America, December 13, 1947, p.286.

69. America, October 25, 1947, "Palestine and Partition," editorial, p.90.

religious freedom or the sacred character of the Holy Land. Christians, who felt themselves left on the outside in a controversy concerning the land sanctified by Christ, can rejoice at this aspect of the UN solution.

The editorial conceded that partition would have to be imposed by force and that this "can occasion serious difficulties for the UN." This would entail the establishment of a decision by the General Assembly to establish such a force, but, it concluded, "there seems no reason why partition will not solve the disturbing problem."<sup>70</sup>

America presents a brief insight into many of the problems that were to preoccupy other Catholic publications to a much greater extent, for example, the possibility of Soviet involvement, the need for a UN military force, alternatives to partition, the humanitarian need for a haven for the holocaust survivors, the Church's role in anti-Semitism, and Arab intransigence. However, for its editor, La Farge, the overriding danger continued to remain the "Soviet Shadow".<sup>71</sup>

#### The Catholic Newspapers

The Catholic newspapers in the United States, like the periodicals, incorporated the Palestine question into their already existing social, political, theological and religious world views. As mentioned earlier, the central issue that divided American Catholics was that of isolationism vs involvement in world issues. However, for The Register and The New World, the first serving the mainly small town and rural Catholics of the mid-West and the latter the Catholics of Chicago, the main preoccupation up to and well after the Second World War was creating and expanding the local network of schools, universities, parishes and charitable institutions. Even the highly urbanized Catholics of Chicago were little interested in world problems. Those who were generally turned towards Catholic periodicals to satisfy their need for information and opinions. As a result Catholic isolationism remained firmly entrenched in these newspapers. Even the reactions to the Spanish Civil War, Mexican revolution and later the Palestine question usually took the form of reprinted articles from The Tablet or other periodicals.

The Tablet, on the other hand, was deeply committed to its self-assumed role as the mouthpiece of the most important concentration of Catholics in the USA, the seat of the leading

70. America, December 13, 1947, "Palestine Solution," editorial, p.286.

71. America, January 26, 1946, "Soviet Shadows in the Arab East," La Farge, pp.456-58.

American prelate, and leading advocate of a militant brand of American internationalism. Consequently, the Palestine issue assumed an importance in the newspaper both in militancy of position and volume of articles found in no other newspaper. The newspaper printed not only editorials and articles on the issue, but dispatches from Rome and the world Catholic press.

The American Franciscan, Brother Anthony Bruya, resident in Rome and former editor of the Crusader's Almanac, was responsible for most of the daily reports on the situation in Palestine and Jerusalem. He was a staunch defender of Christian interests there, and was firmly convinced that whatever the fate of the area might be, the Catholic presence there must be protected. Bruya was well aware of the fragile historical margin of security that had spared the Christian presence from destruction. Like the Jews, Druze, Copts, Armenians and Kurds, the Catholics, he argued, could only survive with unwavering Western Christian support and protection. Therefore, he had adopted a policy of maximum public press exposure to any and every threatened or actual infringement on the Catholic presence in Palestine.

Beginning in the early '40s, Bruya's articles began to inform The Tablet's readers of the Catholic presence in Palestine. When the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry released its report on April 30, 1946, Bruya responded with a barrage of articles with such headlines as; "Christian Rights Overlooked" and "Christianity Ignored in Verbal Battles over Arab, Jewish Control of Holy Land." Drawing upon the international character of the Franciscan order, Bruya stressed that the Palestine question must concern Christians throughout the world.<sup>72</sup> This theme harmonized well with the views of CNEWA, NCWC, Msgr. McMahon, Cardinal Spellman of New York, and the other individuals who argued that the American Church must begin to play a leading role in defending Catholic interests not only in Palestine but throughout the world.

Beginning in early 1947, Bruya intensified his pleas for a mobilized Christendom to defend Christian interests in Palestine. In an article entitled "Sees Christians Already Ignored in the Holy Land," he insisted that if Christian interests continued to be ignored, they would be forced to resort to "a new crusading spirit like that of ages past." He continued that without a Christian population and the Holy Places, "this would no longer be the Holy Land, but would become once again merely Palestine."<sup>73</sup>

In addition to the numerous reports by Brother Bruya, The Tablet emphasized the universal Christian nature of its concern, as opposed to the exclusively Roman Catholic nature, by printing appeals and letters of Protestant, Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic groups.

72. FELDBLUM, p.63.

73. The Tablet, June 28, 1947.

In late 1945, The Tablet published an article by Msgr. Abraham Assemani, a native of Syria and representative of the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem to the United States, which warned that Christian rights required the creation of a separate sovereign territory with an Allied Commission to safeguard it.<sup>74</sup>

During the crucial UNCSOP hearings, such articles increased. The letters from Rev. W.H. Stewart, Anglican Bishop to Jerusalem and Rev. William Clark-Kerr of the Church of Scotland in Jerusalem to UNSCOP were summarized. The Tablet wrote that both churchmen had insisted that more than the Holy Places was at stake in Palestine. They had demanded international protection for the Christians and their establishments.<sup>75</sup> A few days later, the newspaper elaborated on these letters when it wrote; "What the Christian Churches fear most in Palestine is a highly nationalistic state, either Arab or Jewish. In either case, they claim the Christian communities are bound to suffer."<sup>76</sup> Jewish control would result in a modernized and industrialized state that would weaken the traditional religious community structure. Arab control, on the other hand, the article continued, would reinforce, "the trend of religious intolerance and narrow nationalism observed recently in some newly-formed Near Eastern states, and believe that if ever Palestine becomes a Moslem state or unites with King Abdulla's Trans-Jordan, the days of Christian missions will be numbered."

The Tablet welcomed the UN's instructions to the newly established UNSCOP that stated; "The Special Committee shall give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity," as a "welcome stand." This was interpreted as a "mandatory ruling" to consider Christian interests. This editorial concluded; "When the UN receives this dispute a ringing voice should be heard on behalf of the rights of the Christians of Palestine."<sup>77</sup> The subsequent refusal of the UNSCOP to admit the CNEWA on an equal par with the Jewish Agency and Arab Committee was interpreted as part of the overall "campaign of intolerance in the press and the world" to ignore Catholic and Christian interests at the UN and in Palestine, as well as the fates of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, the recently imprisoned Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia and the suppression of the Church in China and Eastern Europe.

74. The Tablet, December 1, 1945, also printed in America, December 8, 1945, p.255.

75. The Tablet, July 19, 1947.

76. The Tablet, July 26, 1947,

77. The Tablet, May 17, 1947, p.9, "From the Managing Editor's Desk."

During March and April of 1947 Fordham University sponsored the 9th Annual Eastern Rite Conference which further spurred Catholic interest in events in Palestine.<sup>78</sup> In addition to Cardinal Spellman, Msgr. McMahon of CNEWA and many scholars of the Eastern Rites, Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Sacred Oriental Congregation in Rome, was present. While it would be interesting to speculate on what transpired at the meeting, it is highly probable that the Palestine issue figured high on their list of topics.

Shortly following the Conference, on May 17, The Tablet published two further documents on Palestine, the CNEWA letter to the UN and an article entitled, "The Christian Factors in the Palestine Equation," by Msgr. James H. Griffiths, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate. Both documents further swelled the number of official voices, in these cases, Catholic, irritated by the seeming campaign to ignore the Christian interests in favor of a purely Arab - Jewish settlement. Msgr. Griffiths queried, "After centuries of such sacrifice and blood letting, can Christendom now be expected to stand by silently and be diplomatically ignored, as an answer to the riddle is sought on an exclusively bipartite basis?" In answer to his own question he posed the minimum conditions he considered necessary to satisfy Christian demands.

But before we can conscientiously consent to any settlement or modus vivendi, we demand adequate, factual, implemented guarantees to the effect (1) that all our sanctuaries will be respected and continuously and unconditionally accessible and (2) that the Christian minorities will actually enjoy not merely vague, frequently distorted and facetiously neutralized right of freedom and religion, but also freedom of religious organization in conducting schools, hospitals, orphanages and other institutions of welfare and mercy; and freedom from civil, social and economic discrimination.<sup>79</sup>

The above quotation clearly illustrates the aggressive and far reaching demands being made by those Catholics who demanded that the American Church not only become involved in world affairs, but assume a major role in this involvement. The Tablet was the foremost Catholic publication in this campaign, which was to later become a virtual crusade. However, as has been seen, most Catholic publications were either openly hostile to such intervention in both Catholic and world affairs, or remained silent on the issue. The Register, for example, reprinted an article by Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA in January 1947, under the provocative headline, "Big Power Protectorate in Jerusalem Urged to Shelter Christians" which had just appeared

78. The Tablet, June 14, 1947, p.9.

79. The Tablet, May 17, 1947, see also The Jurist, "Light to the Nations," July 1943, p.63.

in The Priest. However, in contrast to The Tablet, which had printed numerous such articles, plus the constant stream of dispatches from Brother Bruya, one such article in The Register could hardly be considered as constituting a policy of the newspaper.

By late 1947, The Tablet had embarked on a clear program of demanding an official and administrative role for the Catholic Church in the future government of Palestine. The urgency of this demand was underscored by the impression that world-wide Catholic and Christian interests, communities and rights were being ignored without the least opposition on the part of, so called, Christian governments or Christian states. Thus, the American Church set out to single handedly preserve the presence of Christ in His homeland.

### 3. Catholicism in France on the Eve of Partition

In sharp contrast to the American Church, the French had a long tradition of involvement in both French and international politics, as well as a rich and sophisticated theological and historical tradition of involvement in Palestine and the "Jewish Question." As a result, following the liberation of France, French Catholics joined into and assumed leading positions in the renewal of political life. Inevitably, this involvement resulted in the formation of a French Catholic left and right, conservative and progressive, plus other tendencies, each sponsoring its own newspaper or periodical. Even the newly established post-World War II publications subsequently incorporated the Palestine question into their broader national, international and ideological perspectives.

Another sharp difference between the American and French experiences was the high degree of lay Catholic involvement in France, both within the Church and in national politics, and subsequently in relation to the Palestine question.

The distinctive characteristic of post-War France, as far as Catholics were concerned, was the aggressive involvement of French Catholics in the political life of the country. Upon liberation, the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP) was founded as a predominantly Catholic political movement. It was strongly influenced by the Christian Democratic ideals of Marc Sangnier and his Sillon Movement which had been condemned by Pope Pius X in 1910, but still continued to inspire those Catholics who believed in the compatibility of Catholicism and the republic.<sup>80</sup>

The MRP rallied many "Catholiques déclarés," and together with the Communists and Socialists, were the major victors of the elections of 1945. Together the three parties formed "le système du tripartisme" that dominated the Fourth Republic from 1944 to October 1947 when the Communists defected. The MRP was to serve as a model for many French Catholics that cooperation with Marxists, Socialists, Jews, Protestants and others was not only possible but necessary in post-war France. This contrasted sharply with the earlier opposition to the republic and its political system and the Catholic portrayal of non-Catholics as inimical to Catholic interests and values.

Outstanding members of the MRP at that time were; Georges Bidault, president of the National Council of the Resistance in 1943, president of the provisional government in 1946 and several times foreign minister during the Fourth Republic from

80. Sangnier not only believed that democratic principles could be reconciled with Catholic teaching, but after 1907, in what was called "The Greater Sillon" he organized both Catholics and non-Catholics in support of the republic. He continued to inspire Catholics even after his death in 1950.

1944 to 1958; Robert Schumann, minister of foreign affairs from July 1948 to January 1953; Pierre Pflimlin who held several ministerial posts; and Maurice Schumann, president of the MRP from 1945 to 1949.

The MRP enacted a program of social reforms, was the architect of Franco-German rapprochement and advocated a united Europe. It enjoyed the support of the Catholic labor movement, whose secretary, Gaston Tessier, was a member of the provisional government in 1944, conseiller d'Etat in 1949, and as of 1947 was president of the Confédération internationale des syndicats chrétiens.

Like each of the post-War political factions in France, the MRP sponsored an official newspaper, in this case, L'Aube.

### L'Aube

L'Aube, founded in 1932, suppressed by the Nazis in 1940, reappeared on August 23, 1944, as the official organ of the MRP. Its founder, Francisque Gay, was Paris deputy of the MRP from 1945 until 1951, Minister of State and vice-president of the National Council in 1945 and 1946. The newspaper continued the tradition Sept and Temps présent in being a forum for liberal Catholic thought for Catholic intellectuals including; Jacques Maritain, P.-H. Simon, Daniel-Rops, Jacques Madaule, Etienne Borne, Etienne Gilson, Joseph Falliet, Georges Hourdin, Emmanuel Mounier, Jean Caret (André D. Toledano) and François Mauriac. The president of the MRP, Maurice Schuman, wrote a daily political column and other leading members contributed articles. By 1949, the newspaper had a circulation of 125,000 which made it, La Croix with about 150,000, and Témoignage Chrétien, with about 100,000, one of the three largest Catholic newspapers in France, La France Catholique, on the other hand, had a more modest circulation of about 60,000.

L'Aube, as the official newspaper of a political movement then in power, was preoccupied with the reconstruction of France following the physical and moral ravages of the war. The MRP sought to mobilize the tremendous forces that had motivated "la résistance" and turn them towards this new task. For this reason participation in the resistance, deportation or "martyrdom," for France became the signs of authenticity for anyone seeking to inspire or participate in post-war politics or religious life. The president of the MRP, Georges Bidault, for example, had served as the wartime president of the Conseil national de la Résistance.

The MRP identification with the resistance resulted in a strong sense of solidarity with their co-resisters, Jews, Marxists, Socialists and Catholics. Likewise, their common suffering both in the field of resistance and in the concentration camps made them especially aware of the post-war trials at Nuremberg and eventually when the full magnitude of

the holocaust became known, of the tragic fate of the Jewish victims and the survivors in the DP camps. As early as August 29, 1944, in an article entitled, "Je reviens de Drancy...", the experiences of a French prisoner of that camp north-east of Paris were described as "les crimes les plus inexcusables." On September 17, 1944, the Catholic writer Georges Bernanos described them as "le crime impardonnable." Later in early February, Maurice Schumann and Marc Sangnier of the MRP addressed the "Conférence générale des Anciens internes victimes du racisme" in which they denounced the Nazi anti-Semitic crimes.<sup>81</sup>

Maurice Schumann, president of the MRP proposed that the camp of Buchenwald should be kept intact as a memorial to the 12 million victims of the camps. He also called for the punishment of those responsible. In an article entitled, "Regardez ailleurs," he described the camps, the gas chambers and the Jewish children torn from their mother's arms, "selon les règles d'une technique froide et raffinée." He appealed to his readers, "Fixons pour jamais dans notre mémoire les traits de ces enfants! Pour une fois, ne regardons pas ailleurs!" L'Aube continued to inform its readers of the proportions of the holocaust. On July 4, 1945 it reported that 3,400,000 Polish Jews had been liquidated.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, the Nuremberg Trials were described as "le plus grand procès de l'histoire humaine" and the local trials of such collaborators as Petiot, Angeli and others were followed in detail.

In contrast to many other Catholic publications, L'Aube directly related the holocaust and the fate of its survivors with the deteriorating situation of the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere in the Near East.<sup>83</sup> The situation of the Jews in Palestine was presented as the struggle of a colonized and dominated people struggling for their independence against Britain. The traditional distinction between "secular" Zionists and "religious" Jews, which was so central to the Catholic thinking, was totally ignored by the newspaper. At issue was the Jewish people. In addition to the justified demands of "la résistance juive" in Palestine against British domination, the demands of world Jewry for open immigration to Palestine was equally supported. "Cherchant à fuir l'Europe, terre de leur malheur, les Juifs se heurtent pourtant à des frontières fermées." "Et ils se préparent avec une étrange ardeur à retrouver la terre de leurs ancêtres." It was reported that a

81. L'Aube, August 29, 1944, "Je reviens de Drancy," September 17, 1944 and February 4-5, 1945.

82. L'Aube, April 20-24, 1945; July 4, 1945; November 1, 1945, "Regardez ailleurs," Maurice Schumann; and concerning the Nuremberg Trials see, October 30, 1945.

83. L'Aube, October 10, 1945; November 3, 1945, "Sanglantes Emeutes anti-sémites en Egypte," and November 4, 5 and 6, 1945.

full 60% of the Jewish refugees in Europe wanted to go to Palestine.

Arab resistance to this immigration, in contrast to the American Catholic press which viewed it as the legitimate desires of the Arabs to protect their homeland, was presented as the continuation of Nazism among certain Moslem circles. Even the terrorism employed by the Irgun was justified as a legitimate form of resistance against an unjust oppression. The Irgun threat to assassinate Lord Montgomery, British Commissioner in Palestine, was defended.

Même si la menace qui pèse sur Montgomery n'est qu'une mise en scène elle n'en a pas moins rappelé à tout le monde qu'il est urgent de trouver des solutions à ce problème palestinien.<sup>85</sup>

Shortly later in November 1946, Maurice Vaussard, vice-president of the French section of Pax Christi, expert on international questions for the French hierarchy and founder of the inter-war, Le Bulletin Catholique International, wrote in L'Aube, "Le terrorisme n'est pour l'ordinaire que l'expédiant désespéré de minorités qui répugnent elles-mêmes aux moyens qu'elles emploient." Such means were therefore justified and he insisted that "tout de l'esprit est du côté d'Israël." The terrorists themselves were hailed as giving expression to the sense of exasperation felt by the survivors of the camps in the face of British and Arab opposition. The struggle of the Irgun, the Young Hebrews, against the old guard Zionists was compared to the struggle of the Young Turks who had overthrown the corrupt Ottoman rulers.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to incorporating the Palestine situation into the context of Franco-British rivalry, the situation was also perceived as an element of French foreign policy. In April 1947, a series of articles entitled, "En Indochine et en Palestine," was published that paralleled the French insistence in remaining in Indo-China with the British determination to retain control of Palestine. The two cases were described as "deux parcelles brûlantes du globe, deux territoires où les deux grandes puissances 'coloniales' sont en présence de graves conflits légués par la guerre."<sup>87</sup> The author of the series, Cecily Mackworth, described the popular support among the Jews for an independent state, her visits to kibbutzim and the heroic role of the Irgun. She argued that continued British repression

84. L'Aube, December 29-30, 1946.

85. L'Aube, November 12, 1946, "Terroristes juifs menacent de mort Montgomery."

86. L'Aube, November 27, 1946, "La tragédie Sioniste," p.3, and January 4, 1947, Jean Dannenmuller.

87. L'Aube, April 6, 1947, "En Indochine et En Palestine," and April 23, 1947, "La Palestine à la croisée des chemins,"

of the Jews there would only result in further terrorism and resistance. She justified her trip to Palestine by stating the following;

C'est pour tâcher d'approfondir ces mystères, aussi bien que pour suivre les juifs dans cette dernière étape de leur longue odyssée que je me suis rendue en Palestine à bord d'un bateau d'immigrants.

As the French government became more resolute in maintaining its colonial empire in Indo-China, North Africa and elsewhere, L'Aube, and as will be seen, L'Esprit and other publications, became increasingly critical of the violent methods employed. French leftist support, both Catholic and secular, for the colonial peoples, consequently favorably disposed them towards the legitimate demands for independence of the Palestinian Jews.

L'Aube was likewise acutely aware that the establishment of the United Nations had introduced a new, and possibly significant, factor into the complex Palestine issue. In an article entitled, "Le Sionisme devant l'O.N.U." of October 22, 1947, Maurice Vaussard attributed to that organization the authority to impose a Jewish state on Palestine even in outright violation of the rights of the Arab inhabitants.<sup>88</sup>

Mais, quoi qu'il advienne de projet actuellement soumis à l'ONU, il est un argument majeur qu'aucune des grandes puissances, - et même des moins grandes, - ne saurait valablement lui opposer, et c'est qu'en faisant place à un Etat juif indépendant on violerait le droit de souveraineté des Arabes sur un territoire qui lui appartient sans conteste.

The Zionists, he continued, constituted a people whose present population, in spite of the diaspora, could justifiably claim direct descent from the "anciens possesseurs de la Terre sainte." Thus, their claims were equal to those of the Arabs and, he reasoned, to those of every other nation. However, he argued;

Un esprit indépendant de tout calcul politique a le droit de leur préférer l'aspiration d'un peuple longuement persécuté et, en dernier lieu, décimé par une entreprise sadique d'extermination à posséder enfin un foyer national.

This latter humanitarian argument, in Vaussard's opinion, was sufficient justification for the violation of the Arab's rights in Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state. Furthermore, the UN as representative of the collective will of

88. L'Aube, October 22, 1947.

humanity, was morally and politically empowered to pronounce on this issue.

The lofty ideals and goals of both L'Aube and the MRP, that the French Marxists, Socialists and Catholics could create a stable post-war order, and that in the world the UN could contain the emerging Soviet-American rivalry, as well as, ease the inevitable process of decolonization, was to eventually collapse. Nevertheless, L'Aube served as a major forum for those Catholics who believed that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was neither in opposition to Catholic teaching or interests, nor doomed to failure.

L'Aube was not the only Catholic newspaper to voice a strong position on the situation in Palestine. La Croix also did not hesitate to incorporate the problem into its particular view of the then circumstances in France, the Church and the World in the years leading up to partition.

### La Croix

La Croix, unlike L'Aube, had continued to appear throughout the war, even when Paris was under German occupation. This contrast between L'Aube, with its identification with the resistance, and La Croix, which was tainted by charges of collaboration, seriously compromised both the French Catholic hierarchy and their "official" newspaper. This taint, plus the newspaper's historic reputation as the most anti-semitic publication in France, caused it to assume a low profile when confronting the burning issues of the day.

Its editor from 1927 to 1949, Fr. Merklen, adopted a strongly pro-papal and traditional position, while supporting the republic. One of its first post-war campaigns was to defend the war-time activities of the Holy See as regards the holocaust and Nazism in general. Numerous articles summarized the protective measures taken by Pope Pius XII on behalf of the Jews,<sup>89</sup> the gratitude expressed to the pope by the Jewish survivors,<sup>90</sup> the resistance of the German Catholics to Hitler,<sup>91</sup> plus the other initiatives of the Vatican. In an article entitled, "La vérité touchant une intervention du Saint-Siège," Pius XII was defended against the unjust charge that the pope and the Church hierarchies in general had done either little or less than they should have done in resisting Hitler.<sup>92</sup> It was

89. La Croix, April 2, 1945.

90. La Croix, December 11, 1945, p.2, and three subsequent articles with photos.

91. La Croix, December 31, 1945.

92. La Croix, February 23, 1946.

also observed that the bulk of these charges emanated from the Soviet Union.<sup>93</sup>

In contrast to L'Aube, which was optimistic that the Palestine problem could be resolved by UN and super-power recognition of the legitimate demands of the Jews for a homeland, La Croix was convinced that the attempts of the superpowers to infiltrate the area had not ceased. In particular, the newspaper feared that Soviet moves in the Near East had only just begun. The newspaper's expert on international affairs was André D. Toledano, who wrote under the pseudonym of Jean Caret. Caret had been a member of the secretariat of the League of Nations from 1919 to 1925, and following its demise had become professor at the Institut Catholique in Paris and collaborator with the liberal Catholic periodicals, Sept and La vie intellectuelle.

Caret, having experienced the inability of the League of Nations to halt the decline into World War II, was convinced that the UN had the potential to avoid World War III. In early 1945, in an article entitled, "Vues sur l'avenir," he called for the creation of a UN armed force with a permanent staff to be placed under the orders of the Security Council.<sup>94</sup> He envisaged a gradual and progressive surrender of sovereignty by the member states, much as the state militias of the American Confederation of 1777 had grown into a united army of the federal state. If the UN was ever to become an effective force in resolving world disputes, the members must be willing to gradually surrender their sovereignty and permit the establishment of an international army.<sup>95</sup> In particular, he objected to the refusal of the USA and USSR to surrender their right of veto in the Security Council, which in his opinion was essential if the UN was ever to play an independent peacemaking role.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to the US and Soviet attempts to dominate the UN, Caret saw the Middle East rapidly being transformed into a battlefield for their rivalry. Lured on by oil and the desire of commercial and military influence, the internal disorder of the area and the withdrawal of France and Britain, both powers were set to create zones of influence and domination. In Palestine in particular, Caret feared that the British withdrawal would be

93. La Croix, April 2, 1945; December 11, 1945, p.2; December 31, 1945, L. van Vassenhoue; February 23, 1946; July 27, 1945 and June 21, 1947.

94. La Croix, March 10, 1945, "Vues sur l'avenir," Jean Caret.

95. La Croix, February 20, 1946.

96. La Croix, November 4, 1946, "Philosophie du Veto."

followed by US or Soviet domination, or worse, a war between the two in the area.<sup>97</sup>

Consequently, President Truman's insistence that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine was viewed as an attempt to cultivate pro-American influence among the Zionists.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, the Irgun "terrorists" were identified as being agents of the Soviet Union who through the use of anti-Arab terror were out to sabotage any compromise between Britain and the Jewish Agency and eventually provoke wholesale war between Jews and Arabs. The weakening of the "pro-Western" Jewish Agency by the Irgun, it was believed, would permit the emergence of a rival "pro-Soviet" Irgun as a representative of the Palestinian Jews.<sup>99</sup>

In addition to Caret's perception of the Palestine issue, La Croix also presented other perspectives of the problem. For example, Msgr. Hakim, Catholic Archbishop of Northern Palestine was interviewed by the newspaper during a visit he made to France, Italy and Belgium at the request of the Arab High Command.<sup>100</sup> Msgr. Hakim was quoted as saying that the establishment of a Jewish state would not, in itself, result in the eviction of the Christian and Muslim Arabs. The Zionists, he insisted, were not practising overt persecution of the Arabs. However, continued Jewish immigration would, in time, result in the transfer of all political and economic power to the Jews.

In addition to the Zionist impact on the local Arab, Christian and Muslim communities, La Croix was sensitive to the humanitarian need to find a haven for the survivors of the holocaust. In September 1947, Jean-Jacques Bernard declared his support for a Jewish state by stating, that from whatever quarter objections might issue, "mais on ne peut nier qu'il ait redonné a des millions de juifs une raison de vivre." He continued;

Il est facile de dire qu'il n'y a pas de solution et de se boucher les oreilles pour ne pas entendre les cris du désespoir. Que la solution soit difficile, nous le savons bien, nous le voyons bien, mais ce serait beaucoup déjà qu'une réelle prise de conscience du problème par le monde chrétien. J'en appelle à tous les chrétiens et, par-dessus tout, aux juifs chrétiens, qui ont su garder ou retrouver, au sein du christianisme, le sentiment de la religion mère. ... Mais rarement la plainte d'Israël a été plus

97. La Croix, March 21, 1945 and December 18, 1945, "Politique Russe."

98. La Croix, October 27, 1945; January 24, 1947; February 16, 1947 and July 10, 1947.

99. La Croix, February 18, 1947 and September 22, 1947.

100. La Croix, August 23, 1947.

déchirante. Aujourd'hui c'est la chrétienté toute entière qui devrait couvrir le judaïsme de son aile. Car ce qui souffre et saigne, c'est la race du Christ.<sup>101</sup>

Yet another Catholic thinker who expressed his own rather unique opinion, was Jean Boulier, a Jesuit Priest and Marxist. In an article entitled, "Le droit des Nations Unies sur la Palestine," Boulier stressed that the question at hand was not whether or not a Jewish state should be established in Palestine.<sup>102</sup> Even before the problem had been brought before the UN, he argued, "Cette mission (La constitution d'un home national pour les juifs), l'Angleterre ne se l'est pas fixée à elle-même. Elle l'a reçue de la communauté humaine au nom de la civilisation universelle et comme un impératif de la conscience du genre humain." When the UN, which Boulier described as "la souveraineté supranationale," adopted the Partition Resolution in November 1947, it had acted in the name "de haute humanité". It had clearly and emphatically recognised that the right of the Palestinian Arabs to a homeland had been superseded by a higher right, that of humanity in general. "Un Etat isolé ne peut refuser de se reconnaître tenu par le droit des gens puisqu'il est prescrit par l'autorité de l'univers."

While the above articulated by Msgr. Hakim, Jean-Jacques Bernard and Jean Boulier illustrate the diversity of views expressed in La Croix, nevertheless, the underlying context into which it placed the Palestine issue was that of a looming Soviet-American scramble for the Near East in which Palestine was fated to become the major battlefield.

### Documentation Catholique

Documentation Catholique resumed publication following the war with its September 24, 1944 issue. One of its first objectives was, like La Croix, to refute the numerous accusations against Pius XII, the Church and the French hierarchy that they had remained silent or worse during the holocaust. Beginning in January of that year, war-time brochures, articles, letters, addressed and sermons were reprinted from various sources under the title, "Protestations publiques contre les mesures prises à l'égard des Juifs," which documented the efforts of the Church and individual Catholics on behalf of the Jews.<sup>103</sup>

101. La Croix, September 21-22, 1947, p.3.

102. La Croix, January 9, 1948, p.3, "Le droit des Nations Unies sur la Palestine."

103. Documentation catholique, "Dossiers de la Documentation catholique," January 21, 1945, cols.87-91; January 28, 1945, cols.119-128; May 27, 1945, cols.403-406 and November 11, 1945, col.791. The work of the Notre Dame de Sion Order in saving Jewish children was stressed in these dossiers.

It was only on July 20, 1947 that the Palestine issue was confronted in all its complexity.<sup>104</sup> Three documents were reprinted; The CNEWA letter of May 9, 1947, a declaration by Msgr. James H. Griffiths of New York and an article from the review, Apologetischer Blaetter (Zurich) of December 31, 1946, entitled, "Der Zionismus als Weltanschauliche Frage." The fact that the documents were American and Swiss, illustrate the degree to which the Palestine issue had become divisive for French Catholics. The tremendous efforts taken by La Croix and Documentation Catholique to refute the allegations of Catholic complicity in the holocaust, had, as it were, paralyzed the French Church and disqualified it from pronouncing on the issue. Furthermore, its reliance on two American documents was a de facto recognition of the emerging American Catholic role in world Catholic affairs. However, the strong American position that the key Christian concern was the protection of the Christian communities in Palestine, was broadened by the Swiss article which stressed that the theological questions posed by Zionism were equally, if not more important.

Under the French title of, "La Question du Sionisme," the article stressed that Zionism was more than the desperate attempts of the survivors of the holocaust to find a safe haven. It argued, "Depuis que Tite a chassé le peuple de la Palestine, l'idée sioniste sommeille au fond de l'âme juive." However this "dynamisme mystérieux" which animated the Zionist movement, was but an expression of a much more ancient dynamism which predated the expulsions by Titus. "...le Sionisme est le départ d'un mouvement messianique à l'intérieur du judaïsme, le Sionisme est le réveil du Juif pour sa grande mission: collaborer à l'édification révolutionnaire du royaume de Dieu naissant, royaume de la justice sociale." The new kingdom the Zionists sought to establish, the article continued, "...n'a rien à voir avec un monde transcendantal comme celui qu'enseignent le christianisme et d'autres religions, mais qui doit être édifié dans ce monde."

This latter article appeared more as a reminder that the theological dimension of the Palestine question existed, than a thorough discussion of this dimension. Both the German and French titles of the article clearly indicated that Zionism remained problematical for Catholics in 1947. However, a general reluctance by the Catholic press to directly confront this issue can be detected. This reluctance is all the more surprising in view of the strong condemnation of Zionism in the pre-holocaust writings of La Croix, Civiltà Cattolica and other publications which denounced the movement as incompatible with the divine plan. This reluctance can be attributed to several reasons. First, as has been seen, the conservative Catholic press was preoccupied with defending Pius XII against

104. Documentation catholique, July 20, 1947, cols.911-920.

charges of having done little to save the Jews, and absolving the French hierarchy from charges of outright collaboration with the Nazis. Thus, any opinion expressed by La Croix or Documentation Catholique on the Jews, Judaism or anti-Semitism would be suspect in the eyes of many Catholics.

Secondly, as has already been seen in the articles by Jean-Jacques Bernard, Jean Boulrier and others, many Catholics were convinced that the magnitude of the tragedy suffered by the Jews required an equally dramatic gesture by Catholics, Christians and the world in general, even if this involved ignoring certain serious "defects" in the Zionist plan. As Boulrier argued, reasons of "haute humanite" demanded that a Jewish state be created, whatever the cost. Even the arch-conservative organ of the Federation National d'Action catholique, La France catholique, presented the Palestine issue as a conflict between the political demands of Arabs and Jews<sup>105</sup> which risked escalating into a major war.<sup>106</sup> Special criticism was levied against King Abdullah for orchestrating "Arab intransigence."<sup>107</sup>

However, a third reason for this reluctance was the immense post-war prestige enjoyed by the Catholic left in France as a result of its, often legendary, role in the "resistance catholique" against Hitler. Grouped around the newspaper Temoignage Chretien, the periodical Esprit, and to an extent L'Aube, the Catholics, Communists, Jews and others who had been comrades in arms during the war sought to continue this cooperation. In contrast to the French and Roman hierarchies, the Catholic left considered itself and was considered by many Catholics as the authentic representative of the Church.<sup>108</sup>

#### Temoignage chretien and the Catholic left

The post-war Temoignage chretien well illustrated the ambiguity, if not inappropriateness of the appellation, "Catholic Left," as well as the complexity of the Catholic response to the Palestine question. Following the militant war-time stand against anti-semitism and cooperation with Jews and Communists in the resistance, the newspaper applied the same principles of justice, human rights and Christian principles to the major post-war issues. As has already been seen, this resulted in a militant anti-colonial posture as regards the French colonial

105. La France catholique, April 4, 1947, "Le Probleme Palestinien," R. Troisville, p.3.

106. La France catholique, December 19, 1947, "Le Paradoxe Palestinien," Maurice Bedaut.

107. La France catholique, May 7, 1948, Maurice Bedaut, p.3.

108. See RIOUX, Jean-Pierre, La France de la Quatrieme Republique, Vol.1, "L'Ardeur et la necessite, 1944-1952."

wars in Algeria, Vietnam and Africa, and the British colonial war against the Jews in Palestine. However, this perception of Zionism as a leftist anti-colonial movement, like the perceptions of Marxism as a force for liberation and the common interests between the French Communists and Catholics was to collapse under the stress of post-war reality. As will be seen, the evolution of both the "Catholic left" and of Zionism was to result in the disappearance of their common "leftist" identity.

During the war, Témoignage chrétien's clandestine publications had condemned racism and anti-semitism in three cahiers, "Les Racistes Peints par Eux-Mêmes" (Cahiers IV-V, April 1942), "Antisémites" (Cahiers VI-VIII, June 1942 and "Droits de l'homme et du chrétien" (Cahiers VIII-IX August 1942).<sup>109</sup> These cahiers presented; "...le racisme intégral avec sa monstrueuse divinisation du sang et de la race, son culte orgueilleux de la force qui crée le droit et son défi brutal aux valeurs les plus sacrées de notre civilisation."<sup>110</sup> The cahiers reflected the theme of Jacques Maritain that "la haine anti-sémite est une frénésie antichrétienne." If a Christian accepted the anti-semitic doctrines, it would lead him "sur le chemin de l'apostasie." "Si on en arrachait le monothéisme, le Décalogue, l'universalisme, la croyance en l'éternité," "que resterait-il de notre foi chrétienne?"<sup>111</sup> In addition, anti-semitism was condemned as anti-French due to its rejection of the human dignity shared by all Frenchmen since the French Jews had received citizenship in 1791.<sup>112</sup>

Following the liberation of Paris, André Mandouze established Témoignage chrétien as a popular newspaper, while remaining loyal to its inspiration as the bearer of a "témoignage révolutionnaire." In its first post-war issue it declared, "Demain le Témoignage chrétien entendra conserver ses positions de rupture courageuse avec tout ce qui pourrait vouloir utiliser le christianisme à des fins impures." The defence of Christian truth and justice "quoi qu'il en coûte" remained the ideal of the paper.<sup>113</sup> Its circulation grew from 50,000 in 1941 to 100,000 in 1949.

One of the first crises to which the newspaper attempted to apply its lofty moral ideals was the repressive measures being taken by the French government in Indochina. Fr. Chaillet, the spiritual father of the newspaper wrote in 1945 that if the

109. BEDARIDA, Renée, Cahiers et courriers clandestins du Témoignage Chrétien 1941-44, pp.315-325, see also FREIBERG, Reinhard,

110. Témoignage chrétien, Cahier IV-V, "Les racistes peints par eux-mêmes," April 1942, p.21.

111. Témoignage chrétien, Cahier VI-VII, "Antisémites," June 1942, p.11.

112. See BEDARIDA, pp.111-137.

113. Témoignage chrétien, N.13, p.1, "Numéro de la Libération de Paris."

aspirations of the Indochinese forced France to resort to torture and terror to accomplish its "mission civilisatrice", then this mission must be rejected as incompatible with the dignity and liberty of the human person.<sup>114</sup>

The attitude adopted by Témoignage chrétien towards the Palestine question and the establishment of the Jewish state was that both the Jewish DP and Palestine questions were integral parts of the emerging post-colonial era in which the former colonies of Asia, Africa and the Near East would begin to pose serious moral, as well as economic, political and military problems for France and Europe in general. However, as late as 1947, the newspaper was still unsure about the moral dimension of the Palestine issue.

Its assistant director, Jean Baboulène, wrote an article entitled, "A qui appartient la Palestine ? Notre conscience se trouble."<sup>115</sup> He wrote that the Jews had a human right to a home, if not in Europe or America, then in Palestine. The Arabs, on the other hand, saw this Jewish immigration as a "spoliation" and thus had a human right to oppose it. The author concluded that at issue was the conflict between the human rights of two peoples. Such a situation of two peoples struggling to protect their human rights, posed a moral dilemma for Témoignage chrétien, for whom the clear cut right vs wrong situation of the Second World War was hardly applicable. As a result, several articles were printed which presented varied and even contradictory views of the crisis in Palestine.

One such view was presented by the learned orientalist, Professor at the Collège de France, author of many books on Islam, mysticism and India, and eventually a Catholic priest of the Melkite Rite, Louis Massignon. Massignon wrote widely in such publications as L'Aube<sup>116</sup> and La Croix, plus Cahiers du Monde Nouveau, Politique étrangère and Le Monde on the problem of French decolonization, relations with the colonial world and the Franco-British rivalry in the Near East.<sup>117</sup> Témoignage chrétien, nevertheless, remained the chief expositor of his opinions to the Catholic world.

Massignon had been deeply influenced by the great Indian thinker and political activist, Mahatma Gandhi, especially his belief in non-violence and respect for Islam. Together in 1931,

114. Témoignage chrétien, November 11, 1945, "Indochine et conscience chrétienne," p.2; September 7, 1945, "L'Indochine restera française si..," p.2; see also GAULT, pp.162-2 and 180.

115. Témoignage chrétien, August 22, 1947.

116. L'Aube, October 25, 1948.

117. Politique étrangère, June 1949, pp.221-32. See also BASSETTI-SANI, Louis Massignon, Christian Ecumenist, FREEMANTLE, Pilgrimage to People: Studies of Ten Unique Men and Women, MORILLON, Massignon, and DREVET, Massignon et Gandhi: la contagion de la vérité.

they had discussed the possibility of a religious alliance between Islam, Christianity and Hinduism to create a worldwide force for peace. He, like Gandhi, believed that the trend towards partition to solve both the crises in the Indian subcontinent and Palestine, would result in the creation of states based on exclusive religious principles rather than the common values of all religions. Partition would likewise inflame the intolerant and violent passions of its followers rather than the non-violent and tolerant traditions.

Massignon was convinced that the European and American refusal to admit the Jewish refugees into their own countries was in fact forcing them to flee to Palestine. Their immigration necessitated the expropriation of the lands of the native population and would result in their eventual expulsion. Thus, in the eyes of the Arabs, Zionism was in fact a colonial movement of Europeans to Palestine with the ultimate aim of creating an "épieu colonial" in the flesh of an exasperated Arab world.<sup>118</sup> The eventual result would be the creation of another India-Pakistan situation with both Jews and Arabs suffering from growing radicalism, terrorism and protracted war.

When partition became a reality, Massignon summarised his reaction in an article in Témoignage chrétien, entitled "Une ou deux Palestine?" As in the case of India, he argued that partition was an admission that reconciliation and peaceful cohabitation was impossible. He predicted that the forced transfers of population, expulsions and massacres of India would be repeated in Palestine. The resulting hatred and empowerment of radicals on both sides would lead to a future of war and bloodshed. He concluded by lamenting for the "deux malheureux monstres géographiques qu'on vient de découper dans les chairs de la Palestine."<sup>119</sup>

A second personality who contributed to this exchange of opinions in Témoignage chrétien was Abbe Alexandre Glasberg, a converted Polish Jew who actively worked towards better Catholic - Zionist relations. In October 1947, Glasberg presented his initial reaction to the idea of partition in an article published in Esprit. He recognised that if partition was accepted by the UN, the first objective of the new state should be to re-establish "la paix sociale" between Jews and the Arabs who perceived the Jewish state as outright aggression. He proposed, "non point une solution, mais une méthode qui permettrait de s'engager dans une voie qui ne serait pas une impasse." This method was a voluntary restraint on immigration

118. Témoignage chrétien, December 12, 1947, "Une ou deux Palestine?", see also Cahiers du Monde Nouveau, June-July 1948, "Ce qu'est la Terre sainte pour les communautés humaines qui demandent justice," pp.33-45.

119. Témoignage chrétien, December 12, 1947.

by the Jewish state until approximate parity was achieved between Jews and Arabs, which would be followed by the enlargement of the UN proposed "Jerusalem enclave" to include all of Palestine. Thus, under the dual sponsorship of the UN and the Church, an executive power composed of neutral countries would be established which would be acceptable to Jews, Arabs and Christians. Glasberg argued that only through such a tripartite, Jewish, Arab and Christian, arrangement could the political passions that were threatening to sabotage the partition proposal then before the UN be diverted from war.<sup>120</sup>

While Glasberg's proposal was rather "original" as well as unrealistic, it never the less, expressed a common Catholic and Christian theme that in the onrushing war between Jews and Arabs, the Church could and should play a mediating role, if the Holy Land was to survive. In December 1947, following the adoption of partition by the UN General Assembly Glasberg welcomed the proposal to create a Jerusalem enclave as an historic opportunity for Christians to play the role of a "facteur conciliateur" in the Arab-Jewish dispute. The enclave, he argued, was intended not only to protect the Holy Places, but also to preserve peace between the proposed states. It was only the Christian presence and UN sanctioned role in the administration of the zone that discouraged both Arabs and Jews from seizing it. Glasberg called upon the Christian world to embrace this role and rejoice in its mission as peacemaker.

Témoignage chrétien, like the French Catholic left in general, viewed the French Church as possessing a historical mandate to reconcile the Church and the progressive forces of the Left, as well as Christians, Jews and Muslims. This vision of the Church as a historic "facteur conciliateur" which had existed during the heroic resistance against Hitler, and had inspired the post-war political party, the MRP, could likewise serve to achieve international peace in the world.

An even more eloquent expositor of this vision of the Catholic left was the periodical, Esprit.

### Esprit

Under the guidance of its founder Emmanuel Mounier, Esprit opened its pages to free and unfettered speculation on such issues as the Church in the modern world, Communist - Catholic cooperation, colonialism, Judaism and Zionism. Following the Second World War the collective character of the review was clearly evident and included such figures as Denis de

120. Témoignage chrétien, December 26, 1947, p.4, and Esprit, Glasberg, October 1947, p.505.

Rougemont, Jean Lacroix, Jean-Jacques Bernard, André Mandouze, Charles Paulding, as well as a large number of Jewish converts to Catholicism. This meeting of Jewish converts, Marxists and Catholic leftists, transformed Esprit into one of the most creative and controversial publications in the Catholic world. It was largely due to the adroit maneuvering of Mounier himself that papal condemnation was avoided and the review could continue as a center of Catholic speculation on the problems facing the Church, and especially the Jewish and Palestine question. While limited to a circulation of about 14,000 in 1948, its prestige was immense.

Mounier was one of the most outspoken Catholics in criticizing Catholic passivity during the war and holocaust, and consequently advocated a radical transformation of the Church to ensure that such barbarisms would never again occur. In its first post-war issue, September 1945, which was entitled, "Les Juifs parlent aux Nations," Mounier wrote, "Nous éprouvons..., le besoin de confirmer, devant de nouveaux silences, notre solidarité spirituelle et charnelle avec Israël." Furthermore, he insisted that it was proper that, "la parole soit laissée à ceux qui ont souffert, pour dire, librement, la méditation qu'ils ont mûrie dans la souffrance. Ce numéro est composé exclusivement de signatures juives."<sup>121</sup>

These "signatures juives" were in fact, Jews who had converted to Catholicism and included Rabi (Vladimir Rabinovitch), Georges Zerapha, Paul-Louis Landsberg, Alexandre Marc-Lipianski, Abbé Alexandre Glasberg, Jean-Jacques Bernard, Emmanuel Rais, Elisabeth Bellencon, and Jacques Meyer. These converts, who insisted that they were both Catholic and Jewish at the same time, were instrumental in making the idea of a Zionist state acceptable to Catholics. As will be seen in chapter five, their personal, and often unique, synthesis between the Catholic 'religion' and Jewish 'nationality' formed the foundation upon which Catholic support for the Jewish state was based.

"Les Juifs parlent aux Nations" presents an insight into the theological and mystical dimension of the Catholic - Jewish collaboration which had emerged during the war, inspired the MRP and stimulated the Catholic left to a deeper awareness of the common heritage of Jews and Christians. Likewise, the problematic of the establishment of a Jewish state was discussed by this group of Christian Jews.

The Christian Jews associated with Esprit were still unsure about what position to take towards the possibility of a

121. Esprit, September 1945, pp.457-8. Mounier's major works include; De la propriété capitaliste à la propriété humaine, 1936; Manifeste au service du personnalisme, 1936; L'Eveil de l'Afrique noire, 1948 and Le Personnalisme, 1949.

Jewish state. Jean-Jacques Bernard, for example, wrote, "Je n'ignore certes pas l'orgueilleuse grandeur qu'il peut y avoir dans la fidélité obstinée à une Jérusalem, même purement terrestre, avec tout ce que cela comporte, notamment, l'acceptation de l'anti-sémitisme comme un levain par lequel se fortifie la pâte du judaïsme."<sup>122</sup> However, by 1947, he had accepted the inevitability of the state. Even though one could legitimately question the advisability of it, it could not be denied that the above mentioned "fidélité obstinée" provided millions of Jews with a "raison de vivre." On that premise alone it was up to Christianity as a whole to come to the aid of Judaism "car ce qui souffre et saigne, c'est la race du Christ."<sup>123</sup>

Emmanuel Rais, another Christian Jew, wrote that Zionism was acceptable "comme déviation possible."<sup>124</sup>

Le problème du sionisme est le suivant: Dieu fera-t-il un miracle pour le peuple juif dans cette initiative qu'il a pris en dehors de Sa Volonté? La possibilité de la sanction par En Haut d'une initiative surgie d'en bas, de l'humanité même, n'est pas exclue. Si à posteriori l'expérience sioniste reçoit une approbation divine, on pourra dire qu'elle faisait secrètement partie des desseins insondables de la Divinité. C'est pourquoi actuellement, malgré ses apparences défavorables, nous ne pouvons pas condamner l'initiative sioniste. L'histoire en connaît des exemples, celui des Macchabées notamment.<sup>125</sup>

Elisabeth Bellençon wrote that the renaissance of a Jewish state touched all Jews, those who were Jewish by religion and by nationality alike. Concerning her particular case, she argued, "Devenu chrétien, le juif reste le fils de son peuple. Loin de détruire la conscience nationale, l'universalisme la purifie et la spiritualise." She called on other Christian Jews to rediscover their spiritual roots and realize the "richness spirituelles de notre peuple." Even more significantly, she insisted that the spiritual mission of the Jews, including Christian Jews, had not been superceded by the mission of the Church.

Aujourd'hui, il faut le retrouver, il faut prendre conscience de notre judaïsme et découvrir tout ce qu'il représente pour nous. ...On croit souvent que cette élection et la vocation qui en découle étaient provisoires,

122. Esprit, September 1945, p.509.

123. La Croix, September 21-22, 1947, p.3.

124. Esprit, October 1947, pp.471-491.

125. Ibid., p.485.

mais c'est contraire à la pensée de saint Paul dans l'Ep. Rom., ch.9, 1-6. La vocation et les dons d'Israël sont immuables et cette vocation n'est pas achevée.<sup>126</sup>

Abbé Alexandre Glasberg submitted an article entitled, "La leçon sociale de l'Affaire 'Exodus'," which described the regeneration of the former European Ghetto Jews upon arrival in Palestine. He concluded; "Comment expliquer cette transformation sinon par le pouvoir de la force mystique qui, à travers deux mille ans de dispersion, a maintenu vivant le rêve de la patrie palestinienne?"<sup>127</sup>

The September 1945 issue of Esprit remains a document of historic importance in the history of Catholic - Jewish relations. The free and often creative expression of opinions by this group of Jewish converts to Catholicism presents a rare insight into the constantly changing constellations of ideas, beliefs and theology which permeated the Catholic world as it attempted to confront the increasing possibility of a Jewish state. While these Christian Jews disagreed on many points, they all agreed that Zionism was working out, in some mysterious way, God's plan in this world.

Another group of individuals, similar to that associated with Esprit, which elaborated a rather unique, but influential, approach to the possibility of a Jewish state was "La Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre."

The influence of "La Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre" on Catholic Intellectuals.

Following the defeat of Germany and the fall of Hitler, the Palestinian Jewish community renewed its struggle to force the departure of Britain from Palestine and its eventual independence under Zionist control. Each of the rival Jewish and Arab factions in Palestine attempted to rally support for their cause in Europe and America. The Jewish National Fund, for example, sponsored a periodical entitled, La Terre Retrouvée, founded in 1944, which presented the views and aspirations of mainline Zionism. The periodical was edited by Jean-Paul Nathan, Joseph Fisher and Paul Giniewski. Later in December 1949, the Jewish Agency began publishing its own periodical, Sion, which replaced La Terre Retrouvée.

The Jewish Agency was not the only Zionist organization which claimed to represent the aspirations of Palestinian Jewry. The Irgun, which had been founded in 1935, was inspired by the extreme rightist ideal of Zaev Jabotinsky's revisionist Zionism and demanded the inclusion of all of Palestine in the eventual

126. Ibid., "Spiritualité Judéo-Chrétienne," pp.492-497.

127. Ibid., p.505.

Jewish state. Terrorist tactics were employed to overcome both British and Arab opposition, and in 1944 it declared a 'revolt' against Britain. In 1946 the French branch of the Irgun was established under the name of "La Ligue française pour la Palestine libre," to cooperate with its American branch which bore the name, "The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation."<sup>128</sup>

In order to divorce the already complex situation in Palestine from the even more complex "Jewish" question of Europe, La Ligue elaborated a sharp distinction between "Jews" and the "Hebrews," the former being a world wide religious community, and the latter those who had decided to freely attach their fate to the national territory, Palestine. Employing a terminology which reflected Sartre's, "solidarity of enterprise," and Martin Buber's distinction between "Hebrew humanism" as opposed to "Jewish nationalism,"<sup>129</sup> La Ligue described a state in which Jewish, Christian and Moslem "Hebrews" would collectively construct a new state. Such a state was in fact a "vocation nationale et territoriale," similar to the USA which had fused successive waves of immigrants into a new American identity, rather than the traditional European states which were based on an already existing racial, religious or linguistic common bond.<sup>130</sup> It foresaw the emergence of a new Hebrew nationality arising out of the then existing cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity in Palestine. Partition into Jewish and Arab states was rejected in favor of a unified Hebrew state with equality for all citizens.

La Ligue was remarkably successful in attracting the support of numerous French intellectuals for its program. Many well known Frenchmen joined La Ligue, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Jules Romains, David Rousset, Raymond Aron, Simone de Beauvoir, and others. Colonial Imhaus of the Foreign Legion was named president, with Alfred Coste-Floret, member of the Nuremberg Tribunal and Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, as vice-president. Coste-Floret organized a group of parliamentarians, "Le Groupe des parlementaires amis de la Palestine libre," in support of the independence of Palestine under Jewish control which eventually included 50 members of the French parliament. In addition numerous Catholic intellectuals were rallied by La Ligue, including, Jacques Madaule, Paul Claudel and Emmanuel Mounier.

128. See LAZAR, L'Opinion française et la naissance de l'Etat d'Israël, pp.125-30.

129. See the essay, "Hebrew Humanism" by Buber contained in HERTZBERG, Arthur, The Zionist Idea, p.459.

130. La Riposte, June 18, 1947 and Les Temps Modernes, May 1947, by Yehouda Hadache, alias Albert Stara, "Le renaissance des Hébreux," see also RUBENSTEIN, The Zionist Dream Revisited, pp.35-49, and brochure by the, Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, New York, undated, entitled "Hebrew Independence," p.37.

La Ligue organized public meetings, lectures and rallies beginning in 1946, and founded sections in Marseille, Toulouse, Nice, Montpellier and Lyon. Jean-Paul Sartre opened his Les Temps Modernes to the organizer of La Ligue, Albert Stara, and published his own work, Réflexions sur la Question juive in 1946. His work reflected La Ligue ideology that "...les Juifs n'ont entre eux ni communauté d'intérêts, ni communauté de croyances. Ils n'ont pas la même patrie, ils n'ont aucune histoire." Nevertheless, wherever the Jews, like the Blacks or the Arabs, are engaged in "l'entreprise nationale" there they are citizens.<sup>131</sup>

The official voice of La Ligue, La Riposte defended the Irgun as an authentic movement of popular resistance against British imperialism, Arab aggression and mainline Zionist concessions to both. It was very successful in attracting Catholic support from among the French left through a skillful use of leftist rhetoric and ideological distinctions. One of the central themes of La Ligue was the community of national interests between the Jewish and French anti-British interests in Palestine. An eventual military alliance was even proposed between the "Hebrew" state and France in exchange for French military aid to the Irgun.<sup>132</sup> However, of even greater impact than this appeal to French strategic interests in Palestine, La Ligue managed to illicit moral support for the Hebrew resistance movement through its appeal to the war-time struggle for freedom which had united French Jews and Catholics in their struggle against Hitler. La Ligue appealed not only to those Frenchmen who supported the idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, but to "tous les hommes de bonne volonté qui entendent soutenir la cause du peuple hébreu, non seulement parce que cette cause est juste, mais parce qu'elle est la cause de tous les peuples libres."<sup>133</sup>

La Riposte in spite of its official distinction between "Hebrews" and "Jews", directly appealed to the Catholic conscience concerning the Jews, their suffering during the war, and the necessity for a "Jewish" state in Palestine. Articles were written by both Jews and Catholics, as well as Jewish Catholics, to remind Catholics of their moral obligation to support Jewish statehood. Jacques Calemy appealed to the "conscience chrétienne" in support of Jewish immigration to Palestine.<sup>134</sup> Arnold Mandel wrote an "Epître aux chrétiens"

131. SARTRE, Jean-Paul, Réflexions sur la Question juive, pp.111 and 177. Even Theodor Herzl in his manifesto, The Jewish State, rejected any theocratic tendencies that the Zionist movement or his projected Jewish state might inspire. see p.135, of The Jewish State.

132. La Riposte, April 10, 1947.

133. LAZAR, p.126.

134. La Riposte, September 10, 1947, p.6.

which, among other things, compared the flight of the Jews from Europe following the war to the exodus of Jews from Spain in the fourteenth century. In a letter entitled, "L'Angoisse du chrétien" written by Jacques Madaule, a call was made that, "il faut, de toute urgence, armer les Hébreux de Palestine, s'il n'est pas d'autre moyen qu'ils échappent au massacre."<sup>135</sup>

In addition to the above articles, La Riposte closely followed and summarized the opinions of the Catholic press on the Palestine question. Eddy Treves reported on the Esprit and quoted its editor Emmanuel Mounier as stating, "Les armes à la main, les Hébreux bâtissent, défrichent et défendent chèrement ce qu'ils ont acquis. Qu'il faille soutenir et encourager cet effort, cela va de soi."<sup>136</sup> Likewise, under the heading of "La voix du Vatican," L'Osservatore Romano was closely followed for indications of support or condemnation of the idea of Jewish state.<sup>137</sup>

The success of La Ligue in mobilizing Catholic support for the "Hebrew" state can be found in its portrayal of an oppressed people in Palestine struggling to achieve their independence from British domination. Its clear distinction between the "Hebrews" and the "Jews" managed to defuse the theological and religious issues which had inspired traditional Catholic opposition to Zionism. The myth of Catholic, Jewish and Muslim "Hebrews" engaged in an "entreprise nationale" appealed to many Catholics who fostered the parallel myth of Catholic, Jewish and Marxist Frenchmen engaged in the heroic struggle against Hitler and the subsequent "entreprise nationale" of rebuilding France after the war.

In sharp contrast with the clear leftist ideological orientation of La Ligue and La Riposte, the publication of the mainline Jewish Agency, La Terre Retrouvée attempted to link the urgency for a Jewish state with the continued existence of anti-semitism in France and French culture. The attitudes towards Jews of such figures as theologian and Catholic historian Daniel-Rops, Joseph Sinclair, Sholom Asch, Albert Camus, Arthur Miller, Andre Gide and Marcel Proust were discussed.<sup>138</sup>

During the crucial period preceding the adoption of the UN resolution to partition Palestine, when support for the Zionist cause was crucial, La Riposte appealed to the French

135. La Riposte, November 12, 1947, p.6, and March 17, 1948, Maurice Madaule

136. La Riposte, March 26, 1948, p.8.

137. La Riposte, see for example, April 1, 1947 and October 1, 1947, p.4, later attacks include May 1, 1949, p.2.

138. La Terre Retrouvée, see in particular, October 15, 1947, p.9, on Albert Camus; November 1, 1947, p.11 on Arthur Miller and December 1, 1947, p.10 on Andre Gide.

conscience, collective memory of the anti-Hitler resistance and prestige of the French Catholic left. Many Catholics fervently accepted the somewhat artificial distinction between "Hebrews" and "Jews" which permitted them to support the Zionist program without compromising their equally fervent commitment to Catholicism. One of the Catholic periodicals which was most influenced by La Ligue and its ideology was the periodical Cahiers Sioniens.

### Cahiers Sioniens

Cahiers Sioniens, which was the post-war continuation of La Question d'Israël, founded by the Notre Dame de Sion Order of Theodore Ratisbonne, published its first issue in May 1947. During the war, the Fathers of Zion had hidden 445 Jewish children with Catholic families to escape deportation and following the war had re-united them with their families. At the same time, the order labored to reconcile the idea of a Jewish state with Catholic theology and teaching. Central to this campaign was the belief that Zionism was a secular movement, in contrast to Judaism which was a religious community.<sup>139</sup>

Cahiers Sioniens vigorously defended the Irgun and contributed many articles to its publication, La Riposte. Maurice Vaussard, for example, wrote an article that appeared in both periodicals that defended the often-criticized terrorist activities of the Irgun in Palestine. Vaussard argued that given the brutal tactics used by the British there to suppress the Zionists, terrorism must be viewed as "une expression, pour un peuple, du droit a la vie." He compared the Irgun to the Nihilists in Czarist Russia, the Sinn Fein in Ireland and the French resistance fighters in German-occupied France during the war.<sup>140</sup>

Another article written by C. Van Deyck, the founder of the Jewish Brigade and the Irgun, Vladimir Jabotinsky, was praised as a man of prophetic vision who lived on "through the Irgun and his disciple - Menachem Begin." The inspiring belief of Jabotinsky, according to the article was;

... l'idée que les revendications juives sur la Palestine n'étaient légitimes que dans la mesure où les Juifs étaient disposés à conquérir le pays par les propres forces, au prix de leur propre sang, sans engager d'autres forces à leur profit.<sup>141</sup>

139. Documentation catholique, May 27, 1945, cols.403-406.

140. La Riposte, July 23, 1947, "Le Terrorisme," p.2, also published in Cahiers sioniens, October 1, 1947, pp.159-162.

141. Cahiers sioniens, July 1, 1948, pp.338-347.

The ideological distinction between "Hebrews" and "Jews" appealed to the publication and its sponsoring order because it would permit them to support a "secular" Hebrew state without forcing them to abandon the traditional Catholic teaching on the Jews and Zionism. In effect, only a few Jews would choose to immigrate to Palestine and engage in the national enterprise of a Hebrew state, while the vast majority of the Jews would remain in the diaspora. Thus, the traditional "Jewish problem" would remain in existence, while the "Hebrew" state, which was not a "Jewish" state, would not evoke Catholic opposition.

Fr. Démann, the editor of the publication, wrote a lengthy article in the first post-war edition, entitled, "Une synthèse catholique des destinées d'Israël. In this article he summarised such writings as Léon Bloy's Salut par les Juifs (1905), Msgr. (later Cardinal) Journet's Destinées d'Israël (1945) and Jacques Maritain's Les Juifs parmi les nations (1937). He concluded that all of the above authors concluded that no prophecy forces Christians to condemn Zionism. True, he continued, there were elementary questions of justice and rights towards the inhabitants of Palestine, but there were no doctrinal objections. However, he stressed that the promise of a return for the Jews was only a terrestrial return. The spiritual return would be to the Church. Zionism, he insisted, would be only for a few and at best a partial solution to the "Jewish question."

Quelque sincère que puisse être l'intention "profane" des fondateurs et des protagonistes, leur sionisme politique n'est qu'un épiphénomène sans cesse débordé par les forces du sionisme "messianique" qui jaillit irrésistiblement de l'âme profonde d'Israël. ... Son erreur est toujours la même; en refusant la Nouvelle Alliance, il veut s'attarder à l'Ancienne.<sup>142</sup>

While the above quotation can hardly be welcomed as an enthusiastic endorsement of the Jewish state, such a state could be tolerated if only out of charity towards the survivors of the holocaust.

For Démann, like Bloy and Maritain, the Zionist striving to find and create a homeland was part of a general mysterious awakening of spiritual forces that, though hidden by the "false messianism of race and class," would eventually result in a "reintegration" of Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless, he insisted that, "C'est le sionisme qui incarne avant tout l'effort vital d'Israël dans sa crise actuelle."<sup>143</sup> The

142. Cahiers sioniens, May 1, 1947, "Une Synthèse Catholique des Destinées d'Israël," Fr. Paul Démann N.-D.S., pp.31-48; see also Lumen Vitae, January-March 1949, "The Jews and Christian Doctrine," by Demann.

143. Cahiers sioniens, April 1, 1948.

rigorously secular ideal of La Ligue and La Riposte, which denied any spiritual goals or pretensions for the Zionist movement enabled Démann and Cahiers to exercise their free speculation in theological and spiritual matters from a Catholic perspective.

Such 'intellectual manipulations' permitted Démann to both support Zionism for humanitarian reasons and to criticize it for theological reasons. This approach to the question of Zionism, which appears so artificial and even erroneous from the perspective of subsequent developments, was in 1947 inspired by the leftist Catholic optimism that traditional Catholic teaching could be reconciled with Marxist ideology, republican secularism and the modern world in general. As will later be seen, those same Catholics who proposed a radical reinterpretation of Catholic teaching and dogma to accommodate a secular Zionist state, also believed that the Church could and should make similar efforts to achieve a modus vivendi with the Marxist states and emerging third world nationalism.

However, Démann himself was troubled by suspicions that even his endorsement of a Jewish state, even when presented as a secular "Hebrew" entity, hardly conformed to reality. In early 1948, he expressed his fears that the Jewish state was perhaps,

... une tentative impossible cependant qui voudrait faire d'Israël un peuple profane; exactement comme les autres, cette tentative ne fait que confirmer, en dernier ressort, la leçon de la crise initiale et éternelle d'Israël... l'erreur tragique qui, d'un peuple créé au service d'une religion de salut universel, voudrait faire une religion au service d'un peuple ou d'un idéal terrestre.<sup>144</sup>

In spite of these doubts, Cahiers Sioniens continued, even doubled its support for a secular Jewish state. Fr. M. Leroux of Notre Dame de Sion published an article devoted to the economic development of Palestine in which he declared that the establishment of the Jewish state, "inaugure une ère nouvelle dans l'histoire tourmentée d'Israël." Still another article reprinted from the American periodical, Jewish Frontier, written by George N. Schuster, the Catholic president of Hunter College, interpreted the creation of the state by the UN as an expression of "l'unité humaine." Schuster wrote that Catholics should support Israel for three reasons: first, it would introduce an element of economic and social progress into the whole Near East, second, it offered a unique opportunity to overcome anti-Semitism through Jewish-Christian cooperation in a common endeavour, and third, the social revolution of communal living undertaken by the Zionists (the Kibbutz) had resulted in

144. Ibid., p.16.

the reconquest of "une dignité élémentaire et dont la vie a désormais un but."<sup>145</sup>

Whereas Cahiers Sioniens attempted to cloak its support for a Jewish state in an ideological context of secular Zionism as opposed to religious Judaism, the Jesuit review Etudes announced its support for the state as a humanitarian solution to the tragic situation of the survivors of the concentration camps.

### Etudes

Following the war, Etudes was re-established by its Jesuit editors in 1944 and continued its nearly century-long tradition of intellectual excellence in confronting the burning topics of Catholic concern. In 1947 it had a circulation of about 18,000, as compared to the Esprit with 14,000. In a significant break with the articles of Fr. Joseph Bonsirven SJ, who had dominated the pre-holocaust writings of Etudes on the Jews and Judaism, as of 1945, the reality of the death camps imposed itself on the review.<sup>146</sup> In an article entitled, "La condition inhumaine: le camp de Dachau," Fr. Jacques Sommet SJ wrote, "Les véritables témoins des camps de concentration dorment là-bas silencieux, cendre mêlée pour toujours à la terre allemande. Mais le poids de leur souvenir impose au petit nombre des survivants le devoir de parler au nom des absents."<sup>147</sup>

Sommet went on to describe the lives and deaths of the thousands of victims, both Jews and Christians, supporters of the left and right, and, believers and non-believers who bear mute testimony to the inhumanity of man to man. In an indirect reference to the Church, he concluded; "Non, il n'est plus permis, sous peine de les mépriser par l'oubli, de rester inactif quand le respect de la personne est menacé."<sup>148</sup>

In early 1947, an article entitled, "Berlin, étape vers la Terre interdite," by Fr. Louis Narley, described the fate of the 265,000 displaced Jews in the DP camps. The author described the anti-semitism then rampant in Poland and Eastern Europe in general that made it impossible for them to return to their homes. "Dans cette Europe cloisonnée en multiples frontières, le

145. Cahiers sioniens, January 1, 1948, "La Palestine et l'Humanité Humaine," George N. Schuster, pp.230-235,

146. Etudes, July-August 1945, "La Condition inhumaine: Le Camp de Dachau," Jacques Sommet S.J., pp.67-69; and "Possibilités économiques de la Palestine," M. Leroux S.J., pp.212-229.

147. Etudes, Ibid., "La Condition inhumaine..," p.67.

148. Ibid., p.79.

peuple juif a pris la route. Las de mourir, il abandonne les terres où l'on a tué ses parents; il part, soutenu par un unique espoir; gagner enfin la Terre des Promesses, la Palestine où revit le peuple hébreu." He justified the Jewish claims to a state as follows; "Le sionisme veut un Etat juif parce qu'il lui paraît l'unique moyen d'assurer la vie des Juifs dans le monde."<sup>149</sup> He continued;

Hitler est mort, mais il a laissé la haine des Juifs. Plus que jamais, partout où les Juifs dans le monde atteindront le bonheur et la richesse, aussitôt la persécution se déclenchera contre eux.<sup>150</sup>

Narley concluded that 9 out of 10 DPs wanted to go to Palestine, "Croyants ou non, beaucoup sont animés de cette flamme messianique si vivace au coeur des Juifs et travaillent avec un courage étonnant à bâtir la Jérusalem nouvelle."

Etudes, like the majority of the Catholic press in France, welcomed the establishment of the Jewish state, by either dismissing or remaining silent on the issue of possible theological difficulties. However, this factor was by no means toatly absent and, as will be seen, would emerge as the most troublesome aspect of the Palestine issue. Nevertheless, by 1947 a Catholic consensus in France had emerged which with only a few exceptions endorsed the Jewish state for "humanitarian" reasons. Even the generally conservative, Etudes and La Croix, joined in this support.

149. Etudes, March 1947, "Berlin - Etape vers la Terre interdite," Louis Narlay, p.355.

150. Ibid., p.367.

#### 4. The Vatican Press on the Eve of Partition

Following the Second World War, L'Osservatore Romano was preoccupied with the urgent need to reestablish a stable, peaceful and prosperous world order. The newspaper, like its counterparts in France and the USA, was as influenced by national determinants as by Catholic considerations. The post-war crisis of the Vatican can in fact be summed up by the inability of a rabidly Italianate and Eurocentric Church curia to come to terms with the blatantly obvious Soviet-American domination of the post-war order. The newspaper's "Weltanschauung" can be compared to a series of concentric circles which moved outwards from the Vatican, to Italy, Europe, the Mediterranean basin, the Church and finally the world. Each of these contexts had its own interests, priorities and objectives, into which the questions of Palestine and Jerusalem were eventually merged. During the immediate post-war period, the conflicting demands of each of these contexts resulted in a near total paralysis of the Vatican. The world wide scramble for spheres of influence by the USA and USSR, the decline of European influence in both the Mediterranean basin and the world, the political instability of Italy and an absence of any commonly accepted Catholic consensus of how the Church should confront these new events, reduced the Vatican to the role of a virtual bystander at this crucial juncture in world history.

The Moscow Conference of February 1947 between the four major powers; the USA, USSR, France and Great Britain, which met to discuss the outstanding world problems, set the stage for a general review of the Near East situation by L'Osservatore Romano. In an article entitled, "Problemi del Medio Oriente a Mosca," of February 27, 1947, Guido Gonella argued that three forces were at work in the Middle East;<sup>151</sup> first, the internal "Arabo-Turkish" alliance which had been institutionalized by the Arab League, and sought to unify the Arab world; second, the British empire which was attempting to reassert its traditional influence through treaties with Iraq and Egypt; and finally, the USA and USSR which sought to disrupt the two above and to impose their own domination on the region.

Even before the Moscow Conference, the newspaper had closely followed events in the Middle East for indications of what shape the post-war order would assume. The visit of King

151. L'Osservatore Romano, February 27, 1947, p.4, "Acta Diurna." During this period the newspaper had a circulation of only 60,000, far less than most other Catholic newspapers in France or the USA. However, its influence both among Catholics and non-Catholics stems from its reputation as the voice of the Vatican and the fact that many of its articles were often reprinted in the various Catholic newspapers and periodicals around the world.

Farouk of Egypt to Turkey in early 1947 was interpreted as a sign of the reintegration of Turkey into the Arab-Muslim world following a period of alienation following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. The visit was followed by a Turko-Transjordanian treaty, a Turko-Iraqi military alliance and the successful mediation by Farouk of the Syrian-Turkish border dispute over the city of Alexandretta.<sup>152</sup> A conference in Cairo of the major Middle Eastern powers in March 1947, was likewise welcomed as a major step towards Arab unification and the formation of a strong regional bloc with the active participation of Turkey. It was furthermore believed that Greece, Pakistan and Iran would eventually join this emerging Middle Eastern bloc.<sup>153</sup> With the Arab League at its core, such a bloc would be a neutral force, capable of resisting Soviet thrusts descending through the Balkans towards Greece, and through Central Asia into Iran, as well as, the American thrust towards the oil fields of Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia.<sup>154</sup>

In order to achieve their objectives in the area, the newspaper argued that both the USA and USSR, were exploiting every inter-Arab and Euro-Arab dispute to their advantage. Mustafa Moumen, described as a leading figure in the Muslim Brotherhood, was quoted as saying that the Anglo-Egyptian struggle over control of the Sudan and Nile Valley, the Arab-Jewish struggle over Palestine, the Turko-Syrian dispute of the Alexandretta, the anti-colonial struggles in the Italian and French colonies of North Africa, and the Greater Syrian movement to unite Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon and Palestine were all being manipulated by the two super-powers to divide and weaken the emerging Middle Eastern bloc.<sup>155</sup> Moumen cited Soviet support for Syria on the Alexandretta issue, as well as its support for continued Italian possession of its North African colonies through which the powerful Italian Communist Party could spread to the Arab World. Likewise, the US began to expand its naval presence in Libya and gained the use of the large airport at Mellaha. The Soviet newspaper Isvestia was quoted as opposing the Turkish-Jordanian Treaty as a British ploy to continue its domination of Transjordan.<sup>156</sup>

During early 1947, L'Osservatore Romano repeatedly expressed the view that Middle Eastern stability would be guaranteed by internal unity and the total exclusion of both the USA and USSR but with the active support of Britain. No mention was made of the role of France. However, by late 1947, a subtle shift was made when it was realized that any British contribution to the new order in the Middle East would require

152. L'Osservatore Romano, December 4, 1947.

153. L'Osservatore Romano, December 4, 1947 and January 18, 1948, p.4.

154. L'Osservatore Romano, February 27, 1947, p.4.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid., and L'Osservatore Romano, December 4, 1947.

de facto American cooperation. Prompted by the civil war in Greece between Soviet-backed rebels and the American-backed government, and the announced intention of Britain to withdraw from Palestine, the newspaper realized that an American presence in the Mediterranean was unavoidable, As part of a general "redistribution of power in the Near East" the British-Iraqi Treaty which ended the British military presence in Iraq was contrasted with the establishment of an American air base in Mellaha, Libya.<sup>157</sup>

Nonetheless, the newspaper continued to resist the American supported view that those areas of the world where an American presence was not established would eventually be dominated by the Soviet Union. The instability in Iran and Greece were cited as examples of the inability and reluctance of Britain to resist the USSR and the subsequent inevitable American involvement. The response to this growing realization that Britain was unable to resist Soviet expansion, forced the newspaper to reluctantly admit the possibility of Anglo- American cooperation to stabilize the region. The earlier ideal of a neutral Middle Eastern bloc with the support of Britain was gradually abandoned, but the spectre of accepting American domination of both Europe and the Middle East was not relished by L'Osservatore Romano.

This rather complex perception of the Middle East situation can be traced to two sources; the influence of the English Catholic Church and especially the newspaper, The Tablet, and the highly prestigious Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

The Tablet of London was the oldest surviving British Catholic newspaper. It was founded in 1840, shortly after the Catholic emancipation, by Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism. It remained the strongly conservative voice of the old Anglo-Catholic families, as opposed to the immigrant Irish Catholics. It waged ceaseless war against the Anglican establishment and its successive editors were all converts. This policy of confrontation with the Anglicans caused its eventual decline and finally, in 1936, its sale by Cardinal Hinsley to a group of laymen headed by Douglas Woodruff who assumed the position of editor. Under Woodruff, the newspaper became a major advocate of a strong role for Catholics in world affairs, especially in the areas under British control. Its earlier anti-Anglicanism was transformed into an even more militant anti-Communism.<sup>158</sup>

The Catholic Church in Britain, though few in numbers, was rich in experience gleaned from a long tradition of involvement

157. L'Osservatore Romano, December 4, 1947 and January 18, 1948, p.4.

158. New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Catholic Press, World Summary - England," Vol.3, pp.294-296.

in the British colonies and possessions in Palestine, Egypt, Pakistan, India and Africa, where it exercised a de facto protectorate over the Christian population and interests. Shortly after the British entry into Palestine, for example, Cardinal Bourne visited the area and thereafter British Catholic clerics played a key role in relations between the Vatican, London and Palestine.

The newspaper strongly believed that France had abandoned its historical role of protector of the Christians of the Middle East and that it was up to the English Church to assume this role. In 1946, while the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry was attempting to reconcile the Zionist and Arab national aspirations in Palestine, The Tablet had written; "The pressure of Zionist claims in Palestine coincides with the political withdrawal from the Levant of the French, the traditional defenders of Christianity in the East..."<sup>159</sup> Later it wrote, "The French were never less interested in the Christian East than today, when a party of avowedly Christian inspiration provides their Premier and Foreign Minister and is the mainstay of the French Government."<sup>160</sup> Therefore, The Tablet assumed a British protectorate of the Christian presence in Palestine.

Central to this self-assumed role, was Msgr. Arthur Walter Hughes, a White Father, who had been appointed Apostolic Delegate to Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine, and Bishop of Hieropolis in 1939. Hughes became one of the leading representatives of the Catholic Church in the Middle East, one who was directly responsible to the Pope himself. This appointment placed the British Church in a unique position to act as spokesman for the opinions and positions of the local churches and hierarchies as well as the policies and objectives of the British administration before the Vatican and Catholic organizations. Hughes, likewise, was ideally placed to keep the local churches and Vatican informed of British policies in the area. Both Hughes and the British Church were convinced that the inevitable independence of the countries of the Middle East would place the survival of the local Christian communities in question. Hughes set out to convince the local Muslim elites and rulers of the friendly intentions of the Church.

On August 3, 1946, The Tablet summarised the Vatican efforts to cultivate amical relations with the existing Arab regimes in the Near East, and wrote that,

it has been possible to discern, since the war ended, a considerable development in the Church's relations, if not with Islam, at least with the Christian Arabs, with initiation coming both from the Church and from the Arabs, and with the good will of Islam as a whole.

159. The Tablet of London, August 3, 1946.

160. The Tablet of London, February 21, 1948, p.112.

The article referred to recent moves to establish full diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Lebanon and Egypt, and noted that the Egyptian Government had also recently approved Vatican plans to establish a Maronite (Catholic) hierarchy in the country. Egypt was described as "the leading Mohammedan Power and mainstay of the Arab League." This article and others expressed the hope that the friendly relations between Arab Egypt and the Vatican would serve as an inspiration to the other countries of the Arab world.<sup>161</sup>

Hughes argued that the age of Christian protectorates was over and that the Christians of the Middle East were not Europeans, but rather "Semitic Christians" who must accept full citizenship in their countries and share its fate.<sup>162</sup> True to his tradition as a White Father he believed that an Egyptian Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, must be equally Egyptian and Christian. While this may seem obvious from the perspective of the present, in the early post-war period, when most Catholics perceived themselves as outposts of European culture in the Levant, and cultivated French and British culture, attended European missionary schools, relied on European influence to protect their priveleges, and looked down on their Muslim compatriots with disdain, the position of Hughes was truly radical. His position was also in direct contrast with that of many Catholic hierarchy members, such as Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA who supported a modernised system of European protectorates, or the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Msgr. Ignad Moubarek, who had suggested that the Christians of the Middle East migrate to Lebanon.<sup>163</sup>

It is not supprising that Msgr. Hughes reacted to the Zionist movement and the UN decision to establish a Jewish state in Palestine from the perspective of the influence these events would have on the Arab world. At a time when Hughes and the Church authorities were striving to convince the Muslim world of the friendly intentions of the Church and Christian minorities, Arab hostility to a Jewish state could not be ignored. In August 1946, The Tablet had expressed the "vague fear" that the power behind the Zionists was Western capital, and that a Zionist state would result in a violent anti-Western reaction by the Arab world. The first victim of this reaction would no doubt be the Christians (and Jews) who lived among the Arabs. The article cited recent examples of Moslem persecutions in newly

160. The Tablet of London, February 21, 1948, p.112.

161. The Tablet of London, August 3, 1946 and July 5, 1947, p.4.

162. The Tablet of London, January 1, 1947, p.294; and May 17, 1947 by Griffiths.

163. The Priest, January 1947 by McMahon, p.8, see also East Church Quarterly, April 1948 by Hughes, pp.416-417. For oral evidence presented before the UN General Assembly by Msgr. Moubarek, see Ad.Hoc. A/AC.14/41 of October 10, 1947, pp.57-58.

independent Syria to illustrate the precarious position of the Christian minorities. If a Jewish state were established, and a "Jihad" were declared by the Muslims, Jewish and Christian minorities, from West Africa to Indonesia, would be destroyed. The Arabs were aware that they alone were unable to resist the combined forces of the Western powers in their demands that a Jewish state be established.<sup>164</sup> Even King Farouk of Egypt, who was described as an "enlightened and able sovereign" who is opposed to fanaticism and anti-Christian feeling, was quoted as arguing that "the Government must consider the susceptibilities of the majority." The continuance of good will and tolerance by the Egyptian Government depended on the personality of the king, whose position might be sorely endangered if a Jewish state were imposed on the Palestinian Arab population.<sup>165</sup> This latter prediction was to prove very insightful.

In addition to endangering the survival of the Arab rulers, The Tablet, also foresaw a possible turn by the Arabs to the Soviet Union to resist the "establishment of capitalism in their land." It was observed that the USSR would not pass up such an opportunity to gain a foothold in the Near East, and even predicted that "the place of France in the Near East will be taken by Soviet Russia."<sup>166</sup> In fact, the French withdrawal from Syria in 1946, was followed by disquieting reports of Arab moves against the Christians there, instigated by the local Syrian Communist party. A similar Communist role was seen in Egypt where the announcement of the establishment of formal Egyptian ties with the Vatican were preceded by the banning of the Communist party there.<sup>167</sup>

It is not surprising that Soviet support for Partition was likewise viewed as a ploy to aggravate the Arab-Zionist struggle, "with a view to espousing afterwards whichever cause promises most advantage to the Communist revolution." The UN vote in favor of partition was later described as a "marked success for Soviet policy in the Middle East."<sup>168</sup>

As a result of the British Catholic efforts to mediate between Islam and Catholicism, the opinions of the various Near Eastern Churches were more extensively reported in The Tablet than in either the American or French Catholic press. On May 11, 1946, a lengthy article entitled, "The Christians in Palestine - their position in the light of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry was published."<sup>169</sup> The article reproduced a statement made by the Melkite Archbishop of the Galilee in Palestine, which was described by the newspaper as representing the common attitude of the Christians of Palestine in general. The archbishop began by stating;

164. The Tablet of London, May 11, 1947, p.236.

165. The Tablet of London, July 5, 1947, pp.4-5.

166. The Tablet of London, May 11, 1946, pp.236-7.

167. The Tablet of London, August 3, 1946.

168. The Tablet of London, December 6, 1947, p.353.

169. The Tablet of London, May 11, 1946, pp.236-237.

I am an Arab and my connections with the Byzantine Church do not deprive me of being an Arab with Arab blood running in my veins - just as an Englishman whether he is Roman Catholic or Anglican.

With regard to Zionism, the statement continued;

1. The Christian Arabs in Palestine have everything in common with their Moslem brethren. Religious beliefs do not in any way make them two peoples. They cherish the same hopes and fears and they strive for one goal - freedom and independence. 2. Zionism is a menace to the Christian as well as to the Moslem population in Palestine. A Jewish state in Palestine would result in a gradual decrease in the Arab population and as a consequence the holy places will become lifeless skeletons of stone guarded by monks and devoid of believers. 3. Lastly, the claims of the Zionists to Palestine is based on Biblical promises in the Old Testament. These promises have been abrogated by the New Testament; and all promises given to the people of Israel in the Old Testament have been annulled by the advent of Christ.<sup>170</sup>

Following the adoption of the Partition Resolution by the UN, The Tablet printed an article entitled, "The Anger of the Arabs - the meaning of the Holy War," which anticipated a Jihad to destroy the Jewish state. Another article, entitled "Islam Astir" reported on a call by the Arab League to the Moslems of all countries to arise and demand the freedom of Palestine. "If all the Moslem nations were united, they would be able to rule the world and no power would be able to stand in their way..."<sup>171</sup>

The attitude of The Tablet that Great Britain should - even must - remain actively committed to the establishment of a stable and peaceful post-war order in the Middle East, corresponded in many features with that of L'Osservatore Romano. In fact, many of the above articles were printed in full by the Vatican newspaper. Furthermore, both newspapers shared the common belief that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine by the European and American "Christian" states, would be followed by a bloody holy war. This belief went further than a superficial over-estimation of Arab unity and military weight, but, as Arthur Koestler in his book, Promise and Fulfillment argues, "is a deeply ingrained belief in Christianity," engrained by "generations of Pashas and Beys from Surrey and Kent." Images of "fanatical armies of millions of

170. The Tablet of London, May 11, 1946.

171. The Tablet of London, December 6, 1947, "The Anger of the Arabs," pp.356-357; and December 13, 1947, "Islam Astir," p.370.

desert Arabs yelling 'Allah!' and putting infidels to the sword," according to Koestler, was a British - inspired myth to justify its own colonial empire in the Middle East.<sup>172</sup>

Whether this fear of a holy war was a "myth" as Koestler argues or a historical reality, to the Christian historical consciousness it was a reality. For many Catholics and Christians alike, the common memory of a Christian civilization from Iran to Morocco and Armenia to Ethiopia, which was destroyed by the Muslim hordes streaming out of Arabia, was still alive. The remnants of this empire, in the shape of the Christian minorities, and the recent additions, in the form of large scale immigration to North Africa, were viewed as attempts to return to the era when the Mediterranean world was a Christian world. However, as both L'Osservatore Romano and The Tablet made amply clear, the Christian world could not ignore the reality of the Muslim domination of the Middle East.

#### The role of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, (Propaganda Fides)

The care of the Catholic populations of North Africa and the Near East had been entrusted to two Vatican congregations; the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, commonly known by its Latin acronym, Propaganda Fides, and the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, which had founded the CNEWA. In general, the Propaganda Fides was charged with the care of Latin Rite Catholics, while the Congregation for the Oriental Churches worked among those Catholics of the Eastern Rites. As will be seen, as the Middle East and North Africa emerged as world trouble spots, the two congregations adopted strikingly different approaches to ensure the continued existence of the Christian communities.

As has already been seen, the CNEWA, headed by Archbishop Spellman and Msgr. McMahon, the order of White Fathers, and The Tablet of London, had repeatedly emphasized that the Eastern Rite Christians were Semitic in race, Arabic in language and culture, and separated from their Moslem Arab neighbors by religion only. Therefore, the CNEWA emphasized that the Arab Christians merely sought the right to fully participate in the national life of their respective countries without discrimination or persecution. In fact, the Arab Christians had already achieved positions of leadership in the independence movements in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq.<sup>173</sup>

172. KOESTLER, Arthur, Promise and Fulfillment, pp.48-51; JARVIS, Major C.S., Three Deserts, and CROSSMAN, R.H.S., M.P., and FOOT, Michael M.P., A Palestine Munich.

173. See, for example, ANTONIUS, George, The Arab Awakening, London 1938, and SOETENS, Le Congrès Eucharistique de Jerusalem, for a history of the movement in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the Propaganda Fides was preoccupied by the numerous Latin Catholic population of North Africa and the Near East. In contrast to the indigenous Oriental Catholics, the Latin Catholics were essentially of European origin, largely immigrants, who were closely associated with the colonization of the areas. The prefect of the congregation was Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, who at the age of 86 had presided over the congregation for 20 years. He was well aware that when the avalanche of colonial empires began, the Latin Catholic presence there would be dragged down with them. He, like the Franciscan Brother Bruya, was convinced of the permanent hostility between the Christian and Moslem masses and considered the uniatist theories of French Cardinal Lavignerie and the White Fathers as futile.

Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, while acutely aware that the continued presence of Christians in North Africa and possibly even in the Near East necessitated a powerful Christian protectorate, was however, unwilling to entrust this protectorate to the only power capable of shouldering it, the USA. Like many of the entrenched Italians in the Curia, the cardinal was deeply suspicious of American Catholics whom they considered to be Americans first and only second, Catholics. He accused his colleague, Archbishop, and future Cardinal, Spellman, whose anti-Communist rhetoric went so far as to call for a Holy Crusade against the USSR, even to the point of using atomic weapons, of seeking to replace the "Universal Roman Church" with a "NATO Church" as the service of American imperialism.<sup>174</sup>

By 1947, the much feared avalanche of colonial empires was well under way. The Italian colonies of Libya, Somalia and Ethiopia had been placed under allied control and on the UN agenda. The future of the large Italian population in Libya and Italian influence in the Mediterranean in general was placed in doubt. The cardinal strove to ensure that whatever the future of these colonies might be, the Christian population must be protected from the inherently hostile Moslem population. The means to achieve this aim were varied and included minority protection treaties, limits to the national sovereignty exercised by the new states, guaranteed political representation for the Christian minority, extraterritoriality for the Christian areas and their institutions, and constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion. Likewise, the continued presence

174. GONTARD, Fredrich, The Chair of Peter, p.564; see also the more general descriptions of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the New Catholic Encyclopedia; SONG, R.H.S., The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Washington, D.C., 1961; DELACROIX, S., ed. Histoire universelle des missions catholiques, 4 volumes, Paris, 1956-59; and GRAHAM, Vatican Diplomacy.

of European troops would encourage the Moslem governments to respect their engagements.

Palestine, with its mixture of Latin and Uniate Oriental Catholics was spoken for by both congregations and consequently generated much confusion. The position of the Propaganda Fides was presented in an article in its official publication Catholic Missions which appeared in numerous languages, and in the United States alone had a circulation of about one million. An article entitled, "Palestine, The Holy Land," appeared in April 1947 which traced the historical evolution of the Christian Holy Land. The article stressed that it cannot be proven that any particular race is by right of birth or possession the exclusive owner of that land. It had passed from the control of "an aboriginal people about whom nothing is actually known," and became a "bone of contention" between Babylonian, Greek, Persian, Syrian and Egyptian empires. Following the "ephemeral" Jewish conquest, the two kingdoms of Judea and Israel were "merged into the mighty empire of the Euphrates." It later became a province of the Byzantine Empire and, in succession, was invaded and occupied by Arabs, Crusaders, Turks and English.<sup>175</sup>

Catholic attachment to the Holy Land was described as equal to the attachment of any other people. Since no particular race can claim or prove exclusive ownership of that land, whenever any one group attempts to impose an exclusive control over it, as had the Moslem World, the Christians responded with the crusades as "the protest of a believing multitude of souls against the pretext of the Moslem world that any one could be excluded from the homeland of the Saviour of mankind." This Catholic attitude, the author hastened to add, had not changed. Any attempt to "exclude" the Christians from the Holy Land would be resisted. In fact, a denial of the Christian presence there "amounts to a denial of the Christian faith."

The article went on to define what, in fact, the Christian presence entailed. Elaborating upon its theme that the holiness of the Holy Land was derived from the spiritual attachment of Christians to the land, the article identified the Holy Places as follows,

They are the physical signs of the redemption of all mankind. The common agreement of Catholics of all times that these places should be known and venerated is an affirmation of the beliefs in Christ's humanity and divination, in His redeeming death and resurrection.

Thus, the Holy Places became the focus of concern for the Propoganda Fides, rather than the survival of a Christian minority there, as had been stressed by the CNEWA.

175. Catholic Missions, April 1947, "Palestine the Holy Land," pp.6-11.

Throughout the period under study and well into the present the precise definition of what "interests" the Church sought so energetically to protect remained a baffling question. Beginning with the UN Partition Resolution which included the Holy Places and major areas of Christian population in the international zone, through the various reformulations and counter-proposals to the UN plan, appealed to both interests. In fact, as will be seen, the position of the CNEWA eventually prevailed, and the survival of the Christian minority dominated Catholic thinking.

### L'Osservatore Romano and the Partition of Palestine

As partition began to emerge as the solution which would be adopted by the UN to solve the conflicting claims of Zionists and Arabs to Palestine, L'Osservatore Romano began to devote increasing attention to the prospect of a divided Palestine. As already mentioned, The Tablet of London remained its primary source of information on the reactions and attitudes of Palestinian Christians. On February 6, 1947, an article entitled, "Gli Arabi Cattolici della Palestina," summarized several recent articles written by John Ramsay Fairfax which had appeared in The Tablet. The article described the 120,000 strong Christian community there, the excellent relations which existed between them and their Moslem neighbors, and the excellent work of the English Catholic Church in organizing the local Christian hierarchies. The "Christian Union of Palestine", which had been established by both Catholic and Orthodox Christians to represent their interests before the Jerusalem Municipal Council, was likewise praised.<sup>176</sup> However, in contrast to the original article which had appeared in The Tablet, L'Osservatore Romano chose to ignore the strong opposition of the Union to the idea of partition. The Tablet had written;

The Christian Union wishes to declare in unequivocal terms that they denounce the partition plan, being of strong conviction that this plan involves a violation of the sacredness of the the Holy Land which, by its nature and history, is indivisible... It is our firm conviction that peace will not be restored, ... unless these bodies who undertake the determination of the future of Palestine remove the causes which have made a battle of the Holy Land.<sup>177</sup>

This silence by L'Osservatore Romano can be explained by the unrelenting pressure by both the Zionists and Arabs to elicit a statement of support for their causes from the Pope. A steady

176. L'Osservatore Romano, February 6, 1947, p.3.

177. The Tablet of London, December 1, 1945.

stream of Jewish and Arab leaders and clerics visited Rome and sought audiences with high Churchmen. Each visit was followed by eager speculation and optimistic reports of an imminent papal pronouncement supporting their particular cause. Msgr. Gregorius Hakim, Melkite Archbishop of St. John of Akka, for example, after a visit to Rome, returned to Palestine and declared;

His Holiness the Pope cannot afford to help Zionists against the Arabs in Palestine. The reports circulated by Zionist propagandists, that the Pope supports Zionism, are false. The Pope told me that he would not fail to support the Arabs, Moslem and Christian, because they are the owners of the Holy Land.

Hakim stressed that the Christian minority was in no position to adopt a stand different from their Moslem compatriots. He warned that if the Pope were to make a public statement favourable to Zionism, the first to feel the hostility of the Muslims would be the Eastern Christians.<sup>178</sup>

For this reason the Vatican and L'Osservatore Romano remained silent on the question of partition. Nevertheless, the newspaper continued to print periodic updates on the rise of violence, the works of the Catholic charitable organizations, the progress of the UNSCOP, and the activities of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. However, on August 4, 1947, the CNEWA Memorandum to the Security Council was reprinted on the front page under the headline, "Interessi e diritti dei cattolici sui Luoghi Santi."

In its introductory remarks, the newspaper noted that the memorandum called on the UN to respect and protect the Christian minority and Holy Places in Palestine. No mention was made of how these two objectives could be accomplished and no recommendations were made to the UN. Nevertheless, the prominent display given the memorandum was a de facto recognition of the role of the CNEWA under Cardinal Spellman and Msgr. McMahon in representing the Church before the UN.<sup>179</sup>

The newspaper continued to refrain from expressing either its support or opposition to partition until after the General Assembly had already adopted the UNSCOP Majority Recommendation in favor of partition. Even a lengthy article entitled, "La questione del Medio Oriente" of December 4, 1947, by Guido Gonella ignored the UN efforts to resolve the Palestine question and concentrated on the effects of the general "redistribution of force" in the Middle East which pitted the USA, Great Britain

178. The Tablet of London, August 3, 1946, p.59; May 11, 1946, "The Christians In Palestine," E.J.B. Fry, p.236; and July 5, 1947, "Egypt and the Holy See," John Ramsay-Fairfax, p.4. See also, LAPIDE, P., Three Popes and the Jews.

179. L'Osservatore Romano, August 4-5, 1947.

and the USSR in bitter rivalry.<sup>180</sup> The general attitude of the newspaper was that this all-pervading rivalry in the Near East, North Africa and Mediterranean reduced any attempt by the UN to elaborate a proposal for Palestine to idle speculation. The mounting violence in Palestine itself, and the British decision to evacuate the area, likewise, threatened to sabotage any peaceful solutions. Therefore, the newspaper adopted a "wait and see attitude."

In a brief article entitled, "La preparazione dello statuto per la 'città libera' di Gerusalemme," of December 13, 1947, the Jerusalem provisions of the Partition Resolution were discussed.<sup>181</sup> The Jerusalem enclave was described as an attempt by the UN to "trovare un terzo elemento suscettibile di stabilire un equilibrio tra i due popoli," and the eventual role of the Christian "third force" in mediating Arab-Jewish hostilities was welcomed. However, the rapid deterioration of the situation in Palestine, plus the lack of cooperation between the USA, USSR, France and Britain, threatened to sabotage the UN resolution, the proposal for a "città libera" and the peace in Palestine.

This rather gloomy perspective, on the other hand, did not blind the newspaper to the single factor which had dramatically transformed the context of the 2000-year old Jerusalem question, namely, the involvement of the recently established United Nations. The Church, bereft of traditional instruments to achieve its objectives in the world, an army, economic clout and teeming population, and equally lacking a powerful protector, was forced to find alternative instruments. As has already been seen, the most likely candidate, the United States, was viewed with suspicion by most European Catholics and especially the Vatican hierarchy. For this reason, many Catholics, especially in France and at the Vatican, looked towards the UN as a potential universal government.

#### The Catholic attitude towards the United Nations

The often idealistic expectations which which Catholics had welcomed the creation of the UN had been encouraged by Papal statements such as the following Christmas message of 1944 by Pius XII.

This organization will be vested by common consent with supreme authority and with power to smother in its germinal stages any threat of isolated or collective aggression. No one can hail this development with greater joy than he who

180. L'Osservatore Romano, December 4, 1947, "Acta Diurna."

181. L'Osservatore Romano, November 22, 1947; December 4, 1947 and December 13, 1947.

has long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and appropriate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date. ...If there is now the threat that other nations will intervene judicially and inflict chastisement on aggressors, then war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription, will be under surveillance, and will be open to prevention by force. Thus, mankind, emerging from the dark night in which it has been so long submerged, will be able to hail the dawn of a new and better era of history.<sup>182</sup>

The very rhetoric employed by the Catholic press and organizations reflected these expectations. La Croix, as has already been seen, referred to it as "cette tribunal mondiale," while the American, "Catholic Association for International Peace" organized a World Conference for Moral and Spiritual Support for the UN to which Catholics, Jews, Moslems and Hindus were invited.<sup>183</sup>

La Civiltà Cattolica, while welcoming the UN, was much more realistic of its possible effectiveness in limiting the "absolute sovereignty of the nation state." Fr. Messineo SJ, who had written numerous articles during the 1930s refuting the theories of Hitler and Mussolini that the state was the "absolute reality", emerged as a major supporter of the UN following the war.<sup>184</sup> He soberly evaluated the UN Charter from the perspective of its potential to limit such expressions of the nation state as Hitler Germany and Italy under Moussolini.

In an article entitled, "La Deuxième Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies" Messineo attacked the granting of the right of veto to each of the five permanent members of the Security Council. He argued that "cet absurde privilège que les Grandes Puissances se sont attribuées à elles-mêmes," threatened to undermine the foundation of the UN. This veto, he continued, reduced the most powerful instrument of the UN, its power to apply sanctions "contre les perturbateurs de la sécurité et de la paix," to a tool in the hands of the major powers. Furthermore, if the proposed "Corps d'Armée internationaux prévus par le Statut pour donner à l'ONU un appareil coercitif, prêt à agir rapidement" were ever to be realized, its use would be limited by the interests of the USA and USSR because of their veto power.<sup>185</sup>

182. Catholicism in America, a series of articles from the Commonweal, p.109.

183. Catholic Association for International Peace (CAIP) Newsletter, January 1948, Vol.XIII, N. 4-5.

184. BOSCO, Robert, "La Civiltà Cattolica", Etudes, February 1950, Vol.264, pp.234-241, presents an analysis of the positions adopted by the periodical on certain key issues.

185. Civiltà Cattolica, January 18, 1947, "La Deuxième Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies," in French, pp.1-9.

Messineo observed that by the end of 1946, the USSR had already used the veto eight times and the US had blocked crucial resolutions by threatening to use it twice. In the context of the Cold War, the UN was being transformed from its role of peacemaking to "aviver le feu au lieu de l'éteindre, exaspérer la lutte au lieu de faire oeuvre de conciliation, et donner aux troubles, des motifs pour remettre le feu aux poudres qu'on vient à peine d'éteindre."<sup>186</sup>

In addition to the veto monopoly by the major powers, L'Osservatore Romano cited a second characteristic which further weakened the organization. The exclusion of the former Axis and neutral states such as Germany, Austria, Italy, Ireland, Spain and Portugal, the newspaper argued, risked turning the UN into a "victor's club" striving to impose its version of a post-war order on the world, rather than a world wide "universal" organization dedicated to promoting world peace.<sup>187</sup> The fact that of the above countries, four were overwhelmingly Catholic, no doubt aroused suspicions of anti-Catholicism on the part of the major powers.

These weaknesses, while criticized by L'Osservatore Romano and many Catholics, did not totally dampen their hopes for the UN. In addition to striving for world peace in general, the newspaper envisaged an organization which would effectively protect human rights and the rights of minorities, much as the defunct League of Nations had done. In particular, it was hoped that the right of religious expression and the rights of Catholic and Christian minorities in Eastern Europe, the Muslim world, Asia and Africa would become a major commitment of the UN. In early 1947, the American National Catholic Welfare Conference released a Catholic draft for a universal declaration of human rights which it proposed the UN adopt.<sup>188</sup> The NCWC believed that the UN, fortified by a universal acceptance of the basic religious freedoms embodied in such a declaration, would be able to protect the Church and the Catholic minorities of the world.

However, Catholic expectations for the UN went far beyond the protection of the basic human rights of freedom of speech, right of assembly and religious expression. Inspired by the historic efforts of the League of Nations, L'Osservatore Romano envisaged a system of minority protection treaties, enforced by a UN armed force, which would guarantee the racial, linguistic, cultural, economic and, especially important for the Church, the rights to maintain religious schools and institutions, as well as staff them with both local and foreign instructors. The sovereignty of the emerging states in Asia,

186. Ibid., p.7.

187. L'Osservatore Romano, September 29-30, 1947, "Le Nazioni alla O.N.U.," p.3.

188. The Register, February 9, 1947.

Africa and the Near East would be restricted by such treaties, and any violation of the rights of the minorities would be subject to UN military intervention, In exchange, the local Christians would remain loyal citizens of their state.<sup>189</sup>

Following the Second World War, the Middle East and North Africa became the focus of the efforts of L'Osservatore Romano efforts to erect a UN sponsored system for the protection of the Christian minorities. In fact, for the newspaper, any post-war order would be judged from the view point of how it effected the Christian population. The recent partition of the Indian Sub-Continent, for example, was evaluated in this manner. However, as has already been observed, the Christian minorities of the Near East were vastly different in composition, ranging from the indigineous "Semitic" Christians of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, to the "settler" Christians in Libya and Algeria. This disparity of conditions did not deter the Vatican from attempting to put into place a system of Christian minority treaties which would oblige the states of the Middle East to protect its Christian subjects. Only such measures would be able to protect them from extinction at the hands of the "radical" Arab nationalism that was sweeping the area.<sup>190</sup>

In short, one could argue that L'Osservatore Romano viewed the Palestine issue as a sort of test case to evaluate the effectiveness of the UN, its own demands for concrete international measures to ensure the continued existence of the Christian minorities, and world support for Christian interests. If the Church was able to achieve a satisfactory and effective solution to the Palestine question, similar arrangements could be envisaged for the other colonies and mandates in North Africa and the Middle East. The sheer number of articles devoted to the Christian presence in the area lends credence to this theory.<sup>191</sup>

An editorial in the American Jesuit publication, America, in early December 1947, argued this point. The editorial stated

189. In 1932 Rev. J.-T. Delos, Professor of International Law at Lille University, had developed the purely legal aspects of a "Catholic" protectorate in an article published in the Revue générale de droit international public, which was reprinted in Documentation Catholique in February 18, 1933, Vol.646, cols.387-424. See also GUERRY, Msgr. Emile, L'Eglise et la communauté des peuples - La Doctrine de l'Eglise sur les Relations internationales: L'Enseignement de Pie XII, Paris, Bonne Presse, 1958. Other works include, NUCCITELLI, Nicola, Le Fondement juridique des Rapports Diplomatiques entre le Saint-Siège et les Nations Unies and PERNOT, Le Saint-Siège, l'Eglise catholique et la Politique mondiale.

190. L'Osservatore Romano, January 1, 1948, p.3.

191. L'Osservatore Romano, March 22-23, 1948, p.3; March 4, 1949, p.3; April 9, 1949; April 17, 1949 and thereafter.

that the Palestine problem was,

...about the most difficult task that could have confronted the youthful United Nations. In facing the challenge squarely, the General Assembly bolstered its prestige and gave us some assurance that an effective court of world opinion is in the making.

The task of implementing the partition resolution in the face of "Arab intransigence" was, furthermore, one "on which that body's authority will rise or fall," Whatever justice there might be in the Arab cause and its objection to Arabs being absorbed in an artificially created state, were lost when the Arabs tried to impose their own brand of nationalism in lieu of that of the Zionists. The editorial went on to say that the UN had provided for the protection of Christian shrines and rights in Palestine. "Christians, who felt themselves left on the outside in a controversy concerning the land sanctified by Christ, can rejoice at this aspect of the UN resolution." However, it noted the absence of provisions for an international military force, "which apparently will be necessary," to implement the resolution. "If this obstacle can be surmounted, there seems no reason why partition will not solve the disturbing problem."<sup>192</sup>

In spite of the above optimism of America, L'Osservatore Romano remained silent on the partition resolution and continued with its "wait and see" attitude. While the newspaper was acutely aware of the possible historic importance of the UN, it could ignore the fact that the Vatican was still dominated by Italians and that the Italian "factor" was still crucial for the Vatican foreign policy.

#### The Italian component in the Palestine Question

The Italian component of Vatican foreign policy has traditionally been substantial, and on the eve of the partition of Palestine, the "reconstruction" of Italy, in all its aspects, weighed heavily on Pius XII and L'Osservatore Romano.<sup>193</sup> Not only was the papal government (the Curia) predominantly Italian, but Pius XII firmly believed that he should have a major voice in governing that predominantly Catholic country. Peter Nichols,

192. America, December 13, 1947, p.286; see also Politique Etrangère, February 1946, "Le Destin des Chrétiens d'Orient," Pierre Rondot, pp.41-60.

193. See for example, MINERBI, L'Italie et la Palestine, 1914-1920, for a detailed analysis of the complex relationship between the Vatican and Italian foreign policies in the Middle East and Palestine in particular.

in The Politics of the Vatican, argues that three factors were responsible for the post-war involvement of the Vatican in Italian politics as well as Italian involvement in Vatican politics; first, the geo-historical position of the Holy See in Rome; second, the nature of the Church-State relationship established by the Lateran Pact; and third, the emergence after 1945 of the powerful Christian Democratic Party. Each of these factors crystallised around a particular problem that the Vatican was forced to confront; 1) the growing Communist influence in Italy, 2) Vatican demands that the Lateran Pact signed with the Fascist regime be included in the Post-War Italian Constitution and 3) the relationship between the Christian Democratic Party, its secretary Alcide De Gasperi and the Catholic hierarchy.

Pius adopted strong positions on each of these three issues, which were to have ramifications on his preoccupation with Italian politics and international affairs. Furthermore, as will be seen, his vision of post-war Italy was to suffer the same fate as his vision of post-war Europe and the Mediterranean basin. However, in the early 1940s, these visions did not appear so utopian and the apparatus of the Vatican government labored to make them a reality.

Without descending into the morass of local, regional and national Italian politics, it must be noted that during the crucial years of 1945-1947, certain of Pius's key aims were defeated, as much by internal contradictions as by external developments. On the other hand, other goals were achieved but at a very great cost. What is often referred to as the "utopia pacelliana"<sup>194</sup> attempted to create as its vehicle both in Italy and elsewhere, a variety of "Catholic initiatives," both lay and clerical emanating from Catholic circles as opposed to a single Catholic political party, with one ideology, in support of one particular program of action. In France, for example, such Catholic initiatives ranged from the Catholic Left, MRP, the Worker Priest Movement to the conservative Catholic Action Movement. In Italy the same variety of initiatives sought to create centers of Catholic influence within all political tendencies. from Marxist to royalist. One of the most interesting was the Italian Communist-Christian Party founded in 1942 by Adriano Ossicini, Franco Rodano, Pietro Ingrao and Licio Lombardo Radice. Pius himself had welcomed this party as an expression of the "creative element within the Church."<sup>195</sup>

De Gasperi, secretary of the Christian Democrats, and in 1945 Prime Minister of Italy, opposed such splintering of Catholic influence across the spectrum of political tendencies, and envisaged a strong, centrally organized and ideologically

194. MAGISTER, La Politica vaticana e l'Italia, pp.77-108.

195. Ibid., pp.12-13, see also CASULA, C.F., Cattolici - Comunisti e sinistra cristiana (1938-1945).

unified Catholic party firmly under his control. Such a party would not only leave the Pope and Italian hierarchy no choice but to support him as the sole representative of Catholic power in Italy, but would enable De Gasperi to suppress any other Catholic parties. This would centralize Catholic efforts to confront the growing power of the Communists in one organization, with one ideology and one strong leader. Throughout 1943 to 1946, Pius and De Gasperi attempted to frustrate each other's moves though they strove to achieve such common objectives as the writing of a new post-Fascist constitution, the inclusion of the Lateran Pact in it, the signing of a peace treaty with the allies and the limiting of Communist growth by a powerful Catholic movement (or movements). Likewise, both Pius and De Gasperi insisted that the Communist Party remain in the governing coalition until the final decisions on the Lateran Pact, peace treaties and new constitution were finalized to avoid any future questions concerning their legitimacy. Thus, a facade of unity brought together not only De Gasperi and Pius, but united Catholics and Communists into a coalition with the aim of reestablishing Italy as a major actor in the post-war world.

As a result, until 1947, Vatican foreign policy was determined by the need to maintain working, if not cordial relations with the Communists in Italy, as well as inter-Catholic harmony, if not unity. This manifested itself in a Vatican hesitation to criticize the Catholic left, both in Italy and France, hesitation to adopt firm positions on explosive issues such as Palestine or Jerusalem, unwillingness to give in to growing American and European demands for a new denunciation of Communism and the USSR, and reluctance to discipline some of the more radical theological tendencies within the Church. At the same time Pius attempted to hinder the centralizing goals of De Gasperi through papal sponsorship of an independent Catholic Labor Union (ACLI); a Catholic farmer movement, the Coldiretti; local Catholic 'civic committees' and pressure on the non-political Catholic Action to play an increased role in politics. Pius intentionally avoided referring to the Christian Democrats as the Catholic party in Italy, and on the eve of major elections traditionally called on Italians to vote for "those candidates and those lists (plural) of candidates" which guaranteed spiritual values, the family, society and Christian morality.<sup>196</sup>

This vision of a "utopia pacelliana" necessitated not only adroit political manipulation but also the reconciliation of major internal contradictions, both in foreign affairs and internal Italian affairs. On one hand, the Italian Communists were necessary allies who even included the Communist-Christians among their numbers. On the other hand, in Eastern Europe, the

196. Ibid., p.106.

USSR and China, the Communists were violently anti-Catholic and considered the Catholic Church as one of their most dangerous enemies. This inherent contradiction within Catholic foreign policy was to paralyze the Church until 1947 when De Gasperi took the initiative of expelling the Communists from the ruling coalition on May 31 of that year.

By 1947, all of the major goals which had held De Gasperi, Pius and the Communists in a united front had been achieved. At the same time De Gasperi had been able to frustrate Pius' attempts to create rival Catholic political groups and even the non-political Catholic Action movement had been brought under the control of the Christian Democrats. De Gasperi emerged as the most powerful Catholic political leader in Italy and felt secure that the Christian Democrats could rebuild Italy and reclaim its international role without the aid of the Communists.

The expulsion of the Communists was criticised by both Pius and L'Osservatore Romano. Pius argued that though he personally was anti-Communist, he did not believe that their power and growth would be checked through direct confrontation. Nevertheless, De Gasperi continued to rule the Christian Democrats with an iron hand and won a landslide victory in the elections of March 1948. He skillfully maintained his independence vis-à-vis the Vatican, while leaving the Church no choice but to support the only Catholic party in Italy. Furthermore, De Gasperi launched Italian Catholics on a course of "confrontation" with the Church's principle enemy, the Communists, which was to profoundly weaken the Pius' strategy of cooperation. As will be seen, the emergence of a strong anti-Communist position in the Italian Church, was paralleled by similar movements in the American and French Churches.<sup>197</sup>

In sum, it can be argued that on the eve of partition, Pius' dreams of a post-war order in Italy, Europe and the world were in total disarray. Just as De Gasperi had been able to manipulate Pius and the other claimants to Catholic power in Italy, so factions in France, the United States and elsewhere were encouraged to put forward their own visions of what the Church is and should be about in the world. Thus, in France, the Catholic left and right, and such groups as the Judeo-Christians, Notre Dame de Sion and others sought to rally Catholic opinion in support of their agendas. Likewise, in the United States, Cardinal Spellman attempted to halt what he perceived as the rapid decline of the Church in the world, and lack of effective Vatican direction with his own view of an American Catholic protectorate.

197. see MAGISTER, op.cit., pp.77-108, and KOGAN, Norman, A Political History of Italy, the Postwar years.

## 5. Conclusion

On the eve of the adoption of the UN Resolution to partition Palestine, the Catholic press reflected the diverse and contradictory efforts of a complex world institution to come to terms with a world that had been irrevocably altered by the Second World War. The Palestine problem, as a result, was one of the many problems that faced world policy makers, the newly-established UN and Catholic leaders. This problem was by no means new and had in fact been a permanent world trouble spot because of the presence of numerous religious communities; countless Holy Places, religious institutions and educational establishments; and conflicting political claims to the area by governments and representatives of Jewish, Christian and Islamic groups. Consequently, the Catholic press became the sounding board for a variety of Catholic opinion-makers who expressed their perceptions of the Palestine problem.

In spite of the complexity of the Palestine problem, the principal preoccupation of the official Catholic press was to ensure the survival of the Christian community there, irrespective of the political future of the area. Both in number of articles and intensity of concern, this element far overshadowed other issues such as the Holy Places, theological objections to Zionism or the question of Jerusalem.

In contrast to the "official" Catholic press, a wide spectrum of Catholic opinion perceived the Palestine question from the perspective of the recent holocaust, Nazi anti-Semitism and the Zionist demands for a secular state as a refuge for the survivors of the Nazi camps. This humanitarian response to the complex problem of Palestine enjoyed wide support in Europe and to a much less degree in the United States.

Each of the above perceptions of the Palestine question was likewise integrated into the national perspective of each Church, the American isolationist vs interventionist debate, the French left vs right struggle, and the Vatican efforts to chart a foreign policy independent of super-power domination.

The distribution of this plethora of opinions was largely determined by the accessibility of each opinion to the Catholic press in general. Each newspaper or periodical had a clearcut notion of its apostolate and generally integrated its reaction of the Palestine question into its larger perception of the Church and the world at large. As a result, the name of a certain opinion-maker was often identified with a particular publication. In the agitated post-war period, many new periodicals were established, or older ones given a new apostolate, to propagate a particular world or ecclesial vision.

The preceding chapter has presented an overview of the major Catholic periodicals and newspapers with special emphasis on the diverse positions adopted on Palestine, Zionism, the Jewish Question, the holocaust, the Holy Places, the Christian minority in Palestine, Jerusalem, and anti-Semitism. On the eve of Partition, it can be concluded, no single opinion predominated, with certain publications and individuals strongly supporting one position, with others remaining strangely silent. However, following the UN adoption of the Partition Resolution in November 1947, the subsequent Palestine War of 1948, the establishment of the State of Israel in May and the partition of Jerusalem by Israel and Jordan, both the context and content of the Catholic perception of the Palestine question was radically transformed, as will now be described.

## Chapter 4

### The Catholic Press and the War in Palestine

#### 1. Introduction

The UN adoption of the Partition Resolution, but its failure to agree on any measures to implement it, sent both the Arabs and Zionists preparing for war. The Arabs were determined to nullify the effects of the resolution through a rapid occupation of the areas to be included in the proposed Jewish State, while the Zionists prepared to defend their allotted territories against the expected Arab attack. The Arab-Zionist war resulted in the survival of the Zionist state, the occupation of the proposed Arab state by Jordan, and the partition of Jerusalem by Israel and Jordan. The military, political, territorial and demographic consequences of this war were closely followed by the Catholic press and eventually determined the perception and attitude of the Catholic world toward the State of Israel and, eventually, the Jerusalem problem itself.

The Catholic press reports and reactions to the Palestine War were diverse and reflected the particular world concerns, interests and internal state of each national Church, attitudes of Church leaders, and apostolate of each particular Catholic newspaper or periodical. As a result of the war, the long standing Catholic efforts to protect the Holy Places, Christian minority, religious establishments and institutions and acquired Catholic rights in the City of Jerusalem, were rendered even more difficult by the destruction caused by the war, the Arab refugee problem, UN efforts to implement the international status of Jerusalem, and the lengthy negotiations on Israeli admission to the UN.

It was precisely the events of the Palestine War of 1948 and the UN efforts to deal with it that shaped Catholic attitudes and reactions to the new State of Israel. The war itself can be divided into two phases;

Phase one, December 1947 to June 11 1948, was a civil war that pitted the Palestinian Jews against the Palestinian Arabs. The latter were defeated in May 1948, Jerusalem was occupied by Israel and Jordan, and the areas to be included in the UN proposed Jewish state were secured by the Jewish troops. The British forces were withdrawn during this phase and Ben Gurion declared the independence of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. On June 12 the Security Council called for a cease fire, which lasted from June 12 to July 11.

Phase two of the war began on July 9 and pitted the Israeli army against the invading armies of Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Egypt. During this phase the Arab armies were defeated, and the

Israeli troops occupied the Lydda-Ramla and Nazareth areas which were to be included in the UN proposed Arab state. The remainder of the Arab areas were occupied by Jordan. The final Israeli attempt to capture the Eastern sector of Jerusalem was launched on July 11, but failed. The Arab population of the Lydda-Ramla area were expelled by the Israeli troops but the 10,000 Christians and 6,000 Moslems of Nazareth were permitted to remain.<sup>1</sup>

Of the total 1947 population of Palestine of 1,900,000, only 150,800 were Christian, and of these only 58,700 were Catholic. The tragic feature of this Christian community was its overwhelming presence in the large cities of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Nazareth and the Lydda-Ramla area. These cities were bitterly fought over, changed hands several times, and by July 1948 had all been occupied by Israeli troops. The Christian and Moslem population had fled West Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa, had been expelled from the Lydda-Ramla area and remained in Nazareth. While the Christian population of Palestine was relatively small, even insignificant when viewed in comparison with the Jewish and Muslim population, the fate of this tiny minority was instrumental in determining Catholic attitudes towards the post-Palestine War peace settlement, the State of Israel and Jordan.

The exact population of all the areas and communities is difficult to ascertain for three reasons; first, the last official census of Palestine had been taken in 1931 and the impact of the Second World War, with the heavy emigration and immigration of Jews to and from Palestine is difficult to assess; second, most Palestinian Jews were foreign nationals, with foreign passports, and thus not Palestinian citizens; and third, during the Palestine War many Jerusalem residents fled to Tel Aviv, Amman and other safe areas.

At the outbreak of the war, the UNSCOP had estimated the

1. For a detailed account of the Palestine War, see, LORCH, Lt. Col. Nethanel, The Edge of the Sword, Israel's War of Independence, Jerusalem, Massada Press, 1961, 579pp. Many different Christian denominations were represented in Palestine. In 1947, the 150,800 Christians were divided according to the following denominations; 73,319 Orthodox, 31,176 Latin Rite Catholics, 20,864 Greek Melchites, 5,669 Maronites, and 1,006 Armenians. The Protestants included; 7,920 Anglicans, 280 Presbyterians, 576 Lutherans and 10,015 diverse, for a total of 18,782 (before the repatriation of British troops). The above totals are taken from Semaine Catholique de Toulouse, May 23, 1948, reprinted in Documentation Catholique, November 21, 1948. For further information on the Christian population see, "The Bridgeman Report", UN Document, Trusteeship Council T/457, p.33; General Assembly Document A/364/corr.1, September 15, 1947; and ISSA, Les Minorites Chretiennes de Palestine, with bibliography on pp.13-22.

population of the proposed Jerusalem enclave to consist of nearly 100,000 Jews, 33,000 Moslems and 31,000 Christians. The population of the city was further broken down into two categories; 1) those living outside the walls of the Old City; 95,000 Jews, 24,000 Christians and 23,000 Moslems, and 2) those within the historic Jewish, Moslem, Christian and Armenian quarters of the Old City; 4,000 Jews, 7,000 Christians and 10,000 Moslems. Historically, as the city grew, the Jewish and Christian population increasingly settled in the new suburbs located to the west of the Old City which included Katamon, the Greek and German colonies, Baka, Talpiot, Ramat Rahel, Mamila and the exclusively Christian village of Ein Karem. The Moslems, on the other hand, remained within the walls of the Old City.

During the Palestine War, Israel occupied "West" Jerusalem which included the majority of the Jewish and Christian suburbs, while the Jordanian occupied "East" Jerusalem included the Old City and the small Arab suburb outside the walls. The Christian population fled before the Israeli occupation and as a result became the Palestine Christian refugee problem that was to prove to be so unsettling for Catholics, and constituted one of the reasons for the Catholic demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

The most dramatic effect of the war was to be the emergence of the Catholic Church as the most powerful, richest and most vocal power in Christendom. As in by-gone ages, the Vatican had turned to Catholic kings and empires to defend it. As a result of the Palestine War, Rome was forced to turn to New York to find a new defender of the Church. However, as will be seen, this new defender was to prove as difficult as were Aix-la-Chapelle, Paris, Madrid and Vienna during the past.

## 2. The American Catholic Press and the Palestine War

The American Catholic press continued to evaluate and respond to events in Palestine based on the simple criterion of the effect of these events upon the Christian community there. Consequently, any damage to a Catholic institution or Holy Place, any displacement or suffering by a Catholic, or any difficulty encountered by a Catholic clergyman was immediately reported and appropriate blame was assigned. It was precisely the displacement of the bulk of the Christian population, damage to the Holy Places and the partition of Jerusalem which forced the Catholic press and hierarchy to demand the implementation of the 1947 UN Resolution calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem. As has already been seen, there had been little Catholic interest in the proposal while it was being debated by the members of the UNSCOP. However, as a result of the war, internationalization became the only acceptable option in the eyes of many Catholics.

In the United States, The Tablet of Brooklin, with its rather unique attention to world affairs, took the lead in presenting the day to day progress of the war to American Catholics. The very propoganda effect of such names as "The Holy Places," "The Holy Land," "Jerusalem," "Bethlehem," and "Nazareth" easily fit into the mission of the newspaper to mobilize the American Church in defense of Catholic interests and population around the world. Furthermore, the inability of the UN and the reluctance of the US government to assume a major role in the defense of these interests convinced the newspaper that only a Catholic outcry could preserve the Christian presence in the Holy Land.

Throughout the war, the CNEWA of Msgr. McMahon and the Franciscan Brother Bruya continued to supply The Tablet with a steady stream of articles and reports on the state of hostilities in Palestine and especially Jerusalem. As Msgr. McMahon had so well expressed in his article "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea," the very presence of Christians in Jerusalem, Palestine and the Middle East in general, was precarious and dependent on the goodwill of their Muslim masters. The modus vivendi that had evolved over the centuries had been an arrangement in which Catholic security was guaranteed in exchange for much needed hospitals, schools and institutions, plus the free inflow of pilgrim dollars. The outbreak of war in 1948 disrupted this delicate balance and threatened to pulverize the Christian minority, the Holy Places and the Christian institutions between two rival nationalisms.<sup>2</sup> Brother Bruya closely followed the evolution of the war under such headlines as, "Jerusalem Nuns Molested by Warring Terrorists," "Seizure of Holy Places Charged to the Israeli Army" and "Priests Protest Jewish Seizure."<sup>3</sup>

Already in June 1947, in a front page article entitled; "Sees Christians already ignored in the Holy Land," Bruya presaged another crusade "as in ages past" if Christian rights and interests in the Holy Land were ignored. He resorted to sensationalist, on-the-spot reports every time a Catholic institution or one of the Holy Places appeared to be threatened. He firmly believed that the pressure of public opinion and outrage was the only way of compelling the US government and the UN to protect the Christian presence. In the same article he predicted a full-scale war once British troops were withdrawn from Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

At Easter, when Catholic attention is traditionally focused on the ceremonies of Palm Sunday processions through

2. America, March 4, 1944, "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea," McMahon, pp.597-9.

3. See The Tablet, April 10, 1948; June 5, 1948 and June 12, 1948.

4. The Tablet, June 28, 1947, "Sees Christians Already ignored in the Holy Land," Bruya.

the Holy City, Holy Thursday celebrations in the Last Supper Room on Mount Zion, prayers in the Garden of Gethsemane, Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, any disruption or disturbance receives close attention in the Catholic press. Easter 1948 was no exception to this pattern.

The Tablet of London, for example, reported,

Seldom had Holy Week been celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in a greater setting of anger and fear than at this Easter 1948. The long reign of the Turk and the Saracen had extended for centuries, centuries of poverty and hard governments, but centuries of peace, when a Christian power became the political authority in Palestine for the first time since the days of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. ... If thirty years later the scene is what it is today, it is due to the violence of those Zionist Jews, disastrously misled by the false parallel of Sinn Fein, who tried to impose their will by terror on the Mandatory Power and the Arab population.<sup>5</sup>

Brother Paschal Kinsel OFM, another American Franciscan and former president of the Terra Santa College in Jerusalem, wrote a lengthy article entitled, "Holy Week in Jerusalem," which appeared in The Tablet of Brooklin. He reported that "so far no direct damage has been done to the Holy Places," and that the Easter ceremonies would take place as usual. "The Christian faithful and the Franciscans have contended with many difficulties in the past centuries; they will surely be able to weather the present storm, which may prove to be one of the worst for many centuries."<sup>6</sup> He concluded that, "over a thousand persons have been killed since November 29 when the 'Partition Plan' was passed by the UN and it is believed that conditions will get worse."

The Easter Season 1948 corresponded with the battle for Jerusalem which reached its peak in the months of April, May and June of that year. It is not surprising that during these months the Catholic press and organizations directed their attention to the physical damage to the Holy Places of Jerusalem.

#### The Holy Places of Jerusalem during the Palestine War

By Easter, the fate of the Palestinian Christians was precarious. The Jordanian sector of Jerusalem had been

5. The Tablet of London, March 27, 1948, "Jerusalem: Easter 1948."

6. The Tablet of Brooklyn, March 20, 1948, "Holy Week in Jerusalem."

swelled by Arab refugees from West Jerusalem, Jaffa and the other coastal areas. For the moment, very few Christians remained under Israeli rule, since Nazareth was still Arab. Likewise, the majority of the Holy Places in both Jerusalem and Nazareth, plus the bulk of Christians were behind Arab lines. Thus, Bruya and other Christian observers tended to view the Israeli attacks and shellings from an Arab perspective. In a report dated May 27, Brother Bruya wrote that "the largest part of the shells falling on the Holy Sepulchre and on churches, convents and Christian institutions are of Jewish origin." He continued, "to declare the truth and an objective fact we add; the Arabs have stated they respected the Holy Places, the convents and the Red Cross institutions. In fact, they have respected them up to the present time."

Shortly later he wrote that numerous Catholic protests against the Jewish attacks had been sent to the UN Truce Supervisory Committee, the International Red Cross, and the French, Belgian and American Consuls in Jerusalem. Complaints were also addressed to the Vatican Secretary of State, which stated that "from May 8 the City of Jerusalem enjoyed the benefits of a truce until Friday, May 14, when the Jews, with no forewarning or any justifiable reason, broke the Truce and again started to attack the Holy City."<sup>7</sup>

By June, The American Catholic press began to go beyond the general criticism of the inevitable effects of war and began to suspect that the Jews actually sought to expand well beyond the parts of Palestine assigned them in the Partition Resolution and even "coveted" Church property in both Jerusalem and the Galilee as well. The origin of these accusations can be traced to an article which appeared in The Tablet of London on May 15, 1948 and was later reprinted in The Tablet of Brooklyn on June 5, The New World on June 18, and The Register on June 13.<sup>8</sup> The

7. See, The Tablet, June 12, 1948, "Priests Protest Jewish Seizure in Holy Places," Bruya, pp.1 and 20, and The Register, June 13, 1948. The Holy Places have been the object of many studies, including the recent works; SAYEGH, Sélim, Le Status Quo Des Lieux Saints, Nature Juridique et Portée Internationale, LE MORZELLEC, Joëlle, La Question De Jérusalem Devant l'Organisation Des Nations-Unies, and many others listed in the bibliographies of these works. However, in contrast to the legal aspects of the "Status Quo" which the above works discuss, this study is concerned with the larger theological and political contexts of the "Jerusalem question" and establishment of the state of Israel.

8. The Tablet of Brooklyn, June 5, 1948, reprinted from The Tablet of London, May 15, 1948, "The Church in North Galilee." In Britain, as well as the USA and France, the occupation of Nazareth was interpreted as an anti-Christian act because of its almost exclusive Christian population and absence of any Jewish population of Holy Places. In France Louis Massignon was bitterly outraged by this act.

Arabs, the article argued, have traditionally sought the good will of Christians "because of the benefits that have accrued to their own communities from the employment and tourist trade which they provide." This has tempered "the old virus of anti-Christian feelings (which) is strong in the Mohammedan world."

However, "the Jews seem to have no such policy," the article continued. Consequently, while both Jews and Arabs, "covet" the Christian possessions, "the Jews make little perceptible effort to gain goodwill." Brother Bruya likewise expressed his alarm in The Tablet on the same day in an article entitled, "Seizure of Holy Places Charged to Israeli Army." Bruya charged that ten religious and humanitarian institutions were being used as military bases by the Israeli forces, and fourteen others had been destroyed or damaged. The article continued that the Israeli delegation at the UN had declared the occupation to be a "matter of absolute necessity (to) prevent the Arab military forces from taking them."

Bruya sharply criticised the Israeli forces, whereas the Arab forces received praise for their conduct.

The Arabs, volunteers and of the regular army, have promised to respect the Holy Places, convents, churches and institutions of the Red Cross, and they have kept their word up to the present. If they have occupied a certain convent, it was only to defend the Holy City against Jewish attackers who tried to penetrate and spread death and confusion.

If the Arabs shelled Notre Dame de France and the Convent of the Reparatrice Sisters - which the Jews have themselves destroyed and burned - it was to return fire against their foe who, from these buildings fired on them... The Jews turned these convents and hospitals, as well as their synagogues and Hebrew University into military bases from where they attacked the Holy City for the purpose of occupying it and with the announced purpose to plunder it as they had done in Haifa, Tiberias and Jaffa.<sup>9</sup>

9. The Tablet, June 12, 1948. Bruya employed the term, "Holy Place" to include any and all religious establishments, institutions, churches, chapels, schools, cemeteries, offices and hospitals in Palestine. Strictly speaking, however, a Holy Place was legally defined according to the "Status Quo", that body of legal agreements signed between the Christian Religious leaders in Palestine, the Arab and Turkish governments of Palestine, and the various European states and subsequently recognized by the Treaty of Berlin. The Holy Places referred to in this "Status Quo" were limited to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tomb of Mary, the Basilica of the Ascension and the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem. See, SAYEGH, Sélim, Le Status Quo des Lieux-Saints, with basic documents relating to the "Status Quo" on pp.217-261.

The fate of the Jewish Holy Places of the Old City was also reported by Bruya in several articles.

The narrow, winding streets of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City are practically obliterated as that part of Old Jerusalem lies wiped out, burned, and deserted of all human life, with the stench of death noticeable here and there. One did not like to see its three Synagogues destroyed in the course of the fighting; they were neither ancient nor beautiful, but they were houses of prayer, sacred to the devout section of Jewry which inhabited that quarter of the city.<sup>10</sup>

On July 24, Bruya reported on a "savage 20-hour artillery exchange" during which some 300 three-inch shells had fallen in the Christian quarter of the old City. The Holy Sepulchre Basilica had been hit by one shell plus damaged by 12 others. Likewise, he reported, three priests had been killed. The Dormition Abbey, Last Supper Room and the Apostolic Delegation on Mount Zion had been heavily damaged by Arab shelling of Jewish positions there, and the Mosques of Omar and El Aksa had also suffered from direct hits.

There is no question that during the Palestine War, the fate of the Holy Places preoccupied Catholics, to the exclusion of such concerns as the Christian population. Brother Bruya and other Catholics closely followed the various measures proposed by the UN and other parties to halt hostilities in and around Jerusalem. The forementioned article of July 24 discussed the merits of a recent Israeli proposal which proposed "merely the area known as the Old City for inclusion in an international zone." He continued, "while it is true that the Holy Places of Jerusalem are almost without exception located within the Old City (then under Jordanian control), it is pointed out here again that numerous Christian institutions, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant alike, are situated within a half-mile perimeter surrounding the Old City (mostly under Israeli control)."

Failure to widen the proposed Jerusalem zone sufficiently to embrace this outer area would result in the exclusion of some 45 religious and educational institutions from the protection afforded by an international regime under UN auspices. Many of these institutions have already suffered severe damage in the fighting raging in and around Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup>

In the same article Bruya likewise described other proposals, such as a recent US Department of State statement and a UN suggestion for the inclusion of Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Nazareth into an international zone, However, while Bruya began

10. The Tablet, July 10, 1948, "Desolation of Jerusalem Surveyed During Truce" Bruya.

11. Ibid., see also, The Tablet, October 16, 1948, p.2.

to seriously consider the UN proposal to establish an international zone for the city of Jerusalem, this was not the only option seriously considered by The Tablet of Brooklyn. In a widely reprinted letter written by the British Catholic prelate, Cardinal Bernard Griffin of Westminster, the spiritual head of English Catholics, to Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, another solution to the war in Jerusalem was proposed. The cardinal wrote;

I am writing to you on a subject that is of supreme importance to all Christian people; the safety of the Holy Places in Palestine. I refer particularly to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. ...The calamitous effect on Christianity should either of these places be destroyed needs no emphasis.<sup>12</sup>

Since the UN was in his opinion "powerless to act," the cardinal proposed the mobilization of a force "composed of earnest Christians of any denomination" solely to protect the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and not to enforce any decision of the Security Council. He suggested that the force be paid a low rate so that "the incentive of joining shall not be money but religious fervour."

Other expressions of international concern for the Holy Places and institutions were also published by The Tablet. On June 5 a statement by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was reprinted on behalf of the Christian Union of Palestine. It was signed by the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Coptic and Syrian patriarchates, the Franciscan Custos, and the Greek and Armenian Catholic (Uniate) vicarates. According to the statement, since "the Jews began the attack" some ten religious or humanitarian institutions had been occupied by Israeli troops for use as bases, and 14 others had been damaged or destroyed.<sup>13</sup> Those occupied were the Convent of Notre Dame de France, The Redemptorist Sisters Convent, the French Hospital, the Monastery of the German Benedictines on Mount Sion, the Convent of the Holy Trinity (Greek Orthodox) and the Convent of St. George (Greek Orthodox). Institutions that had been damaged were; the Seminary of St. Anne, the Franciscan Monastery, the Latin Patriarchate, the Orthodox Armenian Convent, the Convent of Notre Dame and others.

12. The Tablet of Brooklyn, April 24, 1948, p.9, see also, The Month of London, June 1948, and The Tablet of London, April 3, 1948, p.202. Cardinal Griffin, who became Archbishop of Westminster in 1943 and Cardinal in 1946, was widely traveled and aggressively defended the Catholics of the British Empire both in London and Rome. See, DE LA BEDOYERE, M. Cardinal Bernard Griffin, London, 1955.

13. The Tablet, June 5, 1948, pp.1-20.

This statement was printed together with a rebuttal by the Israeli Government, which alleged that the statement attempted to "distort" the true situation in Jerusalem. It argued that, "It is regrettable that such attempts to stir up hostility against the Jewish cause should be made by a partisan political group (the Christian Union) sheltering behind the cloak of religious sentiment." The occupation of some Church institutions was defended as "a matter of absolute necessity to prevent the Arab military forces from taking them."<sup>14</sup>

The CNEWA, likewise expressed its alarm when its president, Cardinal Spellman requested the UN to inquire into "reported maltreatment of Catholics by Jews in the Holy Land and desecration of Catholic shrines and holy places."<sup>15</sup> The CNEWA letter was addressed to Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the UN, and gave documented evidence of the lootings and seizures in the Galilee and Jerusalem areas. Shortly later, The Tablet reported that the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs, Rabbi Fishman, had ordered "an immediate investigation into complaints that Jews have maltreated Catholics ... and has pledged if the complaints are verified, the men responsible will be punished." Rabbi Fishman continued;

If any sacred sites are now occupied due to vital military exigency they will be evacuated at the first opportunity. The suggestion that 'irresponsible elements' have been deliberately appointed for the purpose of defacing or destroying holy places is a fantastic slander typical of present-day anti-Israel propaganda.<sup>16</sup>

Although the problem of the Christian Holy Places and institutions continued to trouble Catholic - Israeli relations, by the end of Summer 1948, a distinct improvement can be detected. On October 30, Brother Bruya reported that a recent study undertaken by the American Franciscans in Jerusalem had noted that the Jewish Agency had responded to Catholic alarm and appointed Dr. J. Praver as liaison officer for the churches. Dr. Praver had visited "various convents and inquired about minor needs" and left only after a sign had been placed at the main entrance identifying the place as a holy place. Bruya noted this concern with satisfaction although the Israeli occupied insitutions still disturbed him.

Another indication of the improved state of Catholic - Israeli relations was the well publicised celebration of a High Mass by Msgr. Gustavo Testa, Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem in the Last Supper Room (Cenacle), on Mount Zion which was then under Israeli control. The room, which had been included in a

14. Ibid.

15. The Tablet, August 28, 1948.

16. The Tablet, September 4, 1948.

Mosque following the Arab conquest in the eighth century, had only briefly passed to Christian control during the Crusades. Brother Bruya praised the Israeli authorities for allowing the first mass to be said there since 1552. He wrote that, "The Jews were permitting what Moslems had so long forbidden."<sup>17</sup> Bruya's article appeared in The Tablet, The Register and later in The New World of Chicago.

Later, Rev. Terence Kuehn, the American Franciscan prior of the Terra Sancta College in Jerusalem, was cited as saying that "the preservation of the Holy Places had been guaranteed by the Israeli Government which had also promised to support pilgrimages to the shrines." Rev. Kuehn, after a tour of Catholic institutions and monasteries in Israel, also "praised the cooperation and understanding shown the Catholic community by the civil authorities." He found the Israeli Army Command, on the other hand, less cooperative, but in general he described the situation of the Holy Places as satisfactory.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA reported to the Secretary General of the UN, Trygve Lie, that the CNEWA request of August 20, calling for an inquiry into criminal acts against Christian Holy Places had produced satisfactory results.

The undersigned is happy to report that he personally, after an extended journey in the area, can testify to the genuine desire of the government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries.<sup>19</sup>

Not only The Tablet, but also The Register chain reported on the satisfactory state of the Holy Places in Israel. The latter welcomed the "stern measures (that) were being taken to stamp out hoodlums and vandals" and noted statements by the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs that the activities of such "lawless elements" should not be considered "an indication of the policy of the State of Israel."<sup>20</sup> Shortly later, the newspaper printed an article entitled, "Hebrew, Jew, Israeli - A Wonderful Story," by Msgr. Matthew Smith, founder of The Register, which described the rebirth of the Jewish State in glowing terms and wished it well.<sup>21</sup>

However, not all Catholics agreed that the problem of the Holy Places had been adequately resolved or that the solution of this problem could be generalized into a statement of

17. The Register, September 26, 1948, see also, The Tablet, November 10 and 20, 1948.

18. The Tablet, March 19, 1949.

19. The Tablet, January 8, 1949, p.7.

20. The Register, January 23, 1949.

21. The Register, April 10, 1949, "Hebrew, Jew, Israeli - A Wonderful Story," Msgr. Matthew Smith.

satisfactory Catholic - Israeli relations. On November 11, 1948, the New York Herald Tribune published an article by one Ruth Gruber, presenting an idyllic picture of Nazareth under Israeli rule, with the large Christian population and shrines left unmolested. She wrote that, "the prevalence of religious peace and order can be only a source of deepest satisfaction."<sup>22</sup> Her article was later summarized by The Tablet on November 20, 1948. In reference to this article, Msgr. Howard J. Carroll, General Secretary of the national Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), admitted that the situation in Nazareth was acceptable but thought that it would be "deplorable if this picture were to be regarded as typical of conditions in the Holy Land" as a whole. Msgr. Carroll cited the testimony of Msgr. Hughes and other prelates, and also referred to a statement by two American Franciscans, according to whom the Israelis intend to gradually eliminate all Christian institutions in Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup>

Msgr. Carroll's suspicions concerning the ultimate intentions of the Israeli authorities were widespread in the American Catholic community. The Register, for example, wrote that even if the present state of the institutions was satisfactory, they would ultimately remain "at the mercy of those who have so heartlessly and mercilessly profaned Christian Churches in Jerusalem and elsewhere during recent months."<sup>24</sup>

While many Catholics were satisfied that the Holy Places were being adequately protected by the Israeli government, there is no doubt that strong suspicions continued to trouble Catholics concerning the intentions of the Israelis towards the Church. Even if the Holy Places seemed to have been removed from immediate danger, another problem continued to trouble Catholics. This problem was that of the Christian refugees.

#### The Christian Refugee Problem

Once the immediate physical damage to the Holy Places had been alleviated by Israeli government intervention, American Catholic concern turned to the other remaining consequence of the war, the Christian refugee problem. This problem was dramatically brought to Catholic attention by a statement by one of the highest ranking prelates in the Near East, Msgr. Arthur Hughes, Papal Internuncio to Egypt, who argued that the sad plight of the 100,000 Christians of Palestine was the direct result of deliberate Israeli efforts to decimate the Arabs and

22. Herald Tribune, New York City, November 11, 1948, Ruth Gruber, summarized in, The Tablet, November 20, 1948.

23. The Tablet, November 20, 1948, p.6, see also, The Register, November 21, 1948.

24. The Register, December 12, 1948, p.2.

destroy Christianity in Palestine. In a widely reprinted article, Hughes insisted that the Israelis were desecrating Christian churches and displaying "particular" hatred of all things Christian. Jerusalem was a prime target in this hate campaign in view of the city's sanctity to Christians. He wrote that he was "appalled by the callousness with which the public accepts the intention to expose to death and hardships" the Arab refugees "in order to make room for 600,000 Jews." He continued;

Twenty per cent of the Arab refugees are Christians and the refugee problem has meant the abandonment of Catholic regions where, as in Haifa, Catholic churches have been desecrated by Jews, crucifixes and statues of Our Lady have been shamefully defaced.

The prolongation of the refugee problem and the preventing of their return home is a deliberate Jewish effort to decimate the Arabs and destroy Christianity in Palestine.<sup>25</sup>

The American Catholic press began to comment on the plight of the Christian refugees immediately following the outbreak of hostilities in Palestine. Already made sensitive to the problem of refugees by the European DP problem and the insistence by the CNEWA and other Catholic organizations that whatever solution is found to the Palestine problem, it must guarantee the continued existence of the Christian minority, the Catholic press was irate at the sight of 100,000 Christian refugees in Palestine. The Tablet of Brooklyn reported that many Christian families were seeking refuge in monasteries and convents, and that others were leaving the country hoping to find more security in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus and Egypt.<sup>26</sup> "The Partition plan has split Palestine into a thousand pieces and terror and bloodshed are the order of the day." Bruya wrote an article entitled, "Refugees Crowd Holy Land Towns; Jerusalem's Old City Shrines are used for Shelters,"<sup>27</sup> which stated that, "The Holy Land warfare has created a refugee and displaced persons problem in the Middle East..." Bruya estimated that twenty-five thousand to five hundred thousand persons had fled before the Israeli advance, forth to fifty thousand of them Christians, including fifteen to twenty thousand Catholics. The entire Christian population of the Jerusalem suburb of Ain-Karem were now refugees within the walls of the Old City.

25. The Tablet, November 20, 1948; The Register, November 21, 1948 and The Catholic News of New York, November 20, 1948.

26. The Tablet, March 13, 1948, pp.1 and 2.

27. The Tablet, August 21, 1948, p.6, dated August 18, 1948, "Refugees Crowd Holy Land Towns," Brother Bruya, see also, ISSA, Les Minorites Chrétiennes de Palestine, pp.237-307.

The fate of this numerically small Christian community of Palestine preoccupied Catholic opinion for a variety of reasons. It was not only viewed as the oldest Christian community in the world, and in a sense the 'guardian' of the Holy Places, but, like the Catholic minority anywhere, it had become the major criteria used by Catholics for evaluating a regime in place. In fact, Catholics had judged every world situation according to its possible impact on the Catholic community there. As has already been seen, the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the establishment of Marxist regimes in Eastern Europe and the independence of the African, Asian and Middle Eastern colonies and mandates, were likewise evaluated from such a "Catholic" perspective.<sup>28</sup>

The flight and expulsion of the Palestinian Christians confirmed the Catholic fear that Zionist immigration, and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, could only be accomplished at the expense of the Arab inhabitants of the area. In contrast to the earlier conquests of Palestine by the Romans, Crusaders, Arabs, Turks and British which had merely imposed a new ruling class on the inhabitants, the Zionist conquest seemed to threaten the very survival of a Christian community there. For American Catholics, the European refugee problem had already strained Catholic-Jewish relations and convinced them that the American administration and world opinion was unconcerned about the fate of Christian refugees, while the Jewish refugee problem was being given priority treatment.<sup>29</sup>

By the end of 1948, the American Catholic press had become deeply engaged in a press polemic with the American Jewish community on the European refugee issue. This polemic was to convince Catholics that Jews, in both Israel and the United States, were hostile to Catholics. In mid-November 1948, a certain David Nussbaumer wrote an article for The New York Post that accused the non-Jewish DPs of being in fact pro-Nazi collaborators. He argued that the Jews alone could be considered as "genuine displaced persons and victims of concentration camps, slave labor, ghettos and pogroms."<sup>30</sup> This article which was reprinted in The Tablet, The Register and The New World, convinced Catholics of the "deeprooted insensitivity" of

28. On the India-Pakistan situation see in particular, The Register, July 13, 1947, p.13, "Bright Prospects Seen for Church in Divided India;" August 17, 1947, p.3, and May 23, 1948, p.2, "Jacobite Sect of India said to toy with Moscow union." See also a survey of Catholic opinion on the question in Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Dublin, Ireland, November 1948, pp.97-116 and 289-299.

29. See in particular, The Register, May 18, 1947; May 25, 1947 and July 13, 1947.

30. The New York Post, November 19, 1948, reported in The Register, November 21, 1948; The New World of Chicago, December 17, 1948, p.14; and The Tablet, November 20, 1948.

Jews to the Christian DPs. The Tablet continued to arouse Catholics to come to the aid of the DPs with such headlines as, "Again Pleads the Cause of Displaced Christians; Potsdam Victims, Numbering Millions, Ignored by World Press and Opinion; Aid of US Public Sought."<sup>31</sup>

Increasing Jewish - Catholic hostility over the European refugee issue prompted the National Catholic Resettlement Council to issue a statement condemning the attempts being made in "some quarters" to inject racial considerations into what should be purely humanitarian issues.<sup>32</sup> "Hostile press reports" the statement argued, seriously compromised Catholic efforts to convince the government and people of the US that the 12 million Christian refugees were entitled to aid as much as the Jewish refugees. The Council insisted that refugees anywhere, irrespective of religion or race, held the universal right to return to their homes. However, if they feared persecution in their homelands, the Western powers should pressure the various governments concerned, or if this should fail, they should open their doors to these refugees.<sup>33</sup>

By the end of 1948, The Tablet and many Catholic organizations had become highly critical of the Jewish insensitivity to the Catholic DP problem in Europe, and went on to suspect that this insensitivity extended to the newly created Palestinian Christian refugee problem as well. Msgr. Hughes clearly suspected that the Israelis had no intention of permitting the Christians to return to their homes in Jaffa, Haifa, West Jerusalem, and other places within the Israeli area of control. Likewise, Brother Bruya, continued to write articles describing the sorry state of the Christian minority in Palestine.

What was perceived and presented by the Catholic press in the USA as a rapid deterioration of the situation in Palestine, prompted Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA to undertake an on-the-spot investigation of the situation in what was by then Israel, Jordan and occupied Jerusalem. It is highly probable that this trip had higher Roman prompting in light of the recent meeting of world Catholic refugee organizations in Freiburg, Switzerland in which Msgr. McMahon had participated. From November 24 to 25, the Pontifical Emigration Commission, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Pax Romana and Caritas

31. The Tablet, October 9, 1948, p.2.

32. The Tablet, October 4, 1948, "Condemns Racist Division of DPs Now Coming Here."

33. This NCRC statement was issued just following a meeting in Freiburg, Switzerland on November 24-25 of major Catholic refugee organizations, including the Pontifical Emigration Commission, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Pax Romana and Caritas. Consequently, the statement can be assumed to represent a wide range of Catholic organizations. See, L'Osservatore Romano, December 8, 1948, p.3.

discussed the pressing problem of Catholic refugees. During his trip, he met with Catholic, Israeli and Arab leaders and visited the refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon.

The Tablet closely followed his trip. On January 8, 1949 an article entitled, "Holy Land Relief Problem Studied: Msgr. McMahon Plans to Have Rations to Needy Doubled," was published.<sup>34</sup> During the trip his reflections and observations on the situation in Haifa, the Galilee, Judea and Jerusalem were reported, as were his meetings with the major Catholic prelates there. He was quoted as saying;

I am confident that all Catholics back home will continue their generosity, realizing that every penny is carefully distributed without expense through Priests, Brothers and Sisters to the poor themselves. They will know they are keeping Christ in His homeland through their mission of mercy.<sup>35</sup>

In order to accomplish this objective of "keeping Christ in His homeland," he proposed that American Catholics "adopt Holy Land victims" even whole towns as the Belgians had recently proposed for Nazareth.

The conclusions drawn by McMahon were presented in an elaborate and lengthy memorandum to the Secretary General of the UN, Trygve Lie, dated March 21, 1949, which was printed in The Tablet on March 26.<sup>36</sup> After stating briefly that he found the Holy Places in a "satisfactory state" and describing the Israeli attitude toward them as "proper," McMahon went on to discuss the urgency of settling the refugee problem. He stated that "concern had been generated through Israeli recommendations on the status of the refugees."

While it is true that after the fixing of the boundaries, some of the refugees will return to homes in Arab territory, we cannot submit to the solution proposed publicly by certain Israeli officials, namely that they be not permitted to return to their ancestral homes in Israel and that they be forced to take up their permanent abode in some Arab country outside Israeli territory.<sup>37</sup>

McMahon defended the rights of the Arab Christians to return to their homes in Israel as a "humanitarian" concern, "involving the legitimate rights of thousands of human beings."

34. The Tablet, January 8, 1949, "Holy Land Relief Problems Studied," p.7.

35. The Tablet, January 8, 1949, see also January 29, 1949, pp.2 and 12; March 19, 1949, McMahon, pp.1 and 20.

36. The Tablet, March 26, 1949, pp.1 and 20.

37. The Tablet, March 26, 1949, pp.1 and 20.

These people wish to return to their homes. Who shall have the right to say that they cannot or may not?

He called upon the UN Conciliation Commission (PCC) then in session, to be motivated by "considerations of elementary justice" in the matter.

A few days later McMahan elaborated on the memorandum at the annual Conference on Eastern Rites and Liturgies, sponsored by Fordham University. The theme of the 1949 Conference was "Rites and Rights in the Homeland of Our Savior." Other speakers were Rev. Thomas Plassman, the Franciscan president of St. Bonaventure's Seminary who spoke on the 700-year old role of the Franciscan Order as custodians of the Holy Land, and Msgr. James H. Griffith, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate, who spoke on the recent developments in Palestine. Other participants included, Cardinal Spellman, numerous authorities on the Eastern Churches and Rev. Lawrence J. McGinley SJ, president of Fordham, who read a letter from Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church in Rome.

McMahan, in his address, repeated the humanitarian nature of the refugee problem in Palestine and his conviction that the "men of the Israeli Government, chosen to treat with our religious institutions, gentlemen of deep religious formation, highest character and sincere understanding" had learned by now,

...the falsity of a statement made on page 533 of a book called "Palestine," published by the ESCO Foundation, to the effect that "Christianity is not an indigenous force in Palestine, although it is based on the Life and Teachings of Jesus. As an organized religion it is the creation of Rome and always represented in the East the introduction of a foreign civilization..." There may be, again, more of God's Providence in the fact that the new State of Israel calling its children from the four corners of the world finds unshaken in the Land of Christ His Church and His ministers.<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to the satisfactory resolution of the problem of the Holy Places, the fate of the Christian refugees seemed to promise no such solution. The major conclusion drawn by McMahan from his trip to the Holy Land and surrounding areas was that Israel, in fact, had no intention of permitting them to return to their homes, then under Israeli control. Therefore, only through placing the Jerusalem area under international control, as envisaged by the 1947 Partition Resolution, could the Christian population be guaranteed a safe refuge. In his memorandum to the UN McMahan insisted that, "Consequently and most understandably we cannot agree with very recent statements

38. The Tablet, April 9, 1949, pp.1 and 20.

of Israeli government officials in their views of internationalization." The Israeli statements cited above involved the rejection of the internationalization of the Jerusalem area as called for by the Partition Resolution, in favor of the internationalization of only the Old City which was then under Jordanian occupation. McMahon noted that the recent Christmas message and encyclical of Pius XII had called for giving an "international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity." However, McMahon went further than these calls, and demanded that not only Jerusalem and Bethlehem be internationalized, but Nazareth as well.

To the question of Jerusalem there are strictly joined the eventual solution for Bethlehem, now in the Arab area, and for Nazareth, now under Israeli military occupation. For these three areas made holy by the historic events in the life of Jesus Christ on earth, the Christian world has complete justification in requesting international status.

For McMahon, internationalization implied the recognition that Jerusalem and the other Holy Cities, were the "exclusive property of none."

In this regard, it may be well to recall to your attention the pertinent statement made by the Australian delegation (before the UN) (that) the plan for Jerusalem and the Holy Places was and remains a cardinal feature of the Assembly's recommendation.. These places cannot be said to be the exclusive property of Jews or Arabs, Christians or non-Christians.

McMahon demanded that the Jerusalem provisions of the Partition Resolution were necessary to ensure that "the light of the world first shone in Palestine and that that light will never be snuffed out."

By 1949, The Tablet and McMahon of the CNEWA had reached the concensus that Israeli had no intention of permitting the Christian refugees to return to their homes in either Israel or occupied Jerusalem. In short, UN sovereignty over the Jerusalem area, Bethlehem and even at times Nazareth, was necessary to guarantee the continued existence of a Christian community in the Holy Land. As will be seen in Chapter five on the Jerusalem question, only a return to the Jerusalem provisions of the Partition Resolution of 1947 would satisfy Catholic demands. McMahon argued;

Because the New City of Jerusalem has not only been occupied by Israeli military forces but is now civilly administered by the same government, with some of the ministeries already transferred from Tel Aviv, that does not mean that the United Nations must let go by default its program for all Jerusalem and its environs which was accepted by the Jews in November, 1947.

In an article in The Tablet of London, McMahon made the link between the Jerusalem question and the refugee problem even more explicit, and insisted that the United States bore the bulk of the burden in demanding that Israel respect its acceptance of the internationalization of Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup>

While, The Tablet of Brooklyn and the CNEWA took the lead in convincing American Catholics of the urgency of the Jerusalem question, each American Catholic periodical and newspaper approached the problem as a function of its own particular apostolate and history as will now be seen.

### The Jerusalem Question and the American Catholic Newspapers

McMahon's memorandum and his speech at Fordham clearly linked the issues of the Christian refugees and ultimate sovereignty over the area of Jerusalem. The growing reluctance of the Israeli authorities to permit the refugees to return to their pre-war homes was seen as a mortal blow to the Jerusalem Christian community. By the winter of 1948-1949, the Israeli government and the Catholic press were engaged in a direct confrontation on Jerusalem and the refugees.

Crusader's Almanac emerged as one of the most militant supporters of McMahon's demand for UN sovereignty over Jerusalem and the return of the refugees. His Fordham address was printed in full in the July 1, 1949 issue, under the title, "Only the Meek, A Report on Palestine." Fr. Terence Kuehn, president of Terra Sancta College in Jerusalem, who had earlier found Israeli measures to protect the Holy Places adequate, in March 1949, revised his opinion when he wrote in The Tablet;

What we are mostly concerned with at the moment is the future of the Catholic community in Israel, dispersed over a wide area in the Middle East, and with the fate of Catholic institutions, parishes, schools and hospitals. All these institutions would lose their reason for existing if the refugees were not to return. The Catholic priesthood of the Holy Land would then - as in the period immediately after the Crusades - have to confine its work to the protection of the Holy Places and the care of pilgrims.<sup>40</sup>

In contrast to McMahon's demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem as envisaged by the 1947 Partition Resolution, Crusader's Almanac and the Franciscan Order continued to remain loyal to Brother Bonaventure's oral testimony before UNSCOP that the Franciscans had no preference

39. The Tablet of London, May 28, 1949, pp.349-350.

40. The Tablet, March 19, 1949, pp.1 and 20.

to the kind of government in Palestine as long as their religious institutions, schools, hospitals and parishes were left intact and their activities were unhindered.<sup>41</sup> Even Brother Bruya, who had so closely followed the fate of every holy place, institution and clergyperson in Jerusalem <sup>42</sup> and elsewhere in Israel and Jordan <sup>43</sup> refused to committ himself to any particular political solution.<sup>44</sup>

Both The New World and The Register continued to keep their readers informed of the major events of the Palestine War, but, in contrast with The Tablet, this coverage was less constant, less involved and generally limited to reactions to major "prises de positions" adopted by either other Catholic newspapers, magazines or organizations.

The Register, for example, reprinted articles on the European DPs, the article by Gruber on Nazareth from The New York Herald Tribune <sup>45</sup> and comments on the writings of Msgr. Arthur Hughes. Likewise, several articles by Bruya appeared throughout 1948.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, as has already been seen, the newspaper printed the laudatory article by Msgr. Matthew Smith, entitled, "Hebrew, Jew, Israeli - A Wonderful Story," in April 1949. In general, the newspaper viewed its mission to inform its 700,000 mid-West readers of events in the Catholic world, without dwelling on divisive or controversial issues. Furthermore, international topics in general were not the central focus of the newspaper.<sup>47</sup>

The New World showed slightly more interest in international questions. Beginning just after the UN adoption of the Partition Resolution, the newspaper began to closely follow events in Palestine, reprinting and reacting to the positions adopted by the Catholic press and organizations and elaborating on them in its own editorials. On January 30, 1948, an editorial by Fr. Daniel Lord SJ, argued that the Jewish-Arab struggle left

41. Crusader's Almanac, January 1948, pp.10-13.

42. Crusader's Almanac, April 1948, pp.10-11.

43. Crusader's Almanac, July 1948, "Civil War," p.13.

44. The Tablet, March 19, 1949.

45. The Register, see January 12, 1947, p.3, (McMahon article); February 22, 1948, p.5, (Il Quotidiano article); May 30, 1948, p.3, (Hughes article) and November 21, 1948, (Gruber article).

46. The Register, April 11, 1948; July 11, 1948, p.3 and September 26, 1948.

47. The Register, May 18, 1947; July 13, 1947, p.3; February 22, 1948, p.5 and February 29, 1948. It must be remembered that The Register chain had a circulation of almost 700,000 throughout the mid-West as opposed to the 100,000 of The Tablet and 140,000 of The New World. However, its apostolate was to keep its readers in the scattered Catholic communities informed of Catholic news and consequently the newspaper avoided issues which might divide them.

the author puzzled. He was unable to understand why the Christian world was failing to react while Muslims and Jews were battling for control of the "places particularly dear to the followers of Jesus the savior."<sup>48</sup> He nevertheless hoped that "maybe someday the claims of Christianity to the Holy Places and the Holy Land will be remembered." Numerous articles by Brother Bruya followed with their usual sensationalistic headlines.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, articles from The Tablet of London were reprinted which accused both Arabs and Jews of coveting the Christian holdings in Palestine.<sup>50</sup>

By early 1949, The New World's limited concern for developments in Palestine began to merge with a concerted campaign launched by J.J. Gilbert to convince the newspaper's readers that lingering isolationism was the major obstacle to mounting an effective defense of the endangered Christian communities of the world. In contrast to the East Coast, The Tablet, which had already long adopted a fervent internationalist position in world affairs, Gilbert was aware that his mid-Western readers were still strongly isolationistic. As a result, he was forced to employ rhetoric which aimed at convincing them that the East Coast Catholic and government leaders had already abandoned isolationism and thus, the mid-West Catholics had no choice but to follow. He also argued that world peace required American Catholic leadership.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Gilbert became one of the most eloquent advocates of the direct linkage between the Catholic campaign to overcome the deeply rooted American Catholic isolationism and the demands for a strong Catholic involvement in the Palestine question.

In an article of March 25, 1949, entitled, "Watches North Atlantic Treaty Usher in New Era for America," Gilbert admitted that, "there have been heated debates as to whether we could have avoided participation in World War I and II." However, he flatly stated that at present, "everyone has agreed for some time that, if there is a third world war, we will be in it - from the start." He insisted that NATO was a necessity dictated by the linked fates of Europe and the USA. Even if pre-World II isolationism had attractive qualities, Gilbert continued, they had been negated by the aggressive designs of the USSR which made no distinction between the capitalistic states of the USA and Europe.<sup>52</sup>

48. The New World, January 30, 1948, "Along the Way - Now Palestine," p.4.

49. The New World, see in particular, March 26, 1948; April 2, 1948; April 30, 1948, "Christian Communities Flee Palestine Fighting," p.3; May 7, 1948; August 20, 1948 and September 17, 1948, p.6.

50. The New World, see especially June 18, 1948, p.7.

51. The New World, see February 18, 1949, p.7; March 25, 1949, p.4; and April 15, 1949. See also, CROSBY, God, Church and Flag, pp.3-25.

52. The New World, March 25, 1949, p.6.

The following week, Gilbert's rather brutal heralding of the "New Era for America," was somewhat tempered in an editorial which appealed to its readers' patriotism rather than the fait accompli of internationalism. It emphasized the self-defensive nature of NATO and American involvement in world affairs.

This motive of self-defense cannot be over-emphasized. War, and particularly World War III, should be avoided at great cost; but not at the cost of the world's fundamental liberties. To allow ourselves to be defenseless when the entire Western Culture, both spiritual and material are in the balance, is to be traitors to our heritage of freedom.<sup>53</sup>

In rapid succession, Gilbert demanded that Spain be admitted to the UN and NATO,<sup>54</sup> and he identified the return of the Palestinian refugees as one of the major tasks facing the UN.<sup>55</sup>

In both content and style, the Palestine question assumed a symbolic role in illustrating the erroneous and ultimately disastrous American failure to respond to the threat posed by Hitler and the present threat being posed by Stalin. He wrote that "the history of the last decade or so has enthroned 'appeasement' in the realms of diplomatic negotiations, and the 'fait accompli' in the field of diplomatic actions." In 1934, he continued, appeasement of Hitler had led to the Second World War. In 1949, he reasoned, appeasement of Israel would likewise lead to a new Arab-Israeli war. In the future, appeasement of Stalin would lead to World War III.

The key ingredient in his campaign to wean his readers from their lingering isolationism was that American foreign policy would be coherent, moral and just if it was based on the respect of internationally accepted agreements. But, if a party in question sought to escape its commitments, the American people and government must "stand up to" this threat to international morality and peace. It was in such a sense that Gilbert reacted to a news conference given by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett in which, according to Gilbert, Israel had "emphatically rejected the feasibility of its repatriation of Arab refugees to their former homes." He likewise objected to the Israeli refusal to permit the internationalization of Jerusalem which he described as a promise accepted by virtue of the Israeli acceptance of the Partition Resolution. He specifically referred to the provisions concerning freedom of access to the Holy Places and the rights guaranteed to ethnic and religious minorities which were being violated by this Israeli refusal.<sup>56</sup>

53. The New World, April 1, 1949, editorial by J.J. Gilbert.

54. The New World, April 22, 1949, p.6.

55. The New World, April 15, 1949, "UN unit faces delicate task of returning Arabs to Israel," p.3.

56. The New World, April 29, 1949, "Warns against appeasement in solving Holy Land Problem," p.7.

He insisted that;

It is of supreme importance at this juncture to recall that the fact of military conquest does not liquidate or neutralize or invalidate the previous decisions of the General Assembly decreeing that the City of Jerusalem and its environs shall be an international enclave under UN Trusteeship control with the UN itself as the administering authority.<sup>57</sup>

Later in June, Gilbert expressed the fear that if the UN and the USA attempted to appease Israel on the refugee and Jerusalem issues, subsequent Israeli governments might decide that "its predecessors (had) made an egregious blunder in giving such guarantees" and simply revoke them.<sup>58</sup>

In sum, Gilbert argued that in 1947 Israeli leaders had accepted the UN decision concerning the Holy Places, the Christian minority and the Jerusalem area in exchange for international recognition of the right of the Jews to a sovereign state. However, during the subsequent months, Israel had begun to renege on its promises and presented their conquest of Jerusalem and the displacement of the Christian population as irrevocable faits accomplis.

The bulk of Gilbert's criticism was directed against the failure of President Truman to adopt a clearcut and strong foreign policy aimed at stopping aggression in the world. He wrote that Truman was failing to stand up to Israel and Jordan on the Jerusalem issue, just as he was failing to stand up to the expansion of the USSR into China and Eastern Europe. He wrote that, on one hand, he was "paying millions of dollars for the Marshall Plan and NATO," but on the other, through a series of half measures and concessions, he was undermining these very structures.

It would be a dismal tragedy for the US and the UN. The UN would have no effectiveness before the world. The US would have no foreign policy, and, in the light of the protestations President Truman has just made, it would have no honor before the world.<sup>59</sup>

In the relatively short period from the adoption of the Partition Resolution to mid-1949, a clear evolution in both the opinion of Gilbert and The New World is evident. The deteriorating situation in Palestine was interpreted by the newspaper as the culminating point in an alarming series of assaults against the Church which the American government was

57. The New World, May 27, 1949, p.7.

58. The New World, June 3, 1949, p.8.

59. The New World, January 13, 1950, p.5.

doing nothing to oppose. An initial optimism that US and European cooperation with the UN would introduce an element of morality, justice and peace into world affairs, eventually gave way to accusations of an American foreign policy dictated by "cynical self-interest."<sup>60</sup> This evolution was all the more dramatic for many Catholics because their shift from isolationism could only be sustained by the belief, or illusion, that American intervention in world affairs was in fact producing concrete and visible effects. When, in spite of the Marshall Plan, NATO and other forms of foreign involvement, the USSR continued to expand, the Catholics of Eastern Europe were still being persecuted and Jerusalem was still a battlefield, Catholics could either revert into isolationism, launch an exclusively Catholic campaign to protect its interests, or attempt to coerce those individuals and circles of power in the American government who were most guilty of this "cynical self-interest."

As will be seen later, the Catholic leadership had no intention of returning to the isolationism from whence it had come. On the contrary, the Church reacted to the perceived weakness of Truman and lack of supportive American foreign policy by mobilizing Catholic support in the US and then abroad to demand the internationalization of Jerusalem, the return of the Christian refugees, and later under the banner of Senator McCarthy, the purge of those people from positions of power who were responsible for this sorry state of affairs.<sup>61</sup>

The positions adopted by The Tablet, The Register, The New World, the CNEWA and the Franciscans, was that the Jewish State had accepted the Partition Resolution in 1947, as a binding agreement, and that the events of the Palestine War had not superseded this agreement. Thus, in demanding the internationalization of Jerusalem, the Catholic world was merely demanding what had been promised it in 1947. Furthermore, the return of the Palestinian Christian refugees was demanded as a humanitarian gesture. The underlying and unquestioned presuppositions of this position was that partition had been implemented and the State of Israel had become a reality. The Catholic newspapers and CNEWA neither called for the rejection of the partition resolution nor deplored the establishment of the State of Israel. On the contrary, much was made of the Israeli positive measures to protect the Holy Places and engage in negotiations with Catholic representatives to resolve other outstanding problems. It was hoped that similar satisfaction could be achieved concerning the refugees and Jerusalem.

60. The New World, January 13, 1950. p.5.

61. See CROSBY, God, Church and Flag, pp.3-25.

## The War in Palestine and the American Catholic Periodicals

In contrast to the measured and diplomatic position adopted by the Catholic newspapers and CNEWA, many Catholic periodicals reacted to both the emerging CNEWA positions, with its emphasis on Jerusalem and the refugee question, in a manner that reflected their own particular sense of mission within the Catholic world. As has already been briefly seen, the Crusader's Almanac and its Franciscan sponsors had distanced themselves to an extent from McMahon's conclusion that in light of strong Israeli opposition to a general repatriation of the refugees, the brunt of Catholic pressure should be placed on the internationalization of the Jerusalem area, which the Israelis had already agreed to in their acceptance of the Partition Resolution. The Crusader's Almanac still nurtured the hope that a more global Palestine solution could be found. While the periodical had closely followed the fate of the Christian population throughout the Holy Land,<sup>62</sup> it also declared that the Palestine "Civil War" had rendered the partition plan "unjust and unworkable."<sup>63</sup>

One Catholic periodical which enthusiastically supported the demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem, was the Jesuit publication, America. This periodical, which had earlier published McMahon's article, "Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea," in 1944, was convinced that only direct American involvement in the Near East could protect these islands. America's editorial opinion faulted "Arab intransigence" as the root cause of the war,<sup>64</sup> and while partition as a solution to the Palestine question was not perfect, if it can be imposed by force - "which apparently will be necessary, there seems no reason why partition will not solve the disturbing problem."<sup>65</sup> In the opinion of the periodical, the necessary force must be supplied by the United States.

As early as February 1948, America had called on Washington to send troops to Palestine to contain the rising violence which was in fact the direct result of American endorsement and support for partition.<sup>66</sup> It criticised Washington's "reluctance" to send troops and, as a result, beginning in April, began to endorse any proposal to send troops. It first proposed the organization of a UN force, modeled after the 1935-'38 Shanghai force, and later on May 8, it endorsed a French proposal for a 1,000-man police force for

62. Crusader's Almanac, April 1948.

63. Crusader's Almanac, July 1948, p.13.

64. America, December 13, 1947, p.286.

65. Ibid.

66. America, February 21, 1948, p.562.

Jerusalem. As part of the "Blueprint for a Palestine Policy" which the periodical proposed, a "Truce of God" to protect Jerusalem was suggested on April 24, which would render the city not only "international" but "supranational."<sup>67</sup>

During the fall and winter of 1948-'49, America reported on the effects of the war with special emphasis on the situation in Jerusalem, the Holy Places <sup>68</sup> and the Christian refugees.<sup>69</sup> A marked critical attitude began to emerge during this period towards Israel in which Israeli "vandalism" of the Holy Places, and insensitivity towards the refugees eventually gave way to serious doubts about the "Honor of Israel" which was the title of a major article which appeared in March 1949.<sup>70</sup>

This article which appeared immediately following the publication of Msgr. McMahon's trip to the Holy Land, accused Israel of ill will concerning its commitments of 1947 concerning Jerusalem and "refusal" to render justice towards the refugees. The author Edward Duff wrote;

There is the matter of justice for the Palestinian refugees. There is the matter of honoring the commitments of the UN settlement that provided, among other things, for the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places and the freedom of religious organization. . . . Both Israel and the Arab States must accept the verdict of world opinion. If these reminders fall particularly on Israel, it is because victory imposes its own restraints.<sup>71</sup>

Concerning the refugees, Duff asked, "Can Israel afford to affront the conscience of the world by sticking to a convenient official assumption that these people do not want to be repatriated?" The article continued, that the return of the Christian refugees was necessary to preserve the Christian character of the Holy Land.

Jesus Christ must not be exiled by political maneuver or military coup from the land that bears the indelible mark of His sacred footsteps, from the scenes filled with sanctuaries of His precious life and life-giving death.

67. America, April 3, 1948, p.733; April 24, 1948, p.46; May 1, 1948, "Blueprint for a Palestine Policy," Rev. James F. Twohy, pp.77-79; and May 8, 1948, p.104.

68. America, October 2, 1948, pp.586-7.

69. America, November 13, 1948, p.148 and February 5, 1949, p.478.

70. America, March 26, 1949, pp.677-78.

71. Ibid., America was one of the fastest growing American Catholic periodicals. From a modest circulation of 29,000 during the period under study, it grew to almost 100,000 in a short period of ten years because of its willingness to confront and discuss all vital problems confronting educated Catholics.

The author insisted that the fact of Catholic silence on the partition vote had been conditional on UN support for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

The Christian world had no partisan position in the partition solution voted by the General Assembly on May 29, 1947. The internationalization of Jerusalem was included in the UN settlement as a dispassionate recognition of the non-political factors in the problem, as evidence of equally historical claims of Christians.

Duff concluded by quoting from the CNEWA memorandum and stating; "Anything less will cost Israel and the Arab States the respect of the Christian world." He emphasized that while both Arabs and Israel were responsible, the greater responsibility fell on Israel. Through political manoeuvring and military advances, it was attempting to "exile" Jesus from the Holy Land.

The thrust of Duff's article was that the price of Catholic lack of opposition to partition in 1947 had been the internationalization of Jerusalem. However, by 1949, Israel sought to escape from this condition by resisting the implementation of the Jerusalem statute and furthermore, by refusing to permit the return of the Christian refugees to the areas under its control. However, on the positive side, America accepted the existence of the state of Israel, and while questioning the "honor" of the new state, did not question its legal right to exist by virtue of the UN Partition Resolution. In short, the very demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem implied the acceptance of the 1947 Partition Resolution which constituted the basis for the legal and political existence of Israel. As will now be seen, other periodicals, not only questioned the honor of the state but went on to question its very legitimacy.

An extreme example of this position was the periodical Ave Maria, which had opposed partition in 1947, continued to do so throughout the Palestine War and subsequently remained silent on the Jerusalem issue. In contrast to America, which evaluated the Partition Resolution, Jerusalem issue and refugee problem from the political perspective of preserving a Christian presence in the Holy Land, Ave Maria viewed events in Palestine from its own particular religious perspective. In 1947 the magazine had expressed its long held conviction that the Zionists were "anti-Christian and look on Christ as the destroyer of their reign and the cause of their dispersal throughout the world."<sup>72</sup> This religious-motivated opposition to the very idea of a Jewish State, which sought to "blot out" Christianity from the Holy Land, thus locked Judaism and Christianity in a cosmic struggle that such "political" maneuvers as partition or internationalization could not

72. Ave Maria, November 22, 1947, p.644.

resolve. Thus in July 1949, the magazine flatly declared once again that the Jews refuse to share the Holy Land with any other people and that no political settlement or arrangement could resolve this underlying Christian - Jewish dilemma.<sup>73</sup>

The only other magazine which echoed this position was the Social Justice Review, the official publication of the Catholic Social Action Movement, based in St. Louis, Missouri. In June 1948, just one month after the declaration of independence of Israel, the well-known and prolific Jewish convert, David Goldstein, placed the new state within a similar context of a cosmic Jewish - Christian confrontation.<sup>74</sup>

The Orthodox Jewish claim to Palestine is worthy of respect, invalid though it be. Their outlook is religious. There was a time when such a Palestine claim was warranted; that was during the days when the Jewish religion was God's one and only religion. That was during the days when the Jews had a priesthood, an Altar in Jerusalem, sacrifices, a Temple, and a Sanhedrin. That was when they were given the land for the purpose of carrying out Israel's divine mission. That mission they have no more. It was fulfilled by the birth of the great Jewish King David in Bethlehem, who is Christ the Lord.<sup>75</sup>

Such theologically inspired opposition to the Jewish State was rarely expressed in the American Catholic press during the 1947-'50 period, but it remains undeniable that it did draw upon a deep underlying theological objection to such a state. However, such objections did not play a major role in the Catholic reactions to the UN partition resolution, the establishment of the state, the Christian refugee crisis or the Question of Jerusalem. As will be seen in Chapter five, such theological factors, nonetheless, exerted a formative influence on Catholic perceptions of and reactions to the Jerusalem problem.

One periodical which had long opposed Zionism and the idea of a Jewish state, but for political rather than religious reasons, was the influential Paulist publication, The Catholic World. In early 1946, the periodical had predicted that "if Zionism imposes a political state on their (the Moslems') Holy Land, a cataclysm of blood will begin again to

73. Ave Maria, July 2, 1949. The periodical had a circulation of 50,000 which made it one of the most widely read devotional periodicals. It was often found on sale in Church magazine racks and used in Sunday School classes.

74. Social Justice Review, June 1948, pp.75-78, The periodical had a circulation of about 2,500.

75. Ibid., p.78.

drench the earth."<sup>76</sup> The periodical had criticized President Truman's "meddling" in Palestine through pressuring Britain to admit 100,000 Jewish DPs, and had viewed growing American involvement in support of the Zionists as the completion of the isolationist article by John Uhler entitled, "Greece, Turkey - And Then What?"<sup>77</sup>

Three months after the UN adoption of the Partition Resolution, The Catholic World discussed the American role behind the resolution in an article entitled, "America and the Partition of Palestine." The article stated that "America is the force behind the partition of the Holy Land," and that without American support, "Zionism would not have been successful in its attempt to wrest a large part of Palestine from Islam." The Partition Resolution had been drawn up with Jewish interests in mind because of "the sentiment engendered for the Jews by their persecution in Europe during the War."<sup>78</sup> The article came out strongly against the Zionist state, not only because it ignored the Arab rights there, but primarily because the Zionists were doing everything in their power to drag the US into the war.

In brief, it has been America - and America almost exclusively - which has fostered Zionist agitation. It was America that pushed the partition resolution through the United Nations. It was America that supervised the details of partition and gave the Zionists the better share of the deal. And it is America who will have to send American boys to fight in Palestine for a foreign state, artificially created, against people who have never done us harm. In view of our relations with Russia and the rumors of war, American politicians will have a heavy reckoning to make in the latter day.<sup>79</sup>

This unwanted American involvement was, according to Uhler, the result of the full force of the propaganda "machinery" organized by the Zionists. He predicted a major war between 70 million Arabs and less than one million Zionists, with the US being forced to provide massive aid to support the Zionist state.

Two further elements were introduced into Uhler's appraisal of the situation in Palestine that went beyond the bounds of his general support for American isolationism. First, Israel was on

76. The Catholic World, February 1946, pp.396-402. At this time the periodical had a moderate circulation of 16,000.

77. Catholic World, June 1947, "Greece, Turkey - And Then What?", John Earle Uhler, pp.248-255. This strong isolationist stance adopted by the periodical was widely diffused in the Catholic press by the Paulist, Fr.James Gillis in his weekly column, "Sursum Corda."

78. Catholic World, March 1948, pp.493-501.

79. Ibid.

the verge of being unwittingly absorbed into the growing Soviet empire, through the mass immigration of Eastern European Jews. Furthermore, the Soviet presence in Palestine would be facilitated if the UN was called upon to send troops there, because any UN force would inevitably include either Soviet or Soviet allied troops. Uhler noted the recent Soviet military activities among, and arms deliveries to, its sympathisers in Greece, Turkey and Palestine, and described them as "puzzling and ominous."

The second element Uhler introduced was the strong distinction drawn between "Jews" and "Zionists" that was being blurred because the latter "make themselves heard" while the former were in a majority. He observed that the Old Palestinian Jews and many American Jews were decidedly anti-Zionist and had recently organized the American Council for Judaism to "combat the logic of Zionism." A certain Rabbi Lazaron was cited as stating that the disastrous consequences of the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine, "would be suffered, not by Zionists alone but by all Jewry."

Once again in July 1948, The Catholic World stressed the danger that America was running by becoming entangled in foreign alliances, in an editorial comment entitled, "Recognition of Israel."<sup>80</sup> The editorial described America "as not only politically and historically but morally different from the kingdoms and empires which for thousands of years have cursed the earth with their villanies."<sup>81</sup> It was "in a kind of way the embodiment of Christian principles." If it upheld moral integrity within its own borders, other nations might be inclined to emulate the American model. "From the fortress of her naturally strong geographical position, she should be able to guide the destinies of the world, not by the attacks of intervention, not by secret covenants but by the example of peace and justice, not by the physical, but rather by the spiritual."<sup>82</sup> Whenever America took up a position on an international issue, it should abide by the principle, "Que vult finem vult et media" (He who desires a certain end must also desire the means to that end).<sup>83</sup>

Just as the American - Japanese competition for control of the Pacific had led to the brutal crime "when we dropped the atomic bomb on helpless Japanese peasants in their homes and in the fields of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," so the American involvement in support of the Jews in Palestine was forcing America to participate in an equally brutal massacre and

80. The Catholic World, July 1948.

81. The Catholic World, July 1948, "Editorial Comment: Recognition of Israel," pp.289-297.

82. The Catholic World, June 1947, "Greece, Turkey - And Then What?", John Earle Uhler, p.254.

83. The Catholic World, July 1948, pp.290-295.

displacement of the Arab Palestinians.<sup>84</sup> "A national home for the Jewish people is a pretentious phrase if the Jews were to live in the house of the Arabs. If on the other hand the Arabs were to surrender part of their own home or even share it with the Jews, how was that arrangement to be managed without prejudice to the civil rights of the Arabs?" Furthermore, American support of Israel would even encourage Israel to step up their demands and refuse any compromise towards a peaceful solution to the general problem. Commendable though such support might be on humanitarian grounds, "why didn't we raise a hand in defense of the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians when 'enslaved' by the Soviets?" "Why this sudden spurt of righteousness when a home for the Jews is in question?" "Already there are those who say that we rushed to help the Jews because of the Jewish vote in New York, Chicago and Boston."<sup>85</sup>

The above article reflected the growing suspicion among certain Catholic circles that the Zionists were deliberately enticing the American government and people into a war which would prove disastrous for Zionists and American alike. The only periodical which rivaled the isolationism of The Catholic World was the Passionist publication The Sign. The editor of The Sign, Rev. Gorman was a well-known isolationist and warned that the Zionist plans in Palestine would be resisted by a massive Arab uprising.<sup>86</sup>

In April 1948, Gorman devoted an editorial to the Palestine question entitled, "Palestine Dilemma."<sup>87</sup> He expressed his fear that if the Arabs don't willfully "give up Palestine," as they were required to do so by the terms of the Partition Resolution, "rivers of blood will flow," which only massive American military force would be able to halt. In a last minute effort to avoid what appeared as an inevitable result of partition, Gorman proposed a federal solution which would divide Palestine into districts, with local autonomy, and, most importantly, all placed under a UN trusteeship.

While Gorman's federal proposal was by no means original, it is significant that he envisaged a major UN involvement in Palestine as the only means of avoiding a major war and inevitable American military involvement. In contrast to The Catholic World, which also preached a rigid non-involvement, The Sign proposed active American support for then beleaguered UN peace making efforts. In March Anthony Atar had published an article entitled, "The UN's Time for Decision" which stressed that if the UN was unable to play a decisive role in stemming

84. Ibid., p.290.

85. Ibid., pp.292-295.

86. See, The Sign, May 1944, p.564 and September 1946, p.2.

87. The Catholic World, April 1948, p.4.

Soviet-West conflicts in such places as Greece and Turkey, it would lose its reason for existence.<sup>88</sup>

Gorman reflected the growing American Catholic impression that Jewish pressure had forced the USA to support partition against American national interests. In contrast to the CNEWA and The Tablet which advocated the mobilization of an equally strong Catholic counter-pressure to force the government to protect Christian interests, The Sign demanded the revocation of this "original sin" of partition through the dispatch of a UN military force with massive American support.

In July, The Sign opened its pages to the recently founded, "Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land," which had as its unique aim to achieve the US "reconsideration" of the partition decision, which in its opinion was doing grave harm to American national interests.<sup>89</sup> The executive director of the committee, Kermit Roosevelt, grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt, wrote an article entitled, "The Arabs Also Have Rights." Roosevelt argued that American support for partition was leading to a ruinous course of warfare against the Arabs, of ignoring the European DPs, of irreparably damaging relations with Europe, of jeopardizing the UN which is "our best hope for world peace, of estranging Britain which is our vital friend, and of endangering European economic recovery which depends on the free flow of Near Eastern oil.

The most significant aspect of this article is not that it advocated the abandonment of partition or the establishment of UN control of Palestine, but rather that it prompted the periodical to modify its long-standing isolationism. Roosevelt admitted that in spite of his better judgement, all historical precedents, and ominous signs for the future, the Catholic isolationists must confront the question, "What must our present objectives be, and what can we do to achieve them?"<sup>90</sup> In a

88. The Sign, March 1948, pp.53-6 and p.75. The Sign had a circulation of 272,000 and was growing rapidly due to its harmonious blend of political isolationism and Catholic values. Its readership was mainly composed of families.

89. The Sign, July 1948, pp.15-17. Kermit Roosevelt was the executive director of the "Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land," founded in early 1948. The Committee was founded to bring the US to reconsider its support for partition. It was strongly anti-Zionist and composed of various leading Protestant figures, including; Bayard Dodge, president of the American University of Beirut; Harry Emerson Fosdick of Riverside Church (associated with the Rockefellers); Paul Hutchinson, editor of The Christian Century; and Gloria Wysner, of the International Missionary Council in the US. See, NIJIM, Basheer, American Church Politics and the Middle East, p.74. Roosevelt also wrote, "The Partition of Palestine: A Lesson in Pressure Politics," Middle East Journal, January 1948, pp.1-6.

90. Ibid.

reluctant concession to the new post-World War II American super-power status, a clearly articulated and directed American foreign policy must be elaborated, with active Catholic participation.

As a precondition to this involvement, the author stressed that it was necessary to "put our own house in order." Two concrete steps had to be taken, "eliminating Palestine as an issue of domestic partisan politics" in favor of national interests, with a realistic evaluation of conditions in Palestine and secondly, the admission to the US of "an important proportion of the European DPs - Catholic, Protestant and Jews." Then and only then, will the United States be in a "sound moral position" to influence world affairs.

The growing impression that American world involvement was not based on such a "sound moral position," and subsequently had been subjected to a "series of somersaults" on the partition issue, as well as European DP issue, was attributed by The Sign to the alarming influence of Jewish pressure on the American government. In fact, as has already been seen, both many isolationists and the most vocal advocates of American world involvement, such as The Tablet, CNEWA and Msgr. McMahon were in agreement that Catholic concerns around the world were being ignored and misrepresented by the secular press. The confrontation over the state of Nazareth under Israeli occupation was one example of this problem.

The fundamental presupposition of the American Catholic emergence from its ethnic ghettos had been the belief that American was different from other countries. Such American internationalists as Walter Lippman preached that the US was the vital center of western civilization, and Cardinal Spellman described America's freedoms as "blessed," and even composed poetry and prayers to America. Likewise, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of New York, in a stream of books, articles, pamphlets, sermons and speeches, stressed the identity between Catholic and American values.<sup>91</sup> However, there was a strong feeling among

91. See ADLER, The Isolationist Impulse, and CROSBY, God, Church and Flag, plus the highly critical COONEY, The American Pope. Cardinal Spellman embodied a kind of Catholicism and nationalism which thrived on action, confrontation and battle. From the battlefields of World War II, via the Crusade against Communism, to the battle fields of Korea, he defended the Church and America. His hundreds of writings on this complementarity of Catholic and American values and goals included; The Road to Victory, 1942; Action this Day, 1943; The Risen Soldier, 1944; No Greater Love, 1945; and his famous poem, "Magnificat of America," published in The American Ecclesiastical Review, March 1950, pp.161-4, and reproduced in hundreds of Catholic newspapers, magazines and on the backs of holy cards. The

Catholics that the American position on Palestine was being dictated not by the lofty moral values of America, but rather an aggressive Zionist-Jewish lobby.

The evolution of The Sign and the isolationist press in general towards a reluctant endorsement of the internationalist position preached by Spellman, The Tablet, and J.J. Gilbert in The New World, as has just been seen, was directly related to the Palestine War. The damage and destruction of Christian Holy Places, plus the displacement of most Christian Arabs were, on one hand, issues which legitimately alarmed the American Catholic community. On the other hand, these issues were interpreted as symptomatic of the general disregard by the world powers, and even the so called "Christian governments" of Christian interests, world wide. This situation was perceived as no less than tragic by the self-confident, fabulously wealthy and aggressive Catholic leadership of the American Church. This leadership set out not only to save the "Christian" Holy Land but purge the anti-Christian forces from within the American government and society and rid the world of evil in general.

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controversy which surrounds his militant nationalism at the service of a militant Catholicism, continues until today. See for example, GANNON, The Cardinal Spellman Story, which praises him as a symbol of American Catholicism and COONEY, The American Pope, which is highly critical of the Cardinal.

### 3. The French Catholic Press and the War in Palestine

In contrast to the American Catholic press, the French reaction to the Palestine war was not marked by a sharp contrast between two clear-cut positions, isolationism - vs - internationalism. This fact can largely be explained by the close identification between Catholic and French aims in Palestine and the nearly universally accepted notion that the holocaust had entitled the Jews to a state of their own, even if individual Catholics questioned the wisdom of such a state. Furthermore, French Catholic leaders generally agreed that discrete cooperation with the French government would be more effective in achieving a solution to the problems of the Holy Places, refugees and Jerusalem than the American style memoranda, speeches and newspaper headlines which were directed against a reluctant, even hostile American government, secular press and Jewish lobby.

The French press, in addition, was not fired by a sense of mission that if French Catholics did not act, the Church in many parts of the world would cease to exist. The post-war reduced resources of France were sorely stretched to their limits just in keeping Algeria and Indo-China within the sphere of French influence, rebuilding political and economic stability at home and exerting a degree of influence in European affairs. Neither the French government nor French Catholic leaders sought the role of the protector of world Catholics.

During the Palestine War, the French Catholic newspapers merely reacted to events, interspersed with opinions by leading Catholic figures, almost always laypeople. In fact, they make for rather uninteresting reading when compared with The Tablet and even The Register, New World and Our Sunday Visitor. However, L'Aube, La Croix, Témoignage Chrétien and La France catholique, in their capacity as national, even international, representatives of French Catholicism, were gradually forced to either take sides or revert to total silence when the CNEWA, Msgr. McMahon and, as will be seen, L'Osservatore Romano came out in strong support for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

A second reason for the comparatively "low profile" of the French Catholic press was because the bulk of French Catholic periodicals, Cahiers Sioniens, L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne, L'Esprit, Catholicité and Etudes, were preoccupied with the larger problems of anti-Semitism, the Jewish question and Catholic-Jewish relations. Furthermore, these periodicals which had no "official" status in the eyes of either Catholics or non-Catholics, freely speculated on the significance of Zionism, the Jewish State, Israel and Jerusalem in all their theological and literary splendor.

Jean-Jacques Bernard's comment in La Croix in September 1947 that in spite of serious theological and political

questions, a Jewish state restored "à des millions de juifs une raison de vivre," continued to inspire the tone of that newspaper.<sup>92</sup> This attitude, as has already been seen, was encouraged by the genuine anguish felt by many French Catholics about the holocaust combined with the highly successful image-creating campaign of the "Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre" that Zionism was a national Hebrew liberation movement clearly distinct from the more problematical "Jewish question." As a result, La Croix perceived the Palestine War as a Jewish - Arab struggle which had escalated into a complicated international problem involving Britain, the Arab world, the USA and USSR.

A central motif of La Croix was the accusation that Britain was attempting to rectify the fait accompli of a Jewish state through a counter fait accompli of an Arab conquest of Palestine.<sup>93</sup> At the end of May, 1948, an editorial by Jean Caret entitled, "Le double scandale," violently condemned British policy in the Middle East. He wrote, "Tout coeur de croyant pleure sur Jérusalem à feu et à sang." The reason for the continuation of this war was Britain's decision to abandon the Zionist state which had served its purposes for so long, in favor of a new instrument of its policy in the area, the Arab world. He concluded his editorial by evoking the possibility of the destruction of the new state by the Arabs if Britain continued to support them. He compared the Anglo - Arab effort to liquidate the Jewish presence in Palestine to Hitler's effort to accomplish the same in Europe.

Hitler, affirme-t-on, est bien mort. L'Esprit d'Hitler continue cependant à errer de par le monde, y semant toujours des scandales.<sup>94</sup>

Caret insisted that a Jewish state was necessary and had been established by "la communauté humaine au nom de la civilisation universelle et comme un impératif de la conscience du genre humain."<sup>95</sup>

The newspaper's preoccupation with the devious plans of Britain, prompted it to pay special attention to the role of Trans-Jordan, which Britain had recently carved out of "Eastern" Palestine and given to King Abdullah.<sup>96</sup> The king was considered by La Croix as little more than a British stooge who had been encouraged to invade Palestine by the British announcement that it would not maintain order in Palestine after May 15.<sup>97</sup>

92. La Croix, September 2, 1947.

93. La Croix, May 24, 1948.

94. La Croix, May 30-31, 1948, see also June 1, 1948 and June 2, 1948.

95. La Croix, January 9, 1948, Jean Boulier, p.3.

96. La Croix, April 28, 1948 and April 30, 1948.

97. La Croix, May 4, 1948 and May 8, 1948.

Jerusalem was recognised as being the crucial strategic and psychological goal of both the Jewish and Arab states. On May 20 the newspaper stated that when the Arab armies invaded Palestine, Jerusalem would be their objective. Four days later, the "situation désespérée des Juifs à Jérusalem" was described and the fall of the city to the Arabs was reported to be imminent.<sup>98</sup> The Zionist occupation of various Christian institutions and Holy Places was justified as the result of the British refusal to permit or to cooperate with the UN in its efforts to implement a gradual replacement of British with UN troops.<sup>99</sup>

La Croix closely followed the efforts of Catholic ecclesiastics to deter Abdullah from his plans. Beginning in June, it reported that Msgr. Testa had intervened with King Abdullah to spare Jerusalem from his plans to annex the areas of Palestine under his control.<sup>100</sup> Later it explained that Testa's mission to Palestine and Transjordan "pourrait contribuer à cimenter la coopération de toutes les autorités qui agissent en Palestine, pour la préservation des vestiges et des monuments religieux." It was also reported that a representative of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem had joined Testa in Amman.<sup>101</sup>

Even before the second phase of the war which began in July and pitted the army of Israel against that of the Arab states, La Croix advocated the establishment of a multinational military force to intervene between the two armies. Throughout the Spring of 1948, its demands specified that this force was necessary to enforce the UN Partition Resolution, or at least to protect Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Such a force was judged crucial not only to halt the war in Palestine but to ensure the continued existence of the UN as well. The failure of the UN to establish such a force was portrayed as a sign of the growing paralysis of that organization caused by the US and USSR designs on the area and British obstruction.<sup>102</sup>

As early as February, La Croix had welcomed the initial UN proposal to mobilize a military force to implement the Jerusalem statute, and noted that the American Senator Robert Taft, then presidential candidate, had endorsed this step. On February 26, Francois Roussel wrote, "Les jours qui viendront seront certainement décisifs pour l'avenir de la Palestine. Peut-être verra-t-on pour la première fois une force armée internationale organisée pour maintenir l'ordre."<sup>103</sup> The main obstacle, according to the newspaper, was the hostility between the USA and USSR, which had already paralyzed the UN and, in

98. La Croix, May 28, 1948.

99. La Croix, May 30-31, 1948.

100. La Croix, June 2, 1948, p.2.

101. La Croix, June 6, 1948.

102. La Croix, July 7, 1948.

103. La Croix, February 16, 1948 and February 26, 1948.

particular, the Security Council, where both countries had veto powers.<sup>104</sup> Yet another obstacle was Great Britain's continuing refusal to cooperate with the UN on the replacement of British troops by a UN force, if one could be created.<sup>105</sup>

Another proposal was made by Thomas Greenwood who hoped that this paralysis could be overcome by the establishment of a commission of five smaller powers. This call was repeated several times with the suggestion that French troops play a major role.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, La Croix was encouraged by the UN Security Council's declaration that the Palestine situation represented a "menace to peace" and according to the UN Charter, this was the first and necessary step in the formation of an international military force.<sup>107</sup>

Late in April, Roussel reported that the French Government had proposed before the UN the establishment of an international army for Jerusalem specifically to enforce the UN Jerusalem statute. He observed that Archbishop Spellman had announced his support for this step.<sup>108</sup> However, as the situation in Jerusalem continued to deteriorate, and as the UN efforts to organize a military force to intervene in support of the UN Partition Resolution appeared increasingly hopeless, the newspaper began to question the wisdom of the Partition Resolution itself. The March 1948 American draft resolution to effectively abandon partition in favour of a UN Protectorate for all of Palestine further placed its implementation in doubt, and La Croix seized the opportunity to remind its readers that partition had been only a "recommendation" by the General Assembly and only the Security Council could make legally binding decisions. Therefore, partition was still an open question. The US proposal was interpreted as an American abandonment of partition in favour of a temporary international trusteeship while the search for a peaceful solution could be found.<sup>109</sup> The newspaper also warned that if full scale war erupted between the Jews and Arabs, Jerusalem was bound to become one of the principle battlefields.<sup>110</sup>

104. La Croix, February 12, 1948, "La vie internationale - L'O.N.U.", p.3., and March 18, 1948.

105. La Croix, March 13, 1948.

106. La Croix, April 22, 1948 and April 24, 1948.

107. La Croix, March 18, 1948. On June 5, 1948, the newspaper reported on the Franciscan plan to establish a Christian militia for the Holy Places.

108. La Croix, April 22, 1948.

109. La Croix, March 19, 22, 26 and 27, 1948.

110. La Croix, March 29, 1948.

## The Battle for Jerusalem

As has already been seen, the fate of Jerusalem had been a major preoccupation of La Croix because of the presence there of many French religious institutions, the historic role of France as defender of the Palestinian Christians, as well as the concern for the Holy Places. The French Government had insisted that whatever the regime established there, it must respect the prerogatives of France in the area.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the newspaper had repeatedly warned that if war broke out between the Jews and Arabs, Jerusalem would be a major military objective.<sup>112</sup> As a result any and every plan to isolate Jerusalem from the war were reported and supported. The American proposal of March to abandon Partition, the various efforts to create a military force and, as late as May the Red Cross plan to place the city under its flag and thereby declare it a demilitarized zone were welcomed.<sup>113</sup>

However, on May 20, 1948, La Croix reprinted an article from the newspaper of the Italian Catholic Action, Il Quotidiano, which insisted that the only solution to the question of Jerusalem was the implementation of the Partition Resolution provisions of 1947 for Jerusalem.

L'Eglise ne peut rester indifférente devant les menaces qui pèsent sur les Lieux Saints... Malgré les incertitudes et les tergiversations qui ont rendu si précaire la situation morale de l'ONU, aujourd'hui, dans cette triste affaire de Palestine, un état de fait est en train de se créer qui a pour base juridique le projet des Nations Unies et le vote de l'Assemblée du 29 novembre 1947. Or, en application de ce projet, la ville de Jérusalem doit être internationalisée et soumise à un gouverneur nommé par l'ONU. Les chrétiens ne peuvent que demander la réalisation de ce projet aux Nations Unies.<sup>114</sup>

The publication of this article, with its explicit endorsement of the UN Jerusalem provisions, resulted in a concentration on the situation in Jerusalem and growing support for the internationalization of Jerusalem. For both, The Tablet of Brooklyn, and La Croix, the Il Quotidiano article was interpreted and presented as an "authoritative" pronouncement on Jerusalem. It was, and still is, a widely accepted practice in the Catholic press to mark a shift in

111. La Croix, July 7, 1947, p.4.

112. La Croix, March 29, 1948.

113. La Croix, May 11, 1948.

114. La Croix, May 20, 1948, taken from, Il Quotidiano, May 1948.

position or a taking of a strong position on a particular topic, by reprinting an article from another Catholic newspaper or periodical. This strategy permits the newspaper to present a point of view expressed by a highly reputable 'confrère' without being obliged to accept responsibility for the particular opinion. La Croix was well aware that the idea of an international "mini-state" for the Jerusalem area had elicited little interest in France and the subsequent outbreak of war and failure of the UN to mobilize an effective military force had resulted in a virtual abandonment of the Partition Resolution. Greenwood's reminder that partition had only been a "recommendation" and the subsequent reports on the US proposed trusteeship plan for all Palestine by Roussel further confirm this impression. However, with the Il Quotidiano article, the editors of La Croix sought to remind their readers that the Jerusalem portions of the Partition Resolution were still viewed as viable by a major Catholic newspaper.

This article from Il Quotidiano was published at the height of the battle for Jerusalem which climaxed with the fall of the Jewish quarter on the Old City to Arab troops on May 28. La Croix interpreted the article as neither pro-Arab nor pro-Jewish. In fact, its subsequent reporting on the war stressed the need to preserve the Christian, Jewish and Muslim Holy Places, institutions and population from the ravages of war. Throughout the month of May, La Croix reported on the hostilities, such as, under the headline, "Situation désespérée des juifs a Jérusalem," on May 24, in which the desperate defense of the Old City's 2000 Jewish residents was described.<sup>115</sup> The following day, it was reported that France had demanded that the UN arrange a ceasefire to protect the Christian Holy Places, the Hebrew University Library and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus.<sup>116</sup> The Jews were described as being on the defensive and the "fall of Jerusalem" was viewed as imminent.<sup>117</sup>

This closer look at the "battle for Jerusalem" rather than the concentration on the international context of the war, which resulted from the Il Quotidiano article, resulted in a more objective evaluation of the actual situation in Jerusalem. Beginning at the end of June, an unsigned series of articles entitled, "La Bataille de Jérusalem," began to appear which chronicled the war in detail.<sup>118</sup> These articles were a virtual re-interpretation of the war with special attention to the Jewish role which had hitherto been presented as a defensive role against Arab, and in particular, Transjordanian, aggression.

115. La Croix, May 24, 1948.

116. La Croix, May 26, 1948.

117. La Croix, May 27 and 28, 1948.

118. These articles were published on June 25 (Events of 14-21 May), June 26 (22-26 May), June 27-28 (27 May to 9 June), and June 29 (until the end of June), plus July 10, 1948.

By July of that year, La Croix had totally modified its reporting on the war, and had begun to rely heavily on "un correspondant particulier" on the scene in Jerusalem. The articles began to resemble those of The Tablet of Brooklyn, which were written by the Franciscan, Brother Bruya. However, Roussel did not identify his source.<sup>119</sup> On July 10, Roussel described the pillage of the Christian and Arab quarters which had been taken by the Israelis. The emptied houses had been systematically spoiled of their furnishings and valuables which, according to Roussel, were trucked to the Jewish quarters. Notre Dame de France, the massive French hostel overlooking the Old City, he continued, had been pillaged, the tabernacle of the chapel had been desecrated, and it was being used as a dance hall for Israeli soldiers. Roussel accused the Israeli army of systematically pulling the figure of Christ off all crucifixes they came upon. He likewise accused the Arab armies of similar barbarism and anti-Christian acts. The Jews and Arabs, he stated, were attacking and robbing Catholics, "in perfect accord with each other." He concluded; "On se demande si dans ces nouveaux Etats on n'a pas créé un ministère du pillage." He observed that, in fact, the Zionists had occupied Christian Holy Places well in advance of the Arab invasion of Palestine.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, the Arabs were criticized for continuing to attack Jerusalem and refusing any attempts by the UN to arrange a ceasefire there.<sup>121</sup>

Beginning with this article, La Croix's reporting on the war underwent a rapid transformation. Roussel was especially concerned that, following the de facto partition of Jerusalem, both Israel and Transjordan would attempt to formalize their occupation and eventually "modify" the Jerusalem statute as envisaged in the Partition Resolution. As a result, he began to closely follow the various efforts to stabilize the situation in the city which were launched by the Israelis, Jordanians, the UN and other parties. In particular, the efforts of Count Bernadotte received special attention.

Count Bernadotte had been requested by the UN to negotiate a settlement to the "outstanding" problems of Palestine and in particular a demilitarization of Jerusalem. Bernadotte's appointment was welcomed by La Croix, as was his decision to establish his headquarters in Jerusalem itself with a police force of 200 armed men. The latter was interpreted as forming the nucleus of an international army. The article noted that the pressure exerted by the Zionist Irgun and Stern groups, then

119. La Croix, July 10, 1948, Roussel. The content, style and rhetoric of Roussel's "correspondant particulier" could lead one to conclude that it was, in fact, the American Franciscan, Brother Bruya.

120. La Croix, July 10, 1948.

121. La Croix, July 13, 1948, p.2.

entrenched in Jerusalem and only weakly controlled by the Israeli authorities, to declare Jerusalem the capital of Israel, was the major obstacle to the Count's mission. On the other hand, a statement by Moshe Sharett that a "modification" of the UN Jerusalem Statute, and not its rejection, was the objective of the Israeli government, was interpreted as an encouraging sign.<sup>122</sup>

On August 4, La Croix reported that both the Arabs and Jews had accepted the principle of demilitarization, and that this might probably represent the first step in achieving the eventual internationalization of the city.<sup>123</sup> Throughout August and September the importance of arriving at a mutually acceptable Arab-Israeli agreement on Jerusalem was stressed.

The murder of Bernadotte in early September 1948, as deplorable as it was, nevertheless resulted in two positive developments according to Roussel.<sup>124</sup> First, 150 Stern and Lechi terrorists were arrested in Jerusalem by the Israeli government, effectively putting to an end their effectiveness as an independent military force, and second, the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC) was established by the UN to continue the work of Bernadotte. Despite the murder of Bernadotte, La Croix remained convinced that a negotiated settlement on Jerusalem could be arrived at between Israel and Transjordan. However, there was no guarantee that this negotiated settlement, acceptable to both Israel and Transjordan, would even resemble the Jerusalem Statute contained in the UN Partition Resolution. Nevertheless, the newspaper remained committed to the efforts of the PCC, realizing that in light of the reluctance of either the UN, or any major power to dispatch troops to the area, the only realistic solution to the Jerusalem problem was one agreed to by both Israel and Transjordan.

Underlying the optimism of La Croix that the PCC was the only realistic forum for bringing to a halt the war ravaging Jerusalem, was no doubt the fact that the PCC was composed of the representatives of the USA, Turkey and France. As has already been observed, the French hierarchy, intellectual elite and press enjoyed cordial relations with the Catholic MRP which was a leading member of the governing coalition then in power. Consequently, La Croix considered discrete pressure on the French government to represent Catholic concerns before the PCC, Israel and Transjordan as the most effective tool to achieve peace in Jerusalem, even if this peace was not the internationalization proposed by the Partition Resolution. However, this Catholic confidence in, and reliance on the

122. La Croix, July 28, 1948.

123. La Croix, August 4, 1948, p.2.

124. La Croix, September 19-20, 1948.

efforts of the French government was abruptly halted in late October with the release of the Papal Encyclical, "In Multiplicibus" which demanded that only "an international character" could protect the Christian interests in Jerusalem. The encyclical went on to define what these interests were. First, the protection of the "thousands of refugees, straying and driven from their homes" and second, the protection of the Holy Places.

This encyclical in effect put a quick halt to French Catholic confidence in the efforts of the PCC and the French government to negotiate a settlement acceptable to Israelis and Transjordanians. The document charted an independent Catholic position which demanded the internationalization of the City as the only solution acceptable to the Church. La Croix was not tardy in modifying its reporting to conform to this independent Catholic position.<sup>125</sup>

### The Christian Holy Places and the Refugee Problem

The encyclical, "In Multiplicibus" inspired a rapid succession of articles and appeals. On November 7-8, Jean Caret summarized a recent article in the ultra-conservative, France catholique by Daniel Rops, which called upon all Christians to pass from "stérile indignation" to action in defense of "ces monuments divins de l'Amour exalté jusqu'au sacrifice." He wrote that, "ce sont les pauvres hommes des deux côtés, mûs par une soif toute matérialiste de conquête terrestre."<sup>126</sup> He reminded Christians that they must unite to defend Jerusalem and its Holy Places, in fulfillment of their obligations imposed by Christian love. Two days later Caret defended the recent encyclical, and its call for the internationalization of Jerusalem, as having nothing to do with anti-Zionism, but rather to the place of Love in the world.<sup>127</sup>

Likewise, Jacques Buisson drew attention to the sorry plight of the Christian refugees driven from their homes before the advancing Israeli army. He stressed that 100,000 of the 600,000 refugees were Christians who had fled their homes out of fear of a repeat of the bloody massacre by the Zionist terrorists of the inhabitants of Deir-Yassin. Concerning Jerusalem he demanded a "règlement international" for the Christian Holy Places. He wrote ; "Démolis, profanés, les établissements chrétiens de Palestine, survivront-ils?" He accused the Jews of these acts and noted that the graffiti on them was always in Hebrew.<sup>128</sup>

125. La Croix, November 6, 1948, Jacques Buisson, pp.1 and 2.

126. La Croix, November 7 and 8, 1948.

127. La Croix, November 10, 1948.

128. La Croix, November 6 and 19, 1948.

Eventually, on November 12, La Croix printed the text of an appeal signed by many prominent Catholics entitled, "Un appel des catholiques français pour les Lieux Saints," which was published by L'Osservatore Romano on the same day, and by Documentation Catholique on November 21. The appeal began by stating;

Profondément émus par la situation où se trouvent aujourd'hui les grands Lieux Saints de Palestine, tels que Jérusalem, Bethléem et Nazareth, et aussi par l'état des oeuvres séculaires de la France en Terre Sainte;

Répondant à l'appel par la récente Encyclique pontificale, qui réclame l'internationalisation des Lieux Saints de Palestine et la liberté du culte et des chrétiens palestiniens;

Entendant demeurer fidèles à la grande tradition nationale qui, sous tous les régimes politiques, a constitué la France gardienne de la liberté des Lieux Saints;

Considérant d'ailleurs que l'Encyclique pontificale s'accorde pleinement avec la position déjà prise par la France en la question;

Demandent au gouvernement français de déposer auprès de l'ONU un projet concret inspiré de ces principes chrétiens français et humains qui sont actuels plus que jamais.<sup>129</sup>

The appeal was very significant because of the wide range of signatures which included the elite of French Catholic intellectuals, such as Louis Massignon, Paul Claudel, Francois Mauriac, Daniel Rops and Emmanuel Mounier, plus Maurice Vaussard of the MRP. However, interestingly absent were the members of the Catholic hierarchy as well as the personalities identified with the Judeo-Christian movement such as Jacques Maritain, and the members of the Notre-Dame de Sion Order, Revs. Danielou and Demann.<sup>130</sup>

This appeal attempted to maintain a delicate balance between three separate factors; first, the ongoing efforts of France within the PCC to achieve a settlement to the Jerusalem hostilities which would be acceptable to both Israel and Transjordan, second, the recent papal call for the

129. La Croix, November 12, 1948.

130. The complete list of signatories includes; F. Charles-Roux, Louis Massignon, Msgr. Beaupin, Henri Bedarida, Gaétan Bernoville, Henry Bordeaux, Maurice Brillant, The Duke of Broglie, Jean Cabannes, Rev. Chaillet, Paul Claudel, E. Coornaert, Dubois-Dumée, Jean de Fabrègues, Charles Flory, Jean le Cour Grandmaison, Francois Mauriac, Léon Noël, Georges Pernot, Georges Picot, le Bâtonnier Marcel Poignant, Gaston Tessier, Daniel Rops, Le Bras, Professor L'Hermitte, Gabriel Marcel, Roger Millot, More, Emmanuel Mounier, Sailles, Toledano, Maurice Vaussard and Stanislas Fumet.

internationalization of Jerusalem, and third, the relatively good relations which existed between the French Church and the French government. Its reference to "la grande tradition nationale" of France in the Holy Land in effect reflected the general French Catholic optimism that an eventual peaceful settlement to the question of the Holy Places and refugee question was possible. Jean Caret, a signatory, went so far as to envisage a key role for France not only in resolving the Jerusalem problem, but in rejuvenating the faltering UN. He called for a "grand union" between the Church and the UN brokered by France which would restore the moral authority to that body.<sup>131</sup>

At the same time, La Croix realized that the Jerusalem situation was only one part of a Near East situation which was growing in complexity and explosiveness as the Israeli troops advanced against the Egyptian troops. In an article entitled, "L'imbroglie palestinien," Caret argued that the danger of direct British involvement in the war in support of Egypt was a real possibility, which could eventually result in a major international war.<sup>132</sup> In such a situation even the best and most energetic efforts of France and the Catholic world would be ineffective.<sup>133</sup>

As a result, Caret began to realize that such grandiose visions of a Catholic - UN "union" to resolve the Palestine and Jerusalem problems was hardly realistic. He increasingly began to look towards the USA as the only power capable of putting a halt to the war in Palestine. In an article entitled "Vers une solution pacifique des conflits judéo-arabe et judéo-britannique?" the role of the USA in bringing the Arabs and Israelis to the negotiating table in Rhodes was praised.<sup>134</sup>

Throughout the Palestine War, La Croix remained optimistic that a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict could be found. This attitude remained constant in spite of the failure of either the UN or the French government to restrain the invasion of Palestine by the Arab armies or to halt the destruction of many Holy Places and the flight of the Christian Arabs from their homes. While at times very critical of the Israeli army and para-military groups, it was equally critical of the Arab forces and their British backers.

Whereas La Croix attempted to present a truly "Catholic" perspective on the war, a markedly more "French" Catholic attitude was adopted by L'Aube, the official organ of the governing French Catholic party, the MRP.

131. La Croix, December 12-13, 1948 and December 14, 1948, Jean Caret.

132. La Croix, January 11, 1949.

133. La Croix, January 17, 1949.

134. La Croix, January 12, 1949, signed J.R., and also, January 14, 1949.

## L'Aube and the War in Palestine

As has already been seen, L'Aube had been sympathetic to the idea of a Jewish state. The newspaper had defended the Zionist use of terrorism as legitimate acts of resistance against the British "occupation," and Arab threats of domination which were both compared to the heroic acts of resistance by the French underground during the Nazi occupation. A further bond of solidarity between the Jews and Frenchmen was created by the common memory of the concentration camps in which both Jews and Frenchmen had suffered. These common memories and aspirations for national liberation in the present had been given eloquent expression by La Ligue pour la Palestine Libre which exerted a strong influence on L'Aube.

The leading personalities of the newspaper, Maurice Schumann, Georges Bidault, and Maurice Vaussard, who were also leading figures in the MRP and the government during 1948, directly linked the horrors of the holocaust, and the agony of the survivors to the efforts of the Jews in Palestine to create a Jewish state. In October 1947, Vaussard had written; Un esprit indépendant de tout calcul politique a le droit de leur préférer l'aspiration d'un peuple longuement persécuté et, en dernier lieu, décimé par une entreprise sadique d'extermination à posséder enfin un foyer national.<sup>135</sup> This overriding moral-humanitarian consideration continued to dominate L'Aube even after the outbreak of the Palestine War.

L'Aube, like La Croix, held the Arabs, encouraged by Britain, entirely responsible for the outbreak of the war. British repression within Palestine, combined with their preparation of the Arab armies for an eventual invasion of Palestine, were condemned. Numerous articles stressed that Britain would never voluntarily leave Palestine. Maurice Schumann drew a direct parallel between the British encouragement of violence in the Indian subcontinent to justify their continued presence there, to their similar machinations in Palestine.<sup>136</sup>

On April 27, a headline read, "La Trans-Jordanie déclare la guerre aux juifs palestiniens," and on the following day King Abdullah's war plans were described as the seizure of Jerusalem, Nazareth and Bethlehem.<sup>137</sup> The same article reported that Abdullah's army was commanded by British officers.<sup>138</sup> The progress of Abdullah's forces was followed as were the various efforts to arrange a ceasefire. Abdullah was repeatedly

135. L'Aube, October 22, 1947.

136. L'Aube, August 16, 1947, "Les Anglais ne quittent pas l'Inde," Schumann.

137. L'Aube, April 27, 1948,

138. L'Aube, April 28, 1948.

criticized for refusing to accept a ceasefire and a headline on May 27 read, "Arabes portent la responsabilité de la continuation des combats." The Jewish surrender of the Old City, "après douze jours de résistance acharnée," was described under the headline, "Les défenseurs de Jérusalem ont dû capituler."<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, in an effort to remain objective, the Israeli conquest of Haifa was described by an Arab source on April 23 as a "vrai massacre."

Abdullah's success in seizing the Old City and his determination to continue the war against the Jews seriously alarmed L'Aube. Beginning at the end of May, a series of articles and declarations was published that called for a concentrated effort to protect Jerusalem. On May 31, an appeal made by Cardinal Suhard was published which read in part;

On se bat à Jérusalem! Chrétiens, vous devez ressentir cela jusqu'à la douleur. Vous devez frémir en voyant figurer dans les communiqués la Galilée, Bethléhem, Jérusalem, ces noms chargés d'histoire divine.<sup>140</sup>

Shortly later, Georges Bidault, French delegate to the UN and MRP member, was reported as declaring; "Nous agirons pour soustraire Jérusalem et les lieux saints à toute mainmise." At the same time identical notes were sent to Amman and Tel Aviv by the French Government demanding the evacuation and respect of the French religious establishments occupied during the war.<sup>141</sup>

Bidault's concern for the Holy Places and his reference to "toute mainmise" reflected growing French, in both government and Catholic circles, concern for the fate of the French religious establishments in the city. In addition to the numerous French-supported schools, hospitals and charitable establishments, of special concern was the gigantic hostel of Notre Dame de France on the hill dominating the Old City. It had been occupied by both Israelis and Arabs, looted and partially destroyed. It was eventually occupied by Israeli troops and became the object of increasing French alarm.<sup>142</sup> On July 9, L'Aube reported that the Jews continued to refuse to evacuate the French establishments in spite of the demand of May 28.

Like La Croix, L'Aube was alarmed by the inability of the UN to halt the ongoing war in Palestine. In April, the newspaper reported on the efforts of the UN <sup>143</sup>, plus the plan to place the city under the flag of the Red Cross<sup>144</sup>, and the US

139. L'Aube, May 29, 1948, see also May 24, 25, 27 and 28, 1948.

140. L'Aube, May 31, 1948.

141. Ibid.

142. See. L' Croix, May 29, June 5, and following, especially July 10, 1948.

143. L'Aube, April 16, 1948.

144. L'Aube, May 11, 1948.

- French discussion for a UN trusteeship to replace the Partition Resolution.<sup>145</sup>

Maurice Schumann, one of the strongest Catholic supporters of the Zionist cause and the need for a homeland for the survivors of the death camps, argued that only a strong UN military force of intervention could avoid a repeat of the holocaust, this time in Palestine.<sup>146</sup> In an article entitled, "Arrêtez le carnage ou fermez l'ONU," of May 21, he wrote that the very "raison d'être" of the UN had been to stop war, and that if it was unable to halt the "butchery" then devastating Palestine, the organization should be disbanded. He likewise condemned the USA and USSR for paralysing the UN efforts to organize such a military force.<sup>147</sup>

Schumann, Maurice Vaussard, Jean Dannenmuller and Louis Terrenoire continued to criticise the UN for its unwillingness to confront the situation in Palestine. Terrenoire, argued that Moscow "se comporte comme si le sabotage des fragiles institutions de paix faisait partie d'un plan déterminé..."<sup>148</sup> He recognised that, in fact, the UN was the first victim of the Cold War which he described as "la réalité d'un univers coupé en deux."<sup>149</sup>

The General Assembly decision to appoint Count Folk Bernadotte to head a Special Municipal Commission for Jerusalem was interpreted by L'Aube as a sign that at long last, the UN was beginning to assume its role as peacemaker. It was noted that the Commission was to propose suitable measures for the protection of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants and to submit within the shortest possible time, proposals to the General Assembly to that effect.<sup>150</sup>

As has already been seen, La Croix had welcomed the appointment of Count Bernadotte with great expectations, and had likewise lamented his murder as a great loss to peace in Palestine. Nevertheless, La Croix continued to be optimistic that PCC, French and eventually American arbitration would eventually lead to a solution to the Jerusalem question and overall peace in Palestine. However, L'Aube which welcomed the appointment of Bernadotte with even more enthusiasm than La Croix, was likewise even more devastated by his murder. As will be seen, L'Aube held Israel totally responsible for this crime and eventually adopted a highly critical attitude to the new state.

145. L'Aube, May 13, 1948.

146. See especially Schumann's address to the "Conférence générale des Anciens internés victimes du racisme," L'Aube, February 4-5, 1945; "Ceux de Buchenwald," April 20, 1945; "L'Appel à la conscience," on the UN, June 26, 1945; "Regardez Ailleurs," November 1, 1945, and November 22, 1945.

147. L'Aube, May 21, 1948.

148. L'Aube, September 18, 1947, "L'ONU et la réalité."

149. L'Aube, September 27, 1947.

150. UN Resolution 187 (S-2) of May 6, 1948, L'Aube, May 6, 1948.

The UN General Assembly appointed Bernadotte to mediate between the Arabs and Jews with the following instructions:

(a) To use his good offices with the local and community authorities in Palestine to:

- i. Arrange for the operation of common services necessary to the safety and well being of the population of Palestine
- ii. Assure the protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine
- iii. Promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine;

(b) To co-operate with the Truce Commission for Palestine appointed by the Security Council in its resolution of 23 April 1948;

(c) To invite, as seems to him advisable, with a view to the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of Palestine, the assistance and co-operation of appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as the World Health Organization, of the International Red Cross, and of other governmental and non-political organizations;<sup>151</sup>

Finally, the UN instructed the United Nations Mediator to submit progress reports monthly to the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

The difficulties facing the UN Mediator were underlined in an article by Vaussard entitled, "Paix dans la Justice pour la Palestine."<sup>152</sup> Vaussard argued that the most difficult task facing the Mediator was convincing two rival idealisms, both of which opposed partition, that partition, though unjust to both, was the only way that peace could be preserved in Palestine. On one hand, the Gandhian type idealism, represented by Louis Massignon, opposed partition and Zionism because both rejected the possibility that two different peoples could possibly live in harmony and peace. Drawing upon the tragic experience of the Indian Sub-continent, such opponents of partition predicted that partition would result in violent outbreaks of anti-Judaism throughout the world and the establishment of a Jewish state tainted by violent anti-Arabism. Only a unified state in which Arabs and Jews lived side by side could check the spread of fanaticism.

In opposition to the Gandhian idealism, was the Irgun idealism, which was inspired by an equally valid vision of a Jewish people returning to their land following thousands of years of forced exile and persecution. For the Irgun, any attempt to partition their ancient homeland was an unjust and immoral violation of their historic rights.

151. UN Resolution 186 (S-2).

152. L'Aube, July 2, 1948.

Vaussard argued that Bernadotte had the uneasy task of convincing both parties to accept partition as a necessary compromise, in view of the impossibility of achieving the ideal solution envisaged by both. Unfortunately, the task of the UN was further complicated by what Vaussard describes as the "hypocrisy" which opposed "une fois de plus Américains et Russes." While speaking of peace and compromise, the two super powers continued to encourage the opposing factions in their war. Nevertheless, Vaussard argued that the mission of Bernadotte had a chance of success if, finally, the UN was able to mobilize a significant international military force. While, on one hand, he lamented that "la tuerie se prolonge en Palestine pendant que les augures de Lake Success (the UN) pesèrent gravement le pour et le contre de solutions." On the other hand, he concluded that such solutions, "n'acquerraient un commencement de réalisme qu'avec la création de cette force internationale aguerrie et puissante, instrument des décisions d'une véritable société des nations."

Vaussard's conviction that a mediated solution to the Palestine situation was a possibility if supported by the full potential of the UN continued to dominate the pages of L'Aube throughout the summer of 1948.<sup>153</sup> Implicit in Vaussard's position in L'Aube was his support for the state of Israel. At the same time as the newspaper was welcoming the appointment of Count Bernadotte as UN Mediator in Palestine, it was hailing in almost prophetic terms the creation of the new Jewish state. On May 14, a headline read, "L'Etat Juif Proclamé ce soir à Tel-Aviv." The following day it reported that the new state was both legal and legitimate, based on the UN Partition Decision." In still another article on May 15, Jean Dannenmuller wrote that the first act of the state was the abrogation of the restrictions on Jewish immigration, thus opening the gates to the thousands of survivors of the concentration camps in Europe. He then presented the entire text of the declaration of independence and quoted a representative of the Jewish Agency who described the significance of the new state as follows;

Les prédictions des prophètes sont réalisées. Selon ces prédictions, le peuple juif devait être condamné à 2000 ans de vie errante et misérable, au terme desquels il devait retourner en Palestine et, après des débuts difficiles, y jouir enfin de la paix.<sup>154</sup>

The assassination of Count Bernadotte in September totally shattered Vaussard's hopes for a peaceful solution to both the Palestine and Jerusalem problems. On September 21, he published

153. See, L'Aube, July 9, July 14, July 17, July 19, August 7, August 8 and August 9, 1948.

154. L'Aube, May 15, 1948, p.4. See also May 14, 1948.

a lengthy article entitled, "La leçon du meurtre de Jérusalem," in which he presented the murder as representing a major turning point in the evolution of Israel.<sup>155</sup> During August, L'Aube had reported on several occasions that Menachem Begin of the Irgun was pressuring the Israeli government to annex Jerusalem and to continue the war against the Arab states. Nevertheless, the newspaper remained optimistic that the moderate members and leadership of Israel would be able to resist these demands of the radicals.<sup>156</sup> However, the murder of Bernadotte by the Irgun forces, represented for Vaussard a major step towards the victory of a nationalism "le plus intransigent," over the forces of moderation in Israel. He drew the conclusion that the murder was in fact Israel's response to the efforts of Bernadotte to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the problem of Jerusalem.

Vaussard was clearly deeply troubled by the assassination. The above article, which was in fact his last article on Palestine published in L'Aube, denied that the emerging intransigent nationalism in Israel was a form of religious fanaticism. Like most French Catholic supporters of the Zionist cause, his support was clearly humanitarian and not religious. In fact, Vaussard clearly stated, "il ne faut rien attendre des sentiments religieux des Juifs sionistes - (...) parce qu'ils sont à peu près inexistantes." Nevertheless, the Zionist demand for "exclusive control of Jerusalem" indicated that more was at work than mere nationalistic fervour. He warned,

...les Chrétiens peuvent s'inquiéter davantage encore de la forme que prendrait vraisemblablement une possession sioniste exclusive de la ville sainte.

The murder of Bernadotte in fact marked the end of the strong support for the Zionist movement and later the state of Israel which had marked L'Aube during the years following the Second World War. Vaussard, Schumann, Terrenoire and Dannenmuller all withdrew into total silence on Israel and Jerusalem as of September 1948. In their place the long-standing opponent of Zionism and the State of Israel, Louis Massignon dominated the pages of the newspaper.

This abrupt change in position on the part of L'Aube can be traced to the very nature of its earlier expressed support for the idea of a Jewish state. The justification, even necessity, for such a state had been traced to the ravages of anti-Semitism and the holocaust, which required some form of a humanitarian solution for the survivors of Hitler's death camps. Thus, Christian support for the establishment of the state, its defence against the Arab-British attack and finally the need for peace with its neighbors, were gestures of humanitarian

155. L'Aube, September 21, 1948, "La leçon du meurtre de Jérusalem," p.2.

156. See, L'Aube, August 6, 7, 8, 9 and 26, 1948.

solidarity with a suffering people. In 1946 Vaussard had even defended the use of terrorism by the Zionists as "l'expédient désespéré de minorités qui repugnent elles-mêmes aux moyens qu'elles emploient."<sup>157</sup> When these same terrorist tactics were turned towards that person, who in Vaussard's opinion represented a peaceful solution to the Palestine war, Vaussard and many other Catholics felt betrayed.

The effective silencing of a large part of French Catholic supporters of Israel and the consequent reorientation of L'Aube from strong support to criticism of Israel marked the defeat for those Catholics who believed that a secular Zionist state posed no threat to Catholic interests in Jerusalem or to relations between Catholics and Jews. Beginning in October, nearly all the articles in L'Aube on Jerusalem and Palestine were written by Louis Massignon, who had until then written mainly for Témoignage Chrétien.<sup>158</sup>

Massignon had long suspected that Zionism was a dangerous attempt by anti-religious Jews to replace the worship of God with that of nationalism.<sup>159</sup> In April 1948, he had published an article in Témoignage Chrétien entitled, "Jérusalem, Ville de Paix," in which he described the "deportation" of the Christians from Haifa which he had personally witnessed during his visit to Palestine.<sup>160</sup> However, of even greater importance than such war time tragedies for Massignon was the fate of Jerusalem.

Massignon called for the establishment of a "universal Jerusalem" under a "supreme international authority" which would respect the equality of Jews, Moslems and Christians. Only under such a regime could the city become a city of peace. The many years Massignon had spent in the Middle East and studying the religions of the area, had convinced him that any attempt to separate religion from nationality in that area was totally fictitious. Whether religious, agnostic, atheist or even a convert, a Jew remained a Jew, and even the "secular" Zionist goal of a state in Palestine was perceived by Muslims as but just another expression of the age old religious mission of the Jews. Each individual was bound to his race and religion by bonds which were beyond the individual to break. Thus, a Zionist seizure of Jerusalem would be de facto Jewish control which the Muslim world would be religiously bound to oppose. Likewise,

157. L'Aube, November 27, 1946, "La Tragédie Sioniste," p.3.

158. Another factor that probably influenced L'Aube's change in position and the silence of Vaussard was the publication of the Papal Encyclical, "In Multiplicibus". This encyclical called for an international character for Jerusalem and its surrounding area. See, L'Osservatore Romano, October 25, 1948.

159. See, Témoignage Chrétien, December 12, 1947, "Une ou deux Palestine?"

160. Témoignage Chrétien, April 30, 1948.

Muslim or Christian control would be resisted by the Jewish world.<sup>161</sup>

An international Jerusalem reflected Massignon's vision of the divine mystery of God's workings through Judaism, Christianity and Islam. On the other hand, exclusive Jewish control of Jerusalem would represent a Jewish rejection of this vision of a common Jewish - Christian - Muslim destiny, in favor of exclusive Jewish control of the holy city of the three religions.

Massignon's belief that Zionism was but a poorly disguised messianic movement to reclaim the unique distinction of being God's chosen people, in total disregard for the subsequent "divine selection" of Christianity and Islam as divine partners to the Jews in God's plan for humanity, was reflected in his numerous articles on the war in Palestine. One of the most eloquent expressions of this point of view was in July 1948, following the Israeli occupation of Nazareth. The occupation of this city, almost totally Christian in population, filled with Holy Places and included in the Arab state by the Partition Resolution, was viewed as a deliberate effort on the part of the Zionists to reclaim the glory and empire of the ancient Israelites in spite of the holiness of the city to Christians.<sup>162</sup>

Later, at the end of October 1948, in an article in L'Aube entitled, "L'Avenir des Lieux Saints en Terre Sainte," he accused the Zionists of rejecting the principle of internationalization and universality, i.e. of equality with Christians and Muslims, in favor of exclusive Israeli control of all of Palestine.<sup>163</sup> Thus, while La Croix and L'Aube were eagerly following the efforts of Count Bernadotte to negotiate a resolution to the situation in both Jerusalem and Palestine, Massignon argued that Israel rejected any compromise in principle. In particular the very idea of internationalization was contrary to the religious objectives of the Zionists.<sup>164</sup>

Massignon's fears appeared to be confirmed during the winter of 1948-'49 when intensive efforts to arrange a bilateral Israeli - Jordanian agreement in Jerusalem reached their peak. L'Aube published an article entitled, "Accord entre Israël et la Transjordanie sur le partage de Jérusalem?" which noted that the two states had already reached agreement on many issues. Later, the newspaper reported that recent statements by the Israeli government confirmed its unwillingness to

161. See also, Témoignage Chrétien, July 23, 1948.

162. Ibid.

163. L'Aube, October 25, 1948.

164. Ibid. The Israeli government had submitted a draft resolution to the UN proposing the internationalization of only the Old City, within the walls which contained the vast majority of the Holy Places. The Old City was at that time under Jordanian occupation.

internationalize the city.<sup>165</sup> La Croix quoted recent statements by Moshe Sharett to this effect, and later under the headline, "Amman et Tel Aviv d'accord sur la partage de Jérusalem" considered such an agreement as inevitable.<sup>166</sup> By March 1949 both La Croix and L'Aube reported that Israel planned to declare Jerusalem the capital of the state.<sup>167</sup>

This series of events beginning with the murder of Bernadotte, the apparent Israeli unwillingness to admit even the principle of internationalization in favour of a negotiated Israeli-Jordanian settlement, and the emergence of Massignon as the major French Catholic spokesman on the Jerusalem issue, represented a major shift in the position of L'Aube. The essentially humanitarian support for Zionism that had been expressed by Vaussard, Terrenoire, Dannenmuller and Maurice Schumann was replaced by a religious inspired support for an international status for Jerusalem. This later position was to dominate L'Aube thereafter.<sup>168</sup>

La France catholique, in contrast to La Croix and L'Aube, did not systematically follow the hostilities in Palestine nor share in the hope that an eventual pacific resolution was possible. This pessimism can be traced to the newspaper's perception that the Palestine problem was essentially unsolvable because it went beyond a limited territorial conflict between Jews and Arabs. The Jews, Rene Pinon argued, were fired by "une mystique nationale" which was derived from the spiritual and messianic source of Judaism.<sup>169</sup> In contrast to the other French Catholic newspapers which perceived the Arab - Israeli struggle in essentially political and military terms, and thus placed their hopes in the mobilization of an international military force or in the mediating role of Count Bernadotte, La France catholique perceived the struggle in religious, even messianic terms. Rene Pinon wrote in July 1948;

Il faut enfin tenir compte d'une mystique nationale juive et de l'enthousiasme émouvant qui suscite parmi les éléments spirituels du judaïsme la renaissance de l'Etat d'Israël et le réveil d'une sorte de millénarisme juif.<sup>170</sup>

Likewise, concerning Jerusalem, Pinon wrote that this problem was in essence, religious.

165. L'Aube, February 16, 1949, p.3.

166. L'Aube, November 16, 1948.

167. La Croix, November 17, 1948, p.2.

168. La Croix, February 16, 1949.

169. La France Catholique, July 30, 1948, "Trêve en Palestine," p.3.

170. Ibid.

Tout les peuples civilisés s'intéressent au destin de la Palestine. Jérusalem ne doit être le domaine particulier ni des Juifs ni des Arabes; elle est la ville sainte, la capitale spirituelle de l'humanité civilisée; elle doit rester accessible à toutes les nations et s'élever comme un haut symbole de paix et de fraternité humaine...171

Because of the newspapers religious perception of both the war in Palestine and the Jerusalem situation, only a few voices expressed their optimism on the efforts of Count Bernadotte or a peaceful resolution of the problems.172

Following the assassination of Bernadotte, for which La France catholique held both the Stern gang as well as the Israeli government responsible,173 the newspaper reverted into near total silence on Palestine, which was to endure until late April 1949. This silence was due in part to the general pessimism on the negotiations and the Bernadotte mediation. However, it can also be attributed to the reluctance of the newspaper to counter the still strong French Catholic support for Israel. As has been seen, this support had been of a humanitarian nature which portrayed the state of Israel and Zionism as secular movements. La France catholique, however, like Louis Massignon, had not accepted this position, and had traced the roots of Zionism to a religiously inspired messianism. As will be seen in the following chapter, in the markedly changed atmosphere of mid-1949, the newspaper emerged from its silence to become the champion of the re-emerging Catholic right in France which was not only critical of Israel for its stand on Jerusalem, but sharply criticized the other Catholic newspapers for their support of Israel.

171. Ibid. See also, La France Catholique, February 13, 1948, "Arabes et Sionistes en Palestine;" and October 1, 1948, "Le Problème Palestinien," p.3.

172. See in particular, La France Catholique, July 23, 1948, "Bernadotte - Le Médiateur," La Garde-Guerin.

173. La France Catholique, September 24, 1948, G.-M. Tracy, pp.1-4.

#### 4. L'Osservatore Romano and the War in Palestine

L'Osservatore Romano continued to view the Palestine problem as a microcosm of the Near East and even of the world political situation in general. The strong British inspired myth that the Arab masses were awaiting a precipitous moment to launch a Holy War to sweep the infidel Christian minorities into the sea, obsessed the newspaper and especially Guido Gonella in his column "Acta Diruna." This widespread myth had been encouraged by the alarmist articles in The Tablet of London and by Brother Bruya in the American Catholic press. Both agreed that only the erection of an effective barrier separating the Muslim masses from the Christian minorities could ensure their survival. Bruya stressed the protective barrier of Christian - supported schools, hospitals and other charitable institutions which rendered this minority indispensable for the well-being of the Muslim world, while Gonella emphasized a series of UN endorsed treaties between the "Christian Powers" of Europe and the new Arab states in which minority rights would be effectively guaranteed.

The earlier exaggerated hopes of Gonella that a powerful, pro-British system of alliances would emerge in the region from North Africa to Iran and Greece still dominated the thinking of L'Osservatore Romano as late as January 18, 1948, when Gonella wrote that new encouraging signs were emerging to indicate that this was still a realistic possibility. A recently concluded British-Iraqi treaty had improved relations between the two countries, and Anglo-British relations were improving in spite of the vexing Sudan question. Bevin was quoted as saying that the Anglo-Iraqi treaty would be the first in a series of treaties between the Arabs and Britain which would guarantee British influence in spite of the profound "redistribution of force then taking place in the region."<sup>174</sup>

At the same time Gonella was aware of the growing American interest in the region. His attitude towards the US was at best ambivalent. At times he admitted that Great Britain alone would be unable to resist the Soviet advance into the Near East and as a consequence spoke positively of an Anglo-US bloc capable of opposing the Soviet-Eastern European bloc. In other contexts, he proposed an Anglo-French bloc to exclude both super-powers. Nevertheless, the preoccupying theme in Gonella's thinking was the danger to what he referred to as the "ponte euro-asiatico."

The Palestine war was a sign for Gonella that Britain was unable and unwilling to guarantee the stability of the region. In February he wrote, with reservations, of the possibility of

174. L'Osservatore Romano, January 18, 1948, "Equilibrio politico nel Mediterraneo," p.4.

an enlarged American role in the region.<sup>175</sup> However, Gonella was reluctant to endorse such a role because it would represent taking sides in the US-USSR rivalry, a step he wanted to avoid at all cost. As a result he clung desperately to his "Third Bloc" ideal.<sup>176</sup>

In early February, Gonella again reviewed the situation in the Near East under the headline, "Gli avvenimenti del Medio Oriente." In what he described as a growing "war of nerves," the Soviet - American rivalries in Iran, Yugoslavia and Greece, plus a recent Soviet - Romanian pact were discussed, and the conclusion was drawn that the struggle for the "Euro-Asian Bridge" stretching from Greece to Iran, was assuming crisis proportions. In addition, Jewish immigrants from the USSR and Eastern Europe was described as communist agents carrying out a preconceived and well organized plan to broaden Soviet influence in the region. Gonella clearly considered the growing Arab - Zionist struggle as just another arena of the US-USSR struggle for world domination.<sup>177</sup>

Gonella concluded his article by repeating his call for the establishment of a European-Near Eastern bloc which would

175. L'Osservatore Romano, February 8, 1948, "Gli avvenimenti del Medio Oriente."

176. Jean La Farge SJ, editor of America, had attempted to neutralize this widespread European Catholic fear that the emergence of "Protestant" America into a major world power was threat to "Catholic" Europe. La Farge, in Etudes, had published an article during the Partition debate at the UN, entitled "L'Eglise Catholique dans une Perspective mondiale." He defended the American abandonment of isolationism as posing no danger to the traditional role of Europe in world affairs. He reiterated the American Catholic commitment to the same moral values that Europe had defended for so many centuries. (Etudes, September 1947, pp.145-152.) Later in November 1948, the same periodical concluded that contemporary America was indeed not interested in erecting great cathedrals or composing theological works, but nevertheless, American Catholicism represented, "une synthèse harmonieuse des sciences et de la pensée chrétienne" (Etudes, "Retour d'U.S.A., Physionomie du Catholicisme Américain," Raymond Jouve, November 1948, pp.179-199).

On September 28, 1947, Documentation Catholique reprinted an article from The Tablet of London of January 18 and 25, 1947 by John Epstein which had welcomed what it referred to as "l'éveil de la conscience américaine à ses responsabilités internationales" (Documentation Catholique, September 28, 1947, cols. 1235-1248).

177. L'Osservatore Romano, February 8, 1948.

ensure the continuation of Europe as a major world power.

As a result of L'Osservatore Romano's preoccupation with the role of the Near East in the global struggle for power in the post-Second World War era, the Palestine War was presented as a regional expression of this global crisis. This impression was given graphic expression in the Papal Encyclical, "Auspicam Quaedam," published by L'Osservatore Romano on May 3-4, 1948.178

#### The Encyclical, "Auspicam Quaedam"

This encyclical, the first of three on the Palestine question, placed the problem of Palestine and the Holy Places in the larger context of a general effort to heal the wounds of the recent war in Europe; "to restore lost prosperity, to heal discords and to rebuild from the mighty ruins under which we groan."

Even though the war has ceased in nearly every land, still benign peace has not yet dawned on the minds and hearts of all men; indeed, the sky is still heavy with threatening clouds.

The encyclical proposed five concrete steps to achieve "mutual fraternal and complete peace among all nations, and the longed for harmony among all social classes."

Let there be an end to dissensions that rebound to no one's advantage. Let there be a reconciliation of disputes that often sow the seeds of further misfortunes. Let international relations, public and private, be fittingly strengthened. Let religion, the foster mother of all virtues, enjoy the liberty to which she is entitled. And let men set about their peaceful work of abundant production for the common welfare - with justice their guide and charity their motive.

The efforts to achieve peace among nations were being especially disturbed by the situation in Palestine, the encyclical continued, and especially that of the Holy Places which brings "affliction and keen anxiety to our hearts."

We desire, therefore, Venerable Brethren, that supplications be poured fourth to the Most Holy Virgin for this request: that the situation in Palestine may at long last be settled justly and thereby concord and peace be also happily established.

178. L'Osservatore Romano, May 3-4, 1948, for English translation, see, The Papal Encyclicals, ed. IHM.

We place great confidence in the most powerful patronage of Our Heavenly Mother - a patronage which during this month, dedicated to her, innocent children especially will implore in a holy crusade of prayer.

The Catholic press throughout the world printed the encyclical and interpreted it as a sign of official Vatican concern for the fate of Palestine. In an article entitled, "Help for the Holy Land is Sought," The Tablet of Brooklyn stressed that Pius XII regarded the Palestine issue as a major threat to peace, capable of generating "mutual disputes and hatreds."<sup>179</sup> Cardinal Suhard of Paris appealed;

On se bat à Jérusalem. Chrétiens, vous devez ressentir cela jusqu'à la douleur. Vous devez frémir en voyant figurer dans les communiqués la Galilée, Bethléhem, Jérusalem, ces noms chargés d'histoire divine.<sup>180</sup>

Following the publication of the encyclical by L'Osservatore Romano, the newspaper began a systematic analysis of the problem. Of central concern for the newspaper was the inability of the UN to significantly stem the increase in hostilities. As has already been seen, the UN had been the keystone in Catholic efforts to establish a stable post-world war peace and the encyclical "Auspicam Quaedam" had likewise called for the strengthening of international relations, "both public and private."

Close attention was paid to the UN efforts to broker a truce in Jerusalem. Throughout April and May, while Jewish and Arab forces fought for control of the city, the newspaper observed on several occasions that the Soviet - American cooperation which had given birth to the Partition Resolution, just a few months earlier, was still visible. On May 19, the American proposal in the Security Council that the Palestine situation be declared a danger to peace was welcomed by the newspaper, and it was noted with satisfaction that the USSR had supported the motion.<sup>181</sup> However, in an article entitled, "Verso una tregua a Gerusalemme," it was reported that Jordan's King Abdullah had stated that his country was not bound by UN decisions and that the Arab countries would be justified in withdrawing from the organization if it insisted on imposing a Jewish state in Palestine. This attitude was interpreted as a threat to the UN as an institution.<sup>182</sup>

On May 21, shortly after the Israeli declaration of independence, Gonella devoted a lengthy article, entitled, "Lo

179. The Tablet of Brooklyn, May 8, 1948.

180. L'Aube, May 31, 1948, and La Croix, May 30-31, 1948.

181. L'Osservatore Romano, May 19, 1948, and May 20, 1948.

182. L'Osservatore Romano, April 30, 1948, "Verso una tregua a Gerusalemme."

sviluppo del conflitto in Palestine," to the background of the Palestine problem.<sup>183</sup> In a concerted effort to define and limit the problem, Gonella identified three historical causes to the war then going on; first, the Balfour Declaration that promised the Jews a homeland in an area that was overwhelmingly Arab, second, the drastic rise in Jewish immigration beginning in 1921, and third, the cause for this immigration, the enactment of racial laws in Germany which left many Jews with no alternative but emigration to Palestine.

Having presented the causes of the present crisis, Gonella summarized the numerous attempts to reach a compromise solution that would satisfy the Arab inhabitants as well as the Jewish immigrants. Beginning with the King-Crane (1920), Peel (1938) and Joint Anglo-American (1946) Commissions, he continued with the Partition Resolution and arrived finally at the March 1948 American proposal to establish a UN Trusteeship for all of Palestine. The latter was interpreted as a sign that the Partition had been effectively abandoned. Without announcing its support for the UN Trusteeship Proposal of the US, it was summarized with the note that the USSR had taken its seat on the Trusteeship Council for the first time since its establishment by the UN. Without dwelling on the merits or weaknesses of any of the above plans, the reader is left with the impression that in fact no plan existed to resolve the situation.

As the title of his article indicates, the situation in Palestine was still developing, and that the UN Partition Resolution and American proposal for a UN Trusteeship were just alternative proposals, none of which had succeeded. At this stage, one can conclude, that what later became the official Vatican and Catholic position of the "sanctity" of the 1947 Partition Resolution, and in particular its Jerusalem provisions, had not yet emerged. For this reason, the appointment of Count Bernadotte as UN Mediator was welcomed as holding promise for finally elaborating a plan for Palestine which would halt the war and reconcile Jews and Arabs.<sup>184</sup> Special emphasis was given to the fact that the appointment of Bernadotte was in itself a "highly unusual event" in that all five permanent members of the Security Council, France, Britain, the USSR, the USA and China, had agreed to his selection.

Beginning with this article, L'Osservatore Romano began to follow the progress of the war in Palestine in close detail. It described the fate of every Jewish and Arab hamlet, road junction, Christian, Jewish and Muslim Holy Place, in both Palestine and Jerusalem.<sup>185</sup> In addition to the advances of the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian armies, special attention was paid to the Arab siege of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.<sup>186</sup>

183. L'Osservatore Romano, May 21, 1948, "Lo sviluppo del conflitto in Palestina."

184. L'Osservatore Romano, May 22, 1948, "La nomina di un mediatore dell'ONU." translated by author.

185. See L'Osservatore Romano, May 19, 1948.

186. See L'Osservatore Romano, May 22, 23, and 24-25, 1948.

## The Battle for Jerusalem

Jerusalem became a major focus of attention of L'Osservatore Romano beginning in May 1948. The few previous references to the city included a note on the Partition Resolution provisions for the city and the UN efforts to negotiate a truce.<sup>187</sup> On May 23, an article entitled, "La battaglia continua a infuriare a Gerusalemme," described the struggle for control of the Old City and the suburbs outside the walls. Especially disturbing to the newspaper was the ambiguous role being played by the Israeli terrorist groups in the war effort. The Irgun and Stern groups had transferred the bulk of their forces to Jerusalem because the terms of their submission to the authority of the newly established Israeli government had stipulated that only those forces "within the confines of the state of Israel" were required to accept the Israeli command. The troops in Jerusalem were officially located in "occupied" territory, not in Israel proper. Thus, the Irgun and Stern operated at times as an independent army, and at times in concert with the Israeli army in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the two groups were adamant in their demands that Jerusalem be incorporated into the state of Israel before they disband as an independent military force.<sup>188</sup>

The newspaper noted that the terrorist groups appeared at times to be acting in concert with the Israeli army, and at times their activities were condemned by the government. This ambiguous position of the groups which were notorious for their attacks on civilians and bloody massacres was to eventually lead to their murder of Count Bernadotte in September.

The following day, an article entitled, "Si arrivera a una tregua in Palestina?" described the beleaguered city, surrounded on three sides by Arab forces, a tenuous Jewish control of the Jewish suburbs, and permanent Arab shelling of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. Over 15,000 Arab refugees had already fled from the Jewish controlled areas to escape further massacres by the Jewish terrorist groups. The Arab strategy to take the city was described as "capitulation through hunger."<sup>189</sup> He continued;

Jerusalem is at present very much in the thoughts of hundreds of millions of believers, who are anxious about its fate. The development of hostilities in Palestine

187. Previous references to Jerusalem had been a report on the Partition Resolution Jerusalem provisions on February 12, 1948 and the UN efforts to achieve a truce in Jerusalem on April 30, 1948.

188. L'Osservatore Romano, May 23, 1948, and September 4 and 22, 1948.

189. L'Osservatore Romano, May 24-25, and June 5, 1948.

have placed it right at the center of enemy troop concentrations which - according to reports on the fighting going on - are concentrating even further. Jewish troops have barricaded themselves in that center, identified as the old city, and according to reports, are preparing themselves for fierce resistance. At any rate, such seems to be their attitude, all of which brings back to mind most vividly the scenes of destruction of a war which only yesterday was causing bloodshed throughout the world.<sup>190</sup>

Gonella traced the cause for this bloody situation to the Partition Resolution which in his opinion represented the final admission that Jews and Arabs could not live together. "That things might come to this has been feared for months, indeed ever since the partition decided by the UN delineated the Jewish and Arab areas." The struggle had begun in Jerusalem when the "Hagana forces had violently attacked the Arab quarter of Jerusalem on April 25, and this had been taken as a sign that the battle for possession of the city had begun."

In spite of his rather negative appraisal of the Partition Plan, Gonella continued that in order to spare the city "from the devastation of war, and to ensure that the spiritual values which that city represents to millions of people in all the countries of the world be respected," the partition plan had provided that the City and the surrounding areas "given a special status" (*un ordinamento speciale*). He then went on to summarize the provisions of the statute, its governmental institutions, independent police force, the UN guarantee of the integrity and international status of the City. The various attempts to implement the statute were discussed and the urgent need to take some action was stressed.

The UN, however, according to Gonella, was incapable of responding to this need.

Unhappily, the remark once made by a Roman historian at the time Hannibal initiated his campaign against Rome has to be repeated: while Lake Success talks, Jerusalem is under attack, and this will go on regardless of which side had the upper hand in the war now taking place. The contrast between what went on at the UN as a result of these proposals and what was being achieved - or rather, not being achieved - in Jerusalem has provided a measure of what the highest international organization is able to do. Its demonstrated inability to prevent the conflict between Jews and Arabs in the tangle of different interests in the Middle East became a matter of grave concern when it proved incapable of sparing the city - and what a city - from the devastation of war...<sup>191</sup>

190. Ibid., translated by author.

191. Ibid.

Gonella's increasing interest in the UN Jerusalem proposal must be viewed from the perspective of his overall view of the situation in Jerusalem, as well as of the totality of Palestine. First, the newspaper was convinced that Jerusalem, surrounded on three sides as it was by Arab armies, was on the verge of falling under total Arab domination. On June 5, for example, it was reported that the sole Jewish link between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv had been cut and that the military situation was rapidly "swinging in favor of the Arabs." In addition, the inferiority in numbers and resources would, in the long run, favor the Arabs.<sup>192</sup>

Second, L'Osservatore Romano was convinced that the "real war" had not yet begun.<sup>193</sup> The present Arab-Jewish siege of Jerusalem, in the opinion of the newspaper, was merely the preparatory stage of the struggle between the major powers for domination of the Near East. Britain was continuing to send arms to the Arab states, the USSR was sending Jewish immigrant combattants in increasing numbers with the intention of "perpetuating uncertainty in the area," and both the US and USSR were hoping to prolong the war to further their own strategic interests.<sup>194</sup>

In addition to the above Israeli-Arab confrontation and major power involvement in the Jerusalem battle, L'Osservatore Romano continued to be acutely sensitive to the role of the Irgun and Stern groups in the city. On June 5 it was reported that a Stern ultimatum to the Red Cross Office in Jerusalem stated that they would cease to consider the organization as neutral in the conflict if it considered to retain Arabs on its staff. The activities of the terrorist groups, often referred to as "irregular troops" by the newspaper, were considered one of the major "dangers to peace" and the effective implementation of any truce.<sup>195</sup> As late as September 1948, the newspaper repeated that the continuing "autonomy" of these groups still posed a major threat to peace in Jerusalem.<sup>196</sup>

As L'Osservatore Romano was becoming increasingly disillusioned by the situation in Jerusalem, the danger posed by the terrorist groups and the inability of either the major powers or the UN to resolve the problem, Pope Pius XII delivered an allocution to the College of Cardinals which repeated his earlier call in the encyclical, "Auspicam Quaedam" that the Church must begin to take seriously its divine role of peacemaker. Once again Pius placed the Palestine crisis within the larger context of the post Second World War situation in which the world was being divided between the two super-powers. In almost apocalyptic terms, Pius described the American -

192. L'Osservatore Romano, May 24-25, and June 5, 1948.

193. L'Osservatore Romano, June 5, 1948.

194. L'Osservatore Romano, June 5, 6 and 12, 1948.

195. L'Osservatore Romano, May 23, June 17 and September 4, 1948.

196. L'Osservatore Romano, September 4, 1948.

Soviet confrontation as "une lutte définitive" which opposed,  
le vérité et l'erreur, la foi en Dieu et la négation de  
Dieu, la suprématie de l'esprit et la domination de la  
matière, la dignité humaine et l'abdication de cette  
dignité, l'ordre de la raison et le chaos de  
l'irrationnel.<sup>197</sup>

This struggle was being waged, Pius XII continued, "dans le terrain civil, national, international." The "formule erronée" which restricted the Church to the "purement religieux" was rejected as inconsistent with the Church's obligation to give "aux questions terrestres des solutions justes et salutaires... conformes aux normes divines et éternelles." This "oeuvre de sauvetage" had two objectives, Pius argued; social reform and universal peace.

World peace was being threatened, according to the allocution, by the civil wars in Greece and China, and especially "dans les lieux memes ou, il y a presque deux mille ans, avait retenti le divin message de la paix inaugurant l'oeuvre du salut." Pius XII asked how it was possible for the Christian world to remain indifferent and "dans une sterile indignation" while the Holy Land was being trampled underfoot by troops and being bombarded at the risk of destroying the Holy Places.<sup>198</sup>

197. L'Osservatore Romano, June 3, 1948. French translation found in, Documentation Catholique.

198. In this chapter, three different kinds of Papal pronouncements are being discussed; Papal Encyclicals, Papal Bulls and Papal Allocutions. An encyclical is defined by the New Catholic Encyclopedia as a formal pastoral letter written by the Pope for the entire Church. They are predominantly doctrinal and social in content and often appeal to some aspect of Christ's teaching on the social and ethical problems of the day. As such, in the eyes of the Church, they are authoritative but not infallible teachings. Pius XII adopted the rigid position in "Humani generis" that all encyclicals derive their teaching authority from Luke 10:16, "He who hears you (St. Peter, the Apostles and their successors, the popes), hears Me." Thus, under his pontificate, encyclical teachings, both those on doctrinal and moral subjects, and those on social matters, required the assent of all Catholics. In fact, according to The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Pius XII made extensive use of encyclicals and attributed to them such a great importance, that his successor, Pope Paul VI, in a June 23, 1964, in a dramatic volte face, adopted the position that encyclical teachings were in fact subject to change.

Papal Bulls, on the other hand, are ordinary letters or encyclicals to which a certain solemnity has been attached to dramatize its external, as opposed to doctrinal or social importance. A papal bull derives its name from the leaden

The appointment of Count Bernadotte as Mediator by the UN was welcomed by the newspaper as a heroic effort by that organization to reverse the decline of the UN into ineffectiveness and the degeneration of Palestine into wholesale war.

#### The Peace Efforts of Count Bernadotte

L'Osservatore Romano, like the French Catholic press, hailed the appointment of Count Bernadotte. Consequently, throughout the summer of 1948, increased attention was paid to his efforts to arrange a truce for the city, achieve a degree of demilitarization and later negotiate for the return of the civilian Arab and Jewish population displaced by the war.<sup>199</sup> On July 18, for example, in an article entitled, "Tregua a Gerusalemme," it was announced that the Security Council had achieved a "remarkable result," the imposition of a truce in Jerusalem. The world had heaved a sigh of relief and there was reason to believe that the truce in Jerusalem could mark the end of hostilities in all of Palestine. The article stressed that the UN had shown that it was capable of resolving a conflict, "that had threatened its very existence." As a consequence, it had reasserted its importance as a major force capable of "preserving world peace."

Bernadotte's success in negotiating an end of hostilities in Jerusalem encouraged him to turn his attention to the second major problem that troubled the area, the return of the refugees. On August 4, the newspaper wrote that he was pursuing

bullae or seal which is attached to the letter. Pius XII, for example, sought to dramatize the doctrine of the Assumption of Mary on November 1, 1950, by attaching a Bulla to the Apostolic Constitution which was already in its own right the most solemn document which could be issued by a pope. The Bulla testified to the pope's personal esteem for the pronouncement, in spite of strong Catholic and Protestant opposition to the newly proclaimed doctrine.

Finally, a papal Allocution is an oral pronouncement delivered to a select group of cardinals, often in secret consistory. They are rarely doctrinal and usually mark a special occasion, give some specific instruction or deliver an annual seasonal message. See, The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Bulla," Vol 2, pp.880-1; "Documents, Papal," Vol.4, pp.946-7; "Encyclicals," Vol.5, pp.332-333; and CARLEN, Dictionary of Papal Pronouncements, and WEIGEL, The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context.

199. L'Osservatore Romano, June 17, June 30 - July 1, July 10 and 18, August 4 and 20, 1948.

these efforts, but that both the Arabs and Jews opposed their return for political and military reasons. On one hand, Israel had neither the will nor the resources to deal with thousands of Arab refugees, while the Arabs viewed them as a major reason to continue their war against Israel. The newspaper printed a summary of an appeal by Bernadotte in favor of the return of the refugees, plus the reactions of the Arab and Israeli governments under the headline, "Un appello di Bernadotte per i profughi palestinesi."<sup>200</sup>

The article stated that Radio Beirut had announced that the refugee problem was the direct result of a deliberate policy of eviction and that only an Arab victory over the Israeli troops would permit their return. On the other hand, Israeli radio was quoted as stressing that any solution to this problem, to which it was "not indifferent," must await the termination of hostilities.<sup>201</sup>

However, in September, the much lauded efforts of Bernadotte were brought to an abrupt halt with his assassination. L'Osservatore Romano, in a rare example of direct criticism of Israel, seriously questioned Israel's denial that this murder had had the approval of the government.<sup>202</sup> Under the headline, "La 'Banda Stern,' posta fuori legge si scioglierebbe?" the newspaper questioned Israel's earlier statements that the terrorist groups had ceased to exist as independent military organizations and had become "political parties."<sup>203</sup> Nevertheless, following the murder, in order to absolve the government of any guilt in the matter, it had argued that, in fact, they continued to exist as independent military forces.<sup>204</sup> In spite of this "confusion" the newspaper expressed its satisfaction with the Israeli assurances that, once and for all, the terrorists would be brought under government control and disbanded.

Throughout September a series of articles devoted to the problem of the terrorist groups. The Israeli efforts to "uproot terrorism" and its arrest of 150 terrorists was lauded. The terrorists were described as being equally opposed to the Israeli government as they were to the UN mediating efforts, and that the murder of Bernadotte was the signal for the beginning of a massive terror campaign which sought to eliminate Ben Gurion and other moderate Israeli government officials as well.<sup>205</sup> The Israeli army was reported as announcing that it

200. L'Osservatore Romano, August 4 and 20, 1948.

201. See also L'Osservatore Romano, September 4, 1948.

202. On August 25, 1948, in a short article entitled, "Profanazioni in Palestina," examples of the desecration and occupation of Holy Places and institutions was noted as described by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and Cardinal Spellman.

203. L'Osservatore Romano, June 17, 1948.

204. L'Osservatore Romano, September 22, 1948.

205. L'Osservatore Romano, September 19, 20-21 and 22, 1948.

would use "all the means at its disposal" to arrest the authors of the murder.<sup>206</sup>

However much the above articles attempted to avoid any show of outrage or anti-Israeli sentiment as was evident in the French Catholic press, the murder did result in a major reevaluation of the activities of the UN. At the end of September, three articles appeared, two under the heading, "Dopo l'Assassinio Di Bernadotte," and the third by Gonella entitled, "Terza Assemblea della Nazioni Unite." The first article, reported on the "shock, horror and indignation" expressed at the Special Session of the Security Council, and wrote that "hope for peace on Earth had been dealt a blow by the forces of hatred."<sup>207</sup> The second article summarized the final proposal of Bernadotte which, inter alia, called for a "separate and special treatment" of the city of Jerusalem under the form of an international guarantee. The proposal was not elaborated upon, but in the following article, the importance of the UN in any eventual solution to the Jerusalem problem was stressed.

Gonella cited ample testimony by UN, US, Soviet, BBC, New York Times and other sources that confirmed world commitment to the UN and in particular its role in preserving world peace. He stressed that the UN was at a crucial juncture in its evolution and that it was threatened by numerous problems which had not been imagined when the organization was established. Without referring to specific cases, the major crisis for the organization, according to Gonella, was the refusal of the member states to recognize that membership in the UN implied certain limits on their national sovereignty in favor of the collective will of humanity expressed by the UN. If the member states were unwilling to "coordinate" their sovereignty with the collective will, the UN would effectively cease to exist as an organization, or fade into insignificance. Clearly, the failure of the League of Nations to halt the rise to power of Hitler and the eventual Second World War was clearly in the mind of the author.

The deteriorating situation in Palestine, and in particular in Jerusalem, and the apparant inability of the UN to bring it under control, resulted in a second papal encyclical on Palestine, "In Multiplicibus" on October 24, 1948.

#### The Encyclical "In Multiplicibus"

The gravity of the situation in Jerusalem was further emphasized by the publication of a second papal encyclical on October 24, 1948, entitled, "In Multiplicibus" (Amongst the many worries).<sup>208</sup> In contrast to the previous encyclical, which

206. L'Osservatore Romano, September 20-21, 1948.

207. L'Osservatore Romano, September 19, 1948.

208. L'Osservatore Romano, October 24, 1948, English in IHM, The Papal Encyclicals, and The Tablet of Brooklyn, October 30, 1948, pp.1 and 20.

discussed the Palestine and Jerusalem problems as examples of the many disturbing world peace, "In Multiplicibus" was devoted to the problem of Palestine, and in particular that of Jerusalem. The encyclical began by stating, "Amongst the many worries which beset Us in these days, ...that caused by the war now convulsing Palestine occupies a special place." In particular, the "thousands of refugees, straying and driven from their homes" and "the destruction and damage suffered by Holy Places, both "throughout all of Palestine and especially on the soil of the Holy City." After referring to the encyclical, "Auspicam Quaedam" and the allocution to the College of Cardinals in which he had called upon all Christians to pray for "the triumph of Justice and peace in Palestine and for the respecting and safeguarding of the Holy Places," the new encyclical specifically demanded that "an international character be given to Jerusalem."

We are confident that these supplications and hopes, indicative of the value which such a large number of people attribute to the Holy Places, will deepen the conviction in the high assemblies in which the problem of peace is being discussed that it would be expedient, as a better guarantee for the safety of the sanctuaries under the present circumstances, to give an international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity, where so many and so precious reminders of the life and death of Our Saviour are to be found.

It is also necessary to assure with international guarantees both the right of free access to the Holy Places scattered throughout Palestine and the freedom of religion and the respect for customs and religious traditions.

This encyclical went far beyond the earlier calls for an end to the hostilities in Palestine and Jerusalem, and specified that an international character be given to Jerusalem and its vicinity. While not specifically demanding the implementation of the 1947 Partition Resolution Jerusalem provisions, it did call for the establishment of an international regime for the city. "In Multiplicibus" was widely reprinted in the Catholic press, and interpreted as an official Vatican "prise de position" on the Jerusalem issue.

In spite of the varied, and often contradictory, reactions to the encyclical, it was instrumental in convincing Catholics and world opinion that Pius XII took a personal and strong interest in the fate of the city, the refugee issue, the Holy Places and institutions, plus the need for an international regime for the city and its vicinity. The Catholic press reacted to this encyclical by incorporating it into their individual perceptions of the Palestine, Jerusalem and world situation. The Tablet of Brooklyn greeted it as confirmation of the linkage between the refugee and Jerusalem issues which had been

stressed by Msgr. McMahon and the CNEWA. La Croix and L'Aube, on the other hand, interpreted it as an expression of the Pope's deep concern for the Holy Places and religious institutions, the majority of which were French. The encyclical's appeal to the "high assemblies" then discussing the problems, was also seen as confirmation of the Vatican's support for the UN efforts to negotiate an international settlement for the city. Louis Massignon of Témoignage chrétien and the majority of the French Catholic periodicals; Cahiers Sioniens, Amitié judéo-chrétienne, Etudes and Esprit, welcomed it as an expression of the spiritual dimension of the Jerusalem question. L'Osservatore Romano, on the other hand, viewed the encyclical as confirmation of the Church's "peace making role" in world affairs, especially in the Near East, and the importance of the UN in achieving a just and lasting peace in that region.

Shortly after the publication of the encyclical, Gonella once again, and for the last time, described his vision of a peaceful and prosperous world order. In two lengthy commentaries entitled, "Mediterraneo Medio e Vicino Oriente" and "La Situazione nel Medio Oriente," Gonella repeated his conviction that Europe could survive as a significant world force only if its influence in the Near East could be preserved. He stated that the resources of the area, in particular petroleum, were vital for the economic recovery and future of Europe.<sup>209</sup>

The second article by Gonella reflected the evolution of the Palestine war from a struggle for control of Palestine to a highly explosive confrontation between Israel and Britain. The article was written after Israel had downed five planes over the Negev Desert. The Israeli advance into Egypt had seriously alarmed Britain due to the strategic importance of the Suez Canal and its mutual assistance treaty with Egypt. London, according to the article, was seriously concerned that Soviet aid and support for Israel would result in eventual Soviet domination of the vital link between Europe and the Indian Ocean, as well as the major outlet for Near Eastern oil in Haifa. Moscow, on the other hand, accused Britain, through the intermediary of Egypt, of seeking the complete destruction of Israel to reassert its "imperialistic" domination of Palestine. Gonella was seriously alarmed that this direct Israeli-British confrontation risked plunging the area into a war that would involve the world in another major world war.

In summary, the Palestine war precipitated a dramatic volte face in the perception of L'Osservatore Romano of the emerging post-Second World War period. The romantic dreams of a "pacto euro-asiatico" composed of a re-invigorated Europe in cooperation with enlightened and tolerant Arab regimes, cemented by treaties of cooperation and mutual defence and confirmed by an effective UN organization, were revealed to be just idle speculation. By January 1949, Britain was on the verge of war

209. L'Osservatore Romano. November 11, 1948 and January 13, 1949, p.4.

with Israel, an Irgun bullet had dashed the mediation efforts of the fledgling UN, the Palestinian Christians had become refugees and both the USA and USSR, according to Gonella, were exploiting the confusion to their own benefit.

As a result L'Osservatore Romano, and Vatican policy makers in general, were forced to re-evaluate their positions vis-a-vis Palestine, the UN, and most importantly, the USA and USSR. The year 1949 was to emerge as one of the most critical years in modern Catholic history. The aging Pope Pius XII, lumbering Vatican bureaucracy and splintered hierarchy and intellectual leadership were forced to redefine the position of the universal Church in the world. This was to prove no easy task for the Church.

### The Encyclical "Redemptoris Nostri"

One of the first steps taken by the Vatican to dramatize the need for a re-evaluation of the role and objectives of the Church in the world, was the publication of a papal Bull, "Jubilaeum maximum," in late 1949, which declared the year 1950 a Holy Year. The origin of this custom by Pope Boniface VIII in the year 1300 had as its intention to improve the religious life of the faithful and specifically to enable the Church to confront what it considered a major crisis. Previous to Pius XII only twenty-four Holy Years had been declared. "Jubilaeum maximum" announced that the Holy Year was to mark a major effort in the Church's "oeuvre pour la paix" in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Après les tristes temps qui viennent de s'écouler, remplis, jusqu'au bord du calice, de douleurs et d'angoisses, puisse cette année de l'auguste Mère de Dieu, des princes, des apôtres et de tous les saints, être pour la famille humaine annonciatrice d'une nouvelle ère de paix, de prospérité, de progrès! Tel est Notre voeu le plus cher, l'objet de Nos plus ferventes supplications.<sup>210</sup>

The Bull continued by stating that central to this new era of peace, was the establishment of peace, "surtout dans les Lieux Saints de la Palestine." This peace aimed at "la tranquillité sereine, assise sur des bases équitables."

It is significant that the Holy Land figured so prominently in the Pope's effort to contribute to universal peace through the declaration of Holy Year. The relationship between Palestine and the Holy Year of 1950 was consistent with the opinion of Gonella in L'Osservatore Romano that Palestine posed one of the major threats to world peace. Both Gonella and Pius XII were convinced that any status decided upon for Jerusalem or the Holy

210. Acta Apostolis Sedis, 1949, Vol.XLI, Bull "Jubilaeum Maximum," p.257, French translation in Documentation Catholique, January 1, 1950, N.1059.

Places would be effective only if agreed upon within the context of a global peace between the major powers, the Israelis and Arabs. Central to this peace was the effort to remove the Jerusalem issue from the wider world conflicts through the establishment of an international regime for the city in which all interested parties would have a stake. As a result, no party would be willing to violate the agreement without endangering both the peace of the city and their own particular, internationally sanctioned interests. This logic formed the rationale of the call for granting Jerusalem "an international character" of the encyclical, "In Multiplicibus," and the Bull, "Jubilaeum maximum."

On Good Friday, April 15, 1949, a third encyclical on the Palestine problem was issued which was entitled, "Redemptoris nostri."<sup>211</sup> As in the previous encyclicals on Palestine, this encyclical stressed the point that an adequate solution to the Jerusalem question involved not only the Holy Places, but the religious institutions and the Arab refugees as well. The encyclical stated that, "We are still receiving complaints from those who have every right to deplore the profanation of sacred buildings, images, charitable institutions as well as the destruction of peaceful homes of religious communities." Concerning the refugees, it stated that, "Piteous appeals still reach Us from numerous refugees, of every age and condition, who have been forced by the disastrous war to emigrate and even live in exile in concentration camps, the prey to destitution, contagious diseases and perils of every sort." It was stressed that, "the condition of these exils is so critical and unstable that it cannot longer be permitted to continue."<sup>211</sup>

The encyclical referred to its earlier appeal in, "In Multiplicibus," which had insisted the "Jerusalem and its vicinity ... should be accorded and legally guaranteed an 'international status'" in order to achieve an "enduring and genuine peace." Now, on the eve of the Holy Year of 1950, "The Year of Atonement which is at hand," the encyclical demanded that Christians,

use every means to persuade the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to accord to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical status whose stability under the present circumstances can only be adequately assured by a united effort of nations that love peace and respect the right of others.

This call on Christians, "to use every means to persuade the rulers of nations" was not lost on L'Osservatore Romano and the Catholic press in general. In fact, as will be seen in the last chapter, "The Catholic Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem," many Catholics interpreted it as a call for a major

211. L'Osservatore Romano, April 17, 1949, English translation in, The Papal Encyclicals, IHM.

mass mobilization of Catholics in defense of Jerusalem. Both the Papal Bull of December 1948 and the encyclical of April 1949 stimulated Catholic concern for the city and signaled the beginning of a major campaign among Catholics to arrive at a settlement to this complex problem.

Following the publication of the Bull and later encyclical many articles began to appear in L'Osservatore Romano which described the effects of the war on Jerusalem. In an article entitled, "Dolori, Rovine et Carita - Terrasanta in Guerra," written by Gonella, the present condition of the Christian Holy Places, institutions and population of Palestine were described.<sup>212</sup> The emptied Christian suburbs and institutions of Jerusalem were not only described in detail but amply illustrated with photographs of ruins, abandoned schools and gutted churches. Another article described the Israeli occupation of the town of Ain Karem, the birthplace of John the Baptist, near Jerusalem.<sup>213</sup> The article criticized the Israelis for forcing the Arab population to flee when they came to install themselves as the new masters (si empadronirano).

Reports on the physical suffering of the Christians continued well into the summer of 1949 with numerous photographs.<sup>214</sup> Damage to the Holy Sepulchre, with photographs, was featured on several occasions, the situation among the refugees in Bethlehem (under Jordanian control), the activities of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, on February 2, the visit of Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA, on March 3, the refugees scattered throughout Jordan, on March 23, and April 9, Easter Celebrations in Jerusalem, on May 22, and a Red Cross report on the refugee situation was reprinted in its entirety on May 23-24, 1949.

Reports by Msgr. McMahon, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Red Cross were given prominence by the newspaper to stress the wide-spread concern for the situation in the Holy Land. On July 18-19, for example, a June 5 speech by the then Archbishop, later Cardinal, Richard Cushing of Boston, was reprinted under the headline, "Internazionalizzazione di Gerusalemme e dei Luoghi Santi." In this speech, the Archbishop once again repeated the peace-making mission of the Church in the world and especially in Jerusalem.<sup>215</sup> He then appealed,

Let them (those who determine the permanent status of the Holy City of Jerusalem) give cordial consideration to the plea of the Chief Shepherd of Christendom that Jerusalem be internationalized; that the holy places and free access to

212. L'Osservatore Romano, January 27, 1949, p.3.

213. L'Osservatore Romano, December 16, 1949, p.3.

214. L'Osservatore Romano, see for example January 27 and 29, February 2 and 9, April 9, May 11 and 22, and June 19, 1949.

215. L'Osservatore Romano, July 18-19, 1949, p.3. Cushing's speech was reprinted in full in The Tablet of Brooklyn on June 11, 1949, pp.1 and 9.

them be protected by genuine international guarantees; that Christians be assured of their continued peaceful residence in the places where they have acquired traditional rights as venerable and as inviolable as those of any others.

He continued,

Surely the sublime events of that night (Holy Thursday) have given Jerusalem an international character which no political convention should attempt to annul. Surely they gave that city the fulfillment of its name; 'Beata pacis visio,' the blessed vision of peace!

Cushing's plea served to underline the sense of urgency which underlaid Catholic efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement to the Jerusalem question. While on one hand, the importance of the Holy Places, religious institutions and refugees were stressed, on the other hand, Pius XII and L'Osservatore Romano were acutely aware that any form of peace in Jerusalem or Palestine as a whole, would be determined by world peace.<sup>116</sup> 1949 and 1950 were viewed as crucial years in which Soviet-American relations would determine the course of history for the next decades. L'Osservatore Romano consequently closely followed and reported in detail each step of the lengthy negotiations leading to the formation of NATO, the Berlin crisis and the general Soviet clamp down on its Eastern European Allies. In addition to these developments which were of grave world concern, L'Osservatore Romano closely followed others which were of particular Catholic concern, such as the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty, the persecution of the Church in Romania, political instability in Syria and finally the fate of the former Italian colonies in North Africa, with their large number of European Catholic settlers.<sup>217</sup>

However, as in the case of the earlier dreams of the formation of a Europe-Near Eastern Bloc which the rapid evolution of world events had proven illusory, the rapid deterioration of US-USSR relations during late 1949 began to undermine the theoretical presuppositions of the Church's vision of a Catholic mediation between Arabs and Israelis, and even between Americans and Soviets. In particular, the common effort of both Soviets and Americans which had produced the 1947 UN Partition Resolution and inspired great expectations in the ability of that organization as an instrument for peace in the world, had all but vanished. While not abandoning all hope for peace between the US and USSR, or the Israelis and Arabs, the spectre of the division of the world into two hostile power blocs placed the Church before a major policy decision. On one hand, if the Church continued to place its hopes in the UN and

216. See also. L'Osservatore Romano, April 17, 1949.

217. L'Osservatore Romano, see especially, March 20, 21-22, 24, 26, 28-29, and 31, April 3 and 6, 1949.

concentrate its efforts on world peace, it risked reducing itself and the Catholic world to the role of a "voice crying in the wilderness," in a world partitioned into Soviet and American spheres of domination. On the other hand, if the Church accepted the inevitable, and allied itself with one super-power or the other, it risked engaging itself in a struggle which would result in its own destruction or the destruction of a large part of world Catholicism.

Throughout 1949, L'Osservatore Romano grappled with this tormenting but inevitable decision. In a series of articles, Dalla Torre, the editor of the newspaper, drew upon the role of the Church during the Second World War, as a possible source of inspiration. Della Torre introduced his first article, entitled, "L'Eglise catholique et la guerre" with the following paragraph.

Il n'est pas d'offense plus pénible ni de calomnie plus perfide que de présenter l'Eglise comme factrice de guerre. C'est si vrai que ses ennemis, quel que soit leur nom, ne cessent, même des camps les plus opposés, de répéter pareille infamie.

Cette calomnie si blessante, que propage aujourd'hui le Kominform, partout où l'on parle et écrit sous ses ordres, fut lancée déjà au temps de Pie X, de Benoît XV et de Pie XI. Alors comme aujourd'hui il s'agissait, non seulement de dénigrer, avec un esprit sectaire, l'oeuvre la plus auguste, la mission la plus sublime de paix et de charité que connaisse l'histoire humaine - c'est-à-dire l'oeuvre et la mission pacificatrice de l'Eglise catholique - mais encore d'empêcher que dans la conscience des peuples, au lendemain des catastrophes provoquées par des passions et des égoïsmes antichrétiens, ne resplendisse avec une évidence absolue cette vérité: la garantie sincère, véridique, désintéressée de paix existe seulement dans le Christ, dans son Evangile, dans son Eglise.<sup>218</sup>

While Della Torre condemned "tout ce chœur kominformiste, formé par la presse, la radio, les Assemblées, les Parlements et même les membres du gouvernement," he refused to identify the Church as falling into place, "derrière le char capitaliste." The Church, according to his argument, was above super-powers and totally identified with the "camp" of peace. In his second article, entitled, "L'Eglise catholique et la paix," he stressed that in spite of peaceful propoganda of the US and USSR, both powers were dedicated to the defense of their interests.

Pour que ce choix eût lieu et pour que ce choix fût un devoir pour l'Eglise, il eût fallu qu'il existât deux pactes, deux blocs: l'un pour la paix, l'autre pour la guerre. Au contraire, nous sommes en présence de deux pactes de deux blocs qui se proclament tous les deux

218. L'Osservatore Romano, April 17, 1949.

défensifs et pacifiques, qui prétendent défendre chacun de leurs adhérents respectifs, et défendre en même temps leur paix commune.<sup>219</sup>

The efforts of Della Torre to chart a neutral course for the Church in the emerging Cold War, reflected Pope Pius' personal commitment to the idea that the Church could function in the modern world as an arbitrator of peace. From the moment he ascended the throne of St. Peter in 1939, and adopted as his motto, "The work of Justice shall be Peace," he had attempted to stave off the danger of a second world war. Likewise, in 1948, he perceived the same forces at work which once again risked plunging the world into still another world war.

However, this personal commitment which had been reduced to the voice crying in the wilderness by the armies of Hitler, was in 1948, even less effective. Not only had Europe been partitioned and occupied by the victorious American and Soviet armies, but even more importantly, the Church itself was divided by bitter infighting. In France and Italy the Catholic Left and Worker Priest Movement attempted to accommodate the Christian message to the prevailing Marxist ideology and the growing reality of an eventual Soviet domination of Europe. On the other hand, the 35 million strong American Catholic Church was violently anti-Communist and fiercely patriotic. Cardinal Spellman, for example, repeatedly stated that Communism was a challenge to all people who believe in America and God, in that order. In the opinion of most American Catholics, contrary to Della Torre, the American bloc was clearly "pour la paix" while the Soviet bloc was "pour la guerre."

The dilemma faced by the Vatican during what was described by Francesco Leoni, historian of L'Osservatore Romano, as a "decennio decisivo," was brought to a Pyrrhic victory with the publication of a decree by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office on July 1, 1949.<sup>220</sup> This decree forbade Catholics from joining or sympathizing with the Communist Party or reading such literature, forbade priests from administering the sacraments to Communists and threatened them with excommunication if they engaged in any of these forbidden activities.<sup>221</sup>

219. The two articles by Della Torre, plus a third by F. Rossi, entitled, "L'Eglise et les origines du capitalisme moderne," of May 22, 1949, were widely reprinted in the Catholic press. In France, where the debate between the Left and Right Catholics was most severe, Documentation Catholique reprinted all three, and La Documentation française, reprinted the article by Rossi.

220. LEONI, L'Osservatore Romano, pp.85-115.

221. L'Osservatore Romano, June 15, 1949, for text of decree see, Acta Apostolis Sedis, July 2, 1949, p.334, and Documentation Catholique, July 31, 1949, cols. 961-962.

The French Catholic press far from welcomed this decree and went out of its way to limit its significance. The great protector of the Leftist, Worker Priest Movement and believer in the "mystique of solidarity" between Marxists, Catholics and Jews, Cardinal Suhard of Paris, had died on May 30, 1949, but his sympathy for Catholic-Communist dialogue was continued by the new archbishop of Paris, Feltin. Likewise, the archbishops of Lyon, Toulouse and the bishop of Angers expressed their reservations concerning the decree. On the other hand, the opponents of this dialogue, including the archbishops of Bordeaux, Marseilles, Rennes and the bishop of Chartres, who welcomed the decree.<sup>222</sup>

In spite of the eventual "modification" of the decree by Rome one month later, and inspite of the fact that Communism as an ideology had already been severely condemned by the encyclical, "Divini Redemptoris" in March 1937, this action by the Holy Office represented a dramatic policy shift within the Vatican. As will be seen in detail in the following chapter, it inaugurated a major effort by the Church leadership to put an end to such groups as the Progress Christians who increasingly and openly advocated radical departures from traditional Catholic teachings as necessary for the Church's survival in the modern world. The Worker Priest Movement, for example, had abandoned their parishes to share in the sufferings, poverty, and most alarmingly, labor agitation and strikes of the workers. Such direct and often violent involvement by priests alarmed many of the more conservative Catholics.

In an almost tragic episode in Church history, Rome was being forced to choose between two evils, an ideologically atheistic Soviet Union and a militant Catholicism of America. The Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, typified this dilemma which faced the Roman hierarchy. The Cardinal who had remarked that the growing American Catholic influence in Rome was transforming the "universal Church" into a "NATO Church," nevertheless continued to accept the American Catholic contributions which represented 90% of his congregations budget.<sup>223</sup> The Cardinal's remark was an example of the opinion held by many of the Italian cardinals and prelates that their American colleagues were American first and Catholic second. The very active Cardinal Spellman was outspoken in proving his American patriotism, and even contemplated a war against the Soviet Union using atomic weapons in defence of America and God.<sup>224</sup>

As will be seen in the following chapters, what eventually became a marriage of necessity between Rome and New York, was the result of the inability of Pope Pius to envisage a radical alternative which would have enabled the Church to confront the

222. GONTARD, The Chair of Peter, p.559.

223. Ibid., p.564.

224. Ibid.

problems facing it, both theological and political. It was only following the death of Pius in 1958 that his successor called for a Second Vatican Council which was to alter the future of the Church.

The effects of this marriage were immediate. Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA was appointed head of the newly created Pontifical Mission for Palestine, the Vatican agency founded to provide relief to the Holy Land refugees. Likewise, L'Osservatore Romano intensified its attention to the problem of Jerusalem and the urgency for a solution to this problem. Nevertheless, as will be seen, the newspaper attempted to incorporate this American predominance into its general Near East politik. As a result, the "Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem" which was launched by the American Church in late 1949, was welcomed by the newspaper to the extent it would guarantee the survival of the Palestinian Christian community. Unfortunately, this American sponsored crusade had as its goal the mobilization of the American Church for a confrontation with the Soviet Union. These different priorities were to determine the outcome of the crusade.

## 5. Conclusion

The single, overriding conclusion that can be drawn concerning the reaction of the Catholic press to the Palestine War is that it was inseparable from the geo-political component of the universal and national churches. The Church, which claims its foundation as both a temporal institution and a spiritual mission, to the actions and commands of Jesus Christ on Earth, has historically stressed that the survival of this institution is as important as the doctrine it teaches. The Church, like any other sovereign power has relied on Christian empires, states, kings and often its own personal armies to defend this temporal institution and further the spread of Christianity.

The Palestine question and subsequent Palestine war, erupted at a time of acute crisis for this ancient institution "established" by Jesus Christ. For the first time in over a millenium and a half, Rome found itself bereft of a powerful defender. Rome was helpless to resist the spread of atheistic Communism into the ancient Catholic states of Eastern Europe; the "Moslem" Near East and North Africa were evicting a century of Christian European influence; Protestant America with its faith in materialism was achieving world domination; the outbreak of war in the Christian Holy Land and finally, France, once the bastion of the Church, had fallen under the influence of the "Catholic left." Rome, which had risen to its pinnacle of power and glory as a result of its close identification with Christian European powers, had fears of following the decline of the other ancient patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem.

The Palestine war can be compared to a Catholic version of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in 1914 which is often referred to as the first shot of the First World War. In the same sense that the assassination resulted in the outbreak of rivalries, hostilities and hatreds which had been accumulating for half a century, so the Palestine war resulted in the explosion of the forces within the Church which could no longer be suppressed. Likewise, in both cases, these new forces both marked the end of an age and the painful beginnings of a new one.

L'Osservatore Romano, as has been seen, fearfully clung to its traditional reliance on a powerful Christian protector. Even after the Second World War, when the entire Mediterranean basin was in upheaval, Britain and France were in decline and the USA and USSR were rapidly assuming the roles of super-powers, the newspaper entertained visions of a powerful European presence in this area. It likewise had illusions of a UN commanded army enforcing international law and order and stemming the tide of decolonization. However, for the Vatican, the inability of either the UN or Europe to halt the Palestine War convinced it that a modern day Christian protector of the Church was still to be found.

Cardinal Spellman, supported by Msgr. McMahon, the CNEWA, The Tablet of Brooklyn, and many other American Catholics, were convinced that following the experience of the close cooperation between the American Church and the US government during the Second World War, America was this new and urgently needed Catholic protector. This militant American Catholicism which identified "true" American values with those of the Church, alarmed many at the Vatican and in Europe who feared domination by a "NATO" Church, and provoked the resurgent American isolationism which foresaw a fruitless succession of foreign military involvements in pursuit of illusory victories. Nevertheless, by the end of the Palestine War, Msgr. McMahon had been appointed head of the Pontifical Mission to Palestine, the American isolationists had been battered into silence and America had been recognised as the greatest power in Christendom.

At the same time as the Vatican and America were being drawn into an inevitable alliance to revitalize Christendom, many Catholic intellectuals were elaborating a radically different perception of the Church which emphatically rejected the ecclesiological vision of "Christendom," the reliance of the Church on a powerful temporal protector to further its spiritual and temporal mission. French Catholic intellectuals, who had emerged from the Second World War with strong memories of Catholic - Communist cooperation against the Nazis, firmly believed that this cooperation could be extended to a national as well as international level. They not only questioned the wisdom of siding with the capitalist USA against the Marxist USSR, but likewise questioned the wisdom of opposing the establishment of "Muslim" states in the former colonies in favor of a continued protectorates. Strongly influenced by the Catholic left, these intellectuals developed an alternative to the ideal of "Christendom" which, in fact, demanded a radical separation between Church and State which would enable the Christian message to survive in the modern world.

The Palestine War was the catalyst which brought these two radically different perceptions of the Church into direct confrontation and eventually conflict. As has already been seen, the major Catholic newspapers firmly supported the traditional Catholic reliance on a protector to safeguard the interests of the Church in Palestine. They perceived Palestine as the most ancient province of Christendom and consequently, its population, religious institutions and Holy Places had to be protected by an internationally guaranteed juridical status. It will be seen later that eventually this position evolved into the uncompromising demand that the territory of Jerusalem be internationalized.

## Chapter 5

### Jerusalem as a Theological Problem

#### 1. Introduction

As has been seen in the preceding chapter, the Catholic newspapers covered the Palestine War in much the same manner as they did any other war or military upheaval. The destruction of Christian Holy Places, churches, institutions, convents and schools was reported in detail, the fate of the Christian population was followed, and the efforts of Catholic individuals and organizations to contribute to a peaceful settlement of hostilities was given close attention. Each Catholic newspaper, organization and national church incorporated the war into its already established perception of the role of the Church in the world, and its own particular inner-Catholic dynamic, problems and divisions. Thus, as has been seen, the Vatican stressed the mission of the Church to preserve peace with justice, between Arabs and Jews, as well as, world peace between Soviets and Americans. The French Church, likewise, haunted by the memories and guilt of the holocaust, supported the Jewish struggle for a homeland in Palestine against British and Arab opposition, and mobilized their energies behind the French government and UN to achieve this homeland without a major war. Finally, the American Church, perceived the Palestine war as a major world conflict that neither the Vatican nor the ancient Catholic states of Europe had the energy or will to resolve. Therefore, the American Church had no alternative but to mobilize its own resources, overcome its deeprooted aversion to involvement in world affairs, and become the new protector of the universal Catholic Church.

The major Catholic newspapers in France, the United States and at the Vatican perceived and reacted to the war in Palestine and the city of Jerusalem as a military conflict which endangered the religious monuments and Christian population of that area. They likewise followed the many efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement and establish an international regime for the city of Jerusalem to avoid further destruction and deaths, or the escalation of the conflict into a major world war. However, Palestine and Jerusalem were not only the military objectives of warring parties which contained numerous Christian churches, institutions and a considerable Christian population. There were, in addition, the Holy Land and the Holy City, which were of major spiritual, theological and mystical importance for Christians and Catholics. Likewise, one of the parties involved was the Jewish people, who evoked biblical justification for their "return" to the "land of Israel." Thus, the present chapter will attempt to analyze this spiritual, theological and mystical dimension of the establishment of the state of Israel, the Palestine War and the struggle for Jerusalem.

As early as May, following the declaration of Independence of the new state, certain Catholic periodicals had objected to

the "usurpation" by this self proclaimed "secular" state of the universal name of "Israel," while others were alarmed at the use of religious symbols and rhetoric by the new state. American Catholics were alarmed by Israeli efforts to gain American public support by using biblical, even messianic, rhetoric in their fund raising activities. Later, the Israeli decision to hold the opening session of their parliament, the "Knesset" in occupied Jerusalem was widely condemned, and its later decision to move certain government ministries there was further evidence for many Catholics of the emerging religious character of the state. Finally, on April 19, 1949, Prime Minister Ben Gurion declared before the UN that, "for historical, political and religious reasons, the state of Israel could not accept the establishment of an international regime for the City of Jerusalem."

The implications of these events on the Catholic world were immense, both as concerns the Catholic attitudes towards Israel and internal Catholic dynamics. On one hand, the official perception of Zionism and Israel as secular, purely political phenomenon was threatened by a rival perception of Israel as a religious movement in direct confrontation with the Church. For the official Catholic press, the Israeli demand to include the Holy City within the boundaries of the state, was interpreted as an attempt to gain religious legitimacy for Israel as the heir of the Old Testament. As a result, the Church which had viewed itself since the destruction of Israel by the Roman armies as the "New Israel," could not remain passive to such a perceived challenge to its own legitimacy. As a result, the major Catholic newspapers and Catholic organizations launched a Catholic crusade to internationalize Jerusalem which mobilized all the resources at its disposal. The aim of this crusade, which will be described in Chapter 6, was to deprive the State of Israel of any religious legitimacy that having Jerusalem as its capital would entail.

In contrast to the above position which attempted to forcibly secularize the state of Israel by depriving it of the Holy City. other Catholic intellectuals and theologians were uneasy with the underlying theology and theory of the separation between secular Zionism and religious Judaism. As will be seen, they likewise hesitated to endorse such a "Crusade" which had as its aim to deprive Israel of Jerusalem and consequently of any spiritual legitimacy. Beginning in 1948, some of the finest and most deeply spiritual minds of this century contributed to an at times bitter debate on such crucial issues as the "nature" of the new State of Israel, the importance of Jerusalem for Catholics and Jews, the emerging relations between "synagogue" and state in Israel, the universal mission of the Jews and the relation between the Church and Judaism, as well as the Church and Israel.

This debate was more than a scholastic splitting of hairs or sterile haggling over abstractions. At issue was the emergence of a Catholic theology of Israel which questioned the

view that Zionism was a banal national movement of little concern or interest for Catholics. Theology, which can be pragmatically defined as the response of the Church to human needs within a particular situation, is the unifying force of the Church, which has enabled it to preserve its identity and respond to new situations throughout the nearly 2000 years of its existence. Contrary to popular misconception, it cannot be separated from the concrete situations which give rise to it. Thus, a Catholic theology of Israel arose in response to the Jewish return to the land of Israel and the conquest of Jerusalem. Likewise, such events as the UN decision to partition Palestine and internationalize Jerusalem, the Palestine War, the international situation were inseparable from the state of biblical studies and the traditional Catholic teachings on the Jews informing the Catholic response to the Palestine and Jerusalem situations.

Catholic periodicals, rather than newspapers, were the first to confront the possible theological dimensions of the state of Israel and Jerusalem. This can be explained by the fact that Catholic periodicals, more than newspapers, tend to reflect the personalities of their editors, sponsoring religious orders or schools of thought, rather than reflect a generally conservative "official position" of a diocese or national hierarchy. Likewise, the character of periodicals tend to encourage lengthy "think pieces" rather than short factual newspaper reports. As a result, the periodicals freely discussed questions which the newspapers hesitated to broach, or were simply waiting for an "official" position to emerge. As will be seen in this chapter, many of these opinions and speculations went far beyond the bounds of "acceptable" Catholic thinking. Many of the cautious conclusions drawn were "taken to their logical conclusions" by less cautious minds, which seriously compromised these first halting tentatives at elaborating a theology of Israel. Nevertheless, even the Catholic crusade to internationalize was unable to stifle the movement towards a theology of Israel, which inspite of strong conservative Catholic opposition, re-emerged to profoundly influence Catholic thought.

## 2. Towards a Theology of Israel

The emergence of a "Theology of Israel" was the result of lengthy and at times bitter debate between some of the leading Catholic laypeople and clerics in France and to a much lesser degree in the USA and Rome. The French prominence in this herculean task was the result of the unique situation in France during 1947-1950 in which the Catholic Left had assumed intellectual leadership of the French Church, while the conservative Right had been largely discredited and excluded from both political and intellectual influence.

These first probings towards a theology of Israel reflected the predominance of the French Catholic attitude that the gravity of the recent holocaust which had cost the lives of six million Jews, demanded an equally grave reaction on the part of the Church. Consequently, these first probings were marked by slight regard for the past 2000 years of Catholic theology, which in the opinion of many Catholics and Jews were directly responsible for the holocaust. This sense of urgency was further heightened by the rapid succession of events in 1947 and 1948 which placed Catholics before the reality of a Jewish state.

In spite of divergent and diverse opinions concerning such theological questions as, the relationship between Judaism and Zionism, the nature of the state of Israel, relations between it and Judaism, the importance of the state for Catholics and eventually the significance of Jerusalem for Catholics and Jews, a nascent theology of Israel began to emerge in France.

Stimulated by such Catholic periodicals as Cahiers Sioniens of the Notre Dame de Sion Order, Catholicité, L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne and Esprit, a radical new approach to Catholic-Jewish relations emerged which eventually led to a frontal clash with Rome and the American Church.

### Cahiers Sioniens and Catholicité; the erosion of secular Zionism

The religious order of Notre Dame de Sion had long supported the idea of a secular Jewish state in Palestine. The superior general of the order, Rev. Henri Colson, firmly believed that a Jewish nationality would be no different than, "une nationalité anglaise ou française, ce qui fera l'union, ce à quoi on reconnaîtra un Juif, ce sera à sa nationalité," "Juifs israélites, Juifs catholiques, Juifs protestants, tous ne seront que des Juifs."<sup>1</sup>

1. Conference given by Henri Colson in Rio de Janeiro in September 1946, reprinted in Catholicité, October 1948, pp.182-195, "Sionisme et problème Juif." Colson traced his information to Dr. Vilensky of the Jewish Agency who was quoted

Cahiers Sioniens, which had been one of the most militant supporters of the secular character of Zionism and the state of Israel, continued to publish articles which described in glowing terms the nation building activities of the new state. A book by Abbé Glasberg of the Center d'orientation sociale des étrangers, entitled, "Vers une nouvelle charte sociale," was reviewed which described Zionism as "Socialisme vrai et humain." Gaston Tessier, secretary of the Confédération française internationale des Syndicats chrétiens, likewise published an article entitled, "Une enquête syndicale en Palestine" which lauded the Israeli transformation of an area which "n'ont pas été habités pendant deux mille ans" into "le centre industriel du Proche Orient."<sup>2</sup> Such purely secular perceptions of the state were complimented by the purely spiritual mission of the members of the order of Notre Dame de Sion, to convert the Jews. As has already been discussed, the order had likewise elaborated a complex theology that in fact rejected the notion of Jewish conversion from Judaism to Christianity in favor of Christianity as the fulfilment of Judaism.

This unique separation of the political from the spiritual had enabled many Catholics and the Catholic press in general to reconcile itself with the establishment of a Jewish state, and had likewise enabled the Judeo-Christians (Jewish by nationality, Christian by faith) to support the state. Cahiers had become the major mouthpiece for this group of Catholics and their unique synthesis of Judaism and Christianity. While the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 had been reconciled with their conviction through an emphasis on the purely political character of the state, the subsequent perceived blurring of this distinction resulted in a profound crisis for

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as having stated;

C'est vrai, pour le moment la nation et la religion juives sont encore inextricablement mêlées, ...Cet état d'esprit, entretenu par les Rabbins, nous sommes obligés de le maintenir, aussi longtemps que l'Etat juif ne sera pas constitué. ... Mais quand la Nation juive aura une existence politique, quand il y aura une nationalité juive, comme il y a une nationalité anglaise ou française, ce qui fera l'union, ce à qui on reconnaitre un Juif, ce sera à sa nationalité, Juifs israélites, Juifs catholiques, Juifs protestants, tous ne seront que des Juifs.

2. See Gaston Tessier in Cahiers Sioniens, April 1949; Documentation Catholique July 17, 1949, cols.950-958; La Croix, September 14, 1949; plus articles in the CFTC publication, Syndicalisme. Abbé Glasberg's Vers une nouvelle charte sociale, Centre d'orientation sociale des étrangers, Editions Réalité, Paris, 1948, was reviewed in Cahiers, May 1, 1949, p.178, see also "Possibilités économiques de la Palestine," M. Leroux, January 1, 1948, pp.212-229.

the periodical, its Judeo-Christian community and the Notre Dame de Sion order.

Numerous articles were devoted to this blurring and its possible implications. Rev. Paul Démann NDS discussed his perception of this "problem" in an article published shortly after the establishment of the state in May 1948, entitled, "A la recherche de l'unité organique d'Israël." Démann began his article by objecting to a recent book entitled Lebendiges Judentum (Geneva, 1946), by Zari Taubes, Rabbi of Zurich which had proposed various measures to re-establish the "lost unity" between Israel as a nationality and Israel as a religion.<sup>3</sup> Taubes had proposed such measures as requiring every Jew to visit Palestine once every seven years, the institution of a solemn oath to renew the bond between God and the Jewish people, and the creation of a "corps législatif" (the Sanhedrin) as a religious basis for all the Jewish cultural, religious and political institutions throughout the world, to be located in the Jewish state. It was precisely such a bond between the Jewish nationality and religion that Demann rejected.

A la place de la primauté du spirituel, clamée avec une si sublime véhémence par les Prophètes du Très Haut, - un nivellement, un renversement même des perspectives, une confusion des valeurs nationalites. Ne touchons-nous pas ici précisément à la racine du drame intérieur d'Israël?

A la place du message divin qui est sa raison d'être, c'est l'existence temporelle du peuple juif qui devient le centre des préoccupations. La suprême valeur morale du judaïsme réside dans sa propre unité, déclare l'auteur (Taubes) > Dès lors il n'est que logique d'attribuer une valeur absolue au lien avec le sol de la Palestine, comme à une condition de cette unité.<sup>4</sup>

Démann drew the conclusion that, "la religion risque fort de se réduire à servir de support à l'unité nationale."

A very different evaluation of the situation in Israel was presented in an interview with Arthur Koestler, author of Promise and Fulfillment which had previously been published in the French newspaper, Figaro. Koestler, a firm believer in the secular-socialist character of Zionism, expressed the fear that, "si le parti orthodoxe avait les mains libres, l'Etat d'Israël

3. Cahiers Sioniens, July 1, 1948, pp.362-370. Démann later presented his ideas on Israel and Judaism as they relate to the Church in his books, Le Catéchèse chrétienne et le peuple de la Bible, Paris, Cahiers Sioniens, 1953, 220p; Les Juifs, foi et destinée, and the article, "Israël et l'unité de l'Eglise," in Le Semeur, N.1, 1963, p.43.

4. Ibid., Cahiers Sioniens.

reviendrait aux conditions de vie aevant la chute de Jérusalem, au dernier siècle avant Jésus Christ." In contrast to Démann's fear that religion would be reduced to the level of an ideological support for the state, Koestler feared the establishment of an Orthodox inspired theocracy in Israel. However, Koestler was convinced that such "législation rétrograde" as was proposed by the Orthodox Jews, had no chance of success. Cahiers summarized Koestler's opinion as follows:

Bref, Koestler voit le nouvel Etat d'Israël, qui est socialiste, en train de composer actuellement avec le "cléricalisme," c'est-à-dire l'orthodoxie juive, et cela lui semble paradoxal. A ses yeux, l'emprise religieuse durera dix ans. Après ce temps, il prévoit une révolution à longue haleine d'où résultera une séparation totale de la religion et de l'Etat, et un effort considérable de la part d'Israël pour rattraper les siècles perdus, c'est-à-dire pour rattraper la façon de vivre des autres nations, ce qui sera, dit-il, passionnant à observer.<sup>5</sup>

Koestler's evaluation of the situation in Israel was also described in the British Catholic periodical, The Month which wrote;

Israel today finds itself priest-ridden - a consequence of its dependence on funds subscribed by the pious overseas - but he thinks this will pass. The Rabbis will all be swept away by the new pioneer generation, the "yokels," whom, however, Mr. Koestler finds equally poor company. And "within a generation or two Israel will have become an entirely 'un-Jewish' country."

Furthermore, the establishment of Israel has in Mr. Koestler's view made nonsense of the Jewish religion, which he now expects to die out. Those who wish to remain Jews must go to Israel. As for the rest, "Now that the State is firmly established, they are at last free to ... wish it good luck and go their own way ... with the nation whose life and culture they share, without reservations or split loyalties." This is after all the Zionist thesis - the burden of Jewishness has been lifted from the Diaspora by the Palestinian pioneers. By their sacrifice, and that of the half-million or more Arabs who have been driven from their homes, Mr. Koestler and the rest have been enabled to become Westerners with a whole heart.<sup>6</sup>

5. Le Figaro, March 7, 1948; Cahiers, and January 1, 1949, pp.71-72, "Le Nouvel Etat d'Israël et la vie mosaïque."

6. The Month, January 1950, Vol.3, pp.73-74; see also, "Les types Juifs chez A. Koestler," Catholicité, E. Biollay, pp.234-239.

Koestler's well publicized conclusion that "une séparation totale de la religion et de l'Etat" was inevitable, did not totally convince Cahiers. In another article, significantly entitled, "L'Etat juif veut-il ré甡usciter la 'religion-nation'?" several concrete examples of the emergence of such a "religion-nation" were described. For example, the introduction of Kosher food into the army kitchens and the use of the Shofar as a military symbol were noted. Another alarming sign was the growing importance of the state of Israel to the Jewish diaspora, for example, in Turkey, where religion and Jewish history were introduced into the Jewish private school system after having been excluded following the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Furthermore, a delegation of Portuguese "Marranes" (publicly Catholic, but secretly observant Jews) was reported to have travelled to Tel Aviv to discuss their official return to Judaism.<sup>7</sup>

Cahiers likewise reported that in New York, Rabbi Israel Tabak, president of the American Rabbinical Council which represented 1500 American synagogues, had given a public lecture in which he had lauded, "des efforts faits pour l'unification spirituelle des Juifs à travers le monde et pour l'établissement à Jérusalem du centre religieux du judaïsme mondial." Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the American Zionist Emergency Council was also quoted as having stated on November 18, 1948, that;

L'Etat d'Israël ne deviendra pas un Etat théocratique, alors que des personnes plus orthodoxes pourraient chercher à rétablir une autorité religieuse centrale en Israël comme dans l'ancien temps, avec le Grand-Rabbin d'Israël à sa tête, comme la Communauté Catholique Internationale a son centre religieux à Rome. Si un tel centre est jamais recréé, il n'aura naturellement d'autorité que sur ceux, en Israël ou ailleurs, qui reconnaîtraient volontairement cette autorité.<sup>8</sup>

Commenting on this passage, Cahiers observed that;

Non seulement Israël semble affirmer un esprit religieux renouvelé, mais aussi tendre vers la création d'une autorité religieuse suprême. Reverrons-nous les grands centres talmudiques d'autrefois, ou, sous forme centralisée, une sorte d'Eglise judaïque en voie d'organisation?<sup>9</sup>

In addition to the above examples based on dispatches from the Association Telegraphiques juives (AJT), Cahiers reported on the efforts of the Israeli Government to draw up a

7. Cahiers, January 1, 1949, pp.76-80

8. Ibid., p.80.

9. Ibid., p.79.

constitution. It was primarily concerned over the legal relationship between religion and state, plus the status of Christians, especially of the Jewish converts to Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Felix Rosenblueth, Israeli Minister of Justice, was quoted as having stated at a press conference that "toute personne résidant sur le territoire d'Israël (Jews and non-Jews alike) à la date de la promulgation de la loi peut demander automatiquement la citoyenneté israélienne." Cahiers noted with satisfaction that the Israeli constitution "tiendrait à la fois de la constitution américaine et de la constitution française," in respecting the religious liberty of all citizens, irrespective of religion.<sup>11</sup> In subsequent articles, it noted that the various proposed constitutions were heavily debated among Israelis and Jews abroad and that the question of religion and state was a central topic in these debates.<sup>12</sup>

Cahiers was at a loss as to how to evaluate what it perceived as religious stirrings that the establishment of the Jewish state had awoken in the Jewish world. As early as July 1948, an article by the Jesuit, G. Lambert, entitled, "La restauration juive sous les rois Achéménides" described the previous "restauration juive" following the Babylonian exile in 515 B.C. when the second temple of Jerusalem had been constructed. Beginning with the initial return of the Jews to rebuild their destroyed cities, the Prophet Nehemia had constructed the city walls in 445 and in time "s'accomplit peu à peu la véritable restauration religieuse, morale et nationale, basée sur la Loi." The author of the article attempted to avoid stating the obvious conclusion that another "restauration religieuse" was imminent; he simply stated that it was "encore difficile d'en mesurer la portée exacte" of this new restoration. Nevertheless, he noted that "l'histoire certes, ne se répète pas, mais elle présente parfois des analogies qui ne laissent pas d'être instructives."<sup>13</sup>

Démann himself agreed that the problems, both spiritual and political, created by the establishment of the state of Israel, placed the Church "devant une situation nouvelle, complexe et mal connue."<sup>14</sup> In still another article, Rev. P.-J. de Menache

10. Contemporary literature cited by Cahiers on this debate include; Haym Greenberg in Jewish Frontier, May 1949; Rabbi Arthur Saul Super in Israel - State and Religion, London, Henry Poder, 1949; and Schalom Ben-Chorin in the Protestant Revue, Judaica, "Religion and State in Israel," Vol.V, 1949, pp. 58-65.

11. Cahiers, January 1, 1949, p.76.

12. Cahiers, August 1, 1949, "Le problème religieux de l'Etat d'Israël," de Menasche OP, pp.184-196.

13. Cahiers, July 1, 1949, "La restauration juive sous les rois Achéménides," G. Lambert SJ, pp. 314-315.

14. Cahiers, August 1, 1949, pp.181-183, also reprinted in, L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne, December 1949, and the New York, Jewish Frontier, November 1949.

OP, entitled, "Le problème religieux de l'Etat d'Israël," the author admitted that in reality Israel was in a state of profound transformation.<sup>15</sup> Menasce recognized that Israel was in fact the result of "tendances très diverses, qui se sont rencontrées plutôt qu'elles ne se sont cherchées." As a result, "la renaissance religieuse" was equally diverse. He concluded his article with a series of questions which well reflected the attitude of Démann and Cahiers in general.

L'Israël fidele et pieux se contentera-t-il de créer et d'entretenir un Judaïsme diffus, une sorte de monothéisme vague et tout individualiste? Cherchera-t-il à se mettre au goût du jour, par l'appoint d'une philosophie vivante mais tout humaine? Prendra-t-il conscience, devant le spectacle discordant de la reconstruction politique et de la décomposition spirituelle, de la solidarité qui l'unit aux autres croyants en la Révélation de Dieu Vivant? En tout état de cause, il ne saurait rester muet.<sup>16</sup>

Menasce's conclusion that this "renaissance religieuse" was not going to remain "muet" placed Cahiers and its Judeo-Christian followers before a critical dilemma. If the reconstituted Jewish state was resulting in a Jewish "renaissance religieuse," the fundamental presupposition of the Notre Dame de Sion Order and many of the state's supporters, that the state was in essence secular and non-religious, risked being invalidated. Rather than Christ being the fulfillment of Jewish spirituality, and the state the fulfillment of their nationalism, the danger existed that an alternative, even antagonistic, rival spirituality might emerge from within Israel. This apprehension which was to lead the official Catholic press to demand the permanent amputation of Jerusalem from Israel to forestall such an eventuality, was no less acutely felt by Cahiers.

Cahiers reacted to this anguishing question by reaffirming its faith in Jesus as the fulfillment of Jewish spirituality which had inspired the order's mission to the Jews. Cahiers published numerous "témoignage Juif sur Jésus" which drew upon the experiences of those Jews who either converted to Christianity or found a spiritual fulfillment in the figure of Jesus of Nazareth. Rev Joseph Bonsirvan SJ, the great pre-World War Two authority on the Jews and Judaism, contributed an article entitled "Un témoignage juif sur Jésus" in which he

15. Cahiers, August 1, 1949, pp.184-196.

16. Ibid., p.186. Menasce referred to two recent works on the Church-State problem in Israel; Arthur Saul Super, Israel, State and Religion, London, Henry Pordes, 1949, and Scholom Ben-Chorin, Judaica, "Religion and State in Israel," V. 1949, pp.58-65. See also Menasce, Quand Israël aime Dieu, Paris Plon, 1931, and his other works on Arab, Iranian, Indian and Jewish cultures and religions.

analyzed the spiritual strivings and attraction to the spirituality of Jesus of the Jewish writer, Scholem Asch, author of such books as, The Apostle (1943), The Teachings of St. Paul (1934) and The Nazarene (1939). The American bishop, Msgr. Oesterreicher contributed articles entitled, "Bergson et la foi chrétienne," "Un Juif peut-il être un chrétien?" and "Max Jacob." Catholicité published an article by Marcel Leroux entitled, "Trois écrivains juifs pris avec le problème du Christ: Ben Chorin, Franz Werfel, Scholem Asch." Various other articles published by Catholicité which dealt with the Jewish attraction to Jesus included: "La conversion du Grand Rabbin (Zolli) de Rome;" "Itinéraire d'un juif vers le sacerdoce: René Schwob" by Maurice Declercq; "Le testament d'Henri Bergson;" "L'aventure spirituelle de Franz Werfel;" "Judaïsme et Christianisme dans l'oeuvre de Scholem Asch;" "Max Jacob" by Théo Devaux; and "Marc Chagall" by René Demergue.<sup>17</sup>

All of the above articles served to reaffirm, on one hand, that not only Jews but all humanity was attracted by the superior spirituality of Christianity, even if they did not officially join the Church, and, on the other hand, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was at best only of marginal importance to the spiritual search of individual Jews.

It was precisely this faith in the spiritual attraction of the figure of Jesus of Nazareth which enabled Rev. Démann and the other figures associated with Cahiers to reconcile the perceived "renaissance religieuse" then taking place in Israel with the mission of the order. However, Démann's optimism that this renaissance would inevitably lead to the rediscovery of the Palestinian Jew, Jesus, totally ignored the historical reality of the Church as not only incarnating a spiritual message, but a temporal institution as well. Furthermore, as will later be seen, not all Catholics shared this confidence in the superior spirituality of Jesus. The latent conflict between the temporal Church and its spiritual message was not slow to erupt. In the August 1949 issue of Cahiers, Démann devoted an article to "La question des Lieux Saints" which confronted the two radically different conceptions of the Church.<sup>18</sup>

It is significant the Demann used the above title for an article which was essentially an attack on what he perceived as the growing temporal preoccupations of the Church. He wrote, "Jamais peut-être la politique n'a envahi, compromis, trahi, étouffé la mystique comme dans le cas présent." Lurking behind the Catholic support for the internationalization of Jerusalem and concern for the refugees, Démann saw the outlines of a far-reaching "grande politique" which threatened to overwhelm the spiritual essence of the Church. In particular, he accused

17. See already mentioned issues of Cahiers, plus Catholicité, October 1948, "Situation d'Israël."

18. Cahiers, "La question des Lieux Saints," August 1, 1949, pp.181-183; also published in, L'Amitié Judéo-Christienne, December 1949, and Jewish Frontier, New York, November 1949.

"certains milieux et certains organes chrétiens et notamment catholiques," "qui s'affirment en toute occasion catholiques, qui aiment même à se donner un allure officieuse," of exploiting the legitimate spiritual attachment to the Holy Places to further political, strategic and commercial goals and eventually achieve their "revendications temporelles."

Even before the Church had mobilized its "Crusade" to internationalize Jerusalem, Démann's article objected to a dangerous growing involvement of the Church in this "grande politique" that placed its spiritual essence in danger. Démann, like the majority of his French Catholic counterparts, was convinced that the only way the Christian message could survive in an age increasingly threatened by Communism and anti-Christian domination was through a radical return to the spiritual essence of the Church and a total abandonment of its Medieval ideal of establishing a spiritual-temporal Christian empire. This growing preoccupation by the Church with the question of Jerusalem was interpreted by Démann as motivated by an emerging anti-Israeli, even anti-Semitism, within certain Catholic circles. In an article printed in Lumen Vitae in Brussels, Démann wrote;<sup>19</sup>

One cannot teach the Christian religion without bringing in the Jews. To say nothing about them would mean leaving out the Old Testament, the Gospel, Jesus of Nazareth, Son of David, Son of God, and also the early growth of the Church.

He went on to remind his readers that not only would Christian teaching be empty without the above historical links to Judaism, but St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, XI:11-16, had prophesied a contemporary role for the Jews as well.

...the re-establishment of Israel will have vast consequences for the development of the Church to its full stature, and that this return will be brought about through the charity and sanctity of Christians. So this testimony, as also its contrary, viz. anti-semitism, in a Christian, has an eschatological significance.

In this article, Démann clearly went further than he had in Cahiers. In the charged atmosphere of the emerging "attitude anti-israélienne de certains milieux ... et notamment catholique" concerning the future of Jerusalem, he reacted by attributing an eschatological significance to the new state.

The confidence expressed by Démann and the periodical Cahiers that the "renaissance religieuse" posed no threat to

19. Lumen Vitae, Revue Internationale de la Formation Religieuse, Brussels, Vol. IV, January-March 1949, pp.67-75, published in English.

the spiritual mission of the Church, was likewise reflected in the January 1948 issue of Catholicité which was titled; "Situation d'Israël: Judaïsme et Christianisme, Antisémisme, Sionisme." Catholicité, which had been founded in 1944 by Abbé Paul Catrice, appeared under the form of special editions devoted to various topics of contemporary interest with a special concern for ecumenical questions.<sup>20</sup> Catrice turned to the order of Notre Dame de Sion to explain the situation in Israel. Rev. Paul Démann, Marcel Leroux, John Ryan, Pierre de Condé and the order's Superior Henri Colson, presented the already discussed attitudes of that order. In addition, as the title indicates, numerous other articles were included which further developed many of the theological implications and potential of the fathers of Notre Dame de Sion.

In his introduction to the issue, Catrice welcomed the establishment of the new state of Israel as the realization of the "revendication essentielle" of Zionism, the return to their "terre ancestrale." However, like Démann, he realized that behind the facade of Herzelian political Zionism, profound religious forces were at work which had the potential of transforming the "imperfect" Zionism of Herzl into a spiritual Zionism. He described this evaluation as the "accomplissement intégral" of the dignity and tradition of Israel. Obviously, for Catrice, as for Démann, this was the discovery of Jesus. Catrice attributed to the Judeo-Christians a key role in this "accomplissement." He called them to support the Zionist cause, and that they "prennent leur place aux côtés de leur frères de race dans la restauration de la terre de Sion."

However, Catrice was acutely aware that forces were at work within the new state that imperiled this optimistic vision. The evolutionary nature of Zionism was threatened by certain radical Orthodox Jews who according to Catrice sought to "materialize sa dignité et sa tradition" rather than "les retrouver pleinement et les mener jusqu'à leur accomplissement intégral." In spite of these hesitations, he remained convinced that the "moderate" leaders of Israel would prevail over the Orthodox. His conclusion was likewise echoed in an article entitled, "Le

20. Catholicité, October 1948, "Situation d'Israël: Judaïsme et Christianisme, Antisémisme, Sionisme," 256pp. Catrice, as director of Editions Catholicité, encouraged and wrote introductions to many works on Eastern and African religions, including; AMOUDROU, Bernard, Pour un jugement chrétien sur l'Islam, Lille, Editions Univers, 1947; AUBOYER, Jeannine, L'Hindouisme, Lille, Catholicité, 1947; AUPIAIA, François, Les Noirs, leurs aspirations, leur avenir, Lille, Editions Univers, 1945; and MASURE, Eugène, Devant les religions non-Chrétiennes, Lille, Editions Catholicité, 1945. In 1978 his own major work was published, Paul Drach, ancien rabbin et orientaliste chrétien: 1791-1865, Paris, Roubaix, 1978, 950pp.

Sionisme vu par un Chrétien" by Marcel Leroux.<sup>21</sup>

Les chefs du mouvement ne dissimulent pas leurs projets. L'Etat qu'ils veulent fonder ne sera pas un Etat théocratique, comme l'antique nation d'Israël. Ils veulent séparer la religion de l'état.

Both Catholicité and Cahiers present an insight into the efforts of one particular religious order to understand and assimilate the reality of a Jewish state in Palestine into the traditional parameters of Catholic theology. These first, and often confused, inconsistent and unclear efforts to discover the vocabulary, symbols and structures for a theology of Israel, were complicated by the efforts of other Catholics and Jews as well as Christians in general to do the same. As will be seen later, Orthodox Jews, American Reformed and Conservative Jews, and numerous individual Jews as well as Christian groups and individuals took part in this flurry of rethinking, reformulating and re-conceiving traditional religious categories. The often idealistic and romantic approaches of the Judeo-Christians and Notre Dame de Sion Order are merely a few of the numerous "Theologies of Israel" which emerged.

As examples of this diversity yet possible convergence of these various approaches, Catholicité published several articles written by Jews which presented how they attempted to understand the state of Israel and its possible theological importance. One was entitled, "La situation religieuse en Eretz-Israël," by Shalom Ben-Chorin, an Israeli leader of Progressive Judaism, and a second by Josué Jéhouda, editor of the Revue juive de Genève, was entitled "Achad Ha'am, créateur du Sionisme spirituel."

Ben-Chorin wrote that "Le rêve d'Achad Ha'am, qui voulait avant tout voir s'ériger en Palestine un centre spirituel et culturel pour le peuple juif, devient de plus en plus une réalité concrète." He continued that "les germes d'une rénovation religieuse du Judaïsme palestinien" were already present in spite of the diversity of opinions on the role of religion in the new state. He stated, "une vie juive sans contenu religieux est inimaginable." Even the anti-religious Kibbutzim, he argued, was essentially a search for "les formes d'expression de la Religion, basées sur la vie en commun," which rejected "la vie juive de la Galuth." The secular, even anti-religious rhetoric of the Zionists, Ben-Chorin argued, was in part, the rejection of the Diaspora Judaism which had overstressed the religious content of Judaism to the exclusion of the national element, and in part a necessary first step in the establishment of "une forme religieuse adéquate" for the new state.

21. Catholicité, Marcel Leroux, pp.177-181.

Ben Chorin's article could, on one hand, be interpreted as a direct challenge to the almost dogmatic insistence on the secular character of the state of Israel by Démann, Leroux and Colson. On the other hand, it could be interpreted as a plea for Catholic patience and understanding concerning the search by Israel for "une forme religieuse adéquate." This latter possibility is given credence by the fact that Ben-Chorin had devoted his life and major writings to Catholic-Jewish understanding rather than confrontation. His major work, Die Christusfrage an der Juden (1941) had been well received by the Catholic world and in particular by the Notre Dame de Sion Order. His later books, Juden und Christen, In judisch-christlichen Gespræch, Ueberwindung des Christlichen Antisemitismus and Bruder Jesus - der Nazarener in juedischer Sicht reflect his belief that whatever form a renewed Jewish spirituality might take in Israel, it would not be in opposition to Christian spirituality.

Likewise, Josué Jéhouda in Geneva speculated on the direction this "form religieuse adéquate" might take. His early writings, Le Royaume de justice (1923), La Tragedie d'Israël (1927), La Terre Promise (1925), Les Cinq étapes du judaïsme émancipé (1938) and La Vocation d'Israël (1947), stressed that Zionism must be interpreted as an expression of the universal mission of Israel. This mission he defined as the leading of the world to monotheism. Consequently, the state of Israel was a messianic movement of profound consequence for Christians, Jews and the world in general. His later books, Sionisme et messianisme (1954), Israël et la Chrétienté, la leçon de l'histoire (1956) were the outgrowth of his articles in the Revue juive de Genève which he had published from 1932 to 1948.

Jéhouda found inspiration for his messianic conception of Zionism on the writings of Joseph Klausner, Martin Buber and earlier spiritual Zionists such as Joseph Salvador, Moses Hess, Achad-Ha'am, Nathan Birnbaum (Mathias Asher), Nachman Bialik, A.D. Gordon, Oscar Goldberg and Benamozegh. He stressed that the Zionism of all of the above, was in fact an effort to reconcile Judaism and the Church through a return to sources; the scriptures and the first century after Jesus. Buber, Jéhouda wrote, had even dared, "incorporer Jésus dans la tradition d'Israël" in his efforts to "dialoguer avec les chrétiens."<sup>22</sup>

Both Cahiers and Catholicité illustrate the difficulty many Catholics experienced in attempting to come to terms with a Jewish state. Démann, for example, who had earlier been a staunch defender of the secular character of Zionism, by 1949, had been forced to admit that the state had "an eschatological

22. See Buber's, "Les deux manières de la foi," cited by Jéhouda in Chapter 7, "Martin Buber et le christianisme primitif," of his book Sionisme et Messianisme, Editions Synthesis, Geneve, 1954, pp.282-290, in English, Two Types of Faith, Routledge and Regan Paul, Ltd., London, 1951, 177p.

significance." Likewise, in Catholicité, Ben-Chorin and Jéhouda had agreed that Zionism, in spite of its secular origins, bore "les germes d'une rénovation religieuse du Judaïsme palestinien." This evolution of opinions eventually brought Démann and others who shared his opinion, into sharp conflict with the Catholic demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

While Catrice had rather blandly called for Catholic and Christian involvement in the administration of the Holy Places, Démann had flatly opposed the Catholic crusade to internationalize the Jerusalem area.<sup>23</sup> He was well aware that many Catholics perceived the state of Israel as "une sorte d'Eglise judaïque en voie d'organisation," in rivalry with the Catholic Church.<sup>24</sup> He also perceived that behind the Catholic demands to internationalize the city was an attempt to deny this "Eglise judaïque" any religious legitimacy. However, inspired by his dream of a "universal" spiritual revival which would unite Christians, Jews and all people, he attempted to integrate the spiritual revival then taking place in Israel into the beginnings of a universal revival.

Démann, as a Catholic priest and as the editor of an important Catholic review, was hesitant to fully develop the logical implications of this nascent theology of Israel which went counter to the prevailing Catholic perception of Zionism as a political movement devoid of religious content and also rejected the need to internationalize Jerusalem. No doubt the suppression of a similar thinking Catholic group in 1928, "Les Amis d'Israël" was responsible for this hesitation. Nevertheless, other Catholics were less reluctant to develop his insights. One periodical which served as a forum for the debates and diffusion of this nascent theology was L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne.

23. Catholicité, October 1948, p.11. "Nous souhaitons que l'Eglise catholique, comme les autres confessions chrétiennes, puisse prendre une part active et directe à l'administration des Lieux Saints."

24. Cahiers, January 1, 1949, "L'Etat juif veut-il ré甯usciter la 'Religion-Nation'?" p.79.

25. The historical conflict between Jerusalem and Rome was developed by the Jewish philosopher, Moses Hess in his book of 1862, Rome and Jerusalem, New York, Philosophical Library, 1958, 89p.

L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne : The "rehabilitation of Post-Biblical Judaism

The first issue of L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, which was published in September 1948, defined its apostolate as 'to serve as a meeting place for Jews and Christians and to remedy the scourge of anti-Semitism.' It defined its principal aims as follows;

Elle considère comme sa tâche essentielle de faire en sorte qu'aux malentendus séculaires, aux traditions d'hostilité entre Juifs et Chrétiens, se substituent le respect, l'amitié et la compréhension mutuels. Elle veut, en particulier, par une coopération active et cordiale, travailler à réparer les iniquités dont Israël, depuis tant de siècles, a été victime et à en éviter le retour.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to Cahiers Sioniens which was dedicated to a rather unique Judeo-Christian synthesis, espoused by the Notre Dame de Sion order, L'Amitié accepted as its basic principle the existence of two religious communities. Grouped around the periodical were such outstanding Catholic personalities as editors, Jacques Madaule and Henri Marrou; rédacteur-en-chef, Jacques Martin; honorary president of the Association L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, Jacques Maritain; plus Bishop (later Cardinal) Jean Daniélou SJ, Rev. Demann of the Notre Dame de Sion Order and Maurice Vaussard of the MRP. Prominent Jews included vice-president of the Association, Jules Isaac; director of La Voix d'Israel, Léon Algazi; and Chief Rabbi of Paris, Jacob Kaplan.<sup>27</sup>

The first issue of L'Amitié was devoted largely to a recently published essay by Jules Isaac, inspecteur général honoraire de l'instruction publique of France entitled, "The Rectification needed in Christian Teaching, 18 Points," which had proposed 18 points on which Catholic teaching on the Jews needed rectification. He also argued that Christianity had been born of a living, not a degenerate Judaism, and that history flatly contradicted the theological myth that the diaspora was divine punishment for the crucifixion. It had been the Apostle John's use of the collective term, "the Jews," in a restrictive and disparaging sense that had inspired horror and contempt of the Jewish people as a whole, the conviction that they were guilty of deicide, and the universal castigation of Israel. His 18 points were a severe indictment of Christianity, and held

26. L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, September 1948.

27. Other members included Samy Lattes of the Sorbonne; Fadiev Lousky; Professor Henri Bedarida; Maurice Vanikoff; Edmond Fleg; Rev. Florowsky; Robert d'Harcourt of the Académie française; Elie Lauriol, a Protestant minister; and Professor L. Zander of the Institute of Orthodox Theology.

Christian teaching responsible for anti-Semitism and the death of six million Jews in World War II.<sup>28</sup>

Isaac's essay was consequently heatedly debated at an international conference on the religious response to anti-Semitism, sponsored by the recently created International Conference of Christians and Jews, held in Seelisberg, Switzerland, in August 1947. It was attended by Jules Isaac, Rev. Paul Démann, Jacques Maritain and 65 concerned religious leaders. Isaac's "18 points" were discussed, and ten points were submitted to represent the Christian viewpoint.<sup>29</sup> Point No.5 of the Seelisberg proposals, which referred to "Post-Biblical Judaism," was the difficulty of all Christian attempts to rehabilitate Judaism in Christian thinking and theology in that it recognised the existence of Judaism as a legitimate salvation bearing religion in the post-Biblical period. It also set the stage for a host of questions that were bound to be raised. For example, if Judaism exists as a salvation-bearing religion, what is its relation to Christianity at the present time? To what extent can contemporary Judaism be rehabilitated and at the same time retain the link between Judaism and Christianity that is taught by Christian theology? What is the relation between Judaism and the Zionist efforts to create a state in Palestine?

The only member of L'Amitié to directly address the question of Zionism at that time was Jacques Maritain, French Ambassador to the Vatican. Maritain, a Protestant, together with his wife, Raissa Oumancoff, a Russian Jew, had converted to Catholicism and became the principle advocate of a Christian humanism. He wrote Les Juifs parmi les nations (1937), later developed into Mystère d'Israël. Maritain was profoundly influenced by his wife who wrote Histoire d'Abraham et les premiers âges de la conscience morale. Maritain, like most of those Catholics who perceived the Jews as having a primarily spiritual role in the world, was reluctant to turn his attention to the question of Zionism. In his letter to the Seelisberg Conference, he wrote;

Faced with the bankruptcy of assimilation, the Jewish conscience turned in despair to the Promised Land. The movement which is urging the survivors of the Jewish masses of Central Europe, horrified by the abominations that they have suffered and haunted by the clamor of their dead, toward Palestine is an historical phenomenon - and it is irresistible. In one form or another, and implying

28. ISAAC, Jules, Jésus et Israël, Paris Albin Michel, 1948. See also his later works; Genèse de l'antisémitisme, essai historique, Paris, Calman-Lévy, 1956 and L'enseignement du mépris. Vérité historique et mythes théologiques, Paris, Fasquelle, 1962.

29. L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, September 1948, pp.8-11.

agreement (which in itself does not seem to be impossible) with the Arab inhabitants of the land, it appears that the solution of Hebrew state in Palestine, inevitably, will be the next solution attempted by the angel of an ever-sorrowful and frustrated history.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of the Conference's failure to pronounce on the question of Zionism, it did stimulate discussion of not only the historical but especially the contemporary relation between Judaism and Christianity. Its efforts to "rehabilitate" post-Biblical Judaism in Catholic thinking prepared the ground for a general Catholic response to the establishment of the state, as well as the possible theological implications of the state.

The second issue of L'Amitié, published in January 1949, included a report on the proceedings of the third annual "Congres de l'Association internationale des Chrétiens et des Juifs" which had been held on July 21-28, 1948 in Freiburg, Switzerland. The congress continued the work begun at the previous congresses, especially the second one held at Seelisberg, at which the ten points of Jules Isaac had been discussed. However, in contrast to the first issue of L'Amitié, the establishment and survival of the state of Israel had compelled the "Religious Commission" of the congress to discuss the impact of that state on both Christians and Jews. The final report of the congress contained the following statements by the Jewish and Christian members of the commission.

Declaration des Membres Chrétiens de la Commission  
religieuse

Profondément émus par la guerre qui ensanglante et profane la Terre Sainte, nous désirons ardemment et nous demandons dans nos prières le rétablissement de la paix en Palestine, d'une paix fondée sur la justice, qui tienne compte, dans toute la mesure humainement possible, des aspirations légitimes de toutes les communautés ethniques et religieuses intéressées, et qui permette à tous, Juifs, Chrétiens et Musulmans, de vivre dans la concorde et la compréhension mutuelle.

Sans vouloir aborder les problèmes proprement politiques que pose l'établissement de l'état d'Israël, nous tenons à rappeler à la conscience chrétienne qu'aucune raison théologique certaine, qu'aucun enseignement biblique

30. L'Amitié, September 1948, p.10, letter dated July 28, 1947, Rome; also published in English in The Commonweal, February 27, 1948, pp.489-492. See DUBOIS, Marcel, OP, "Jacques Maritain et les Relations Judéo-Chrétiennes," Centro Pro Unione, Center for ecumenical formation, Rome, Atonement Friars, Library, N.8, pp.3-13; and HERBERG, Will, 4 Existentialist Theologians.

incontestable n'imposent aux chrétiens une attitude négative à l'égard d'une restauration d'un Etat juif en Palestine.

Nous plaçant au point de vue de la lutte contre l'antisémitisme, nous saluons avec joie l'espoir qui se lève pour les Juifs d'échapper enfin à l'humiliation et aux persécutions. Nous pensons particulièrement à ceux qui subissent encore l'existence tragique des "personnes déplacées" ou la menace imminente de nouvelles violences.

D'un point de vue purement religieux, nous espérons aussi qu'en reprenant racine dans le pays de la Bible, Israël connaîtra une nouvelle vigueur spirituelle et réalisera la plénitude de sa vocation.

#### Déclaration des Membres Juifs de la Commission religieuse

Nous prenons connaissance avec une sincère émotion de la déclaration des membres chrétiens de notre Commission. Nous déclarons avec eux que, nous aussi, nous désirons ardemment et demandons dans nos prières une paix juste qui fasse régner en Terre sainte une concorde fraternelle entre toutes les familles spirituelles. Nous souhaitons avec ferveur que, par l'épanouissement de nos valeurs spirituelles au sein de l'Etat d'Israël, s'accomplisse la parole biblique: La connaissance de Dieu remplira la terre comme l'eau abonde au fond des mers.<sup>31</sup>

In a commentary by Demann, a brief insight into the "debate mouvementé" that preceded the adoption of the declaration was presented. The original proposal for the Christian declaration had read as follows;

En l'absence de toute raison certaine de nature religieuse, l'attitude pratique du Chrétien doit, en tenant compte avant tout des données humaines certaines, comme, la condition des Juifs dans le monde et la situation en Palestine dans toute sa complexité, s'inspirer des irrécusables exigences de la justice et de la charité. Bien plus, devant cette restauration nationale d'Israël, même si elle paraît aller contre des opinions répandues, peut-être trop humaines, sur la destinée d'Israël, il nous appartient d'en réserver et d'en rechercher la signification dans les desseins de Dieu.<sup>32</sup>

31. L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, January 1949, pp.12-13, see also The Commonweal, June 10, 1949, John Cogley, 217-219.

32. Ibid., p.13; see also article by Demann in Lumen Vitae, Revue Internationale de la Formation Religieuse, Brussels, Vol.IV, January-March 1949, "The Jews and Christian Doctrine Teaching," pp.47-75.

The original proposal referred to the Jewish state as possessing a significance "dans les desseins de Dieu," while the final version referred to the realization of "la plénitude de sa vocation." Démann pointed out that some participants had objected to both phrases as attributing too great a significance to the state. Even the noncommittal "realization of the fullness of its vocation," as opposed to the aims of God, they had argued, contained the germs of future misunderstandings between Jews and Catholics concerning what the "vocation" of Israel was. However, this difference of opinion was resolved by the adoption of the latter version following the clarification by a Jewish participant.

Non, il n'y a pas équivoque répréhensible, mais ambivalence légitime; certes, les Chrétiens conçoivent cette plénitude de la vocation d'Israël autrement que nous, Juifs, mais, en fin de compte, nous voulons tous une seule et même chose: qu'Israël réalise pleinement les desseins de Dieu sur lui, quels que soient ces desseins.

A Protestant member of the Association, Pastor Elie Lauriol, concluded his article entitled, "Telles sont les Raisons de Notre Amitié," by employing an equally indefinite terminology;<sup>33</sup>

Je ne veux pas faire de politique ici, ce qui est le faible des hommes et ce qui n'est pas mon fort. Nous souhaitons seulement à l'Etat israélien une belle et une longue existence bénie pour lui et pour les autres peuples. ... Nous souhaitons à cet Etat de s'enraciner dans son passé le plus authentique, le plus sûr, le passé des grands prophètes à l'âme universaliste. A l'heure où, par un anachronisme inouï, fermentent encore les nationalismes les plus fermés, nous souhaitons à ce peuple de rayonner autour de lui la grande pensée de ses plus grands aïeux.<sup>34</sup>

Lurking behind this debate concerning the use of such phrases as, "la plénitude de sa vocation," "dans les desseins de Dieu" and "l'âme universaliste" of Israel, was on one hand the general acceptance of a religious significance of the state of Israel, but on the other hand, a profound awareness that a reconstituted Jewish state must be reconciled with Christian theology. Contrary to Edmond Fleg's theory that "nous nous trouvons en présence, non d'une infidélité et d'une fidélité, mais de deux fidélités,"<sup>35</sup> which would have separated Judaism

33. Ibid., pp.3-4.

34. Ibid., p.4.

35. Ibid., "Les Deux Fidélités," Edmond Fleg, p.5. See other works by Edmond Fleg, Ecoute Israël, 1921; Anthologie Juive, 1939; Jésus raconté par le Juif errant, 1933; Ma Palestine, 1932 and Pourquoi je suis juif, 1928.

and Christianity into two separate salvation-bearing instruments, united only by "un même plan mystérieux et providentiel," the Catholic members could not ignore their own theological traditions which defined Christianity as the heir of Judaism. Thus, rather than two separate "fidélités," for Catholics only one "fidélité" existed, that of the followers of Jesus the Christ.

Nevertheless, many Catholics realized that such casting of the the Jews as being no longer "fidèle" to God had not only contributed to the rise of anti-Semitism, but was even theologically questionable. Consequently the Vatican Sacred Congregation for the Rites issued a declaration on June 10, 1948 regarding the correct translation of the Latin theological phrase, "Perfidi Judaei" which figured prominently in the Catholic Good Friday Liturgy. One of the major Catholic supporters for this declaration was Bishop John Oesterreicher the Austro-American Jewish convert and leading American representative of the Judeo-Christian movement, who had called for such a clarification in an article in the American publication, Theological Studies in 1947, which was also reprinted in Cahiers.<sup>36</sup>

Acutely sensitive to the popular misconceptions many Catholics drew concerning the Jews from such phrases, he wrote;

The important question, in my opinion, is that of vernacular editions of the Missal. It would be a great help towards the true understanding of the Good Friday Intercession, and of the authentic mind of the Church on the Jews, were "perfidia" generally rendered "disbelief." And in the event that a symbolic interpretation of the rubric is given, the comment could be that we refrain from bending the knee out of discretion, with the courtesy of love; we do not genuflect because the Lord in His passion was mocked by kneeling ruffians, pagan soldiers, instruments of the Jews and of us all.

Oesterreicher,<sup>37</sup> and other Catholics such as Daniélou and Démann, had strongly argued that any significant and far-

36. Cahiers Sioniens, October 1, 1947, pp.85-101; Theological Studies, March 1947, pp.80-96.

37. Lumen Vitae, January-March, 1949, "The Jews and Christian Doctrine Teaching," pp.67-75. Oesterreicher, like Jules Isaac and Démann in France, did much to make Catholics aware of the roots of anti-semitism which they considered to lie deeply embedded in Catholic ritual, catechisms, prayers and school texts, see in particular, Orate Fratres, July 24, 1949, "Catholic attitudes towards the Jews," pp.385-402; and Sign, February 1948, "Walls are Crumbling," pp.21-23; plus his later volume, The Bridge, A Yearbook of Judeo-Christian Studies, Vol. 1, ed. Oesterreicher, 1955.

reaching revision of Catholic teaching on the Jews must begin with the rethinking of such rituals and prayers which not only contained theological positions on the Jews, but were repeated throughout the Catholic world before millions of fervent believers. For this reason Amitié printed the statement of the Vatican Congregation in its January 1949 issue in its entirety.

Dans les deux prières, par lesquelles la Sainte Mère l'Eglise, au cours des prières solennelles du Vendredi Saint, implore la miséricorde de Dieu pour le peuple hébreu aussi, se recontrent les mots: "perfidia judaei" et "judaica perfidia." La question s'est posée de savoir quel était le sens exact de ces expressions latines, d'autant plus que, dans diverses traductions faites en langues modernes à l'usage des fidèles, ces mots ont été rendus par des expressions qui ont semblé blessantes à l'égard du dit peuple. La S. Congrégation, consultée, n'a estimé nécessaire de déclarer que ce qui suit: Dans les traductions en langues modernes, les expressions signifiant 'l'infidélité et infidèles en matières de foi' ne sont pas à réprover. Rome, Juin 10, 1948.38

Despite the fact that the declaration did not determine the historical meaning of the phrase in question, it nevertheless authorized the use of translations emptied of their pejorative content. Daniélou stated that the Latin terms "perfidia" referred only to the attitude of the Jewish people toward the Christian faith, an attitude of refuse, "infidélité, refus de foi," and not "d'une déloyauté, d'un manque de bonne foi."<sup>39</sup> The traditional and pejorative translations of "Juifs perfides" and "Perfidie juive" used in the Catholic missals was described by Daniélou as exercising "une influence étendue et néfaste sur la langage et la sensibilité chrétiens." He further stated that the "sens historique" of the expressions, "est à rechercher librement par les savants," and demanded "surtout la justice et la charité que le chrétien doit au peuple juif."

These initial, hesitating and in appearance insignificant steps towards overcoming anti-Semitism and achieving Jewish-Christian "Amitié" were nevertheless threatened by the direct confrontation between the state of Israel and the Church over the future of Jerusalem. L'Amitié reprinted three articles which it grouped under the heading, "Voix Chrétiennes sur les Lieux Saints" in December 1949.<sup>40</sup> The first was the previously analyzed article by Paul Démann which had appeared in Cahiers Sioniens in August 1949 and which had strongly condemned the

38. L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne January 1949, p.9, for the text of the pronouncement see, Acta Apostolicæ Sedis, "Perfidia Judaei," Vol.IX, August 16, 1948, p.343.

39. Ibid.

40. L'Amitié, December 1949, pp.13-14 and Cahiers Sioniens, August 1949.

purely political motivation of these modern-day "crusaders" which threatened to suffocate the spiritual importance of the Holy Places for Christians.

The second article, by Jacques Martin, editor of L'Amitié which had earlier appeared in the Protestant review, Christianisme social, agreed with Demann and "ceux-ci qui voient cette internationalisation liée à trop d'exigences temporelles." He stressed that for the Christians "elle est une terre de souvenirs attachés aux réalités de la foi." However, beyond this essential distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, Martin perceived another force at work.<sup>41</sup>

Il y a au fond de cette question d'internationalisation sous son aspect territorial, un relent d'antisémitisme inavoué, car elle suppose la défiance à l'égard des Juifs, dont on craint la malveillance vis-à-vis des Lieux Saints. Sinon, pourquoi réclamer une internationalisation qui ne peut que les heurter dans leur sentiment national? Peut-on concevoir l'Etat d'Israël sans Jérusalem pour capitale? Mais parler d'internationalisation à propos des Lieux Saints, c'est admettre une fois pour toutes l'hostilité permanente entre Juifs et Chrétiens, et supposer que ces lieux doivent être protégés contre ceux-là. Par là on continuerait de nourrir d'antisémitisme latent les intérêts matériels en jeu de la grande politique.<sup>42</sup>

Martin was alarmed at the possible, and in his opinion probable, anti-Semitic consequences of the Catholic demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem. He devoted several pages to illustrating that such measures were unnecessary, including the text of a recent address by Chaim Weizmann, president of Israel, which reiterated his desire to work towards "une conciliation des intérêts du Christianisme et de l'Etat d'Israël" concerning the "statut définitif de Jérusalem et des Lieux Saints." Likewise, a lengthy list of measures already taken by Israel to ensure and guarantee the free practice of religion was presented.<sup>43</sup>

Martin interpreted the growing demands to internationalize the Jerusalem area as an attempt to halt the "rehabilitation" of Judaism in the eyes of Catholics and Christians as a salvation-bearing instrument of God. He perceived a certain reluctance lying behind the Catholic position to accept the consequences of its initial acceptance of the state of Israel, limited efforts to reinterpret the Latin phrase "perfidii judaei" and the realization that Israel had its own "vocation" to be realized.

41. L'Amitié, December 1949, pp.13-14 and Christianisme social, November 1949.

42. L'Amitié, December 1949, p.14.

43. Ibid., pp.21-22.

While Martin opposed the internationalization of Jerusalem as an anti-Israeli and even anti-Semitic measure aimed at interrupting the revitalization of "la plénitude de sa vocation," he was unable to define what this "vocation" was. From a theological point of view this question was crucial, and responsible for the difficulty experienced by those at the Seelisberg congress in composing their declaration.

The third article, following those by Demann and Martin, was by Jacques Nantet. This article, which was reprinted from the Jewish review, Evidences,<sup>44</sup> not only opposed the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem, but argued that the city in its entirety should in fact be made part of the state of Israel. Even more significantly, he wrote that his opinion was also shared by Paul Claudel, the French diplomat, poet and member of the Academy, member of the national council of La Ligue Francaise pour la Palestine libre, and a fervent Catholic. Nantet wrote;

Après une conversation avec M. Paul Claudel, au cours de laquelle je lui ai exposé mon opinion, je suis autorisé à dire qu'il la partage entièrement. Le grand écrivain catholique estime que la souveraineté sur toute la ville devrait revenir à Israël, à charge pour lui de s'obliger, dans les conditions que nous avons dites, à l'égard des Chrétiens, comme des Musulmans. C'est, dit M. Paul Claudel, le rôle historique et la mission d'Israël de reconstruire le Saint-Sépulcre.<sup>45</sup>

Claudel's call for eventual Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem was grounded on his conviction that the historic role and mission of Israel was to reconstruct the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From his eschatological perspective of divine history, Claudel attributed a major importance to the Christian Holy Places. They were the symbols of both the separation and eventual reconciliation of Jews and Christians, as well as the nations of the world. Jewish control of the Holy Places, according to Claudel, was the first necessary step in this reconciliation, because it stressed the Jewish origins of the major world religions, and the divided branches of Christendom. As a result, the "reconstruction" of the Holy Sepulchre by the

44. Evidences, December 1942.

45. L'Amitié, December 1949, p.14, see Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, Vol.2, "Claudel," pp.1175-1177; his later work, Un Voix sur Israël, Paris, Gallimard, 1950. see also his earlier works, Le pain dur (1915), Le père humilié (1916) and his biblical commentaries, L'Introduction à l'Apocalypse and Livre de Job.

Jews was a symbolic prerequisite for the eventual spiritual "reconstruction" of Christianity.<sup>46</sup>

Almost a year later, in October 1950, Claudel's book, Une Voix sur Israël, was published, in which he publicly developed his ideas. He called upon the State of Israel to assume its universal destiny. "Implante-toi, Israël, dans la rectitude: montre-nous, comme un piquet de fer, ce ciel où toute rédemption aboutit." He warned the state;

N'imite point cette prudence mesquine de ton aïeul Achaz qui à l'offre de Dieu préfère son petit bout de terre laïque. Tu n'arriveras pas à la laïciser, la Terre Sainte, où il n'y a pas une pierre qui ne crie et qui ne demande à devenir du pain.<sup>47</sup>

Claudel was convinced that "une séparation entre la Synagogue et l'Etat est inconcevable en Israël" and as a consequence he wished "qu'Israël ait toute la Palestine, pour mieux pouvoir remplir son rôle d'agent de l'humanité, de fils aîné de Dieu, de gardien et de défenseur des Lieux Saints."

The similar conclusion drawn from diametrically opposing premises, illustrate to what extent Catholics had become divided over the question of Jerusalem. For Demann, Israeli control of Jerusalem became the proof of the inoffensive character of the state of Israel. For Claudel, on the other hand, control of Jerusalem was a prerequisite for Israel to reassume its role "fils aîné de Dieu." Demann and Claudel were two of many Catholics who strongly opposed the growing official Catholic support for the territorial internationalization of Jerusalem.

Another Catholic intellectual and writer who attempted to integrate the establishment of a Jewish state into traditional Catholic theology on the Jews and Judaism was Jacques Madaule. Madaule, who was on the national council of La Ligue Française pour la Palestine Libre and future president of L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne de France from 1950 to 1975, had welcomed Jules Isaac's book, Jésus et Israël because in his opinion it had emphasized that "la tragédie juive et le mystère d'Israël" not only called for the revision of Catholic theology, but more acutely it was "un appel angoissé à la justice."

46. See PETIT, Jacques, Bernanos, Bloy, Claudel, Péguy, quatre écrivains catholiques face à Israël, Calman-Lévy, Paris, 1972, 268pp. Also see Claudel, Oeuvres complètes, Gallimard, Vols. XIX to XXVI. See especially Vol. XXIV. See also La Riposte of November 29, 1949, p.3. For discussions of Claudel's position see PETIT, p.59 and LAZAR, pp.191-192. It is interesting to note that La Riposte had also in December publicly proposed a French protectorate for the Holy Places. The obvious contrast between Claudel and La Riposte illustrates to what extent the earlier Ligue separation between the religious and political had been superseded by events.

47. Un Voix sur Israël, Gallimard, 1950, 92pp.

Non pas à n'importe quelle justice, mais à la justice des chrétiens qui se réclament, qui ne peuvent assez se réclamer du nom même du Christ. Un cri angoissé, mais aussi un cri plein d'espérance.

He admitted that "les théologiens auront là-dessus leur mot à dire et certainement d'importantes réserves à faire," but "si la Palestine demain devait être le théâtre de nouveaux massacres, rien ne nous absoudrait."<sup>48</sup>

Both in L'Amitié and in his numerous articles in La Riposte,<sup>49</sup> Madaule attributed a moral dimension to the state of Israel and in an article in La Riposte in October 1948, greeted the Israeli victory over the Arab armies as significant, "même sur le plan spirituel."<sup>50</sup> This spiritual level of the state was, according to Madaule, the state's "caractère supranational qui leur a été imposé par le destin ou par la providence." Madaule, like many Catholic observers of the events then taking place in the Holy Land was convinced that such events as the "return" of the Jews to the Holy Land, the establishment of a state, its victories over the Arab armies, and even the occupation of the Western sector of Jerusalem, were in fact, mysterious acts of God. In spite of the "secular" Zionist insistence that the state was non-religious, Madaule argued that the very character of the state and its every action was imbued with a religious meaning which "a été imposé par le destin ou par la providence." This deeper level of understanding the events then transpiring in the Holy Land, was, according to such spiritual and creative minds as Madaule, the level on which Catholics should be perceiving and reacting to these events. Unfortunately, however, most Catholics had lost their ability to perceive this deeper level of meaning, and consequently saw only the surface events.<sup>51</sup>

In an article entitled, "La Question des Lieux Saints," published in the Jewish magazine, Sion,<sup>52</sup> Madaule lamented the

48. L'Amitié, September 1948, p.14; reprinted from Témoignage Chrétien, June 4, 1948, "La Tragédie juive et le Mystère d'Israël."

49. La Riposte, April 10, 1947, "La Patrie"; June 25, 1947, "La Peste - de Albert Camus; October 5, 1947, "La Victoire d'Israël;" March 17, 1948, "L'Angoisse des Chrétiens;" November 26, 1948, "En tant que Chrétien...;" and others.

50. La Riposte, October 5, 1948, "La Victoire d'Israël," p.4.

51. Cahiers Sioniens, November 1, 1949, "Claudel et les Juifs," pp.261-272.

52. Sion, February 1950, p.4; Cahiers, June 1950, pp.81-91. See also his book, Les Juifs et le monde actuel, 1963; Revue de la Pensée Juive, July 1950, "Le problème religieux en Israël," pp.9-19; and Israël et le poids de l'élection, Paris, 1983, 223p.

Catholic inability to perceive the reality beneath the surface events.

L'opinion s'est accréditée, dans un grand nombre de milieux catholiques, que les Israéliens avaient systématiquement profané les églises et les lieux consacrés au culte. On a voulu voir dans un certain nombre d'actes isolés, commis par des éléments irresponsables et expliqués, sinon entièrement excusés, par les nécessités de la guerre, une attitude qui trahirait la haine profonde et tenaces portée par les Juifs à tout ce qui est chrétien.

La calomnie fait son chemin, en dépit des enquêtes impartiales. On mélange également à ce débat des considérations extérieures comme par exemple la situation de 650,000 réfugiés arabes qui ont quitté la Palestine, état de choses qui n'a toutefois rien à voir avec la statut des Lieux Saints.

Madaule objected to the emerging Catholic demand to internationalize the Jerusalem area to such "considerations extérieures" rather than the sanctity of the Holy Places and the spiritual attachment of Christians to them.<sup>53</sup>

This very outspokenness of Madaule and the other Catholics associated with the Association and periodical, L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, plus the strikingly independent views expressed by these Catholics, not only alarmed many, more conservative Catholics, but prompted the Vatican Holy Office to issue a decree warning against such "mixed gatherings of non-Catholics... in which matters of faith have been discussed."<sup>54</sup> The decree warned that such meetings were "forbidden by Canon 1325, #3, for both lay persons and clerics" without the previous consent of the Holy See. This warning dated June 5, 1948, was printed in L'Osservatore Romano the following day.

While, as has just been seen, little attention was paid to the decree and it did not deter the Catholic participants of L'Amitié, The American Ecclesiastical Review did note that, "the Conference of Christians and Jews is an organization that offers occasion to which the warnings of the Holy See is applicable." The article noted that the Conference endorsed such ideas as, "the idea of indifferentiation" that asserted that Catholic, Protestant and Jewish worship was equally valid for the believers of that particular tradition. The article concluded by emphasizing that such assertions were false and

53. Sion, Ibid., see also, Cahiers, June 1950, "Israël et le monde," pp.81-91.

54. L'Osservatore Romano, June 6, 1948, English text and commentary published in, The American Ecclesiastical Review, September 1948, pp.215-217. See also an article in the same periodical of October 1949, "The National Conference of Christians and Jews," pp. 341-342.

called on Catholics to "defend the basic truth that there can be only one true religion, and that is Catholic."

This warning is an indication that many Catholics were alarmed at such free and "un-Catholic" speculation on such important theological and doctrinal questions as the Jews, Zionism and the relation between Jews and Catholics. Furthermore, this alarm was increased by the fact that the individuals engaging in such speculation were lay people who freely met and discussed with Jews, Protestants, Marxists and most dangerously, as will now be seen, Jewish converts to Catholicism.

### Esprit, the role of the Judeo-Christians

Esprit, which had devoted its September 1945 and October 1947 issues to "Les Juifs parlent aux Nations" and "Cette année à Jérusalem," respectively, continued to serve as a rallying point for Catholics who believed that the holocaust had been not only a disaster for the Jewish people, but a "catastrophe européenne." For this reason, the Church, as a moral spokesperson for "Christian" Europe, was morally obliged to assume the major responsibility in atoneing for its crimes against the Jews. Consequently, the establishment of the Jewish state was incorporated into this apostolate of atonement.

The major contribution made by Esprit to the search for a theology of Israel was the pivotal role it attributed to the Judeo-Christians, Jewish converts to Christianity who considered themselves Jewish by nationality and Christian by religion. Many such Jewish converts had been strongly anti-Zionist and felt no need to "rediscover" their Jewish "national" roots. Such converts as Rabi (Wladimir Rabinovitch), Georges Zérapha and Marcel David, had been strongly impressed by Mounier's fervent belief that nationalism had been the major cause for the Second World War, and consequently eschued nationalism in favor of a universal humanism or the universalism of Christianity. For example, in an early article by Rabi, entitled, "La question juive," Rabi had called for the creation of an "statut international des juifs" which would guarantee their status as a supranational people, in opposition to the Zionist plan to reestablish their "national" identity.<sup>55</sup> However, following the Second World War, Rabi like many others, had become a convinced Zionist. In fact, he was responsible for many articles, not only in La Riposte and Esprit, but almost every issue of La Terre Retrouvée, the Zionist publication in France. However, the transition from opposition to support of Zionism was difficult for the Judeo-Christians.

55. For an interesting account of the conversion of one of the associates of Mounier, see DAVID, Marcel, Croire ou espérer, Paris, Les Editions Ouvrières, 1981, 240p.

Mounier courageously opened the pages of Esprit to Jewish converts such as Jean-Jacques Bernard, Albert Caher, François Bondy, Henri Hertz, Emmanuel Rais, Elisabeth Bellençon, Michel Dard, Abbé A. Glasberg, Jacques Meyer and Rabi, who discussed the various aspects of reconciling their Jewishness with their Catholicism. Rabi and Glasberg, for example, in both Esprit and their articles in La Riposte, insisted that the national revival of the Jews was both welcome and necessary to ensure their physical survival as a people. Jean-Jacques Bernard described the state as giving "des millions de Juifs une raison de vivre."<sup>56</sup> Emmanuel Rais referred to it as a "déviation possible" in Jewish history, while Elisabeth Bellençon insisted that "l'itinéraire spirituel" of the Jews was not yet complete, and the Jewish state may have a major role to play in this "itinéraire."

The full significance of Esprit's contribution to the emergence of a theology of Israel does not lie in the variety of opinions expressed by the Judeo-Christians, but rather in the belief that the Judeo-Christians themselves should act as the mediator between the Church and the state of Israel. This belief was likewise expressed by Abbé Catrice in Catholicité when he wrote;

Nous espérons que des Juifs chrétiens sont ou seront sionistes, prenant leur place aux côtés de leurs frères de race dans la restauration de la terre de Sion.<sup>57</sup>

Emmanuel Mounier, in his introduction to "Les Juifs parlent aux Nations," wrote;

Nous reviendrons, sans aucun doute, sur les problèmes particuliers que pose la question juive dans le monde contemporain. Mais il convenait que, pour une première audition, la parole soit laissée à ceux qui ont souffert, pour dire, librement, la méditation qu'ils ont mûrie dans la souffrance. Ce numéro est composé exclusivement de signatures juives.

Jean-Jacques Bernard, in La Croix, had likewise called on the Judeo-Christians to "retrouver, au sein du christianisme, le sentiment de la religion mère."<sup>58</sup> Cahiers, likewise reviewed a book by John Freidman, entitled, The Redemption of Israel, which stated that, "les israélites catholiques ont une fonction à remplir, et cela en Palestine, au sein même de la collectivité juive reconstituée nationalement."<sup>59</sup>

56. La Croix, September 21-22, 1947, "Le camp de la mort lente," J.-J. Bernard, p.3.

57. Catholicité, January 1948, Abbé Catrice, p.7.

58. La Croix, September 21-22, 1947, p.3.

59. Cahiers Sioniens, October 1, 1947, p.174.

The idea of attributing to Jewish converts this role of mediator between the Jewish state and the Church was in essence the application of a principle which had a rich but contested history within the Church. The two great missionary Popes, Benedict XV and Pius XI had argued that the only way the Church could be introduced and survive in non-European cultures was through a drastic process of adaptation which would safeguard the purity of the Christian message while vigorously rejecting its traditional attachments to European political, economic and cultural contexts. This adaptation of the institutional Church required a radically different ecclesial vision of the Church which was developed by Abbe Catrice and others.

Abbé Catrice, editor of Catholicité, developed this vision in a book published in 1949 entitled, Un problème essentiel: l'Eglise peut-elle s'adapter?<sup>60</sup> The first chapter, written by Catrice, was entitled, "L'Actualité Théologique et Pratique du problème de l'Adaptation." Catrice denied that there is "'une' civilisation chrétienne, mais il y a des civilisations, diverses, multiformes, et qui toutes peuvent être chrétiennes." He cited the examples of the Chinese Benedictine Abbot, Lou, former prime minister of China, who had written in his memoirs, "Je suis à la fois Catholique et Confucianiste."<sup>61</sup> Catrice continued;

Si notre Occident a fait germer des doctrines spirituelles aussi variées que celles de Saint Benoît, de Saint François d'Assise et de Saint Ignace de Loyola, qui sont la parure diaprée de l'Eglise, combien de vertus et de grâces nouvelles pourra nous apporter, lorsqu'elles seront christianisée, la sagesse de Confucius, la mystique hindoue et musulmane, le bouddhisme japonais et aussi l'âme africaine aux virtualités encore insoupçonnées ou méconnues.

In response to these calls by Catrice and Mounier, Jewish converts to Catholicism assumed the role of mediator between Catholicism and the emerging spirituality of Israel. Not only did they express their opinions in Esprit, Cahiers, L'Amitié and Catholicité, but their influence also extended to the Catholic newspapers as well.

As has already been seen, many of these converts had initially supported the idea of a Jewish state as a safe haven for the survivors of the holocaust. The state defended as a purely secular creation and Jewish-Christians could consequently fully share in the revitalised national life of their "frères de

60. CATRICE, Abbe Paul, ed., Un problème essentiel, Editions Catholicité, 1948, 167pp.

61. LOU, Abbot, Souvenirs et pensées, See also, CHARLES, Pierre, SJ, Nouveau Revue Théologique, (Louvain), March-April 1946, and THILS, Gustave, Théologie des réalités terrestres, Paris, Desdée de Brouwer, 1947, in 8 numbers, 198pp.

race." However, in the charged atmosphere of late 1948 and 1949, when this clearcut separation between religion and nationality was being questioned and the Jerusalem question was assuming the character of a frontal confrontation between the new state and the Church, the Judeo-Christians found their role of mediator increasingly frustrated, and eventually it faltered completely.

Abbé Glasberg, whose articles had appeared in Esprit, La Riposte and Témoignage Chrétien, had also served as intermediary between Dr. Moshe Sneh of the Zionist executive in Paris and the Papal Nuncio there, Mgr. Roncalli, the future Pope John XXIII.<sup>62</sup> However, once the state of Israel had come into existence in 1948, Glasberg retreated into silence. Likewise, Rabi, who had also written numerous articles for Esprit and La Riposte, disappeared from both publications.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Bishop Oesterreicher, who had written in both the American Catholic press, Blackfriars in London and Cahiers Sioniens, throughout the early and mid-1940s, fell into silence following the publication of an article entitled, "Life from the Dead" in the British review, Blackfriars.<sup>64</sup> In this article he repeated his belief that the discovery of Jesus was the only source of "comfort and peace, hope and courage to life" for the Jews. The only reference to the state of Israel, already in existence for nearly half a year, was a reference to the personal testimony of a Jewish writer in the United States;

As a Zionist she hopes to spend the eve of her life in Palestine. Just a few days ago, she said to me; 'With every day that passes, I become more of a Hebrew. But when I want to rest in the arms of God, I go to a Catholic Church.'<sup>65</sup>

Bishop Oesterreicher, who would later in 1975 found the Institute for Judeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University, and who wrote; Jerusalem the Free (1972) and Walls are Crumbling (1952), was completely silent on the state of Israel during the crucial years of the Jerusalem debate.

In contrast to Oesterreicher, who withdrew into silence during the crucial years of 1949 and 1950, Eugenio Zolli, another convert, did not remain silent. Zolli, the former chief rabbi of Rome, had converted to Catholicism and been baptised

62. LAZAR, L'Opinion française et la naissance de l'Etat d'Israël, p.206.

63. Catholic Worker, May 4 and June 8, 1944, "Faith in Israel;" Homiletic and Pastoral Review, August 8, 1944, "Mystical Reality of the Old Testament;" Catholic World, February 7, 1947, "Christ in Buchenwald," pp.443-447; Thought December 1947, "Henri Bergson and the Faith," pp.635-678; and Theological Studies, March 1947, "Pro perfidis Judaeis," pp.80-96.

64. Blackfriars, October 1948, "Life from the Dead," pp.466-473.

65. Ibid., p.471.

together with his wife in 1945, taking the baptismal name of Eugenio in honor of Pius XII. Zolli justified his "conversion" in much the same terms as the other Judeo-Christians, as the completion of a lengthy process of "spiritual evolution." In an interview published in Documentation Catholique in September 1948, Zolli responded to the question, 'why he abandoned Judaism' Zolli's response was as follows;

Mais je n'y ai pas renoncé, (dit-il). Le christianisme est l'achèvement de la synagogue. Car la synagogue était une promesse, et le christianisme l'accomplissement de cette promesse. La synagogue indiquait le christianisme; le christianisme présuppose la synagogue. Ainsi, vous voyez que l'une ne peut exister sans l'autre. Ce à quoi j'ai été converti, c'est au christianisme vivant.<sup>66</sup>

He described his conversion as the result of "une lente évolution, toute intérieure." When he became "un disciple de Jésus, il ne change ni sa personnalité, il reste hébreu, ni sa religion, qui est la judaïsme."<sup>67</sup>

Later, in August 1949, a very significant article written by Zolli himself entitled, "The Status of the State of Israel," was published in The Catholic World.<sup>68</sup> He warned Jews, especially those who supported Israel or lived in the state, that the re-establishment of a Jewish state was not the end of their suffering.

The journey taken by Israel begins with its election as the chosen people: it receives God's Revelation and then suffers a spiritual isolation first in a pagan world and then in a world against Israel; it goes forth to its martyrdom and heroism, finally to the recent re-establishment of the independent and recognized State of Israel.<sup>69</sup>

Now, after indescribable martyrdom under Nazism, after the terrible night of nameless misfortunes, the rosy outlines of dawn for the new Hebrew State are taking shape.

However, he warned in no uncertain terms that the new state did not significantly affect the spiritual mission of the Jews.

66. Documentation Catholique, September 12, 1948, col.1194.

67. Previous articles on the conversion of Zolli and his defence of this act include a 1945 article in the American periodical Ligourian; Fiches documentaires, (Brussels), April 15, 1946; Catholicité, January 11, 1948, fasc.11, pp.148-151; Documentation Catholique, September 12, 1948, cols.1192-1196.

68. The Catholic World, August 1949, "The Status of the State of Israel," pp.326-329.

69. The Catholic World, August 1949.

But let not Israel's pilgrimage end now. Let not the State of Israel become the last and only objective of a suffering people, but may it go on to a more glorious destination.

But neither the State of Israel, nor any other state in the world will end the miserable situation in which Israel is entangled with the rest of humanity if men do not find first, through faith, peace with God, which alone can make them glorious sons of God.

Zolli went on to emphasize that the state of Israel, a Hebrew State, was a solution to the suffering of the Jews, but was by no means the end of their spiritual suffering and longing, which as his personal example testified, was the Church.

May an arisen Israel also rise in spirit, in the spirit of her divinely inspired legislators, prophets and poets. May she become again the voice of a great chorus which the world will lift up to Heaven; "Peace to men of good will and glory to God in the Highest." ... With her faith strengthened and renewed in God, may Israel become the link in a chain - no longer the badge of slavery - which will link the nations into one Humanity which embraces and merges all in one Unity: the Humanity of God.

The Jews were called upon by God to lead humanity to the "promised land of peace and love", "a peace and love which are in God and in Jesus, and which are the canticles of the Holy Ghost in us."

While Zolli's articles can hardly be interpreted as an enthusiastic statement of support for the Jewish state, it was nevertheless a positive evaluation of it by one of the most controversial and prestigious Jewish converts to Catholicism, a man converted by Pope Pius XII no less. His fierce loyalty to the pope and his position in Rome as a member of the Pontifical Biblical Commission gave his opinions an importance which cannot be ignored.

The Catholic World remained one of the few American Catholic publications, in addition to, as will be seen, The Commonweal, which gave strong support to the underlying theology of the Judeo-Christians that the Church was the completion of Jewish spirituality while a 'Hebrew' state was the solution to their nationalistic longings. However, while this theological approach had mobilized many Jewish converts during the pre-partition years, and had contributed to the wellspring of Catholic support for the idea of a Jewish state, once the state had become a reality such academic distinctions were rapidly overwhelmed by events. In December 1949, The Catholic World published an article entitled, "A Lamp to Light for Israel," by Rita K. O'Neill which described the role of Jewish

converts in the Church as testimony of Judaism as the "trunk and the root" of the Church.<sup>70</sup> Converts, she continued, were continuously "re-grafting new life into a wilting Christianity." "St. Timothy, St. Paul and the early Christians were Jews, and what giants of Christianity they made, towering over us all for these many centuries."

Jean-Jacques Bernard, like most Judeo-Christians, was dedicated to a vision of the Church as the universalization of Judaism. His numerous articles in Esprit, L'Aube, La Croix, Cahier Sioniens, La Riposte, plus the numerous reprints of these articles, had stressed that whatever one's theological or ideological position on Zionism, the idea of a Jewish state gave the Jews "a reason to live" following the recent holocaust. Later in April 1948, Bernard delivered a widely reprinted lecture at a conference organized by "L'Union universelle des Ecrivains catholiques" held at the Institut Catholique in Paris entitled, "Judaïsme et Christianisme."<sup>71</sup> In this lecture he demanded that his conversion to Catholicism demanded a corresponding "fidélité à Israël."

Cela, on ne le dira jamais assez. Le Dieu d'Israël est notre Dieu. les prophètes d'Israël sont nos prophètes, les psaumes d'Israël baignent toute notre liturgie. Le christianisme plonge dans le judaïsme exactement comme un chêne dans le sol où sa graine fut plantée. Il n'y a pas eu deux graines, et le fils de Dieu nous a dit lui-même qu'il venait, non détruire, mais accomplir.

Following this conference, Bernard remained silent on the state of Israel, as did many other Judeo-Christians.

The efforts of the Judeo-Christians such as Bernard, Glasberg, Oestereicher, Zolli and others, to act as a bridge between Jews and Catholics, by making Catholics aware of their Jewish roots and Jews aware of the spiritual wealth of Catholicism, and in particular to make the idea of a Jewish state acceptable to the Church, was no doubt a heroic task. As has been seen, they contributed to the widespread support among French Catholics that a state was necessary for humanitarian reasons and posed no threat to the spiritual mission of the Church. However, the often unique and mystical contributions of the Judeo-Christians to Catholic-Jewish understanding were suspect and even attacked by Jews and Catholics alike. In its analysis of the decree of the Vatican Holy Office concerning

70. The Catholic World, December 1949, "A Lamp to Light for Israel," Rita K. O'Neill. O'Neill was introduced as an employee of the Navy Regional Accounts Office in Brooklyn who wrote on weekends.

71. Documentation Catholique, June 20, 1948, "Judaïsme et Christianisme," J.-J. Bernard, cols.793-808.

mixed gatherings of non-Catholics and Catholics, The American Ecclesiastical Review directly cited Oesterreicher's book, Building Bridges (1948) as "watering down" the essential doctrine of the 'necessity of the Church.'<sup>72</sup> This doctrine demanded, the article continued, that a vague Jewish spirituality which recognized that Christ was a holy man who added a universal dimension to the spiritual mission of the Jews, was not sufficient to achieve salvation. It was not enough for a Jew to even recognise Jesus as the Messiah to achieve salvation, "one must belong actually or in desire to the Catholic Church," the article concluded.

The Judeo-Christians were also subjected to attacks from their erstwhile allies in "La Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre" and their publication La Riposte. J.-J. Bernard who had announced his support for the Jewish state as an expression of his "solidarite humaine" for a suffering people, was attacked in a series of articles written by Matei Roussou.<sup>73</sup> Roussou argued that what was now demanded of the Judeo-Christians was not "solidarite humaine" but rather "solidarité Juive." He continued;

La vérité la voici: les Juifs convertis semblent avoir du mal à s'évader de leur mentalité diasporienne, et leur complexe de soupçon les incite à fournir des garanties de bon christianisme. Je ne les en blâme pas, mais il me sera permis, je suppose, d'y compatir. ... A-t-il (J.-J. Bernard), une seule fois, manifesté réellement, activement, sa solidarité envers les Juifs, alors que des non-Juifs, tels Jacques Madaule, Marc Sangnier, le R.P. Sertilangs... et bien d'autres n'ont pas manqué de leur apporter leur soutien effectif?

Another reason for the growing silence of the Judeo-Christians was the realization that the emerging reality of the situation in Israel was corresponding less and less to their ideal of a secular "Hebrew" state with no attachment to the "Jewish" religion. La Riposte was a major critic of what it described as the emerging pseudo-religious "Rabbinism" in Israel.

Comme on le voit, la tendance théocratique s'accroît et il est même curieux de voir des hommes comme M. Ben Gourion - qui, sur le plan théorique et dans la vie pratique, s'était toujours affirmé contre la religion - apporter son concours à cette entreprise.<sup>74</sup>

72. The American Ecclesiastical Review, October 1949, pp.341-342.

73. La Riposte, October 23, 1949, p.4, see also August 20 and September 19, 1949.

74. La Riposte, September 2, 1949, p.7, and August 20, 1949, p.6.

Less than a year later, the historic role which the Judeo-Christians sought to play in reconciling the Church and the state of Israel was further weakened by the promulgation by the Israeli government of the "Law of Return."<sup>75</sup> This law recognized that every Jew had the right to immigrate to Israel, but defined the term "Jew" in a manner which excluded the Judeo-Christians. Annex 4b of the law read as follows;

Pour les besoins de cette loi, est considérée comme juive une personne née de mère juive ou convertie (au judaïsme) et qui n'appartient pas à une autre religion.<sup>76</sup>

The silence into which many of the Judeo-Christians withdrew during 1949 was however, not permanent. They and their sympathizers later emerged as a powerful influence during the Second Vatican Council. This council not only totally eliminated the Good Friday prayer which contained the phrase "perfidii judaei," but initiated a total re-thinking of Catholic theology and teaching on the Jews and the state of Israel. Cardinal Augustin Bea S.J., head of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity at the Vatican Council, closely cooperated with Paul Démann, Mgr. Oesterreicher and the Jewish convert, Rev. Gregory Baum OSA.<sup>77</sup>

The contributions of Jewish converts to the Christian perception of the state of Israel, the evolving theological reaction to the state and the vision of Christian-Jewish relations is a very complex issue. Such converts as David Goldstein in the United States, who vigorously opposed the establishment of a Jewish state, are often accused of inciting anti-semitism among Christians. In fact, such individuals are responsible for the traditional stereotype of the Jewish convert viciously turning against his former co-religionists. Esprit and those converts associated with the periodical sincerely attempted to contribute to a Catholic theology of Judaism and of Israel which enable both Jews and Christians to live in harmony and respect. While this effort to elaborate a Theology of Israel was centered in France and French Catholic periodicals, the one American periodical which made a major contribution to this theology was The Commonweal.

75. KLEIN, Claude, Le caractère juif de l'Etat d'Israël, Paris, Cujar, 1977.

76. GARAUDY, Roger, L'Affaire Israël, le sionisme politique, Paris, Papyrus, 1983, p.121.

77. GILBERT, Arthur, The Vatican Council and the Jews, World Publishing Company, New York, 1968, 322p.; and BEA, Cardinal Augustin, The Church and the Jewish People, Harper and Row, New York, 1966.

The Commonweal: American contributions to the emerging  
Theology of Israel

The Commonweal had long been the voice of liberal Catholicism in America and a frequent object of criticism by The Tablet, America and the more conservative Catholic press concerning its positions on social and theological issues. Its orientation towards the American Catholic lay elite had resulted in an openness to French Catholic thinking, especially Jacques Maritain and his historico-philosophers. This international orientation of the periodical resulted in an attempt to take comprehensive, as opposed to local, views of the problems facing American Catholics. This tendency was reinforced in 1940 when C.G. Paulding, who had for the last five years been with the French review Esprit, became associate editor.<sup>78</sup>

The Commonweal's sensitivity to the broader implications of the Jewish state, namely as a solution to anti-semitism and the Jewish 'question', combined with its high intellectual calibre, provoked discussions in its pages of topics either judged as irrelevant or intentionally avoided by the American Catholic press in general. Nevertheless, the periodical's initial reaction to the partition resolution was less than profound.

Paulding had accepted partition for the simple reason that there was no other solution for the irreconcilable demands of the Jews for unlimited immigration and the Arabs for an independent Arab state.<sup>79</sup> Later, in February 1948, The Commonweal reluctantly accepted the creation of the new state, wished it well and reminded its readers that in spite of the "faulty" nature of Zionism, partition should not be abandoned. It wrote that one should "not change horses in midstream."<sup>80</sup>

The first article which discussed the new state from the perspective of Catholic-Jewish relations, was a letter titled, "A letter on Anti-Semitism" written by Jacques Maritain. Maritain placed the events in Palestine within the context of "the next solution attempted by the angel of an ever-sorrowful and frustrated history" of the Jews.<sup>81</sup> Maritain argued that Zionism was more than just a Jewish nationalism seeking to seize Palestine as it was portrayed in much of the American press. It was, in fact, a response to anti-Semitism for which Christians must assume some responsibility. The Commonweal was the only

78. In fact, Maritain and Paulding had arrived together in the USA in 1940 and constituted a loose group of what was often referred by their adversaries as American Progressive Catholics. Included in this group was George Schuster and Anne Fremantle. See, VAN ALLEN, The Commonweal.

79. The Commonweal, October 10, 1947, pp.613-614.

80. The Commonweal, February 27, 1948, pp.483-484.

81. The Commonweal, February 27, 1948, pp.489-492.

Catholic periodical in the USA to declare that "our guilt and crimes drove Jews to despair and a Zionist state."<sup>82</sup> While he denied that Zionism was the solution to the Jewish question and anti-Semitism, he did describe the movement of Jews to Palestine as "irresistable" in light of the recent holocaust for which the Christian world was responsible.

Yet another analysis of the importance of the state was presented in an unsigned article on May 28, 1948 which highlighted the theological and historical implications of the adoption of the name, "Israel" for the new state.<sup>83</sup> The declaration of independence of the state of Israel, as read by David Ben-Gurion on May 14, had stated in part;

We resolve that from the moment the mandate ends, at midnight on the Shabbat, the sixth of Iyar 5708, the fifteenth day of May 1948, until the establishment of the duly elected authorities of the State in accordance with a Constitution to be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than October 1, 1948, the National Council shall act as the Provisional Council of State, and its executive arm, the National Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, and the name of that State shall be Israel.<sup>84</sup>

According to the article, the choice of the ancient biblical name "Israel" for the new "Jewish" state was filled with religious, historical and theological consequence. In the case of Israel, the choice of name was more than an "archaic tendency" made famous by the historian Arnold Toynbee by which modern nation states chose the names of ancient empires in an effort to inspire national pride. In this case, the name "Israel" applied not only to an ancient kingdom and to a contemporary religious community, but in addition, for the Church the term had become a Christian theological term. The Church considered itself as being a "new Israel," a new "people of God," ratified by the "new Covenant" between God with humanity. Hence, the employment of, what had become a Christian theological concept, the name "Israel" was described by the article as the "arrogation" by the Zionists of title now applied to the Church. The article stated;

Israel's arrogation of a universal name, for so local an habitation must stress us ... Israel for every Christian, is the whole redeemed world, and all peoples since the Incarnation, are equally chosen to fulfillment of the prophecies to be heirs to the glory.

If one accepts the Oxford English Dictionary definition of the

82. The Commonweal, February 27, 1948, pp.483-484.

83. The Commonweal, February 27, 1948, pp.151-152.

84. BEN-GURION, Israel, a personal history, p.80.

word "to arrogate," "to claim and assume as a right that to which one is not entitled," and is aware of the intellectual calibre of The Commonweal, it is clear from the article that the choice of the name "Israel" posed serious a theological problem for certain Catholics.<sup>85</sup> Not only "Israel," but "Jerusalem" and "Jew." were terms which for Christians had become heavily laden with theological, mystical and spiritual, as well as historical, cultural and linguistic, levels of meaning. As has already been seen, L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne had confronted a similar semantic problem concerning the use of the phrases, "la plénitude de sa vocation" and "dans les desseins de Dieu." Likewise, Msgr. Oesterreicher and the Vatican Sacred Congregation for the Faith had devoted considerable attention to the exact meaning of the Latin phrase, "Perfidi judaei."

The use by the Zionists, of such phrases as "Jewish state," the "State of Israel" and "Jerusalem" as the possible capital of the new state, which appears only logical to the modern secular mind, was perceived by many religious Christians and even Jews as an attempt by the secular Zionists to reclaim a religious and spiritual mission. The second definition given by the Oxford Dictionary clearly states that one who arrogates such rights does so "through self-conceit, insolence, or haughtiness."

This article also elucidates the reasons for the use by such groups as La Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre and its supporters, of such terms as a "Hebrew" state and its Hebrew population, as opposed to "Jewish" state and population, which figured so importantly in the press of the Catholic left. Likewise, many Catholic publications and newspapers insisted on using the terms "Zionist" armies, troops and organizations, even after the state had officially adopted the name of Israel. Such terminology was generally an effort to limit the proportions of the discussions of the Palestine situation to its purely political, and thereby, solvable dimensions, without evoking the larger religious and theological dimensions of the problem. In short, whereas a Zionist - Arab problem could be solved through compromise, a Jewish - Muslim or Jewish - Christian problem would permit no such give and take compromises. According to traditional Catholic teaching, as has been seen, only conversion to Christianity could solve this "Jewish" problem. Thus, the above article clearly underlined the dimensions of the Palestine problem which such periodicals as The Commonweal sought to avoid.

85. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, Vol.I, p.108.

Arrogate - (1) arrogare, claim for oneself. 1. Rom. Law. to adopt as a child. 2. to claim and assume as a right that to which one is not entitled; to appropriate without just reason or through self-conceit, insolence, or haughtiness. 3. to assume without foundation. 4. to ascribe to (another) without just reason 1605.

This initial negative reaction to the use of the name "Israel" for the Zionist state, was followed by two articles which in the tradition of open debate on issues of Catholic concern of The Commonweal, attempted to present other aspects of this problem. In August of that year, an article was devoted to Martin Buber who was described as "Israel's most distinguished intellect, and ... probably the most important living Jewish philosopher."<sup>86</sup> Anne Fremantle, author of the article, wrote that Buber's writings had assumed an even greater importance "today, when the fate of Israel is becoming once more the front page of the world." For Fremantle, Buber transcended the level of debate between religions, i.e. between Judaism and Christianity. "He does not write about religion, because what he writes is religion, and the demands he makes is that of religion, 'Seek in all things first the glory'."

We are so stunned still by the reality of the Incarnation, that, since Saint Thomas, since the "Summa Contra Gentiles," we have mightily neglected the Creation, and Dr. Buber, for whom our existence as creatures is the most important fact about us, supplies useful counterbalance. ... Since Soinoza, few philosophers have been so intoxicated by their Creator: since Augustine, few, indeed have so clearly distinguished between Him Who, in the beginning was the Word, and behold Him to Whom Mary harkened, and the Word Who was made Flesh, and behold Him Whom Martha served.

And thus the whole history of the world is a dialogue between God and His creature, a dialogue in which man is a true and legitimate partner, who is empowered and entitled to speak his independent word from out of his own being.

According to Fremantle, Buber places humanity in a position of "a partner in the dialogue of time." "We perfect our souls to God, that means that each of us who does this makes perfect his image, his "jechida", his only one thing, his uniqueness as God's image." For, "Creation originally means only the divine summons to life hidden in non-being."

In addition to the journey of the individual soul Fremantle likewise perceived the state of Israel from within this framework of the realization of the "jechida" (uniqueness) of the Jewish people.

86. The Commonweal, August 6, 1948, Ann Fremantle, pp.404-405. Anne Fremantle, A British Catholic, held such posts as Governorship of Madras, the Undersecretaryship for India, the Rectorship of Aberdeen University and was Member of Parliament for 30 years. Following her arrival in New York in 1946, she joined the staff of The Commonweal, published two anthologies of Catholic authors and a biography of Charles de Foucauld, Desert Calling in 1950.

Buber's view of the mission of Israel is that as a people it was chosen to bear witness to this understanding of reality. The only chance even today for a small people hemmed in between world powers is, he thinks, to bring about, through Zionism, a new type of Jew who would translate into the actions of daily life the spiritual demands of Israel's heritage.

This article was a dramatic revision of The Commonweal's previous position that the Zionist state was of no consequence to the larger "Jewish Question," which would only be solved through conversion. Drawing on the writings of Buber, Fremantle distinctly foresaw a radical transformation in the state that would result in the revival of the "spiritual demands of Israel's heritage." She welcomed this revival of the 'jehida' of both the Jews as individuals and of the Jewish state, and did not perceive the emergence of any conflict between a spiritual view of the state and the Church.

The spirituality that Fremantle welcomed was one that transcended and incorporated both Judaism and Christianity. She stressed that Buber's assimilation of Jewish Hassidic mysticism and biblical scholarship, combined with the influence of the German Christian mystics such as Meister Eckhart and Angelus Silesius, enriched by the writings of Hegel, Marx and Kant, had resulted in a "teaching" that is not only religious, but religion itself.

Shortly thereafter, in October 1948, The Commonweal devoted another article to Buber entitled, "This Time in Jerusalem."<sup>87</sup> When asked if the Israeli young people have "any real link with the Jewish religious tradition," Buber responded with the following answer.

If you ask them, you will not get a satisfactory answer because the answer will come out of their conscious minds. I think that all this work in Palestine comes much more out of unconscious than out of conscious intentions. Unconsciously it is based on traditional ideals. Zionism is the secularization of a religious ideal. It has been born out of traditional hopes. The young people come out of a background in which the tradition had degenerated. They don't know its roots and they react against it. But living the life of the settlements they feel the lack of something which they don't know. They are groping for it. They don't know that religion renews itself. There are times when a religion hides its meaning, its renewal is not yet manifest. But I believe in this power of renewal. Of course, it is difficult for people like myself to be patient, to know that today must be lived as it is - we cannot put in its place a more glorious day. We live in the

87. The Commonweal, October 8, 1948, Manya Harari, pp.611-615.

days of the Hidden God. We must be patient with all these people who do not know the religious goodness of what they are doing here. They are trying to live together in justice.

Buber, like many Catholic observers of the state of Israel, perceived the mysterious workings of the renewal of Judaism taking place behind the "secular" facade of the state. The belief that a Jewish state in the land of Israel could be a secular state like any other state, was possible only for people who were totally ignorant of the spiritual dimension of human history, or for people limited by a degenerate perception of Judaism. In short, "the Spirit needs corporal form to manifest itself. Without it, it does not exist on earth." The physical reality of the state of Israel, in spite of its "secular" nature, was the manifestation of the spirit. He drew a direct parallel between his perception of the state and the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments in which a physical act is necessary to communicate a spiritual grace.

This "sacramental" perception of the establishment of the state of Israel, not only led Buber to attribute a positive spiritual content to the state, but also to attribute a negative content to the Israeli demands to include Jerusalem within the state. In answer to the question, "Do you think Jerusalem should be part of the Jewish State?" Buber responded;

No. I have always wanted Jerusalem to be international. I have great hopes for Jerusalem. It should become a great center of cooperation, not only between Jews and Arabs but between peoples generally - a symbol of the beginning of real cooperation between human beings.

In the same manner that one symbol, the state of Israel, served as the corporal form for the manifestation of Jewish spiritual renewal in the world, so another symbol, the future of Jerusalem could serve as the corporal form for another manifestation of the Spirit. If internationalized, the city would manifest to the "real cooperation between human beings." On the other hand, if Israeli and Arab control was confirmed, the city would manifest to the hostility and rivalry between human beings. Thus, Buber applied his "sacramental" understanding of historical events to both the establishment of the state of Israel and the consequent struggle to internationalize Jerusalem.

The striking feature of the two articles on Buber was the conviction that the state of Israel would inevitably result in a spiritual renewal of the Jewish people in spite of its "secular" origins and nature. Furthermore, he did not consider Israeli control of Jerusalem as necessary, either to "prove" its continuity with the ancient Hebrew states, or to confirm the spiritual mission of the state.

One month later, The Commonweal developed its position on Jerusalem in an article entitled, "The Pope and Palestine."<sup>88</sup> The article stated that the Pope was against Jerusalem and the Holy Places being controlled by any one nation or group. "It is the judgement of Solomon all over again: let the child live, cries the Sovereign Pontiff, we do not claim it, let none claim it, so long as it lives." The position of The Commonweal was that not only would Jerusalem be destroyed unless there was a mutual renunciation of the exclusive claims inspired by a mutual respect for all religions and humankind, but Catholic - Jewish relations were likewise threatened by the emerging confrontation over the future of the city.

Both The Commonweal and Buber were acutely aware of the potential danger of Catholic - Jewish rivalry for control of Jerusalem.<sup>89</sup> For example, the final declaration of the Seelisberg Conference on Christian-Jewish relations was hailed by the magazine as a, "Program for Tolerance" while the actual situation in Jerusalem was described as "loaded with danger for Catholic-Jewish relations," for which both the Church and Israeli government were held jointly responsible. As an example of the deteriorating relations between the Church and Israel, the magazine reported that the Israeli Foreign Minister, Moshe Sharett had accused the Church of "the desire to seek revenge for an ancient sin and to settle an account of nineteen centuries standing." On the other hand, in the opinion of the magazine, the Church was still influenced by a deep-rooted anti-Semitism. Sharett's anti-Catholicism was equal to the Church's anti-Semitism and both were "bound with the same chains of darkness."<sup>90</sup>

The Commonweal, like Cahiers and L'Amitié, opposed the Catholic demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem because it perceived an essentially anti-Israeli, even anti-Semitic, inspiration behind the demand. Implicit in this evaluation was the admission that the state of Israel was more than a secular enterprise, but involved the whole Jewish world, Consequently, the Jerusalem question was presented as directly related to the broader question of Catholic-Jewish relations.

The Commonweal was the only American Catholic publication which made a significant positive contribution to the emergence of a Catholic theology of Israel. In contrast to the French periodicals which defended their opposition to the crusade to internationalize the city by arguing in favor of Israeli control, The Commonweal was more sensitive to the fact that there was strong American Catholic support for internationalization. As will be seen in the following chapter, for American

88. The Commonweal, November 5, 1948, "The Pope and Palestine," p.85.

89. The Commonweal, June 10, 1949, John Cogley, pp.217-219.

90. The Commonweal, January 13, 1950, "Jerusalem and Catholics," p.382.

Catholics international control of Jerusalem was rapidly becoming a symbol of the "coming of age" of the American Church.

The current of thought which welcomed the state of Israel and began to attribute to it a spiritual mission, was not exclusively limited to the periodicals and reviews already analysed. Others, both Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, likewise printed isolated articles describing the religious, even messianic significance of the state.

The Canadian Jesuit review, Relations, for example, published an article entitled, "Canada, Israël et le Vatican" in which the author noted that; "Innombrables créatures, journalistes et hommes d'Etat rendirent hommage aux valeurs spirituelles mondiales qui avaient leur siège en Israël." The significance of Israel was not that the state possessed "deux lambeaux de terre" and a national flag, but rather, that it represented the aspirations and values of the Jewish people. "La puissance morale d'Israël, incomparablement plus grande que les intérêts de la seule Palestine, repose sur la solidarité spirituelle et raciale qui relie le nouvel Etat aux forces juives du monde." A limited parallel was drawn between the state of Israel and the Church. "Le Pape est chef de l'Eglise catholique, et souverain d'un état indépendant, minuscule en territoire, considérable en influence. Le président d'Israël est souverain d'un état indépendant, minuscule en territoire, considérable en influence."<sup>91</sup> It was precisely the drawing of even more elaborate and far reaching parallels that many Catholics found dangerous.

The Register in the USA also described the state in messianic terms in an article of April 10, 1949, by Msgr. Matthew Smith, founder of the chain, entitled, "Hebrew, Jew, Israeli - A Wonderful Story." In contrast to the earlier article in The Commonweal which had argued that the new state had no right to the name of "Israel," Smith responded;

The name Israel, nevertheless, harkens back to Jacob, and particularly expresses the religious priveleges and hopes of this great but tragic people. It is not astonishing to find that today their new nation calls the state Israel and the people Israeli.<sup>92</sup>

Another Catholic clergyperson who welcomed the establishment of the state and even attributed it a messianic mission was the Irish Redemptorist priest, Fr. Sean O'Riordan, one of the foremost Irish ecumenists who wrote extensively on the Irish Catholic - Protestant question.<sup>93</sup> In an article entitled, "Next year in Jerusalem" published in The Redemptorist Record in

91. Relations, February 1949, Joseph H. Ledit SJ, pp.54-56.

92. The Register, April 10, 1949, Msgr. Matthew Smith.

93. See in particular his articles in The Furrow, a monthly published in Maynooth, Ireland.

Belfast, Northern Ireland in May-June 1949, O'Riordan praised the activities of the Zionist movement in freeing the Jews from the ghetto and reviving Hebrew and Jewish culture.<sup>94</sup> He stressed the Catholic contributions to the founding of the state, in particular, Catholic research on the Hebrew language, the establishment of the Franciscan Hebrew printing press in Jerusalem, the research and writings of former rabbi Eugenio Zolli in Rome, and the presence of Rev. Bauchet, a Carmelite professor on the staff of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Likewise, the work of the Ratisbonne brothers, who were described as Zionist pioneers at Ain Karim were described. However, O'Riordan continued, the new state was faced with many problems, "notably that of the future of Jerusalem itself." Nevertheless, he argued that the Israeli laws, which "guarantee full religious freedom and enables non-Jews to acquire Israeli citizenship," should guarantee the survival of the Christian community in Israel.

The author then concluded in an almost messianic vein, "God, as the proverb says, writes straight with crooked lines. Zionism may have a providential part to play in the ultimate fulfillment of the divine promise: 'All Israel shall be saved'."

This article was later to receive widespread publicity which it was reprinted by the American, The Catholic Digest which had a pass along readership of several million.

This growing impression that the state of Israel was in some mysterious way more than "deux lambeaux de terre" with a national flag, stimulated many Catholics and periodicals, such as The Commonweal to attempt to come to terms with the theological significance of the state. As has been seen diverse and often contradictory opinions emerged on the content of this new "Theology of Israel." Needless to say, many Catholics opposed this theology entirely as well as the underlying thesis that Catholic theology should adapt to such demands of the modern world. The state of Israel was not the only demand that stimulated new and innovative thinking by Catholics. As will now be seen, this particular problem was but one part of a more widespread theology of adaptation.

#### Towards a Theology of Ecclesiological Adaptation

The efforts of the Catholic intellectuals associated with Cahiers, Catholicité, Esprit, and The Commonweal to come to terms with the establishment of the state of Israel, resulted in a flurry of theological, biblical and philosophical speculation. A Jewish state, with the dimensions of Albania

94. Redemptorist Record, Belfast, Ireland, Clonard Monastery, May-June 1949, "Next Year in Jerusalem," reprinted in Catholic Digest, August 1949, Vol.13, pp.76-78.

burst into the Christian world with disquieting effects. However, these periodicals and the Catholic intellectuals associated with them, were convinced that the establishment of a Jewish state was not only the major challenge to the Church, in fact, their attempts to adapt Catholic theology and teachings on Israel and the Jews, constituted only one part of a much broader attempt to adapt the Church to the modern world. As has already been seen, the crisis of the French Church following the Second World War was how the Church could survive in the modern world. The immediate threat of Communism in Europe, the emergence of the Cold War, the rise of third world nationalisms and the inability of "Christian" Europe to maintain its empire made this problem acute in 1948-1950.

The need for a radical effort at adaptation was most evident among the French working class where de-Christianization and the influence of Marxism had reached their highest level of influence. Consequently, the first major attempt at adaptation was undertaken among them. In fact, the "Worker Priest" experiment was to convince many conservative Catholics that while attempts at adaptation was laudable, their consequences were negative for the Church. The Worker Priest Movement was launched in 1943 by Abbé Henri Godin, Abbé Yvon Daniel of Action Catholique Ouvriere and Rev. Augros, superior of the movement. Its manifesto, written by Godin was entitled, La France pays de mission, and called for a radical internal reform of the Church, the restructuring of French society, the abolition of the proletariat which was a form of slavery and accused the Church of collaborating with this unjust social order.<sup>95</sup>

To mobilize the workers, a far reaching liturgical reform was begun which featured midnight masses in cinemas, the use of modern methods of mass communications, public preaching in factories and worker neighborhoods, the abandonment of the parish structure in favor of priestly work in factories and eventually in 1947 public clerical participation in labor strikes.

Until his death in May 1949, the Worker Priest Movement enjoyed the energetic support of the Archbishop of Paris, Suhard. In spite of fierce opposition emanating from the more conservative circles in France and Italy, Suhard participated in many of their activities and defended them before their critics. At a three day conference from July 11-13, he called on them to develop new forms of clerical ministry, welcomed their contributions to overcoming "the crisis of Christian Civilization," and in a series of pastoral letters, linked their efforts to the "Rise or Fall of the Church."<sup>96</sup> In an article

95. GODIN, Henri, La France pays de mission, Lyon, Les Editions de L'Abreille, 1943, 215p.

96. Les Prêtres Ouvriers - Documents, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1954, pp.29-32, English translation, The Worker Priests: A collective documentation, trans. John Petrie, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, 204p.

entitled, "The Priest in the City" he defended the movement against growing criticism,<sup>97</sup> and encouraged their reinterpretations of such key theological and ecclesiological issues as, "Jesus the man," the social ministry of the Church, the role of liturgy in the Church, class struggle and Catholic theology, and the role of the clergy in social reform,<sup>98</sup>

As in the case of the Catholic efforts to reinterpret the traditional teachings on the Jews, Israel and salvation, the attempts to create a dialogue with the masses of French, and largely Marxist, workers resulted in theological and liturgical innovations and speculation. However, the underlying question was whether the Church was capable of adapting to the modern world without abandoning or distorting elements of Church teaching and theology which many Catholics considered as essential to the mission and survival of the Church.

Rev. Catrice, who had devoted the January 1948 issue of Catholicité to Catholics and Jews who were searching for a way to reconcile Catholic teaching on the Jews with the reality of a Jewish state, devoted its October 1948 issue to the topic, "L'Eglise peut-elle s'adapter?"<sup>99</sup> In the introduction to the issue, Catrice argued that the Christianity, which had succeeded in "baptising" Greek, Roman and the various European cultures, and had the ability to assimilate the spiritualities of Islam, Buddhism, the African traditions and Hinduism, could likewise absorb the positive elements of atheistic Marxism. He wrote;

Et ne voyons-nous pas aussi le communisme, ce nouvel Islam, si féru dans l'obéissance aveugle à la doctrine et dans l'allégeance à Moscou, savoir habilement incliner ses théories et ses méthodes jusqu'à la main tendue aux catholiques de France, jusqu'au rétablissement du Patriarcat de Moscou. Le communisme, pourrions-nous dire, est pleinement italien avec les Italiens, yougoslave avec les Yougoslaves, ouvrier avec les ouvriers, paysan avec les paysans.<sup>100</sup>

Central to Catrice's efforts to overcome the long standing hostility between the Church and the Marxists, the Church and the Jewish people, and the Church and the modern world, was an emphasis on "la pureté du message chrétien." He called upon the Catholic Church to "se désolidariser vigoureusement de toute attache et compromission politique et économique."<sup>101</sup> Catrice perceived a Catholicism bound to neither the Marxist nor

97. Ibid., p.36.

98. DARIEL, Chez les prêtres ouvriers and ALZIN, Jésus incognito.

99. Published in book form as, Un problème essentiel: L'Eglise peut-elle s'adapter?, Edition Catholicité, Lille, 1948, 167p.

100. Ibid., p.12.

101. Ibid., p.3.

Capitalist blocs, but rather a purely spiritual message capable of integrating itself into any culture or ideology. In short, he advocated a far reaching separation between Church and state, on both the international and national levels, as the only method capable of ensuring the survival of the Church in the modern world. The Medieval ideal of "Christendom" in which the Church sought to create a religious and secular society, was rejected. In the same issue of Catholicité, Rev. Jacques Tameur AM developed the scriptural foundations of such a position in an article entitled, "L'adaptation chez Saint Paul - Une théologie ou une méthode?"<sup>102</sup>

Catrice was hardly the only Catholic thinker who proposed a total separation between the Church and state, and the rejection of any identification with a particular super-power or bloc of states. Jacques Maritain, who had announced his support for the Jewish state as the acceptance of "un phénomène historique irrésistible," defended the need for a purely spiritual vision of the Church as being likewise dictated by the forces of contemporary history. Throughout his many writings, which were later summarised in his major work, Pour une Philosophie de l'Histoire, Maritain distinguished between the past "civilisation sacrée" and the present "civilisation profane."<sup>103</sup> He wrote;

Il y a eu un âge sacré, l'âge de la chrétienté médiévale, caractérisé principalement d'une part par le fait que l'unité de foi était prérequis pour l'unité politique et que le cadre de référence fondamental était l'unité de ce corps social, de nature politique-religieuse, qu'était la "republica christiana;" et, d'autre part, par le fait que l'idée dynamique dominante était l'idée de la force au service de la justice.<sup>104</sup>

However, he continued, the modern age was "un âge profane" in which temporal society no longer needed to rely on "l'unité de foi" to achieve "l'unité politique." In short, the biblical ideal of rendering to Caesar what is his and to God what is God's, had been achieved. Even if this total separation of faith from politics ran the risk of giving rise to anti-religious states, this fact had to be accepted as "un phénomène historique irrésistible."

102. Ibid., pp.93-176.

103. Maritain presented his political philosophy in his works, Humanisme intégral (1936), L'Homme et l'Etat, Primauté du spirituel (1927), Religion et culture (1937), and his major work, Pour une Philosophie de l'Histoire, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1959, first published in English as On the Philosophy of History, in 1957.

104. Pour une Philosophie de l'Histoire, p.122.

Mais de processus normal a été accompagné - et gâté - par un effort des plus agressifs et des plus stupides par où la sphère de la vie sociale et politique s'isolait de Dieu et de l'Évangile et finalement les rejetait. Le fruit, que nous pouvons contempler aujourd'hui est l'athéisme théocratique de l'État communiste.

The objective which inspired Maritain, Catrice, the Worker Priests and the supporters of the theology of adaptation, in contrast to the ideal of "Christendom", a limited ideal of, "une saine coopération entre l'Église et le corps politique."

This debate on the proper relation between the profane states of the world and the Church, was not only of importance for French, Western European and American Catholics, but was vital for the survival of the Church in Communist and Third World countries. Likewise, the situation in Israel was closely followed by Maritain.<sup>105</sup> In his work, Pour une Philosophie de l'Histoire, he wrote;

Comment, dès lors, l'État d'Israël résoudra-t-il la question? Peut-il être en même temps juif et profane - un État profane démocratique d'inspiration religieuse (comme c'est, dans l'ordre de la tradition chrétienne, le cas pour les États-Unis)? De quelle sorte de liberté les citoyens israéliens qui ont embrassé la foi chrétienne jouiront-ils dans un tel État? C'est là une grande question et qui concerne à la fois la philosophie de l'histoire et la pratique politique.<sup>106</sup>

The Catholic periodical which was most aggressive in rejecting the traditional Catholic preference for a religious - political unity - the theory of Christendom, and pressing for a total disestablishment of the Church from any political ties with either the emerging "Western" bloc or the democratic republics in Western Europe, was Esprit. Emmanuel Mounier, who had opened the pages of his review to the Judeo-Christians in 1945 and 1947, likewise became associated with the "Progressive Christians" who became one of the most vocal groups demanding a radical effort at adaptation by the Church.

One of the most radical and controversial supporters of the Progressive Christians was the Jesuit, Rev. Jean Boulier, who had both taken a strong public position in support of the establishment of the state of Israel in La Croix for reasons "de haute humanité," and had likewise labored for Catholic -

105. See for example, Msgr. Charles JOURNET, L'Église du verbe incarné, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1949; Henri MARROU, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Editions du Seuil, 1948.

106. Pour une Philosophie de l'Histoire, op.cit., p.124.

Soviet cooperation and understanding. In April 1946, together with Abbé A. Glasberg, editor of Esprit Emmanuel Mounier, director of Temps Présent the Dominican Stanislas Fumet, and others, Boulier had travelled to Poland to study Church - state relations in that country. On his return to Paris he had published a series of articles in Le Monde Illustré in which he criticized the Vatican "politique" of alliance with the Western Capitalist world, Catholic pro-Americanism, and the suppression of free speech within the Church.<sup>107</sup> Shortly after, he published, Principes chrétiens du droit des gens in which he further developed his political philosophy of accommodation to Communism both in France and Eastern Europe.<sup>108</sup>

During 1948 the Progressive Christians supported Moscow's efforts to reassert its credentials as the government of the most populous and influential Orthodox Church. In July, the 500th Anniversary of the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate was celebrated and a series of reunions between the Moscow Church leaders and other Orthodox Church leaders was held there. Likewise, a pan-Orthodox Synod was held which was attended by churchmen from Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Georgia, Serbia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania and Poland.<sup>109</sup> Shortly later, Moscow announced its participation in the World Council of Churches which grouped various Orthodox and Protestant Churches.<sup>110</sup> Also at the same time, Moscow began negotiations aimed at an eventual union with the ancient Jacobite Christian Church in India. Another sign of Moscow's legitimacy as a "Christian" power was an agreement signed with Israel which resolved the disputed ownership of the Russian Orthodox Holy Places and institutions in Jerusalem. Israel recognised the "Red Russian" Moscow claims against the "White Russian" Patriarchate installed in New York.<sup>111</sup>

107. La Croix, January 9, 1948 and Le Monde Illustré November 1946, "La politique du Vatican," and "Les restes du Fascisme."

108. BOULIER SJ, Jean, Principes chrétiens du droit des gens, Ed. du Témoignage Chrétien, Paris, 1946, see also Documentation Catholique, July 31, 1949, cols.967-970, "Communiqué d. S. Exc. Mgr. Beaussart sur le cas de l'Abbé Boulier". See also, STEHLE, H., Eastern Politics of the Vatican, Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1981.

109. See, Documentation Catholique, March 13, 1949, cols.365-378; La Croix, May 12, 1949, "Le Synode panorthodoxe de Moscou," R.P. de Vries SJ, p.3; and Esprit November 1948, André Mondouze, pp.744-750.

110. Catholic World, November 1948, "The Absent Victim at Amsterdam," pp.97-101 and The Tablet of London, July 31, 1948, p.71; August 14, 1949; August 28, 1948; November 6, 1948, p.295.

111. See The Register, May 23, 1948, for discussion of Moscow's moves in India; plus The Tablet, November 6, 1948 and America, September 24, 1949.

Des Chrétiens prennent position, the official organ of the Progressive Christians, closely followed these events and printed lengthy extracts from the constitutions of the various communist countries guaranteeing freedom of religion. Likewise, it issued appeals calling on Catholics to "rompre effectivement avec le régime capitaliste et la politique des partis qui s'en font l'instrument."<sup>112</sup>

Des Chrétiens prennent position represented the extreme Left of a Catholic current of opinion in France which had advocated varying degrees of collaboration with Communism both in France, Western Europe, and openness to the Marxist states of Eastern Europe. Témoignage Chrétien and Esprit identified with this tendency, while other periodicals welcomed certain aspects of it. Eventually, by 1949, in the context of the creation of NATO and the emergence of the Cold War, the French Catholic Left became increasingly critical of the choice of the Catholic hierarchy and the Vatican for a "politique" of confrontation with the Marxist regimes in Eastern Europe, France and Italy. Jacques Madaule gave eloquent expression to this "politique" of confrontation, both against the Marxists and Israel in his article, "Le problème religieux en Israël," in which he wrote;

Certains Occidentaux cherchent à enrôler l'Eglise dans une espèce de croisade contre le bolchevisme athée et matérialiste. Mais la croisade est née de la chrétienté, c'est-à-dire d'un temporel sacralisé, où les limites de l'Eglise tendent à se confondre avec les frontières de l'Etat, où l'on défend et élargit les unes et les autres par les mêmes moyens, qui sont avant tout temporels et qui portent atteinte à la liberté des consciences.<sup>113</sup>

Esprit also became increasingly critical of this crusader ideal which seemed to be sweeping the Church. As a result the publication came out strongly against any anti-Fascist, anti-Frankist, anti-Capitalist or anti-Communist crusades.<sup>114</sup> In November 1948, André Mandouze, former director of Témoignage Chrétien, militant of the Progressive Christians, wrote in Esprit;

112. Des Chrétiens prennent Position, January 1948, "Appel." Marcel Moiroud was Director-Gérant of the bulletin and the committee was composed of Andréa Aru, Michel de Bouard, Maurice Bourgueil, Charles-Pierre Bru, Gabriel Copin, Camille Cannonge, Maurice Caveing, Gilbert de Chambrun, François Custot, Henri Denis, Pierre Gardère, André Mandouze, Loys Masson, Marcel Moiroud, André Schaelchi and Jean Verlhac.

113. Jacques Madaule, "Le problème religieux en Israël," p.15.

114. See, WINOCK, Histoire politique de la revue Esprit, p.119.

C'est à la doctrine évangélique et non à une méthode d'action économique-politique que nous devons notre appartenance à l'Eglise comme réalité spirituelle; guidée infailliblement non par l'excardinal Pacelli (Pope Pius XII), mais par le "Serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu."<sup>115</sup>

In this article which was significantly entitled, "Rome ou Moscou," Mandouze criticized Pius for accepting the influence of "la machine anti-communiste" and "des influences politiques réactionnaires".

Des Chrétiens prennent position directly accused the American Church of being behind this crusading mentality. It faulted the American Catholic press and especially the writings of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen for forcing the Pope to enter "dans le croisade antisoviétique."<sup>116</sup>

These objections to the very principle of crusade, whether it be against Communism or in favor of the internationalization of Jerusalem, highlighted the fundamental opposition between two radically different visions of the role of the Church in the modern world. On one hand, the proponents of modern-day crusades evoked the tradition of reliance of the Church on a powerful temporal protector, while on the other hand, the supporters of Church adaptation to the modern world placed their faith in the superior spiritual content of Christianity, which could not only survive but thrive under hostile conditions. The strong French Catholic opposition to the crusade joined not only the radical Catholic left, represented by Jean Boulier and the Progressive Christians, but the Catholics associated with Esprit, Cahiers Sioniens, the Judeo-Christians and other Catholics alarmed by the possible consequences of recourse to such modern-day Holy Wars as an instrument of Catholic policy in the world.

There is little doubt that such a radical critique of Catholic theology and ecclesiology on the nature of the Church and its involvement in the world could not avoid arousing strong opposition both within the French Church and the Catholic world in general. This opposition, long subdued by the unique circumstances of the immediate post-Second World War situation in France, erupted in the summer of 1949 and was of tragic consequences for both the Church and Jerusalem.

115. Esprit, November 1948, "Rome ou Moscou," André Mondouze, pp.746-750, and his book, Les Chrétiens et la politique, Editions Temps Présent, 1948. See also his article in Temps Présent, December 21, 1945, and book, Pour une politique de décolonisation, Mouvement de libération du peuple, 1956, 128p.  
116. Des Chrétiens prennent position, August 1947 and October 1947.

### 3. The Resurgence of the Catholic Right

The unique combination of circumstances in France following the Second World War in which the Catholic Left and MRP had emerged to a position of intellectual and political leadership, was encouraged by the corresponding discredit into which the Catholic Right had fallen because of its pro-Vichy sentiments during the war. However, the ascendancy of the Left, and to a large extent the lay Catholic intellectual elite, was brought to an end by a resurgence of the Catholic Right in 1949.

The Catholic Right, like the Left at that time, was a vague term which changed depending on the period, topic and context in which it was applied. In France in 1949, as will be seen, the Right was composed of individuals who often agreed with the Left on many issues but on others took strongly opposing views. One periodical which illustrates this difficulty in identifying clear cut Left - Right positions is the Jesuit review, Etudes, edited by Jean Danielou.

#### The role of Etudes in defining the Catholic Right

Etudes, like Esprit, Cahiers and the majority of the French Catholic press, had been stunned by the holocaust. In 1945 it published an article entitled, "La condition inhumaine - Le Camp de Dachau," and later in 1947, the plight of the survivors was described in an article entitled, "Berlin, Etape vers la terre interdite." The latter article by Louis Narlay, welcomed the idea of a Jewish state as "l'unique moyen d'assurer la vie des Juifs dans le monde."<sup>117</sup> Likewise, two further articles published in early 1948, were devoted to the conversion of Max Jacob, which like the numerous such articles in Cahiers, Catholicité and L'Amitié, had stressed that conversion to Christianity was not a repudiation of Judaism, but rather its fulfillment.<sup>118</sup>

However, by mid-1948, Danielou began to experience some doubts concerning the conclusions his colleagues in the other Catholic periodicals were drawing concerning the Catholic responsibility for anti-Semitism and the measures necessary to root out this evil from Catholic teaching. In an article entitled, "Jésus et Israël" which appeared in the July-August 1948 issue of Etudes, he seriously questioned many of the conclusions drawn by Jules Isaac in his book, Jésus et Israël which had been so instrumental in inspiring the Seelisberg Conference and the foundation of L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne. Danielou, who had been a participant at Seelisberg, asked the

117. Etudes, March 1947, pp.353-371.

118. Etudes, "La conversion de Max Jacob," pt.1, January 1948, pp.16-41, and pt.2, February 1948, pp.166-193, André Vendome.

very relevant question;

Mais, par ailleurs, la foi chrétienne n'implique-t-elle pas à l'égard d'Israël certaines positions irréformables et qu'un chrétien ne pourra renier sans renoncer à sa foi elle-même? Nous touchons ici le défaut essentiel du livre de M. Isaac. Il semble que pour lui n'y ait que deux attitudes: ou la condamnation de la Loi juive, ou l'affirmation de sa valeur absolue.<sup>119</sup>

Daniélou feared that the legitimate questions asked by Catholics and Jews concerning in particular the "error" of perceiving Christianity as replacing Jewish law, was giving rise to an equally erroneous attitude that Judaism, as the salvation bearing instrument of God, remained unchanged with the coming of Christ. As a result, Daniélou emphasized that;

...il reste ce fait essentiel que le peuple juif, en rejetant le christianisme, s'est en fait solidarisé avec la décision de ses chefs contre Jésus. En effet, dès lors qu'il a refusé de reconnaître la divinité du Christ, il devait le considérer comme in blasphemateur, et, selon la Loi décréta sa mort. Si donc on peut dire que la mort du Christ n'a été en sa décision première que le fait de quelques chefs du peuple juif, l'ensemble du peuple a ratifié ensuite cette décision par son incrédulité.

He drew the conclusion that, according to St. Paul, the Jewish people were, "provisoirement écarté, cédant la place aux autres nations avant d'être réintégré dans ses biens, une fois que celles-ci seront entrées en possession de l'héritage d'Abraham." Daniélou insisted that even the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine could not alter this fact that "le peuple juif restera marqué d'une mystérieuse condamnation spirituelle."

Daniélou strongly objected to what he perceived as a tendency by certain Catholics and Christians not only to minimize or reject the collective guilt of the Jews for the death of Christ, but to draw the conclusion that Judaism had retained its "valeur absolue" in spite of the coming of Christ as the Messiah. In his capacity as a leading Jesuit scholar and theologian, and as a leading Catholic intellectual in France, Daniélou objected to the often hasty conclusion of major theological importance that many Catholics were willing to draw without proper and thorough considerations.

In addition to his concern for the theological aspects of Catholic attitudes towards Jews which remained unsolved, Daniélou likewise demanded that the sanctity of the Holy Land

119. Etudes, July-August 1948, pp.68-74, also reprinted in Documentation Catholique, September 12, 1948, cols.1196-1200. See also debate with Jules Isaac reprinted in L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, September 1948, pp.1-4.

and Holy Places be accorded serious consideration by Catholics. In November of 1948, he addressed this problem in depth. He wrote that beyond the level of "les grandes puissances" and the "intérêts économiques" which determined so many aspects of the Palestine question,

...la question palestinienne comprend un second aspect qui relève plus directement encore de la sollicitude du Chef de l'Eglise, et qui est lié au caractère sacré que confère aux territoires contestés le fait d'être ceux où le Christ est né et où il a versé son sang.<sup>120</sup>

He continued, "à l'heure où les troupes sionistes ont occupé Nazareth et s'efforcent d'encercler Jérusalem," "les plus hautes valeurs humaines et spirituelles sont actuellement en péril." Not only did the Zionist attempts to seize Jerusalem and actual conquest of Nazareth totally ignore the spiritual attachments of Christians and Muslims to these cities, but they represented a Zionist rejection of peaceful cooperation in determining the future of these cities.

Daniélou interpreted the Pope's recent encyclical, "In Multiplicibus" as a call for granting an international character to Jerusalem and its surrounding area in order to safeguard not only, "les droits des anciennes confessions chrétiennes, mais ceux aussi des Juifs et des Musulmans, pour qui Jérusalem est également une ville sainte, dont le Saint-Père prend la défense contre des intrigues politiques qui ignorent les revendications spirituelles." Since the encyclical was inspired by purely spiritual considerations, it had in no way undermined "l'attitude d'impartialité qui est imposée par son ministère apostolique." Daniélou concluded by calling on the world to render;

...des lieux où a vécu et où est mort le Christ un asile de paix dans un monde déchiré et, pour reprendre le beau mot de Louis Massignon, "le jardin d'enfants d'une humanité renaissante et reconciliée." Il serait particulièrement souhaitable que la France, dont la protection des Lieux

120. Etudes, November 1948, p.261. Daniélou's earlier works include; Le Mystère du Salut des Nations, 1946 and Le Signe du Temple, 1942. However, his later works were increasingly devoted to the role of the Church in the world, see for example; Sainteté et action temporelle, (1955); La Communauté chrétienne révélatrice du mystère de l'unité et de la catholicité de l'Eglise, (1953); Authorité et contestation dans l'Eglise, (1969); Christianisme de masse ou d'élite, (1968); and Le Chrétien et le monde moderne, (1959).

Saints constitue une des prérogatives traditionnelles, comprenne l'importance spirituelle de ce projet et intervienne à temps pour en assurer la réalisation.<sup>121</sup>

The importance of Jerusalem was further developed in an article entitled, "L'an prochain à Jérusalem" by Francis Varillon in the July-August 1949 issue.<sup>122</sup> Varillon, who had just returned from a visit to Jerusalem where he had spent time with the White Fathers, expressed the impression that, "sur elle (la Terre Sainte) pèse une menace." In spite of the brilliant military successes of Israel, peace seemed beyond the reach of the new state, he argued. He perceived the new state being swept by a "courant nationaliste" that was born as a reaction against Russian pogroms and Nazi atrocities. This initially justified nationalistic reaction, however, had resulted in an unjustified territorial expansion beyond the boundaries proposed in the Partition Resolution, the creation of 700,000 refugees - "ce peuple, chassé par les sionistes," and acts of cruelty and pillage by the Zionists which gave the impression that they were carried out "avec méthode et paraissent exécuter des ordres." However, an even more alarming expression of what Varillon perceived as Israeli, "anti-islamisme," "anti-arabisme" and even "anti-christianisme," was the demand that even Jerusalem be included in the new state. Varillon quoted the Israeli, Rabbi Berlin as stating;

Il ne faut pas que nous signions le traité de paix tant que la Vieille Ville ne nous est pas donnée, même si nous étions obligés d'être en conflit pendant cent ans avec les Etats voisins. Nous sommes déjà assez forts pour proclamer d'ores et déjà Jérusalem capitale d'Israël.<sup>123</sup>

The author perceived a lurking fanaticism behind these acts that would lock Israel into a vicious circle of ever-increasing demands which would require ever more drastic means to achieve them. The above mentioned 100-year struggle for control of Jerusalem with Israel's neighbors would become increasingly violent and cruel. Varillon went so far as to compare Zionism with Nazism.

Les Israéliens se sont-ils donc assimilés les leçons abominables de ceux qui furent hier leurs persécuteurs? Et faut-il parler d'un sionisme nazi? On aimerait savoir ce qu'en pense Chaim Weizmann, le vieux lutteur qui a tant fait pour la cause sioniste. Il siège aujourd'hui, comme il se doit, au faite de l'Etat, mais ce n'est pas lui qui gouverne, et il n'est pas sûr que les jeunes hommes qui

121. Ibid.

122. Etudes, July-August 1949, pp.75-85.

123. Ibid., p.75-76.

occupent les postes clés, tant au civil qu'au militaire, ne le considèrent pas comme un pur symbole et témoin du passé. Or ces jeunes hommes ont fait leur éducation politique et militaire à l'heure où Hitler faisait la "guerre totale." ... En Palestine, ils sont aujourd'hui les maîtres. Les persécutés savent comment s'y prendre pour être persécuteurs. On doit le constater avec tristesse, une menace de totalitarisme, d'inspiration nazie, pèse sur la Terre Sainte. ... Le sionisme est peut-être devenu un racisme.

"Ce glissement, qui s'accroît de jour en jour, du sionisme au totalitarisme racial" was, however, not irremediable. There was, according to Varillon, "un seul moyen: internationaliser les Lieux Saints." He stressed the point that;

Le contrôle exclusif ou partagé par les Juifs ou les Arabes ne peut être qu'une source de discordes incessantes, destructrices de ce climat de paix qu'exige la prière. Il n'est pas question d'attaquer qui que ce soit, ni de remporter une victoire contre Israël ou Mahomet, mais de reconnaître et sanctionner juridiquement les droits et les attaches spirituelles des uns et des autres.

The Jewish interests in Jerusalem were recognised by the author.

Qu'il ne leur soit point contesté! A condition toutefois qu'ils renoncent à monopoliser cette acropole qui appartient à l'humanité! A condition, comme dit M. Massignon, qu'ils apprennent à rester sourds lorsque de mauvais bergers voudraient les persuader "de rendre à des tiers les injustices que d'autres ont infligées"! 124

This article, when contrasted to Etude's earlier compassion for the survivors of the Nazi camps, sympathy for the cause of Zionism, support for the state of Israel and openness to the Judeo-Christians, illustrates the striking evolution in the position of the publication from 1945 to 1949. This evolution can be explained in part as a reaction against those Catholics associated with Cahiers, Esprit and Catholicité, who, in their efforts to adapt the Church to the modern world, had gone, in the opinion of Etudes, far beyond the bounds of acceptable Catholic teaching. Furthermore, by late 1949, the Catholic hierarchy at the prompting of the American Church had committed itself to a Catholicism of confrontation with the enemies of the Church, whether they be Israelis opposed to the internationalization of Jerusalem or Communists out to suppress the Church in Eastern Europe. In addition, such Catholic voices of moderation as Daniélou, Oesterreicher, J.-J. Bernard and Claudel retreated into silence as the more extreme

124. Ibid. pp.81-82.

schools of Catholic speculation were silenced by Rome. As will be seen, in the atmosphere of confrontation which pitted the Progressive Christians against Rome, the Catholic Left against Right and the supporters of Israel against the supporters of the internationalization of Jerusalem, any statement would be interpreted as an attack on one of the parties. Paul Claudel, for example, defended his silence as motivated by a hesitation to attack the supporters of internationalization, primarily Pius XII.<sup>125</sup> Likewise, Varillon insisted that his support for the internationalization of Jerusalem did not constitute an attack on anyone.<sup>126</sup> Danielou, for his part, argued that behind the Vatican demands on the future of Jerusalem were powerful political interests which were leading to an unfortunate Catholic - Jewish confrontation. Any attempt to even address the theological aspects of the problem would be fruitless under such circumstances. It was only in 1958 that his magnum opus, Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme was published.<sup>127</sup>

The increasingly aggressive tone of such Progressive Christians as Abbé Boulrier and André Mondouze, in the Catholic and secular press and in a steady stream of books and pamphlets, not only alarmed many Catholics, but prompted a vigorous counter-attack by Etudes. In contrast to the Progressive Christians who generally agreed that the "desolidarisation" of the Christian message from "toute attache et compromission politique et économique" would enable the Church to survive, even thrive, in the modern world of secular even Marxist states, Etudes adopted the position that this "désolidarisation" was in fact seriously compromising the Christian tradition.<sup>128</sup>

In an article entitled, "Le Christianisme des Chrétiens Progressistes," Gaston Fessard, a staunch anti-Communist and anti-Progressist, placed in doubt the very Christianity of the

125. See interview with André Chouraqui in Le Monde of April 3, 1952, and also Un Voix sur Israël of Claudel.

126. Etudes, July-August 1949, pp.81-82.

127. DANIELOU, Jean, Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme, Desclée and Cie., Ed., Paris, 1958. See also, Le Concile et les Juifs, Paris, Impr. Moderne de la presse, 1966 by Daniélou on the work of the Second Vatican Council on the Jews.

128. See Etudes, February 1948, "Philosophes et Philosophie soviétiques d'après Jdanov," and the article by Mondouze, Temps Présent, December 21, 1945, "Le Jeu de Cache-cache." For other articles on the Progressive Christians see; The Commonweal, "Christian Progressists," April 29, 1949, Robert Barrat, pp.62-64; and Ecclesia, Lectures Chrétiennes, March 1950, "Que sont les Chrétiens Progressistes?" J.P. Dubois-Dumée, pp.7-13. Much later, following the Second Vatican Council, Fessard became a leading opponent of "Liberation Theology" in Latin America. See his Chrétiens marxistes et Théologie de la Liberation, Lethielleux, Paris, 1978.

Progressive Christians.<sup>129</sup> Fessard, who had written, La Main tendue? Le Dialogue catholique communiste est-il possible? (1937), France, prends-garde de perdre ta liberté (1945) and Par delà du fascisme et le communisme (1946), wrote that believing Catholics could not even dialogue with atheistic Communism without denying their beliefs in "l'homme spirituel." The clearcut distinction between "l'homme naturel" and "l'homme spirituel" which made Mounier's "collaboration, définie, lucide avec les communistes" possible, was rejected by Fessard as a priori postulating the existence of two rival goals for humanity, one human and one spiritual. The coexistence of "l'eschatologie marxiste" and "l'eschatologie chrétienne" was excluded as incompatible even contradictory. Fessard not only strongly criticised Mounier and Esprit, but André Mondouze and the priests and theologians associated with the Progressive Christians.

Throughout 1949 the French Catholic press took sides in the debate between the Catholic Left and the resurgent Catholic Right. Abbé Boulier published a book entitled, Un Prêtre prend position which called on Catholics to rally to the support of the Progressive Christians.<sup>130</sup> Esprit published several articles which attempted to clarify the confusion about what the Progressive Christians represented.<sup>131</sup> Finally in July 1949, the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office issued a decree which forbade Catholics from joining or sympathizing with the Communist Party or reading such literature, forbade priests to administer the sacraments to Communists, and threatened them with excommunication if they should violate these restrictions.<sup>132</sup>

This decree marked the end of such theological and diplomatic initiatives as the Progressive Christians, and clearly placed the Catholic Church on the side of the Western Democratic powers in the Soviet - American conflict.<sup>133</sup> In France while the decree was strongly debated, it nonetheless was interpreted as a signal to the conservative elements within the Church that the post-Second World War prestige and power of

129. Etudes, January 1949, "Le Christianisme des Chrétiens progressistes," pp.65-93.

130. BOULIER, Jean, Un Prêtre prend position.

131. In particular see, Esprit, November 1948, "Les Chrétiens progressistes," Emmanuel Mounier, pp.744-746, and May 1949, "Les Chrétiens progressistes," pp.577-578.

132. Documentation Catholique, July 31, 1949, cols.961-962.

133. See LEONI, Francesco, L'Osservatore Romano: Origini et evoluzione, pp.85-115; NOCHOLS, The Politics of the Vatican, pp.195-265; MAGISTER, La Politica vaticana e l'Italia, 1943-1978; and FALCONI, Gedda el'Azione Cattolica.

the Catholic Left was drawing to an end.<sup>134</sup> Jean-Pierre Rioux, in his book, La France de la Quatrième République, wrote that it began a period of "le retour des hommes et des partis de la IIIème République largement discrédités en 1944: les radicaux et les droites."<sup>135</sup> As will now be seen, Louis Massignon emerged as one of the major architects of the return of the Catholic Right.

### Louis Massignon and the Jerusalem Question

Massignon's "theological" approach to the Palestine and Jerusalem questions had a very strong impact on the French press, both Catholic and secular. He wrote extensively in Le Temps Présent, Les Nouveaux Cahiers, Le Monde, La France Catholique, Cahiers du Monde Nouveau, Politique Etrangère, Témoignage Chrétien, Lettres du Monde, Annuaire du Monde Musulman, plus Dieu Vivant which he founded in 1945.

According to Massignon's perception of "Divine History," the salvation of humanity began with God's revelation to the Jews, continued with the "universalization" of this revelation through Christ and the Prophet Mohammed, and would be brought to fulfillment with the historic reconciliation of the three branches of God's chosen people. The return of the Jews to Israel and Jerusalem in particular was clearly a step forward in this reconciliation but something had gone wrong. As will now be seen, through their refusal to share Jerusalem with the Christians and Muslims, the Jews were refusing to participate in this vision of the reconciliation of humanity in favor of

134. See, Documentation Catholique, September 25, 1949, "Lettre des Cardinaux Français sur le décret du Saint-Office condamnant l'adhésion et la collaboration des catholiques aux partis communistes," cols.1217-1224, and La Croix, September 19, 1949. See also, Documentation Catholique, July 31, 1949, cols.961-970, which reprinted a selection of articles which included; "Après le décret du Saint-Siège contre le communisme," (Osservatore Romano, July 17, 1949); "Un communiqué du Secrétariat du l'épiscopat français," "En renouvelant la condamnation du communisme," (Le Semaine religieuse de Paris, July 23, 1949, Mgr. Reaussart, "Communiqué de S. Exc. Beaussart sur le cas de l'Abbé Boulier."). Documentation Catholique, August 28, 1949, "Le Décret sur le communisme," cols.1099-1111; L'Italia of Milan, July 27, 1949, "Eclaircissement sur le décret du Saint-Office;" La Revista del Clero, September 1949, "Les conséquences du décret du Saint-Office."

135. RIOUX, Jean-Pierre, La France de la Quatrième République, Vol.I, pp.220-227; see also GAY, F., Les Démocrates d'inspiration chrétienne à l'épreuve du pouvoir, Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1950.

another vision that eschewed equality between Judaism, Islam and Christianity. The Jews wanted to return to the pre-Christian and pre-Islamic era, when they, and they alone, were God's chosen people, and had a monopoly on the worship of the true God through their temple in Jerusalem.

Massignon, who had long considered "secular" Zionism as a poorly disguised religious movement that sought revenge for centuries of persecution of Jews by Christians, treated the emerging religious character of the state and particularly its claims to Jerusalem as proof of his earlier suspicions. He had already stressed in his April 30, 1948 article, "Jérusalem, Ville de Paix" in Témoignage Chrétien that the "caractère qu'il inspire à son retour au pays" would be determined by "s'il accepte, avec un contrôle international suprême d'y vivre a égalité, avec les musulmans ... et avec les chrétiens."<sup>136</sup>

On October 25, 1948, in a further article entitled, "L'Avenir des Lieux Saints en Terre Sainte", he repeated his position that for purely religious reasons, Jerusalem must be internationalized. He stated that by deflecting discussions toward some vague "international control" or "international statute," Israel was attempting to achieve the eventual abandonment of the "principle" of internationalization, in favor of Israeli sovereignty.<sup>137</sup> Massignon argued that internationalization, which would deny the sovereignty of the city to Jews, Christians or Muslims by placing it under the UN, would guarantee the co-possession of the city by the three religious communities and guarantee its future peace.

Massignon believed that Jerusalem was one of those places which history had designated and recognized as "holy." The city, like so many others in the Moslem, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist worlds which Massignon had visited and studied, was instrumental, in his opinion, in concentrating and mobilizing the spiritual forces of believers. In much the same manner certain "holy men," such as Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, Jesus, Buddah, Mohammed the Prophet, the Jewish, Christian and Muslim mystics, and in the present Gandhi, were critical in this concentration of spiritual forces. He argued that Holy places and people emerged at certain crucial times to incarnate the spiritual forces at work in the world.

I profoundly believe in the authentic social radiation, across the centuries, of certain holy religious personalities, who are either at the origin or at the point of encounter of these lives of spiritual force: Abraham, for the problem of Palestine, and Gandhi, a holy man killed just a short time ago, for the problem of India.<sup>138</sup>

136. Témoignage Chrétien, April 30, 1948.

137. Témoignage Chrétien, October 25, 1948.

138. BASSETTI-SANI, Louis Massignon, Christian Ecumenist, pp.135-139.

This concretization of the spiritual in certain holy men and places was the key to Massignon's attitude towards the Jerusalem problem.<sup>139</sup> Jerusalem, which had been promised by God to Abraham and his descendants, was the common property of Jews, Christians and Moslems. The Israeli efforts to seize exclusive control of the city, and reject internationalization, was in his opinion, a denial of the "Abrahamic authenticity" of Judaism, Islam and Christianity.

However, Massignon argued that the Zionists, with rare exception, viewed Palestine and the Holy Places as merely an arena for territorial conquest and colonization, in total disregard for the spiritual dimension of the area. Not only were Jerusalem and Nazareth bombed by Israeli and Arab armies, but Nazareth, an exclusively Christian and Moslem city, had been seized by Israel. Concerning the latter he wrote that the Zionists;

...free from any religious respect for the venerable soil which they cut up like so many atheistic medical students dissecting a corpse ... Zionism which neglects the sacred Jewish liturgy, does not understand that in taking Nazareth with hands dripping blood, it imitates, fundamentally, Antiochus or Pompey who sought to discover the God in which they disbelieve behind the veil of the Temple's Holy of Holies.<sup>140</sup>

Shortly thereafter in Dieu Vivant, which Massignon had founded in 1945, and which increasingly became his principal mouthpiece on Palestine, he published an article entitled, "La Palestine et la paix dans la justice" written shortly after Gandhi's murder.<sup>141</sup> He began by repeating his argument that Zionism was a misguided colonial movement, "Mais au cours du XIXe siècle, l'influence européenne fait son apparition parmi les Juifs revenant en Palestine, pour 'démessianiser' leur espérance, la laïciser, la fonder sur des 'moyens économiques'." Their spiritual desire to return to the Holy Land, when emptied of its spiritual content, degenerated into a simple economic and territorial desire for conquest. Massignon cited the historical precedent of the crusades which degenerated into a thirst for plunder with the sack of Constantinople and outright warfare between Latin and Greek Christians.

139. See a remarkable book written by a follower of Massignon, Anne Fremantle, entitled, The Pilgrimage to People: Studies of Ten Unique Men and Women, and Three Places that are significant links between differing creeds and cultures, New York, David McKay, 1968.

140. "Nazareth et nous, Nazaréens, Nasra," 1948, translated in SANI, Louis Massignon, op.cit.

141. Dieu Vivant, "La Palestine et la paix dans la justice," Cahier 12, 1949, pp.81-90.

Massignon cited a recent conversation with the American Zionist leader, Jehuda Magnes, who was an advocate of a binational Arab-Jewish state, in which he argued, "Le sionisme compte, pour réussir, sur des moyens profanes, et ce que Magnes appelle bibliquement l'idolâtre qui déclenche immanquablement la catastrophe." Massignon's perception of events in Israel was the result of his dialectical logic in which every virtue had its opposing vice. Thus, the above-mentioned "moyens profanes" were the negation of the "moyens de Dieu;" likewise, the rejection of belief in God (demessianiser) necessitated a belief in the Jewish race to justify the claims to Israel; the rejection of Israel as a spiritual category resulted in its worship as "Israël charnel;" and finally the rejection of a Gandhian-inspired "sacrifice volontaire" gave issue to "l'égoïsme et l'annexinisme d'autrui," and a "totalitarian racism."

Massignon not only criticized Israel in increasingly violent terms, but also following the occupation of Nazareth in July 1948, he began to criticise the Christian world for its failure to intervene in the self-destructive activities of Israel.

A thousand years ago, Christianity was able to do so much more to defend its legitimate rights in that area. But, modernized, Americanized, Christianity no longer believes in the necessity of the mystery of the places of election for its salvation. I will not attempt to fathom the reason why the many leaders of Christian governments kept silent while Nazareth fell. Is it proper for the sons to let the keys to the doors of the house of their Mother be taken by her parents who rejected her during her lifetime and have still not recognised that she was, then and forever, innocent and pure, in that Palestine where, for the past thirteen centuries, the mysterious presence of Arab Islam asks the Jews to join it in recognising Mary's saintness (Islam's reverence for Mary is almost as strong as that of Christendom in contradistinction to the Jewish attitude toward Mary which is completely negative.) The world will never have any peace with justice, neither in Palestine nor anywhere else, as long as the Jewish people refuses to revise its negative judgement of the Mother of Jesus.<sup>142</sup>

Massignon put forward these ideas during 1949 in such articles as, "Les Lieux Saints doivent rester aux croyants" in Le Monde,<sup>143</sup> "Appel des Catholiques français pour la défense des Lieux Saints" in La Croix and La France Catholique,<sup>144</sup> and

142. "Nazareth et nous," in SANI, Louis Massignon, op.cit., p.239.

143. Le Monde, November 26, 1949, and December 2, 1949.

144. Le Monde, November 11, 1948, and La France Catholique, November 19, 1948.

"Les Lieux Saints et l'honneur chrétien du nom français" in Lettre du Monde and Témoignage Chrétien.<sup>145</sup>

One of his most dramatic gestures was the organization of "Une Comité chrétien France-Islam" which organized a tour of the Holy Land in the early Spring of 1949. Upon the return to France the committee released an "Appel du comité chrétien France-Islam" in March which was printed by Témoignage Chrétien. The appeal once again repeated Massignon's argument that Israel was in effect attempting to exclude both Christians and Muslims from the Holy Land of all three religions.

Ni la Terre sainte qui fut promise à Abraham pour tous ses descendants, ni ce nom même d'Israël donné à son petit-fils Jacob, mais universalisé par la liturgie des Psaumes à tous les hommes de coeur qui ont soif de justice, ne sont restés l'apanage exclusif de la race juive.

He likewise warned the Arabs not to imitate the Israelis.

...de ne pas céder au culte des idoles, aux illusoire tentations, force, corruption, terreur, comme leurs adversaires qui, pour des succès précaires, s'exposent en cible à la justice immanente de Celui qui est notre Dieu à tous.

In an effort to counter the influence of Massignon in the Témoignage Chrétien, Arnold Mandel of "La Ligue française pour la Palestine Libre" published an article entitled "Israël cherche sa civilisation" on June 10, 1949.<sup>147</sup> Mandel had been instrumental in mobilizing French Catholic intellectuals to support La Ligue. In an earlier article in La Riposte which bore the title "Epître aux Chrétiens," he had argued that Christians and Jews were bound by a common mission and a common faith. Both communities were "les dépositaires d'une révélation unique" as well as "les fidèles d'une même foi dont seules les manifestations (ou comme ils disent: "le culte") diffèrent."<sup>148</sup>

In Témoignage Chrétien, Mandel argued that the religious ferment in Israel was an attempt to fill a "vide" which had been lost when Israel was expelled from its homeland by the Romans. The missing element was identified by Mandel as "une dominante de civilisation" which was religious in inspiration. Like any

145. Lettre du Monde, June 9, 1949 and Témoignage Chrétien, June 24, 1949.

146. Témoignage Chrétien, March 11, 1949; for an analysis of Massignon's articles see, LAZAR, L'Opinion française et la naissance de l'Etat d'Israël, pp.193-308.

147. Témoignage Chrétien, June 10, 1949.

148. La Riposte, November 12, 1947, p.6.

nation, Israel was forging its cultural and ideological identity which would inevitably return to its ancient historical past when nationality, culture, language, geography and religion had contributed to "une dominante de civilisation." Thus, it was only natural for many Zionists to reflect on their own religious past. In contrast to Massignon who argued that this search was resulting in the rise of Zionist anti-Christian and anti-Islamic hate, Mandel defended it as a hopeful sign of future religious cooperation.<sup>149</sup>

Mandel's article was an attempt to stem the growing tide of opinion, largely fueled by Massignon, that the state of Israel was a direct threat to the Church and Christian theology. Not only did Massignon's strong and increasingly vocal opposition to Israeli attempts to gain control of Jerusalem and seizure of Nazareth alarm many Catholics, but he became the object of bitter attacks, as will be seen, by Paul Demann of Cahiers Sioniens, Jacques Madaule and L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, which eventually resulted in Massignon's exclusion from the pages of Témoignage Chrétien.

Témoignage Chrétien responded to the growing criticism of Massignon by printing several articles by Massignon's close collaborator, Robert Barrat, which stressed that the underlying reason for Catholic involvement in the Jerusalem question was not theological, but rather the humanitarian demand for the return of the Arab, and in particular Christian, refugees to their homes in the city. Barrat argued that only an internationalized zone around Jerusalem could guarantee peace between Jews and Arabs and exclude any pretext for future wars. Furthermore, and most importantly, such a zone would ensure the survival of the Christian community in the Holy Land.

J'ajoute que cette solution réclamée par les habitants, même musulmans, est la seule qui permette aux 100,000 chrétiens de Palestine de continuer à vivre sur place, la plupart dans la zone internationalisée. En les garantissant contre les exactions toujours possibles de la part des musulmans ou des Israélites, elle leur évitera d'avoir à émigrer.<sup>150</sup>

Barrat stressed that 55,000 Christian refugees had already fled to Bethlehem from the Israeli controlled parts of Palestine, and that Israel had no intention of permitting their return.<sup>151</sup>

This gradual silencing of Massignon and the emergence of Barrat in the Témoignage Chrétien, conformed to a larger pattern within the Catholic press to avoid the religious aspects of the Jerusalem question. The explosive potential of religious

149. Témoignage Chrétien, June 10, 1949.

150. Témoignage Chrétien, September 16, 1949.

151. Témoignage Chrétien, September 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1949.

passion and rhetoric increasingly evoked by both Catholics and Jews seriously undermined the efforts of those parties then negotiating a settlement to the Jerusalem problem, both by Count Bernadotte and later within the framework of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. As has already been seen, the Catholic newspapers, many hierarchy members in France, the United States and at the Vatican had lauded the work of the count and of the commission. Such rhetoric and theories of Massignon which on one hand supported Catholic demands for the internationalization of Jerusalem, on the other hand transferred the issue onto a theological level where Catholics, Jews and Muslims were unable to compromise.

Massignon was not only eliminated from the pages of Témoignage Chrétien, but he was the object of a bitter attack by Paul Démann editor of L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne.<sup>152</sup> In an article entitled, "M. Massignon et les Juifs," Démann wrote;

Il y a quelque chose de plus dangereux que l'erreur: c'est la confusion. Il y quelque chose de plus redoutable que la méchanceté: c'est la bonne foi mise au service d'une mauvaise cause. Voilà pourquoi il nous devient impossible de garder le silence devant les confusions semées à tout vent par M. Louis Massignon au sujet de la Palestine et, à ce propos, d'Israël en général.

Démann argued that Massignon could not be accused of anti-Semitism, since, "M. Massignon est, plus que quiconque, 'spirituellement sémite,' dans un sens, il est vrai, très particulier." An example of Massignon's confused thinking was his perception of the destiny of the Jewish people; "sa vocation actuelle, qui est de dissoudre, comme l'eau régale, les autres nations." This "mission essentiellement destructrice" of the Jews encouraged "l'idée d'une malédiction qui pèserait sur le peuple juif." Such an idea, which would be properly understood when addressed to "un auditoire restreint, ..., ou à milieu spécialement préparé à saisir sa pensée complexe et son langage parfois très technique," could on the other hand, lead to "confusions regrettables" when disseminated "par des organes de grande diffusion, comme Témoignage Chrétien." Démann speculated that the "irritation manifeste de M. Massignon devant le sionisme et la restauration d'un Etat juif en Palestine" inclined him to suspect him of designs going far beyond "son amour si légitime et si émouvant, des Arabes et de l'Islam."

152. L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, December 1949, p.9. Démann's article was in response to a recent article by Massignon which had appeared in Dieu Vivant, "Les trois prières d'Abraham," Cahier 13, pp.15-28, see also the attack on Massignon in La Terre Retrouvée, July 1, 1949.

Judéo-Chrétienne, Esprit, Jean Daniélou and others. 154

Another French Catholic newspaper which argued that the Jerusalem question was of major spiritual and theological consequence for the Church was the major voice of the Catholic Right, La France Catholique.

#### La France Catholique: against the Judeo-Christians

The measures taken to suppress the Progressive Christians and other Communist sympathisers within the Church was both welcomed by La France Catholique and taken as a sign that the time had come for an aggressive defense of conservative Catholic values. In early 1949, the newspaper had attacked the "Gauche Chrétienne" in a series of articles,<sup>155</sup> at the same time as the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had been welcomed.<sup>156</sup> The emergence of an aggressive anti-Communism by the Vatican and the United States, was taken as a signal to launch a conservative counter attack on all fronts.

At precisely the same time, the newspaper began to publish articles on Jerusalem which continued unabated. They were written by Robert Barrat, collaborator of Louis Massignon; Jean le Cour Grandmaison; La Garde-Guerin; and Louis Salleron, and later Daniel-Rops.

On April 22, 1949, Barrat called for "une politique éclairée et vigilante" by the French Government and especially by Catholics to forestall "de prétentions de deux peuples rivaux" in Jerusalem.

...et sans doute surtout des Juifs, qui viennent de les manifester, en tenant, le 14 février dernier, à Jérusalem même, la première réunion de leur Parlement...<sup>157</sup>

Later on May 27, La Garde-Guerin, in an article entitled, "Oui, il faut internationaliser les Lieux Saints," described the Zionists, even those "qui se croient athées" as believing in the exceptional mission of the Jews, which was driving them to make Jerusalem a totally Jewish city. The government of Israel, he

154. See SANI, Louis Massignon, and FREMANTLE, Pilgrimages to People.

155. La France Catholique, February 4, 1949, "Gauche Chrétienne;" February 11, 1949, "Déclaration de Mgr. Suhard," and "Autour des Chrétiens Progressistes," J. de Fabregues; and May 4, 1949, "Chrétiens Progressistes," and May 11 - 13, 1949.

156. See in particular, La France Catholique, May 25, 1949, p.3.

157. La France Catholique, April 22, 1949 and April 29, 1949, p.4, by Robert Barrat.

Et puisque finalement c'est toujours pour défendre l'honneur de la Vierge que M. Massignon tire son épée chevaleresque contre les Juifs et veut les débouter de la possession de la Terre Sainte, qu'il nous permette, pour finir, de lui rappeler une célèbre parole de l'un de ceux pour qui il professe la plus grande vénération, Léon Bloy: "L'antisémitisme (ici il faudrait dire: l'antijudaïsme) ...est le soufflet le plus horrible que Notre Seigneur ait reçu dans sa Passion qui dure toujours, c'est le plus sanglant et le plus impardonnable parce qu'il le reçoit sur la Face de sa Mère et de la main de chrétiens (Vieux de la Montagne, ch.III). Nous ne contestons pas que la main de M. Massignon soit pure, mais est-il certain de ne pas armer d'autres mains pour ce soufflet qui épouvantait Léon Bloy?

This direct confrontation between Rev. Démann and Louis Massignon is significant not only because it pitted the superior of a major religious order against the foremost Catholic Arabist, Near Eastern specialist and major Catholic thinker, but because it accentuated the divisive effect the creation of the state of Israel and the Jerusalem problem on Catholics. It is also significant that such a debate, quasi-non-existent in 1946-1948, emerged as a result of the Palestine War and erupted in violent confrontation over the Jerusalem issue.

Jacques Madaule, likewise, questioned Massignon's motivation for his strong support for the internationalization of Jerusalem and his theological reasons for his support. He, like Démann, hesitated to attribute it to either anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism.

Il serait calomnieux de prétendre qu'il soit antisémite ou antijuif, mais il est pro-arabe avec une telle ferveur que cela risque de le rendre injuste pour Israël.<sup>153</sup>

In spite of these, and other attacks against Massignon, he nevertheless represented a deeply spiritual and Christian viewpoint on Palestine, Jerusalem and the relations between Jews, Christians and Muslims. In recognition of his contributions to Catholic thought he was ordained a Catholic priest of the Melkite Rite on January 28, 1950. While his writings were often highly individualistic and mystical, and even ambiguous, they were as well rooted in Catholic theology and tradition as were the positions of Rev. Démann, Bishop Oesterreicher, the individuals associated with, L'Amitié

153. MADAULE, J. Retour d'Israël, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1951, p.93, see also LAZAR, L'Opinion française et la naissance de l'Etat d'Israël, p.214.

continued, was "débordé" by the extremists and was rapidly adopting an anti-Christian attitude which was degenerating into an "haine méprisante du Christianisme." He insisted that Jerusalem "appartient tout à la fois aux Juifs, aux Musulmans et aux Chrétiens."<sup>158</sup>

The calls by La France Catholique for the internationalization of Jerusalem were directly associated to the virulent anti-Israeli position which the newspaper consistently maintained and made no attempt to hide. Louis Salleron was one of the most outspoken exponents of this anti-Israeli attitude. In early September, he wrote;

La Terre de Dieu ne veut que le sacrifice; Vingt fois l'Histoire l'a démontré, et ce n'est pas l'espèce de royaume de Jéroboam qu'organise le sionisme contemporain qui infirmera cette vérité. Israël 1949 blasphème aussitôt que né. Son nom même est menteur et doit faire appel à l'O.N.U. pour se justifier devant les nations. Pauvre rempart contre une vocation que la terre ne permettra pas au sang de trahir.<sup>159</sup>

This concern by La France Catholique must furthermore be placed within the context of the newspaper's status as the official paper of the French Action Catholique. The weakening of the French Catholic Left through Vatican moves against the Progressive Christians and the condemnation of Communism, encouraged the French Action Catholique to dispute the post-World II leadership of the Catholic Left. La France Catholique clearly identified its Jerusalem position as having the endorsement of not only the French branch of the Action Catholique,<sup>160</sup> but it must be remembered that Il Quotidiano, the official organ of the Italian Action Catholique had been one of the first Catholic newspapers to call for Catholic support for the 1947 UN Resolution provisions on Jerusalem. However, it was in the vastly charged atmosphere of 1949 that widespread Catholic support for this position began to emerge.

Lurking behind the newspaper's calls for the immediate implementation of the Partition Resolution provisions on Jerusalem was a conservative Catholic reinterpretation of the recent events in Palestine and Israel. In late 1948, René Pinon wrote a series of articles which began to elaborate an increasingly religious position in which the Palestine War was described as not only an insoluble struggle between Arabs and Jews for control of Palestine, but millenarian struggle between

158. See also, La France Catholique, May 6, 1949, p.2; June 3, 1949, "Deux Documents," p.4; June 10, 1949, p.4; June 14, 1949, p.3; July 29, 1949, p.4; and August 5, 1949, p.4.

159. La France Catholique, September 2, 1949, Louis Salleron.

160. La France Catholique, June 10, 1949, La Garde-Guerin, p.4, and August 5, 1949, p.4.

Judaism and the world. In an article entitled "Trève en Palestine"<sup>161</sup> argued;

Il faut enfin tenir compte d'une mystique nationale juive et de l'enthousiasme émouvant que suscite parmi les éléments spirituels du judaïsme la naissance de l'Etat d'Israël et de réveil d'une sorte de millénarisme juif.

Pinon did not elaborate on this statement, but it did signal a deeper shift in perception by the newspaper.

Later, in October, he described this 'millénarisme juif' as responsible for the growing Israeli demands to include Jerusalem in its state. He objected to these demands by arguing;

Tout les peuples civilisés s'intéressent au destin de la Palestine. Jérusalem ne doit être le domaine particulier ni des Juifs ni des Arabes; elle est la ville sainte, la capitale spirituelle de l'humanité civilisée; elle doit rester accessible à toutes les nations et s'élever comme un haut symbole de paix et de fraternité humaine.<sup>162</sup>

By summer 1949, these early calls for Catholic action to defend the Christian Holy Places from Israel, were incorporated into a general call for the defence of the Church, "contre les attaques renouvelées de ses ennemis," "les égarés, les infidèles et les sans-Dieu."<sup>163</sup> In another article, Zionism itself was described as a major threat to the Church and as a new form of Nazism.<sup>164</sup> Jean le Cour Grandmaison, in an article entitled "Libérez les Lieux-Saints," wrote;

Prière et action: telles sont les armes de cette nouvelle croisade, entreprise avec des moyens pacifiques, mais dont le but reste le même qu'il y a mille ans: libérer le Saint-Sépulcre et les Lieux sacrés où s'est joué le grand drame de notre Rédemption.<sup>165</sup>

The above articles called for a crusade "dont le but reste le même qu'il y a mille ans" clearly committed the author to more than the liberation of the Holy Places. It was also a commitment to a perception of the Church that had likewise existed at the time of the crusades. In the context of crisis which the French Church confronted in 1949, the French Catholic Left and such periodicals as Cahiers Sioniens, L'Amitié

161. La France Catholique, July 30, 1948, "Trève en Palestine," René Pinon, p.4.

162. La France Catholique, October 1, 1948, "Le Problème Palestinien," René Pinon, p.3.

163. La France Catholique, May 6, 1949, p.2.

164. La France Catholique, May 27, 1949, pp.1 and 4.

165. La France Catholique, May 13, 1949.

Judéo-Chrétienne, Catholicité and Esprit, had vigorously called for a radical separation of the Christian message from all political and economic attachments as the only way in which the Church could adapt to the modern world. As has already been seen, this "Theology of Adaptation" had rejected the Medieval ideal of Christendom which perceived the Church as a political-religious entity, and likewise had objected to all modern-day crusades, whether against, Franco in Spain, Fascism, Communism or in favor of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

La France Catholique, on the other hand, not only opposed this radical adaptation of the Church, but elaborated a counter-ecclesiology which was as much a reaction against the theology of adaptation as it was a positive program to enable the Church to confront the problem of Communism, decolonization and the questions of Israel and Jerusalem. The central element of this ecclesiology was the historical reality of Christendom as both a spiritual and political entity. Like the other theological responses to specific problems facing the Church at that time, this theology of Christendom found its inspiration and legitimacy in the study of Christian history, Catholic teaching, the life of Jesus and scriptures.

To articulate this conservative ecclesiology, La France Catholique turned towards one of the foremost Catholic historians of the time, Henry Jules Petiot, who wrote under the pseudonym of Henry Daniel-Rops. His earlier historical works on the history of the Church, included, Histoire sainte - le peuple de la Bible (1943), Jésus en son temps (1945), L'Eglise des apôtres et des Martyrs (1948), plus numerous articles in the Catholic press. Beginning in 1947, he wrote a series of twelve articles under the title, "La Vie Chrétienne au Temps des Catacombes," and in September 1949, he began another series entitled, "L'Histoire de l'Eglise" which was published as a book entitled, L'Eglise des temps barbares in 1950.

Daniel-Rops' writings are marked by a deep loyalty to the Church as an institution founded by Jesus of Nazareth, plus his mastery of modern archeological, theological and literary research, which together made his writings profoundly Catholic and scientific. Daniel-Rops' prodigious rise to prominence within Conservative Catholic circles on both sides of the Atlantic, contrasts sharply with the lack of enthusiasm he provoked among the Judeo-Christians, Catholic Left and the supporters of Israel. In fact, his Jésus en son temps had been described by the Pastor J.-J. Bovet in Christianisme social as a major step towards "l'antisémitisme renaissant."<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, by 1949, he had emerged as a major voice in La France Catholique,<sup>167</sup> a major supporter of the campaign of

166. Christianisme social, October-December 1946, pp.14-15.

167. See, La France Catholique, September 30, October 1, October 14, October 28, 1949.

Robert Barrat and Louis Massignon to achieve the internationalization of Jerusalem,<sup>168</sup> and an unflinching supporter of Rome's attempts to reassert its authority within a divided Catholic world, for which he was awarded the medal of the Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great in 1949 by Pope Pius.<sup>169</sup> In April 1949, the first edition of his own periodical, Ecclesia appeared which served as a rallying point for other Conservative Catholics.

Daniel-Rops' works strongly appealed to La France Catholique and to conservative Catholics because of the direct parallels which could be drawn between his historical writings and the present. For example, his L'Eglise des Apôtres et des Martyrs, which was published in article form throughout 1947 strongly reflected the conservative Catholic perception of the present as a period of persecution, paganism, revolution, social upheaval, martyrdom and of struggle for the very survival of the Papacy. Daniel-Rops employed terminology such as "la révolution de la Croix," martyrdom as "témoinage humain" of loyalty to the Church, "les chrétiens dans la cité païenne," and "la lutte décisive" against dissidents both within the Church and pagans outside it. In a second set of articles in early 1948, entitled, "L'Eglise au seuil de la victoire." the final victory of the Church was described as the triumph of "l'unité de l'Eglise et la primauté de Rome,"

Daniel-Rops made few direct parallels between his historical writings and the present, although other commentators did, such as the forementioned accusation by Pastor Bovet of "l'antisémitisme renaissant." Nevertheless, many of his writings on the Jews at the time of Christ were exactly the kinds of statements which, in the eyes of many, fueled the fires of anti-Semitism. In the chapter entitled, "Le Salut Vient des Juifs," of his book, L'Eglise des apôtres et des martyrs, he not only minimized, but denigrated, the Jewish origins and heritage of the Church which was the keystone of the Judeo-Christian theology and a theology of Israel. He wrote;

Mais ce qui nous apparaît aujourd'hui fidélité légitime et juste hommage eût pu devenir dangereux infléchissement et limitation. Afin d'obéir à l'ordre du Christ de se lancer dans la grande aventure universaliste, il fallait que le christianisme comprît que, pour accomplir totalement la Loi, il était indispensable d'en dépasser les limites. A l'heure où Jérusalem tombait sous les coups de Titus et où les judéo-chrétiens voyaient se fermer pour eux le destin,

168. See, America, April 9, 1949, Robert Barrat and Daniel-Rops.

169. See, LOBET, M., A la rencontre de Daniel-Rops, Ed. La Sixaine, Bruxelles, 1947 and DOURNES, P., Daniel-Rops, on le réalisme de l'Esprit, Fayard, 1950.

il y avait déjà bien longtemps que la synthèse créatrice du passé et de l'avenir était faite et que l'Eglise avait définitivement trouvé sa voie.<sup>170</sup>

This "dangereux infléchissement et limitation" which the Christians of Jewish origin in Jerusalem represented risked imposing on the early Church an "exclusivism" which would have separated the "nations saintes" from "ces races maudites dès origine."

Les législateur nous a enfermés dans les murs de fer de la Loi, pour que, purs d'âme et de corps, nous ne nous mêlions en rien à aucune nation, disait un écrit juif du troisième siècle, la "lettre d'Aristée." Allant de la simple répulsion à la haine active, ce sentiment aboutissait à un exclusivisme dans les textes bibliques fournissant maints exemples probants.<sup>171</sup>

This Jewish "exclusivisme" which according to Daniel-Rops had risked transforming the early Church into a fanatical Jewish sect, was eventually overcome by a non-Jewish "courant universaliste, respectueux de l'étranger, accueillant à tout homme de bonne volonté, qui ne jetait pas l'anathème sur les païens, et qui portait les plus généreux des juifs dans la direction même où Jésus paraîtra."

However, this struggle between the "juifs de la Tora" and the "juifs de la Croix" was a bitter struggle in which "très vite, la relative mansuétude des chefs d'Israël cessera, et sera remplacée par une sévérité croissante." Daniel-Rops not only argued that Jesus had been condemned to death by "les chefs d'Israël," to suppress his teaching, but James, the leader of the Christian community in Jerusalem had been martyred by order of the Sanhedrin as well St. Steven.<sup>172</sup>

Such a view of the the first century Christian-Jewish relations, which stressed the necessary decline of "l'esprit juif" to permit the flowering of the Christian universalism, contrasted sharply with the generally pacific "completion" of Judaism in Christianity which inspired the Judeo-Christians and theologians of Israel. In fact, this struggle between Jews and Christians had become so acute that in answer to the rhetorical question, "L'orgueil juif fut-il l'obstacle infranchissable?" he answered that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus had necessarily intervened as a symbol from God of the victory of the Church over Judaism.

170. DANIEL-ROPS, L'Eglise des apôtres et des martyrs Vol. I, (1948), Desclée De Brouwer, Paris 1971, p.63

171. Ibid., pp.36-37.

172. Ibid., pp.56-57.

Désormais le christianisme est tourné vers des horizons plus larges que ceux de la Terre promise: Jérusalem peut disparaître: les voies de Dieu sont maintenant préparées.

Jérusalem, Antioche, Rome, telles auraient été les trois étapes par lesquelles le christianisme serait passé de la petite communauté close de la Ville Sainte à l'universalisme de la "cathedra Petri."<sup>173</sup>

This strongly negative evaluation of the influence of Judaism on the early Church was an extreme form of a more general reaction against those Catholics who attempted to find in the first Century Jewish-Christian relations a key to Israeli-Catholic relations in 1949. The radical nature of Daniel-Rops' denigration of these relations was motivated in part by the equally radical direction many of the Judeo-Christians were taking in 1949.<sup>174</sup> They not only idealized the first century, but welcomed the Jewish state as the reincarnation of the Israel of that time.

This debate was not resolved in 1949, nor in the following years. Jean Daniélou, in his book, Théologie du judéo-christianisme of 1958, attempted to "defuse" it by elaborating on the various possible forms that Jewish influence took in the early Church. He wrote that the term, "Judeo-Christians" could be used to describe the "Ebonites" - a first century heretical group of Jews who accepted Christ as the Jewish Messiah, but not as the Christian notion of "the son of God."<sup>175</sup> It could also apply to the Jerusalem Christian community headed by St. James which observed Jewish Law, kept many Jewish customs and developed a theology which harmonized Judaism and

173. Ibid., p.56. See also, Ecclesia, June 1949, "Les Etapes décisives - Judaïsme et Christianisme," Jean-Jacques Bernard, pp.66-78.

174. Many Judeo-Christians, especially Protestant converts, pushed the limits of this nascent theology well beyond those acceptable to the Catholic Church. Baron de Springer's "Judeo-Christian Church," for example, strongly supported Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem in its entirety as a necessary prerequisite for the second coming of Christ. Internationalization of the city, in his opinion, was an attempt "d'empêcher l'instauration du Royaume de Dieu dans le monde," ... "de tenir la Terre Sainte dans un sommeil de mort et d'en faire un désert." See, Jérusalem, published by the Mouvement judéo-chrétien, Section française,, Bulletin N.35, Paris, November 1950, "L'internationalisation de Jérusalem.", by Agnes Waldstein. See also, Ecclesia, June 1949, J.-J. Bernard, pp.66-78.

175. The foremost advocate of this school was H.J. Schoeps who published a work entitled, Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums, Tuebingen, 1949.

Christianity.<sup>176</sup> Finally, Daniélou described a Judeo-Christian "forme de pensée chrétienne qui n'implique pas de lien avec la communauté juive mais qui s'exprime dans des cadres empruntés au judaïsme."<sup>177</sup> Daniélou, for his part, found the latter use of the term, "Judéo-Chrétienisme" as most acceptable to Catholic teaching and as the most fruitful area for elaborating a contemporary theology of Christian-Jewish relations and Catholic reaction to the establishment of the state of Israel.<sup>178</sup>

Nevertheless, the experiences of the first century continued to inspire Christian thought on the present problems facing the Church. The French Catholic encyclopedia, Catholicisme, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, for example, wrote as late as 1967;

Ce sens nouveau prêté à l'expression "judéo-christianisme" est plein d'intuitions suggestives et profondes. Cependant on ne voit pas très bien où sont les limites de ce judéo-christianisme. On pourrait même se demander s'il en a. On conçoit mal un christianisme primitif tout court qui aurait emprunté d'autres cadres que ceux du judaïsme. Il semble qu'on ait nivelé un peu trop facilement et quelque peu brouillé les perspectives en tentant une synthèse de la théologie chrétienne avec des éléments très différents: Didochè, Odes de Salomon, Clément d'Alexandrie, etc.

In n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'il y eut une théologie chrétienne primitive plus marquée de l'influence du judéo-christianisme. Et si les écrits de Qumrân et le Testament des XII Patriarches ont paru et paraissent encore à certains refléter une pensée pré-agnostique et offrir des analogies assez frappantes avec les nouveaux documents de Khénoboskion, il se pourrait fort bien que cela soit dû au fait que le judéo-christianisme, en multipliant les symboles, en transformant les personnes en types et en projetant l'histoire, habituaient les esprits à une interprétation mythique et acheminait ainsi une pensée chrétienne vers les élucubrations, d'abord sobres puis échevelées, des systèmes gnostiques ultérieurs.<sup>179</sup>

176. See, BRANDON, S.G., The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church, London, 1951; DIX, G., Jew and Greek, London 1953, The Shape of the Liturgy, Westminster, 1945, and "The Seal in the Second Century," in Theology, 1948, pp.5-13.

177. See, GOPPETT, L., Christentum und Judentum, Guetersloh, 1954.

178. DANIELIOU, Jean, Théologie du Judéo-christianisme, see Catholicisme Hier Aujourd'hui, Demain, "Judéo-Christianisme," 1967, J.E. Ménard, BSS, Vol.6, p.1156.

179. Ibid., p.1157.

During 1947-1950, the "intuitions suggestives et profondes" of "Judéo-christianisme" had not only inspired a positive theological reaction to the establishment of the state of Israel and of Catholic - Jewish relations, but had even led many Catholics to welcome the new state as a supernatural religious event. In the same manner that an individual Jew could embrace Christianity without denying his or her Judaism, so could a reborn Jewish state reclaim its spiritual mission without questioning the legitimacy of the Church. However, such a theoretical possibility was by no means widely accepted in 1949. As has just been seen, La France Catholique and such scholars as Daniel-Rops strongly objected to this interpretation of events. Nevertheless, even the French Catholic encyclopedia in 1967, wrote that it was one of many possibilities;

Le retour et l'Etat placent, de fait, le peuple d'Israël dans une situation favorable au salut. ... En ce sens, le chrétien a le droit de voir dans le Retour et l'Etat d'Israël deux faits historiques qui peuvent devenir les prémices de la Rédemption. 180

La France Catholique was not the only voice of conservative theological opposition to a positive spiritual evaluation of the establishment of the state of Israel, and the consequent demands for a comprehensive Catholic crusade to internationalize the city of Jerusalem and confront the enemies of the Church, whether Marxist or Zionist. In the United States, David Goldstein emerged as a strong voice for this position.

American Catholic theological opposition to Israel: David Goldstein and the periodical, Ave Maria

The debate on the possible religious implications of the state of Israel was less widespread and divisive in the United States than in Europe. Those Catholics who did discuss this aspect of the problem generally published isolated articles in diverse periodicals and rarely grouped themselves around a particular periodical or formed informal groups which systematically analysed the problem. However, one American who did adopt a systematic, outspoken and consistent approach to the problem was David Goldstein. A Catholic convert from Judaism, he had achieved fame as a leading Catholic Socialist and founder of a lay apostolate to the man in the street, public speaker for the Catholic Truth Guild and activist in the Catholic Central Verein (Catholic Socialist Movement). His numerous writings

180. Catholicisme Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, "Israël," Paul Gauthier, Vol.6, pp.190-213.

include; Socialism, the nation of Fatherless Children, Bolshevism, its cure (1919), Campaigners for Christ Handbook (1932), and Autobiography of a Campaigner for Christ (1936).

He later became involved in Catholic-Jewish relations and published Jewish Panorama (1940), Letters Hebrew-Catholic (1943) and numerous articles in the Catholic press on Judaism, the state of Israel and Jerusalem. As early as 1940, in Jewish Panorama he had expressed his personal theological approach to Zionism and the Jewish question which was drawn on Catholic teaching and his own personal experience of conversion. He wrote that with the coming of the King of the Jews (Jesus Christ), "the moral claim to the Holy Places of Israel, passed to the followers of the Messiah, as did the keeping and the interpreting of the Law of Moses." Furthermore, the Zionists had "awakened fear in the Christian heart on account of their expressed hostility in Palestine towards beliefs and things it (Christianity) holds sacred."<sup>181</sup> In both Jewish Panorama, and the periodicals Catholic Mind and America, Goldstein presented Catholics with his theories.<sup>182</sup>

One month after the establishment of the state of Israel, Goldstein published an article entitled, "A Tragic Misadventure," in The Social Justice Review, in which he reaffirmed his long standing anti-Zionism.<sup>183</sup> He argued that "the Orthodox Jewish claims to Palestine is worthy of respect, invalid though it be. Their outlook is religious." He elaborated;

There was a time when such a Palestine claim was warranted; that was during the days when the Jewish religion was God's one and only religion. That was during the days when the Jews had a priesthood, an Altar in Jerusalem, sacrifices, a Temple, and a Sanhedrin. That was when they were given the land for the purpose of carrying out Israel's divine mission. That mission they have no more. It was fulfilled by the birth of the great Jewish King David in Bethlehem, who is Christ the Lord. That mission was fulfilled when the priesthood of Aaron, the sacrifices that Moses instituted by God's command, were displaced by the institution of the

181. Jewish Panorama, p.276.

182. Catholic Mind, November 1945, "What are the Jews?" pp.689-690; June 1947, "Appeal for Jews," pp.366-369; and America, July 20, 1946, "Palestine Mandate," p.371.

183. Social Justice Review, June 1948, pp.75-78. Goldstein's article was referred to by La Croix in an article together with others drawn from the London Jewish press as evidence of the widespread perception of the anti-religious nature of Zionism. See, La Croix, November 20, 1948, "La vie internationale." p.3. Goldstein also wrote, "Palestine Goes Atheistic," The Priest, November 1948, pp.816-819.

Catholic Church, with a priesthood "according to the order of Melchisedech," and the substitution of the Sacrifice of the Mass in place of the Mosaic sacrifices.

The above paragraph is a simplistic summary of traditional Christian teaching that the Church had inherited the role of "God's chosen people," - the Church had replaced the people of Israel. However, Goldstein seemed to be even more alarmed by the "Orthodox Jews in the Zionist movement" who went beyond the Zionist 'political claims' to Palestine and put forward religious claims "based upon promises made by God" to the Jewish people. Goldstein refuted the validity of such claims by stating;

But these promises were conditioned upon obedience to God's command that all present day Jews disobey, by their refusal to give ear to the Prophet, the Messiah, whom Moses commanded them to hear (Deut. 18:15) (i.e. Jesus Christ, the King of the Jews).

Goldstein's insistence that the Jews no longer had a part in the divine mission brutally reflected the key issue in the debate that was animating the Catholic world during 1949. Whereas Goldstein opposed any Jewish return to or possession of Palestine as an effort by them to reassert their divine mission to humanity, which he clearly insisted that "they had no more," many other Catholics had reached the opinion that only possession of Jerusalem was in fact objectionable to Catholics. Still other Catholics, such as Paul Claudel and other French Catholics, found even the incorporation of Jerusalem into the state of Israel as acceptable.

Goldstein's opposition to any hint that Israel still possessed a divine mission was in part an evocation of the traditional Catholic position that the Church had repalced Israel in God's plans. The Jews, thus, had become an anachronism in divine history. Furthermore, his theological view was a determined defence of his own individual conversion, If Israel still had a divine collective mission, parallel to that of the Church, as many Catholics argued, his conversion could be construed as a rejection of God's plan for the Jews. This dilemma confronted many Jewish converts to Catholicism and consequently resulted, as has been seen, in a vast outpouring of literature by convert on this question. The French Catholic press attributed a major role to these "Judeo-Christians," and found in their individual speculations indications of how the Church as an institution could relate to a Jewish state.

The only other American Catholic periodical which objected to the establishment of the state of Israel for theological reasons was Ave Maria. As early as 1917, the year of the Allied conquest of Palestine from the Turkish Empire, the

publication warned that any attempt by the Jews to return would be frustrated by the "immutability of the scriptural prophecies of doom."<sup>184</sup> Later in 1921, Ave Maria drew its readers' attention to the decline of Catholic religious activity there, as a result of Jewish and Protestant activities.<sup>185</sup>

The root cause of Ave Maria's opposition to Zionism is attributed by Feldblum to its long-standing anti-Jewish bias. The religious aspect of the problem was central to the periodical's perception of the problem. It saw a Jewish return to Palestine as part of a strategy to avenge what the Jews perceive as centuries of Christian persecution.

The Zionists, however (who are not to be confused with Orthodox Hebrews), are atheists and profess no religion and observe no moral law. They are basically anti-Christian and look on Christ as the destroyer of their reign and the cause of their dispersal throughout the world. Ben Gurion, the Zionist leader, said to the Anglo-American Committee: 'The Christians are responsible for the harm they have done to the Jews, and it is, therefore, up to the Jews to form a commission before which the Christians must appear as the accused.' Judaism is basically anti-Christian. If the Zionists were to attain complete rule of the country and have a free reign to carry out their program, they would blot out the religion of the Moslems and Christians since they have no outward sign of worship themselves.<sup>186</sup>

Ave Maria did not remain a vocal critic of Israel, although its few references to the state of Israel after 1948 continued to reflect its negative attitude.<sup>187</sup>

In general the American Catholic press did not maintain a constant interest in the theological aspects of the state of Israel and in particular the question of Jerusalem. However, in Europe, where hierarchical efforts to impose a more 'orthodox' approach to such issues as Communist - Catholic and Catholic - Jewish relations was in full swing, La Croix in Paris and Civiltà Cattolica in Rome began to actively intervene in the debate.

184. Ave Maria, November 10, 1917, p.5, see also FELDBLUM, op.cit., p.22.

185. Ave Maria, May 21, 1921, p.665.

186. Ave Maria, November 22, 1947, p.644, and FELDBLUM, op.cit., p.53.

187. See, for example, Ave Maria, December 11, 1948, p.738 and July 2, 1949, p.4.

## La Croix: the 'nature' of Zionism

La Croix continued to be deeply concerned by the situation in Jerusalem, and especially that of the Holy Places and charitable establishments there. As has been seen, the Appeal of November 1948, signed by many leading Catholics in France, had called upon the French government to play a leading role in negotiating "un projet concret inspiré de ces principes chrétiens, français et humains."<sup>188</sup> This appeal for "un projet concret" for the Holy Places reflected French Catholic optimism that a negotiated settlement was possible if the influence of the US, USSR, UN, and especially Britain could be mobilized in favor of such a peaceful settlement. La Croix continued to perceive "L'imbroglie palestinien" as essentially a UN-USSR-British power-play well into 1949.<sup>189</sup> Nevertheless, articles began to appear in November 1948 and increased in frequency throughout 1949, which expressed the newspaper's growing alarm that the benign secular movement that so many French Catholics had welcomed and defended, might perhaps be neither benign nor secular.

The first major article which reflected this change in attitude significantly was an article which drew on the writings of the American David Goldstein and the British Jewish press. As has been noted on several occasions, the Catholic press often turned to foreign sources to mark a major change in editorial policy or the emergence of a hitherto neglected topic. On November 20, 1948, a summary of the Goldstein article, "A Tragic Misadventure" published in the Social Justice Review, as well as summaries of articles appearing in such publications as the Jewish Chronicle of London and Jewish Standard were printed which emphasized that only a small minority of Jews were Zionists and that the majority of rabbis were opposed to the movement.<sup>190</sup>

Two weeks later another article, entitled, "Deux messianismes" (unsigned), appeared which argued that Marxism and Zionism, were both "secular" in nature, sprang from the same European sources, and were reactions against the injustices of this world.<sup>191</sup> On one hand, Marxism sought to rectify the injustice of class through economic means, while on the other hand, Zionism sought to overcome anti-Semitism through a social revolution which aimed at the removal of the Jewish community

188. La Croix, November 12, 1948.

189. La Croix, January 11, 1949.

190. La Croix, November 20, 1948, p.3, for Goldstein article see, Social Justice Review, June 1948, pp.75-78.

191. La Croix, December 29, 1948, pp.75-78.

from Europe, the Middle East and America where long traditions of hate and violence existed. However, the article argued, both Marxism and Zionism misunderstood the nature of the problems they both sought to remedy. In particular, Zionism, in proposing a purely political and social solution to the problem of anti-Semitism, ignored the essential religious nature of the problem. Thus, a Jewish state in which there would be only Jews would achieve a false sense of security. In short, anti-Semitism would be transferred from the national to the international level. Without stating it, the article proposed that only the recognition of Jesus as the savior of the Jews would overcome the scourge of anti-Semitism. The article concluded that only the Church could offer "true salvation" and eliminate both the social-economic domination of class and the problem of anti-Semitism.

This article was one of the first signs of a radical change in the perception of La Croix of Zionism and the state of Israel. Previously, as has just been seen, Zionism was presented as a political movement and any criticisms of it were presented in purely in these terms. Thus, the refusal to permit the return of Christian refugees, the occupation of Holy Places and religious institutions and opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem, were presented as problems which the UN would be able to resolve if sufficient pressure was put on Israel and Transjordan by the major powers. Even the Appeal of November 1948, which La Croix published, had expressed its optimism that a satisfactory arrangement could be reached. However, with the above article, the beginning of a change in perception is evident. The very title of the article, which referred to Marxism and Zionism as "Deux Messianismes" was a tacit admission that Zionism was more than just a simple political movement to overcome the problem of anti-Semitism. It was a messianic movement which claims to offer salvation to its followers. Obviously this salvation was necessarily a "false salvation" because, as the author reasons, only the Church offers "true salvation." However, this reasoning was not developed by the article. Nevertheless, this reference to the Messianic nature of Zionism illustrates the degree to which certain Catholic circles began to perceive both Zionism and the new state of Israel as a religious threat to the Church.<sup>192</sup>

192. The history and interpretation of the concept "Messianism" is complex and has divided Catholic, Protestant and Jewish scholars of religion and theologians. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, for example argues that, "The Messianic story is completed in the New Testament, where the Old Testament prophecies' fulfillment is affirmed in the life, death and Resurrection of Jesus, the Christ." Thus, the originality of the Israelite concept of history and Israel's sense of its vocation had been superseded by the reign of Christ, here and now

Later, in an article entitled, "Le nouvel Etat d'Israël," signed C.A., the state was once again described as non-religious, "Israel" in name only. Nevertheless, the article expressed its alarm at the attribution to it by certain Jewish circles of religious and spiritual qualities. At a recent meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, "the American Rabbis" had been split on whether to attribute any authority to the newly-created post of "Chief Rabbi of Israel" in matters of religion. This latter point, coupled with the intention of the Zionists to make Jerusalem their capital, gave the impression that at issue was more than the occupation of the city by a non-Christian secular power, but a power seeking to establish itself as a religious, as well as political, representative of the Jewish people. This impression was given partial confirmation in a following article of April 30, 1949, entitled, "La trêve en Palestine: Urgence d'internationaliser les Lieux Saints."<sup>193</sup> The author began by questioning the long-held and often-repeated Catholic perceptions of Zionism as a secular, non-religious, even anti-religious political movement.

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through the Church. As a result, Israel had ceased to be the chosen people of God, and been replaced by the Church as the new Israel. However, many other Catholics, and more so since the Second Vatican Council, have objected to this "conservative" interpretation.

Many Protestants, on the other hand, especially following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, have interpreted the Messianic period as continuing until the Second Coming of Jesus, sometime in the future, rather than having been completed with the First coming of Jesus. As a result, Israel's return to the Land of Israel was taken as a sign of the imminent Second Coming. This latter school of thought was still undeveloped in 1949 except for the pioneering work of Reinhold Niebuhr. However, after 1967, and especially in the 1970s and 1980s, with the rise of American Fundamentalism, it was adopted by many of the most popular preachers.

See. The New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Messianism," Vol.9, for a traditional Catholic view; see a recent analysis of the Fundamentalist Movement in the United States in Time, September 2, 1985, "Jerry Falwell's Crusade," pp.48-61; and for the origins of the Messianic interpretation of the establishment of the state of Israel, see, NIJIM, Basheer K. ed., American Church Politics and the Middle East.

193. La Croix, April 30, 1949, see also, Documentation Catholique, May 22, 1949, cols.649-652.

N'oublions pas que, dans le Proche-Orient, l'idée de religion est étroitement liée à l'idée de patrie ou de race. On a peine à concevoir un Juif qui ne serait pas de religion juive, un Grec qui ne serait pas de religion orthodoxe (lisez schismatique), et ainsi de suite. ... Remarquez qu'il est loisible aux Juifs, comme aux musulmans, de s'abstenir de toute pratique religieuse; l'indifférence, même l'irréligion, sont admises, mais personne ne doit désertier officiellement la religion de ses pères.

The author of this unsigned article sought to remind his readers that even the non- and anti-religious Jews of Israel remained Jews nevertheless. As such, both Jews and Muslims "favoriseront ceux de leur race et de leur religion, à l'exclusion des autres."

The author of this article, consequently viewed the continuing pillage of the Christian establishments and expulsions of the Christian population as expressions of an ancient and deep-rooted antagonism between two religious communities, Jews and Christians. Even if the "Zionists" declined any religious identification as "Jews," in the eyes of both the Palestinian Christians and Muslims, they were still Jews, and their attacks against the Christian community and Holy Places were viewed as acts of Jews against Christians.

The author concluded his article by calling for massive pressure by the "Christian world" to force the "Jewish world" to agree to the internationalization of Jerusalem.

M. de Boissanger (French representative at the PCC) et ses assistants insistent afin que partout la presse catholique, mais surtout en France et en Amérique, fasse campagne en faveur de l'internationalisation. Si les conciliateurs sont soutenus par l'opinion publique du monde chrétien, il leur sera plus aisé d'arracher aux Juifs les concessions nécessaires pour que Jérusalem et ses environs soient placés sous un régime international.

En Palestine, tous les chrétiens, bon nombre d'Arabes musulmans des plus cultivés, et aussi passablement de Juifs: médecins, avocats, professeurs, commerçants, souhaitent ardemment, pour des motifs divers, une Jérusalem largement internationale.

Shortly thereafter, another article entitled, "Pour l'internationalisation des Lieux Saints - Une pacifique croisade," asked why the Arabs as well as the Jews were unwilling to make the necessary "concessions spirituelles" to protect Jerusalem.<sup>194</sup>

194. La Croix, May 20, 1949, Signed T.B.

Such visions of the "Christian world" engaged in a cosmic struggle with the "Jewish world" concerning the future of the city of Jerusalem, became increasingly frequent in La Croix, La France Catholique, Témoignage Chrétien, Etudes and certain American Catholic publications in the latter months of 1948 and early 1949. It is possibly for this reason that La Croix began to stress the political aspects of the problem rather than the religious and theological. As will be seen shortly, the Roman Jesuit Civiltà Cattolica warned in January 1949 that the increasing tendency to place the Jerusalem problem in such a context risked giving rise to "religious fanaticism" by both parties.

As a result, La Croix began to justify its calls for the internationalisation of Jerusalem as necessary to protect the Holy Places of all religions from physical destruction, to achieve the return of all refugees, in particular the Christian population of Jerusalem, and to confirm Jerusalem as the possession of all humanity, not one religious or political group. On June 10, an article entitled, "Jérusalem" clearly stressed this reorientation of the newspaper. Rather than stressing the danger Christians faced from Jewish control of the city, the article argued that if either a Jewish or Moslem regime were established, or if the city were partitioned between the two, the basic freedom and very existence of a Christian community would be threatened. Furthermore, rather than emphasizing the sacredness of the city to Christians, the article argued that it was sacred to "l'humanité entière." The efforts of any state to transform this universal city into the "capitale profane" of one people would violate its universal character. The article concluded by stating that the Pope, in supporting internationalisation, was acting in the interests of all religious people, including Jews, Christians and Muslims.<sup>195</sup>

The above reference to the possibility that Israel might declare Jerusalem the capital of the state, was of special concern for La Croix because such an act would transform the city into the capital of the Jewish state, rather than the capital of "l'humanité entière." As early as July 1948, the newspaper had observed that such an act was demanded by the Irgun and Stern groups in the city as a precondition for their disbanding as independent military forces.<sup>196</sup> Later in February 1949, an article entitled, "Jérusalem, capitale d'Israël?" appeared in which it was stated that the pending Israeli change of the status of Jerusalem from "occupied territory" to part of the state, was a step towards the declaration of the city as the capital of Israel.<sup>197</sup> The article continued, "depuis la

195. La Croix, June 10, 1949, "Jérusalem," J. Rupp, p.4.

196. La Croix, July 28, 1948.

197. La Croix, February 3, February 15, and February 25, 1949.

fondation de l'Etat, Israël insiste pour faire de Jérusalem sa capitale." The decision by the Israeli Government to hold the first session of its parliament, the Knesset, in Jerusalem was also criticized by the newspaper.<sup>198</sup>

Another reason for the reorientation of the newspaper away from a negative cosmic confrontation of the Christian and Jewish worlds concerning the future of the city towards a positive concern for the interests of all humanity in the city, can be found in the publication of several "official" Catholic statements which indicated such as an approach. As has been seen, in the spring of 1949, the Catholic Near East Welfare Conference published a memorandum on the city and the encyclical, "Redemptoris Nostri" of mid-April welcomed the UN efforts to negotiate an international regime for the city. Neither document made any reference to cosmic confrontations or Jewish anti-Christian sentiments. On the contrary, both documents stressed that the best interests of all humanity and every religious community were involved.

This "non-confrontational" and "non-theological" orientation was reflected in a letter written by the French Cardinals on May 6, which was published by La Croix and other publications.<sup>199</sup> The letter which was signed by Cardinals Achille Liénart, Emmanuel Suhard of Paris, Pierre-Marie Gerlier, Jules Saliège and Clément Roques, was written at the moment, "où les Nations Unies vont s'efforcer d'organiser son nouveau statut" for Jerusalem. The letter began by referring to the recent encyclical which had defined the Catholic demands.

... l'établissement d'un régime international pour la ville de Jérusalem et ses environs; la protection et la sauvegarde de tous les Lieux Saints avec la garantie de la liberté d'entrée et de séjour pour tous les pèlerins; la liberté du culte, d'instruction et de bienfaisance pour toutes les institutions catholiques; le maintien des droits acquis par les catholiques au cours des siècles.

Non seulement il nous appartient de secourir dans leur détresse actuelle les chrétiens arabes victimes des deux belligérants, mais nous devons travailler, suivant le désir exprès exprimé par le Souverain Pontife dans son Encyclique, à faire sentir à l'ensemble de nos compatriotes combien sont justes et sages les propositions de S.S. Pie XII.

In appealing to the French Catholics, the letter made no references either confrontations or hostility between the Catholic and Jewish worlds. Rather, a call was made for French

198. La Croix, April 7, 1949.

199. La Croix, May 6, 1949, L'Aube, May 6, 1949, Documentation Catholique, May 22, 1949.

## Catholic sympathy for the cause of Jerusalem.

Puissions-nous réussir à susciter dans l'opinion française le puissant courant de sympathie que mérite la cause de ces Lieux Saints dont notre pays, au cours des siècles, ne s'est jamais désintéressé et pour lesquels il a consenti, à certaines heures de son histoire, d'héroïques sacrifices.

The letter drew the conclusion that a special responsibility rested on French Catholics because of their ancient ties to the Holy Land. This responsibility was to act as peacemakers between the two hostile forces then struggling for control of that Holy Land.

As if to underscore the peace making role of both French Catholics and the Church in general. La Croix began publishing a series of articles on the same day as it published the Cardinal's letter, which described the mission of the Church to work towards peace. These articles written by Della Torre, were reprinted from L'Osservatore Romano and underlined the role of the Church as arbitrator between belligerents to achieve a "Christian Peace."<sup>200</sup>

Della Torre's ideas were applied to the situation in Palestine by F. Roussel on May 20, in which the internationalization of Jerusalem was defended as necessary to achieve, "une reconciliation durable des Juifs et Arabes."<sup>201</sup>

La Croix justified its concern for Jerusalem and especially its support for the internationalization of Jerusalem as part of a larger effort to achieve a Christian Peace between Arabs and Jews. This element was stressed throughout the Fall of 1949. As a result, the newspaper avoided its previous rhetoric of Christian - Jewish confrontation and conflict and made few further references to the religious dimension of the problems. The underlying belief that prompted this silence was the realization that a political disagreement between Israel and the Arab states on the future of Jerusalem was in essence solvable, whereas a religious conflict between Judaism, Islam and Christianity could never be solved. As will now be seen, the fear of such a religious conflict prompted the Civiltà Cattolica to break its silence on the Jerusalem problem.

200. Documentation Catholique reprinted the same articles in full on July 17, 1949, under the titles, "L'Eglise catholique et la guerre" and "L'Eglise catholique et la paix."

201. La Croix, May 20, 1949, "La vie internationale - La reconnaissance d'Israël et l'internationalisation des Lieux Saints."

#### 4. Civiltà Cattolica: a warning

On January 1949, the Roman Jesuit guardian of Catholic Orthodoxy broke the silence on the subject of Jews, Palestine and Zionism which had been imposed on it by Pius XII in 1938. In a major article by Rev. A. Messineo SJ, entitled "La Question Palestinese e La Tutela Dei Luoghi Santi," an effort was made to "define" the Palestine and Jerusalem problems, so as to exclude the religious and theological dimensions which were increasingly dividing Catholics and resulting in Catholic-Jewish hostility.<sup>202</sup> According to Messineo, the basis of the Church's interests in Jerusalem date back to the Crusades and were confirmed in various legal documents of ownership and international treaties. The Church, he argued, had never surrendered these legally sanctioned rights at any time. These internationally recognised rights amounted to a Catholic trusteeship (tutela) exercised by the Holy See, of the following interests in Palestine;

1. the Holy Places, as defined by the "Status Quo"
2. the Church's legally-acquired right of protection of the Catholic minorities and Catholic religious institutions
3. the freedom of worship and access to the Holy Places and religious institutions

Messineo argued that the two recent papal encyclicals had been prompted out of fear that these interests were being threatened. The danger had begun with the British occupation of Palestine following the First World War, which had produced a situation in which Jews, Protestants and Orthodox had embarked on a systematic campaign to suppress the Catholic influence in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration had further enhanced the position of the Jews, Greek and Russian Orthodox Christians and Anglican Protestants by promising to support the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Such a state, the article argued, totally eliminated the Arab Christians and Moslems from any role in the future of Palestine. Moreover, the British Mandate was described by the author as a de facto Protestant protectorate over the Holy Places, in place of the traditional and historic Catholic protectorate exercised by the Church and France.

This coordinated anti-Catholic campaign by "Jews, infidels and anti-Catholics" had continued in spite of Catholic protests and resistance, with the Jews eventually gaining the upper hand.

202. Civiltà Cattolica, January 1949, "La Question Palestinese e La Tutela Dei Luoghi Santi," A. Messineo SJ, pp.11-21; for reactions to this article, see, The Register, August 14, 1949, p.3, and The New World of Chicago, August 12, 1949, p.10.

As early as 1922, Msgr. Barlassin, Latin (Catholic) Patriarch of Jerusalem, had described the Zionist's objectives as the eventual conquest of Palestine, the establishment of a Jewish state, suppression of the rights of the Christians, Muslims and Orthodox Jews there and in time, the expulsion of all other non-Jewish nationalities."

The first attempt to halt this anti-Catholic plot was, according to the article, the 1947 UN Partition Resolution provisions for Jerusalem. This resolution contained effective guarantees to protect the Holy Places, the acquired rights of the Catholic Church, freedom of worship and access to the city, plus adequate provisions to hinder the attempt by one religious community to expel or dominate the others. Messineo was particularly concerned that the Zionists would continue their efforts to gain total and exclusive control of the city if an effective barrier to institutional and international obligations against them was not erected. He continued that Zionism was inherently hostile to Christianity and even if oral and written promises were given by the Israeli government the urge for territorial expansion inspired by historical claims would inevitably lead to the breaking of these promises.

Behind the facade of the Zionist movement and the state of Israel, Messineo perceived a "religious fanaticism" (fanatismo religioso) emerging which the present leaders of Israel were powerless to oppose, even if they attempted to do so. In response to this Jewish fanaticism, Messineo argued that a parallel Christian and Muslim fanaticism was emerging which risked plunging Jerusalem and all of Palestine into a deadly struggle which no group could hope to win. The only way such a danger could be avoided, he insisted, was a common recognition of the claims of all three religious communities, and the common renunciation of their exclusive claims to the city. The UN Jerusalem provisions provided just such a framework for this common objective. The emphasis placed on the 1947 Partition Resolution, the need for a common political framework which it provided, and the need to recognize the "equality" of the three religions, was motivated by the realization that the alternative to such self-imposed limitations by the three would be "religious fanaticism."

Messineo's article, which on one hand expressed its fear of growing religious fanaticism in Israel, on the other hand, warned that a similar development was occurring within Catholic circles. In fact his article itself contributed to, if not confirmed, the growing Catholic impression that Zionism was inherently anti-Catholic and anti-Muslim. Nevertheless, he concluded by stressing that only a universal recognition of the equality of the claims of the three religions within the framework of the UN Partition Resolution Jerusalem provisions could stem this fanaticism.

L'Osservatore Romano likewise expressed its alarm at the rising tide of religious fanaticism which seemed to be sweeping the Catholic and Jewish communities regarding the Jerusalem problem. On January 27, 1949, shortly following the above analysed article of Civiltà Cattolica, an article entitled, "The Future of Israel" was published which criticized the activities of an Italian Jesuit, Rev. Lombardi, who had been touring Italian cities lecturing on the role of Israel in history.<sup>203</sup> The article stressed that Lombardi sought to bring to public attention the fact that Israel "bears witness to history, both modern and contemporary." In particular, "the pain and torture Israel has suffered" was cited as ongoing "proof" of the Messiahhood of Jesus. He continued;

Jewish history after Christ is undoubtedly one of the most irresistible and clear arguments to demonstrate that Jesus was the only true ambassador of God to humanity and the real Messiah which the Prophets had foretold.

Lombardo's theology which posited the necessity of continuing Jewish "pain and torture" to prove the Messiahhood of Jesus alarmed not only many Catholics and Jews, but was the object of bitter attacks in the Italian Jewish magazine Israel. A certain Liberovici, summarized the teachings of Lombardo as including the following statements;

- Today's fight by the Arabs is just, either by divine inspiration or by defending the body of Christ.
- The Jews are vindictive and need to destroy.
- The Moslems are prepared to defend Christ by destroying the Jews

What became known as the "Lombardi scandal" was not the only example of the deterioration of Catholic-Jewish relations that was taking place. The Vatican Society for the Propagation of the Faith, released a statement on May 7, 1949, which was printed by Documentation Catholique on the same day, and later by other Catholic publications.<sup>204</sup>

The statement announced that "Le sionisme triomphant devient une menace grave pour la permanence chrétienne en Terre Sainte." This menace, the statement continued, was the result of "un nationalisme exacerbé, illuminé - même chez ceux qui se croient athées - par la conviction d'une mission exceptionnelle du peuple juif."

203. L'Osservatore Romano, January 27, 1949, "Contiunture d'Oggi, La Sorte di Israele," p.3, translated by author.

204. Documentation Catholique, May 7, 1949, cols.645-648.

Si réservées et camouflées que soient ces menaces, elles éclatent cependant aux yeux attentifs, au point de rallier l'unanimité de l'opinion des chrétiens, qui ont vécu ces derniers mois en Israël.

The author traced this "rediscovery" of the "mission exceptionnelle du peuple juif" to the Orthodox Jews who "se rallient au sionisme en identifiant la personne du Messie à celle du peuple juif tout entier." This transformation of what had been a "secular" political movement into a religious messianic movement resulted in a Zionism which, "ne saurait tolérer, sous quelque forme que ce soit, l'expression de la doctrine du Christ sur 'sa' terre."

Les purs orthodoxes juifs dévoilent jour après jour leurs ambitions, qui sont, selon les visions prophétiques, la restauration intégrale du royaume de David et la restauration du Temple. ... Leur haine méprisante du Christianisme les poussera à toutes les violences, à toutes les persécutions, et tendra à effacer de ces lieux tout souvenir évangélique. Les profanations religieuses commises par la troupe ... sont les témoignages de cette haine anti-Chrétienne, qui a la complicité morale d'une grande partie de la nation.

The statement continued that not only had "les purs orthodoxes juifs" been responsible for the emergence of this vicious anti-Christian attitude, but they were also directly responsible for the refusal of the Zionist to make any concessions to either Christians or Muslims on the future of Jerusalem.

Dès maintenant, un chef religieux comme le rabbin Berline, il y a peu de mois encore partisan officiel de l'internationalisation de Jérusalem, peut déclarer: 'Il ne faut pas que nous signons de traité de paix, tant que la vieille ville ne nous est pas donnée, même si nous étions obligés d'être en conflit pendant cent ans avec les Etats voisins. Nous sommes assez forts pour proclamer d'ores et déjà Jérusalem comme capitale d'Israël.205

205. Documentation Catholique, May 7, 1949, cols.645-648. The references to Rabbi Berlin were a reaction to the very real and strong pressure being exerted on the Ben Gurion provisional government as it prepared for the first general election in January 1949, to include Jerusalem within the new state, ostensibly for demographic as well as political reasons. The presence of 100,000 Jews, and many Jewish institutions in the city, prompted Dov Joseph, the Israeli military governor of the city and the Irgun Group to demand its inclusion within the state. See BRECHER, Decisions in Israeli's Foreign Policy, p.8.

The statement drew the conclusion that the only way to check this "excès des ambitions d'Israël" was the creation of "un obstacle fermé et déterminé," which was identified as an international zone of Jerusalem, "qui appartient tout à la fois aux Juifs, aux Musulmans et aux Chrétiens." Only such an obstacle "peut réveiller Israël de son délire, et permettre l'établissement d'un régime de cohabitation tolérante."

## 5. Towards an Ecumenical Council

There is no doubt that this profusion of theological, political and ecclesiological speculation and movements within the Church alarmed many Catholics, both liberal and conservative. As has been seen, the French Catholic Left and Right were locked in bitter debate over such issues as Israel, Communism, the Worker Priests, the Progressive Christians, the adaptation of the Church to modern conditions, and the Judeo-Christian tradition within the Church. However, while for some Catholics such speculation was an expression of the vitality of the Christian faith, for others it represented an erosion of the faith. Even more alarming for many Catholics, these intra-Catholic debates were taking place in public forums and widely circulated newspapers and periodicals. Furthermore, much of this speculation even involved bitter personal attacks by one well known Catholic figure or clergyman against another. At a time when the Church was being attacked on all sides, by Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and China; "Catholic" Europe was being displaced by an atheistic USSR and a Protestant USA; and the Christian presence in the Middle East, the homeland of Christianity, and North Africa, was being destroyed, the Church could ill afford such public displays of dissent, disunity and disorder. It was within this context that Pope Pius XII presented his secret plan for an ecumenical council.

The first formal move towards a council was taken on March 4, 1948 in a communication between Pius and Cardinal Ottavani, secretary of the Holy Office (presently Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith).<sup>206</sup> Ottavani was asked to draw up a proposal concerning the subjects to be discussed, suggestions for the heads of the various committees and the scope of each of the committees. From the beginning, Ottavani perceived the task

206. Literature on the proposed council is very sparse. It was only in the early 1960s, during the Second Vatican Council, that the Catholic press became aware of these earlier plans. In particular, an article in, Civiltà Cattolica, by Giovanni Caprile SJ, "Pio XII e un Nuovo Progetto di Concilio Ecumenico," August 6-20, 1966, pp.209-227. See also, La Croix, November 11, 1962; TARDINI, also mentions it in his Pio XII, but only in passing, see also, Osservatore Romano, of November 4, 1959.

of the council as an instrument to impose theological orthodoxy and institutional unity on a divided Church. In short, he considered a council as a mere extension of the Holy Office which he headed and whose function it was to pronounce on such issues. Consequently, the five commissions he proposed on March 15, 1948 reflected his preoccupation with orthodoxy and unity. They were, the commissions on; 1) Speculative Theology, 2) Practical Theology, 3) Canonical and Clerical Discipline, 4) Missionary Adaptation to non-European cultures and 5) Christian Action such as ecumenical dialogue, political involvement and the roles of Catholic Action.<sup>207</sup> Throughout 1948 a committee headed by the Apostolic Nuncio in Italy, Francesco Borgongini Duca, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Lovanio, Pietro Charles SJ, and eleven other members, prepared the terms of reference and scope of each commission.

However, even more significant than the mundane work of planning the content and presidency of each commission, the committee was deeply split over several crucial issues. First, the issue of whether the council would be a continuation of the First Vatican Council which was adjourned but never formally closed due to the outbreak of the first World War was the object of heated debate. Secondly, the contents of the letters of invitation and whether they would be sent to all bishops or only a limited number, further divided the commission. As a result of the debate over these issues, two opposing visions of the proposed council emerged.

Duca, president of the commission, insisted that only highly-placed members of the Curia (Church government) be involved in the planning of the council, that only they would chair the commissions, and that the scope of each commission would be rigidly defined. Likewise, he insisted that a very brief period of preparation be followed by an even briefer council, with only a very limited number of "foreign" bishops invited to attend. Duca's vision of the council was a dramatic and public display of Catholic unity and orthodoxy to correspond with the equally dramatic festivities of the Holy Year, 1950. Implicit in Duca's vision, was a "rubber stamp" council which would simply adopt the various pre-written resolutions, condemnations and directives of the Holy Office. In fact, Rev. Giovanni Caprile SJ, in his article, "Pio XII e un Nuovo Progetto di Concilio Ecumenico," published in Civiltà Cattolica, argues that Duca hardly needed a council to achieve his aim. With the agreement of Pius XII, his office could simply issue the desired encyclicals, constitutions and codes.<sup>208</sup> However, Duca sought to cloak his designs behind the "unanimous support" and unity of the Catholic hierarchy gathered in a solemn council in Rome.

207. Civiltà Cattolica, August 6-20, 1966, "Pio XII e un Nuovo Progetto di Concilio Ecumenico," Giovanni Caprile SJ, pp.210-226.

208. Ibid., p.223.

Opposed to Duca, according to Caprile, were other Curia members, including the majority of his own planning committee, who argued that the impression of a "rubber stamp council" with no open discussion either before or during it, and a carefully selected group of participants, would not address the issues which so desperately needed attention. They insisted that only a council which would be long in duration, inclusive of all bishops, open to free discussion, and held at a future date following lengthy preparation, could initiate the radical rethinking and change needed by the Church. Caprile does not give the impression that the planning committee was composed of liberal, progressive churchmen who were sincerely dedicated to radical change, but rather, they feared that such a "show council" would lack the moral persuasiveness needed to restore even a semblance of Church unity and orthodoxy.<sup>209</sup>

It is at this point that Caprile concludes his article. Nevertheless, he speculates that the final decision lay in the hands of Pius XII, but that the pontiff was unable or unwilling to make it. Caprile continues that it would take a pope with the stature of John XXIII to break this deadlock.<sup>210</sup>

The birth and demise of the plan for a council gives an insight into the inner state of the Catholic Church during the crucial years of 1948 and 1949 during which the question of Israel and Jerusalem were being debated. On one hand, the plan for a council illustrates the degree to which Pius, the Curia and many other Catholics viewed this period as a time of general crisis. While sharply divided on how the Church should react to the challenges of the state of Israel, Communism, the Church in the Third World, and other problems, they all agreed that the Church was dangerously adrift. On the other hand, the gap which separated the two, or even more, Catholic camps, was judged to be so great that a council, whether short or long, would witness to the unity of the Church in confronting the challenges of the age. Thus, both camps agreed that a council was needed, but both feared that the other would use it to their own ends. The internal Catholic debates, splintering and attacks, so humiliated and weakened the Church in the eyes of non-Catholics and Catholics alike, that only a dramatic council could cover over this state of affairs.

Finally, the inability or unwillingness of Pius to decide on the vision and structure of the council, is an indication of the degree to which he was overwhelmed by forces beyond his ability or willingness to confront. In Italy, the Christian Democrats under the aggressive and independent leadership of De Gasperi had rendered the Vatican a tool of the party rather than the opposite, and he had excluded any and all rivals to it as the official party of Italian Catholics. The "pacellian" dream

209. Ibid., p.224.

210. ibid., p.226.

of diverse Catholic movements which had spawned Catholic left, right and center movements was dead. In France, both the Catholic Right and Left sent numerous delegations to plead support for their causes which were locked in bitter struggle for the soul and leadership of French Catholics. The UN which had been welcomed by Pius as embodying the dream for the peaceful resolution of world problems had proven unable to halt the Palestinian War and in the Mediterranean basin itself, Americans and Soviets were rapidly expelling the ancient influence of Christian Europe and fighting over the spoils. Thus, all the major initiatives of Pius, whether theological, political or ecclesial, had collapsed in ruin.<sup>211</sup>

As a result, Vatican diplomacy and Pius' freedom of action were limited to periodical pronouncements, hesitating gestures and subtle manipulation by the factions within the Curia and the Church as a whole. Magister, in La Politica vaticana e l'Italia, for example, presents a Pope being manipulated by, as well as manipulating, the various centers of power within the Church to gain a temporary victory, without being able to permanently control any of them. Magister even attributes the condemnation of Communism by the Holy Office on July 14, 1949, to an effort by Pius to placate Cardinal Ottaviani when his plans for an ecumenical council were frustrated.<sup>212</sup>

Likewise, the Vatican's position on Jerusalem was largely the result of Pius' sincere concern being manipulated by individuals and groups intent on advancing the interests of their particular factions within the Church. There is no doubt that Pius was deeply distressed by events in Palestine and especially Jerusalem, his encyclicals attest to this fact. However, in the combatative atmosphere that prevailed in 1949, these encyclicals and other messages were used by the American Church leaders, conservative elements within the French Church and others to further their own ends, and impose their vision of the Church on Catholicism in general and Rome in particular. Many of these conservative forces came together, as will be seen in the final chapter, in a modern-day "crusade to internationalize Jerusalem".

211. This reading of the circumstances which surrounded the abortive council are reflected in, MAGISTER, La Politica vaticana e l'Italia, chapters 3 and 4.

212. Ibid., p.132. See also, NICHOLS, Peter, The Politics of the Vatican, pp.101-106, in which the author argues that massive American pressure was largely responsible for the decree of the Holy Office.

## 6. Towards a Modern Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem

The re-emergence of the Catholic right in France was of both theological and political importance. As has just been seen, Louis Massignon, Jean Daniélou, the American David Goldstein and Daniel-Rops, opposed the efforts of those Catholics associated with Cahiers Sionienne, Catholicité, L'Amitié, Esprit and The Commonweal to attribute a positive theological importance to the state of Israel. Likewise, the Catholic Right opposed the nascent theology of adaptation which sought to enable the Church to come to terms with not only the state of Israel, but with non-Christian and Communist governments in general. However, underlying these negative positions was a positive vision of the function of the Church in the modern world which, rather than "radically reinterpreting" traditional Catholic teaching, sought to recapture the original vitality of these teachings which had seen the Church through far more troubled times.

Whereas the Catholic "Left" had attempted to detach the teachings of the Church from all political, economic and national ties in order to allow it to thrive under any and all regimes, the Catholic right attempted to reforge these very ties which in their opinion had served the Church so well during the past 2,000 years. What eventually emerged as a "Catholic Crusade" to internationalize Jerusalem was a direct expression of this vision of the Church as a social and political, as well as spiritual, entity. For the Catholic "right," the idea of a crusade, either pacific or military, not only evoked the times when Medieval Christendom militarily occupied and ruled the Holy Land, and made and deposed Emperors, burned heretics and blessed "Christian" armies, but also evoked the age when Europe flowered under the civilisation of the Middle Ages.

This ideal of a Christian civilisation can be traced back to the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, of Emperor Constantine, which recognised Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. In spite of all the historical vicissitudes of the generic term "Christendom" or "Chrétienté," in French, this ideal as the direct and immediate translation of Christianity into concrete socio-political institutions had remained.<sup>213</sup>

Fundamental to this ideal of a renewed Christendom and its radical extension in the form of the Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem and later Crusade against Communism, was the postulate that the state could not be neutral in the moral affairs of humanity. They were either Christian or anti-Christian. Such flirtations with Marxist states as were undertaken by the Catholic left, or the idea that a "Jewish" state could possibly be secular at the same time, were illusions to the supporters of

213. See, TROELTSCH, Ernst, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches.

the Catholic right. Recent events in Israel, as has been seen proved that the state of Israel was intent on reclaiming its "spiritual" role.

According to many conservative Catholics, the only effective reaction to this hostile world in which the Church was being systematically destroyed, was to reassert itself as a socio-political force. It was no accident that the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem emerged from those Catholics most attracted to the ideal of Christendom.

## 7. Conclusion

The objectives of this chapter have been threefold. Firstly, the various complex and often contradictory attitudes adopted by Catholic theologians, writers and periodicals on the questions of Israel and Jerusalem were presented. Secondly, these attitudes were shown to be directly related to the positions they adopted on the broader issues of the confrontation with Communism, adaptation of the Church to the modern world in general and the perceived need for a general rethinking of many key Catholic beliefs, dogmas and traditions, as well as the ecclesiology of the Church. Thirdly, these attitudes were grouped under the general, if often unclear, categories of Catholic left and Catholic right to dramatize the emerging confrontation between those Catholics advocating a radical ecclesial adaptation by the Church and those who advocated an equally radical confrontation of the modern world by the Church.

It is not by accident that this dramatic polarization was most evident in France and especially in French Catholic periodicals. The immediate post-World War II situation, in which the traditional Church press and leadership had been discredited in the eyes of both Jews and many Catholics, had permitted the emergence of a powerful and influential left Catholic movement and MRP. Free and unfettered social, theological and political speculation flourished in this atmosphere. However, the Catholic right, by 1949, with the prodding of certain elements in Rome and, as will be seen, the American Catholic Church, once again began to reassert its claim to leadership. The crusade to internationalize Jerusalem and the crusade against Communism which are the content of the following chapter, would result in the eventual suppression of the Catholic left, as well as the movement towards theologies of Israel and adaptation, the Worker Proests and the ecumenical spirit which flourished in the aftermath of the Second World War. This victorious "Catholicism of Confrontation" would dominate the Church until the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958 and the dramatic reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

In addition to the above described historical importance of the confrontation between two Catholic visions of the role of the Church in the world, this chapter constitutes the problematical link between the preceding chapter on the Palestine War and the following one on the Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem. On one hand, as was described in the preceding chapter, the Catholic newspapers attempted to ignore or were silent on any theological implications that the state of Israel might have for Catholics, and stressed the "secular" character of the "Hebrew" state. However, on the other hand, as was alluded to in this chapter and will be developed in the following chapter, a militant Catholic crusade to

internationalize Jerusalem eventually emerged which combined both political and theological factors. As a result, this chapter bears the responsibility of explaining how and why this initial ambivalence gave way to a crusade.

Implicit in the initial Catholic theory that religion and politics can be separated is the belief that they are two distinct realities. On one hand, the early Zionists and their Catholic supporters employed two distinct vocabularies to illustrate both the separateness and separability of, "Jew", the religious category, and "Hebrew" the political-national category. In much the same manner, the Catholic left in France had attempted to adapt the Christian message to radically secular Marxist states. However, both cases ignored the reality that all governments contain a religious dimension and a theological dimension appears in all political theory and ideology.

This point was brutally brought home to the Catholic observers of the state of Israel through such acts as the adoption of the name "Israel;" the use of traditional religious objects such as the Shofar, Mennorah, and biblical references; conducting Knesset meetings in Jerusalem; and finally the Israeli rejection of internationalization in favor of unilateral declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of the state. In the opinion of an increasing number of Catholics and even of many Jews, these developments confirmed the worst fears that the new state of "Israel" was but a poorly disguised religious, as well as, national revival of the Jewish people which their leaders had attempted to disguise behind a cunning facade of "Hebrew" nationalism, secular and socialist Zionism, and even willingness to abandon their spiritual capital of Jerusalem.

As will now be seen, this sense of bitterness, deception and bad faith, which had inspired Zionist relations with the Church in the opinion of many Catholics, gave rise to an eventual crusade to deprive Israel of any international recognition of its occupation of Jerusalem or of its status as the capital of Israel.

## Chapter 6

### The Catholic Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem

#### 1. Introduction

The period from the UN adoption of the Partition Resolution in November 1947, followed by the Palestine War, to the inter-Catholic debate on the "nature" of the state of Israel during the summer of 1949, was of far-reaching importance for the Church. The strong support for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem that emerged during this period was not only the consequence of the very real fear that the Christian presence in the city might disappear, but was also an expression of the re-emergence of a conservative Catholicism of "confrontation" towards what the Church perceived as the various enemies of the Church in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

In the USA, the advocates of isolationism had been overwhelmed by Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA, The Tablet and Cardinal Spellman. As a result, the American Catholic press, major national Catholic organisations and magazines either retreated into silence or publicly endorsed the calls for internationalization. The essential ingredient of the American position was that Israel had agreed to internationalize the city in 1947 and, furthermore, that such a step was necessary to guarantee the continued presence of the Christian population and Holy Places.

In France, the Church was divided between those Catholics such as Louis Massignon and the Notre Dame de Sion Order who perceived Israel as a direct threat to Catholic legitimacy as the heir of Israel as the instrument of God's salvation and the "Progressive Christians" associated with the review Esprit who perceived Israel as a secular state posing no religious threat to the Church. This internal paralysis of the French Church was only resolved by a vigorous Vatican intervention which silenced such extreme voices as Massignon, the Progressive Christians and Abbe Jean Boulier, and mobilized the traditional voices of French Catholicism, headed by La Croix in support of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

In Rome, the unrelenting efforts of Guido Gonella to mobilize a unified European effort to reassert its traditional influence in North Africa and the Near East, gradually ceded to a more realistic realization that the emergence of the USA and USSR as contenders for this influence, had effectively excluded Europe from the area. As a result, in a major foreign policy reorientation, the Holy See condemned Communism, rallied the conservative elements within the Church and began to align its foreign policy with that of the West.

This decisive realignment of the forces and tendencies

which made up the Catholic world was directly responsible for both the form and content of the Catholic commitment to the internationalization of Jerusalem.

Concerning the content of the Jerusalem problem, the official Catholic position, first clarified by the CNEWA, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and later by the Civiltà Cattolica, remained unchanged throughout the period. The city must enjoy a status separate from Israel, to guarantee the continued existence of its Christian population (in particular the return of the Christian refugees to the Israeli occupied area of the city) and protection of the Holy Places and religious institutions. The Catholic press rigorously attempted to exclude any references that might hint at a brewing Catholic-Jewish religious confrontation, which would only result in religious fanaticism on both sides. Thus, the twin pillars of the Catholic demands were the humanitarian nature of the refugee problem and the continuing legal validity of the Jerusalem provisions of the Partition Resolution.

Concerning the form of the Catholic demands, the above mentioned realignment of forces and tendencies within the Catholic world resulted in an aggressive commitment to the cause of Jerusalem that can only be described as a modern-day crusade, a term frequently used by the Catholic press itself. This crusade was specifically concerned with the Jerusalem question, but by implication was directly related to a manner in which the Church confronts a perceived hostile post-World War II world. As will be seen in this chapter, the symbolic importance of Crusade itself began to supersede any realistic possibility that the city would in fact be internationalized. The urgent appeals to Catholic public opinion and lay groups; vigorous lobbying in North, Central and South America, Europe, the Philippines, Lebanon and Australia; mass public prayer meetings; a world pilgrimage of a replica of the "Cross of Jerusalem;" and finally the publication of a Papal Bull declaring the year 1950 as a Holy Year, were efforts to reassert the Catholic world as a factor in the modern world. The consequences of this crusade, as will also be seen, were far-reaching for the Church in Europe and the USA, at the Vatican, and in the world at large.

Another factor that strongly influenced the form of this Catholic crusade was the public nature of the Jerusalem debate following the Palestine War. During the War itself, the population displacements, damage to the Holy Places and religious institutions and even the occupation of Jerusalem by Israeli and Jordanian troops had been generally presented by the Catholic press as unavoidable and temporary effects of the war. It was generally believed that as part of the post-war peace process, these effects would be eventually rectified to the mutual satisfaction of the involved parties. The consequent public declarations and debates that characterized the ill-fated crusade were directed by both Israelis and Catholics at the American and European, Jewish and Christian public opinion. It

was hoped that such mass mobilization of public opinion would influence the positions of the various governments.

Both Israeli and Catholic leaders were acutely aware that if the de facto situation of the refugees and Jerusalem were to be transformed into a de jure situation, it could only be accomplished through a UN General Assembly adopted revision or revocation of the 1947 Partition Resolution. As a result, during the summer of 1949, world attention shifted from the battle-fields of Palestine to the corridors of the UN. The original UN Partition Resolution of November 1947 had focused world attention on that body, but the ensuing Arab invasion of Palestine, the declaration of the Israeli State, and the war had relegated it to a virtual bystander to events there. However, by the summer of 1949, the situation in Palestine had been stabilized by the ceasefires and truces between Israel and its Arab neighbors. These efforts to "regularize" the relations between Israel and Jordan in view of an eventual peace treaty, once again involved the UN in an active role. Any revision of the statute of Jerusalem, which had been declared an international territory by the UN in 1947, but occupied and partitioned by Israel and Jordan during the war, required UN ratification.

This inevitable "return" to the UN, and the subsequent Catholic crusade with the lengthy debates on the Israeli request for admission to that body, was followed by the unsuccessful efforts of the UN-established Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC) to "revise" the 1947 Jerusalem statute in a manner acceptable to the concerned parties. It was against this background of these two protracted debates, punctuated with heavily publicized speeches, declarations, memoranda and symbolic gestures that the Catholic crusade to internationalize Jerusalem took place.

The PCC was established by the UN General Assembly on December 11, 1948 with the goal to assist the parties in achieving, "a final settlement of all differences outstanding between them."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the terms of reference stated that the PCC.

7. Resolves that the Holy Places - including Nazareth - religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice.

8. Resolves that, in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, including the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns ... should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control ...

1. General Assembly Resolution 194-(III) found in Yearbook of the United Nations, 1948-1949, pp.174-176, see also BOVIS for a summary of the PCC activities, pp.70-76.

11. Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return... and finally, Instructs the Conciliation Commission to present the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide for the maximum autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area...

The PCC, composed of representatives of France, Turkey and the USA, heard public and private testimony from Israel, the Arab States, Palestinian Arab groups, Jewish, Moslem, Catholic and Protestant groups in hearings which were held in Jerusalem and Lausanne, Switzerland. Following a series of highly publicized progress reports, the final report of the commission was presented to the General Assembly in September 1949.

The Catholic press had welcomed the establishment of the PCC for several reasons. First, it had been proposed by the late mediator Count Bernadotte who had been much praised by the Catholic press. Second, and most importantly, the presence of the United States and France was interpreted as a welcome, if belated, commitment by those two major powers to reaching a peaceful settlement to the Jerusalem problem. The Tablet, for example, published a speech given by Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA at Fordham University in New York City, in which he stated in dramatic terms;<sup>2</sup>

2. The Tablet, March 26, 1949, p.20. At the same time as the PCC was attempting to negotiate a settlement of the Palestine question, Catholic optimism that the UN would eventually protect the "rights of Christendom" worldwide, received further encouragement from the adoption of the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, of a "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." This document incorporated many of the specifically Catholic demands which had been proposed in the document, "A Declaration of Rights" by the National Catholic Welfare Conference in January 1947, including the protection of the family, right to education, freedom of religion and marriage. However, many other Catholic concerns were left out of the UN document. Nevertheless, Charles Malik, the Lebanese representative to the UN and USA, a militant Catholic and supporter of the Human Rights Declaration, had been elected president of the UN Economic and Social Council in November 1948. Catholic opinion looked to him for support of the various Catholic causes.

I do not know what the immediate and ominous future holds. During the next week the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations will be discussed and voted on. During the same time the Conciliation Commission of the same United Nations will be discussing the internationalization of Jerusalem and the repatriation of the refugees. Millions of Christians in this country will be wondering and will have a right to wonder what will be the policy of our own Government in the face of the assertion of Christian rights.

The United Nations will stand or fall on its solution of the Palestine question, as prophesized by Senator Wagner, and while I for one wish the State of Israel well, if only out of a sense of gratitude for its kindness to me and mine, but also because the returning footsteps of persecuted Jews bear traces of bloody persecution, I have come back here with my eyes full of the misery of homeless human beings and my heart even more sensitive to the rights of Christendom.

La Croix likewise welcomed the establishment of the PCC in an article of April 30, 1949, which welcomed the French participation in that Commission.

Voici que les conciliateurs sont arrivés: Américains, Français et Turcs. Leur président, M. de Boissanger, et ses deux assistants, d'excellents catholiques, sont animés de la volonté d'obtenir coûte que coûte l'internationalisation des Lieux Saints. La composition de cette petite équipe est une indication des intentions du gouvernement de la République française au sujet des oeuvres catholiques françaises et des chrétiens de Jérusalem et de Palestine.

J'ai vu de près le conciliateur turc: nos connaissances communes en Turquie ont facilité la conversation. On m'a assuré que le conciliateur américain serait animé des mêmes sentiments.

M. de Boissanger et ses assistants insistent afin que partout la presse catholique, mais surtout en France et en Amérique, fasse campagne en faveur de l'internationalisation. Si les conciliateurs sont soutenus par l'opinion publique du monde chrétien, il leur sera plus aisé d'arracher aux Juifs les concessions nécessaires pour que Jérusalem et ses environs soient placés sous un régime international.<sup>3</sup>

3. La Croix, April 30, 1949, and also printed in Documentation Catholique, May 22, 1949.

Civiltà Cattolica welcomed the continuation of the coherent policy of the UN which insisted that the Jerusalem area be internationalized in spite of massive political pressure which had been exerted, first by the Arabs in 1947, and later in 1949 by the Israelis. The article feared that the Israeli rejection of the principle of internationalization might still force the UN to abandon its hitherto policy of "coherence and straightforwardness." He therefore called for a continuation of Catholic pressure to alert public opinion to this danger.<sup>4</sup>

As optimistic as the above statements, and many others in the Catholic press, appear, the PCC was by no means committed to enforcing the 1947 Partition Resolution Jerusalem Statute. The terms of reference clearly stated that its goal was to propose "a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area." Ben Gurion, in his personal memoirs, argued that at the time most UN members had already abandoned even the idea of internationalization in favor of a bilateral Israeli-Jordanian settlement.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the PCC first progress report, issued on March 15, 1949, perceived its task not as imposing a settlement on Israel and Jordan, but rather, to use, "its good offices for the purpose of enabling the governments concerned to meet and enter into negotiations - if possible direct over - and to collaborate with them in order that these conversations may result in a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them." Its second progress report of April 19, 1949, repeated that acceptance by Israel and Jordan "would facilitate considerably the establishment and functioning of such a regime."<sup>6</sup> In time, the specification by the terms of reference, that the regime, "will provide for the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups," became a virtual right of veto of any statute by Israelis, Jordanians and Christians alike.

4. Civiltà Cattolica, July 2, 1949, pp.3-15.

5. BEN GURION, A Personal History, p.279.

6. PCC First Progress Report, March 15, 1949, General Assembly Document A/819, and PCC Second Progress Report, April 19, 1949, General Assembly Document A/838. This openness of the PCC to consider "any proposal on Jerusalem" was to encourage many interested parties to present plans for the city which ranged from the total territorial internationalization of the Jerusalem area, limited territorial internationalization of the Old City (within the walls), to a Scandinavian proposal for a "functional internationalization" which was not territorial but rather limited to the physical buildings of the Holy Places. For an interesting and thorough discussion of these and other proposals see in particular, LE MORZELLEC, La Question de Jérusalem Devant l'Organisation Des Nations-Unies, pp.214-244.

It is ironic that the very commission established by the UN General Assembly to assist the parties in achieving "a final settlement of all differences outstanding between them," served to further separate the parties and pit them in a vicious struggle which with the eventual result that none of the "outstanding differences" were settled. They remain unsettled to this day.

## 2. The Immediate Background to the Crusade : Israeli Admission to the UN

The new state of Israel had gained rapid diplomatic recognition from the US and USSR, followed by other countries. However, the Israeli government regarded UN membership as a high priority because of the causal link between that body and the creation of the state, plus the prestige membership would bring. Israel's first request for membership of November 29, 1948 had been rejected, as had been several subsequent ones. Finally, on May 11, 1949 following lengthy and heated debates, Israel was admitted as a member.

The Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly devoted ten meetings between May 3 and 9, 1949, to the question of Israeli membership. Israel's application was based on its declaration of independence of May 14, 1948 which had emphasized the natural and historical right of the Jewish people of Palestine to independence, "in pursuance of the General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947."<sup>7</sup>

The delegates of the many Catholic countries had objected to Israeli membership in the UN because they perceived an inherent contradiction between the repeated Israeli declarations that if admitted to the body they would unreservedly accept the obligations of the UN Charter and its resolutions and Ben Gurion's declaration of April 19, 1949 before the PCC that "for historical, political and religious reasons the State of Israel could not accept the establishment of an international regime for the City of Jerusalem," as called for in the Partition Resolution of 1947. One of the unique aspects of the admission debate was the importance of the Catholic countries, composed of the European Catholic countries, Central and South America, the Philippines and Lebanon. These countries, as well as others with influential Catholic populations, repeatedly cited the Catholic press, papal encyclicals and pronouncements, and the CNEWA memoranda as the reasons for their insistence that the Jerusalem and refugee problems be resolved before Israel be admitted as a member. This energetic and militant "Catholic" position must be

7. For the official summary of the debates and amendments leading to the admission of Israel to the UN see, Official UN Documents, The Summary Records of the Meetings of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, III Session, 2 Part, 6 April to 10 May 1949, pp.179-360. The text of the first Israeli request for admission is contained in the UN Security Council Document of 29 November 1948, S/1093.

viewed in contrast to the striking absence of such a clear position during the lengthy pre-partition debates of 1946-'47.

The Lebanese delegate, for example, quoted extensively from the Papal encyclicals, In Multiplicibus and Redemptoris Nostri, as the basis for his vigorous defense of internationalization of Jerusalem before the Ad Hoc Political Committee. He stressed that he himself, as both an Arab and a Christian, opposed the Israeli admission to the UN until such time as Israel had demonstrated its willingness to conform to the wishes of the UN on the internationalization of Jerusalem and the repatriation of the refugees. Both concerning Israeli admission to the UN and later on the UN resolution reaffirming its intention to internationalize the city, Dr. Malik stressed that his position was dictated by the complementarity of Catholic and Arab interests and demands.

Argentina, likewise, defended its opposition to Israeli admission as being untimely, in light of the confusion concerning the Jerusalem question. It tabled a draft resolution inviting the Holy See to submit a report on the guarantees which it considered necessary for the protection of the Holy Places and the security and free access to them. This draft resolution was, however, rejected.

Mr. Zaydin of Cuba eloquently summarized the continuing validity of the 1947 UN resolution and rejected the Israeli attempts to evade its provisions as a "breach of the Charter" for which Israeli membership in the UN should be rejected. Mr. Zaydin stated in part;

It was to be emphasized that no argument based on the alleged invalidity of the resolution establishing the State of Israel could be accepted without denying the legal existence of that State. Cuba had recognized that legal existence, and had supported Israel's application for membership, both in the Security Council and in the Ad Hoc Political Committee, because the General Assembly, which had jurisdiction over Palestine, had established the State. Until the General Assembly declared its resolution invalid, no State was entitled to declare it so. In order to maintain peace and security in changing circumstances, the United Nations might decide to change or abrogate its own decision; meanwhile any disregard of a General Assembly resolution was a breach of the Charter.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Eban of Israel was invited as an observer to address the Assembly on May 5, 1949 and to respond to the above and other objections to Israeli membership. Mr Eban, eloquent in the English language and a well trained diplomat, argued that the Jerusalem and refugee issues were irrelevant to the question of Israeli membership in the UN. Israel's independence was effective and was already internationally recognized. Furthermore, he argued that Israel held no views and pursued no

8. See General Assembly Document A/818, pp.331-332.

policies on any question which were inconsistent with the Charter or with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

With regard to Mr. Ben Gurion's well publicized statement to the PCC that Israel no longer accepted the principle of internationalization of Jerusalem, Mr. Eban stated that this statement did not accurately reflect the attitude of the Israeli Prime Minister on that question. With regard to the unilateral actions taken by Israel, such as the transfer of certain government ministries to Jerusalem and referring to it as part of the State of Israel, Mr. Eban insisted that no juridical facts had been created by such steps, which were, in fact, dictated not by a desire to create new political facts, but to assist Jerusalem and to add economic recovery to the other aspects of its splendid recovery.

Mr. Eban stressed that no decision had as yet been taken by the Israeli Government on the status of West Jerusalem. Israeli proposals that the problem might be solved by limiting the area in which the international regime operated, such as the Old City, or a functional internationalization of the Holy Places, were mere proposals. The ultimate status of the city, he concluded, must be determined by the international community, and any agreement must be based on international consent, which was in fact earnestly desired by the Israeli Government. Furthermore, he noted that negotiations had already begun in Jerusalem between the Papal Envoy to Jerusalem (unidentified) and the Israeli Government.

In response to the question by the delegates of Lebanon and Columbia, "Who would have sovereignty over the New City of Jerusalem under such a regime that his Government was willing to accept?", Mr. Eban stated that his government would shortly make a proposal to the General Assembly whereby the Holy Places would be placed under the sovereignty of the UN and that the Jewish part of the city would be recognized as part of the State of Israel. Nevertheless, he insisted that "It will not be for the Government of Israel alone to determine that issue of sovereignty. All we can do - and even then only if we are members of the United Nations - will be to propose formally certain solutions of our own."

In response to a following question by Dr. Malik, "...does the representative of Israel agree that whatever the solution of the problem that the Government might propose, the Christians and Moslems, who have lived in the New City of Jerusalem for generations, would be allowed to go back to their homes in the New City of Jerusalem?", Mr. Eban insisted that their return was linked to the return of the Jews to the Old City.

In response to the already mentioned "Catholic" concerns of Lebanon, Argentina, Cuba, as well as others raised by El Salvador, Colombia, Australia, France and Belgium, Mr. Eban concluded his remarks by stressing that his position was in total conformity with that adopted by Rome. He stated;

In concluding my observations on the Jerusalem question, I find it necessary once again to emphasize that we uphold the necessity to which attention was drawn in the Pope's recent encyclical to ensure free access to the Holy Places, the security of Catholic and other Christian institutions, and to accept and encourage full international control for the protection and immunity of Holy Places. Everything in the policy which I have outlined on behalf of the Government of Israel conforms with the objectives contained in that important Papal pronouncement.

The pope, Mr. Eban argued, had made no reference to the November 1947 statute, "and left the way open for new proposals - indeed, demanded new proposals" within the framework of what the encyclical referred to as 'existing circumstances.' Cardinal Spellman, Mr. Eban insisted, who demanded the internationalization of Jerusalem "as agreed upon by the United Nations on 29 November 1947" did not speak on behalf of or commit the Catholic Church. The Cardinal's opinion did not alter or cancel out the sense of the Papal encyclical.

In the evening of May 9, 1949 just two days before the final vote was taken and Israel was admitted, Dr. Malik made a last minute plea which warned that the Assembly could either "defer the admission of Israel until the fourth session, meanwhile ensuring that Jerusalem would be internationalized, or to admit Israel immediately as a Member of the UN, thus running the risk that the City of Jerusalem would not be internationalized at all." Needless to say, Lebanon voted against admission.

The Colombian delegate stated that Mr. Eban had "created the impression that the Government of Israel refused any plan involving the internationalization of Jerusalem," but that a last minute letter from the Israeli representative had stated their government's position in a more satisfactory manner. Thus, the Colombian delegate stated that he no longer felt compelled to oppose Israel's admission.

These debates have been described in detail because they illustrate the degree of Catholic support for internationalization that existed in 1949, in sharp contrast to the debates of 1947 when, in fact no opinion had been expressed on the issue. In 1947, the possibility of a Jewish state had been clouded by the certainty of a Palestinian war in which the proposed state, as well as any internationalized area, would have been swept away. However, by May 1949, Israel had become a reality, its enemies had been defeated and international recognition had been accorded. Therefore, from the status of a virtual bystander in the military contest of 1947, the Catholic world had become a major actor in the politico-legal contest of 1949.

On May 11, 1949, Israel was finally admitted as the fifty-ninth member of the UN by a vote of 37 votes in favor, 12 against, and 9 abstentions. The only "Catholic" countries voting

against the resolution was Lebanon, with Belgium, Brazil, and El Salvador abstaining. The strong objections raised by the delegates of many of the Catholic countries had been mollified by a combination of American pressure to support the resolution, as well as, a conviction by certain Catholic clerics that Israel had been made aware of the Catholic position, degree of concern as well as, the strength of the Catholic "bloc" in the General Assembly (24 out of a total of 58 members).

The Catholic reaction to this vote was presented by Msgr. McMahon of the CNEWA in an article entitled, "The Church and Palestine," published in The Tablet of London on May 28, 1949. McMahon wrote that;

With the fifty-ninth flag now raised at Lake Success to honor Israel's admission to the United Nations, the attention of the Christian world should be centered on the deliberations of the United Nations Conciliation Commission now meeting at Lausanne.<sup>9</sup>

He continued that "it was contended, especially by the United States delegation, that these problems [the internationalization of Jerusalem and the return of the refugees] should be settled at Lausanne." Furthermore, the encouraging signals given by Mr. Eban that the unilateral actions taken by the Israeli government had created no juridical facts and that the ultimate status of the city must be determined by the international community, encouraged McMahon in the belief that substantial progress could still be made within the framework of the PCC.

McMahon attempted to clarify the seeming divergent opinions expressed by the encyclical, Redemptoris Nostris which called for simple "international guarantees," and Cardinal Spellman's call for a return to the 1947 Jerusalem statute. Although the Holy Father does not refer to the decisions of the United Nations, he does speak of 'international guarantees.' The only such guarantees, he continues, are those contained in the 1947 resolution which had as their purpose 'to guarantee the Christian stake in the Holy Land of Jesus Christ.' As proof that only those guarantees contained in the 1947 resolution could satisfactorily guarantee 'the Christian stake,' he argued that "the Christian world did not oppose the partition plan because "'international guarantees' of our stake in the Holy Land were written into it."

McMahon, the CNEWA and other Catholic leaders were well aware that in spite of American assurances and an apparent Israeli willingness to negotiate at the PCC, only massive Catholic pressure would ensure a satisfactory solution to the two outstanding issues of Jerusalem and the refugees. As a result, a Catholic Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem was launched to mobilize the Catholic world.

9. The Tablet of London, May 28, 1949, "The Church and Palestine," Msgr. McMahon, pp.349-350.

### 3. The launching of a "Catholic Crusade" to internationalize Jerusalem

The Catholic crusade launched by the Church must be evaluated and situated within the context of the ongoing PCC negotiations. The limitation of that commission to the USA, France and Turkey was interpreted as a sign to Catholics that if sufficient pressure could be mobilized, a Jerusalem settlement which would adequately satisfy the Catholic demands could be achieved. Likewise, it was hoped that Catholic pressure on the American and French governments would in turn translate into pressure on Israel to make concessions to Catholic interests.

The launching of a Catholic crusade was in itself an act laden with historical, political, theological and ecclesiological significance. Historically, it harkened back to the first crusades that were mobilized by Popes Urban II, Eugene III and Gregory VIII to liberate the Holy Places and Christian population of the Holy Land from the infidels, which had subsequently resulted in the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Politically, the crusades had resulted in the mobilization of a divided and threatened "Christendom" under the leadership of the Popes and Catholic Kings. Theologically, they had illustrated the superiority of Latin Christendom over the Eastern schismatics and, in particular, over the followers of Islam. Ecclesiologically, a crusade is derived from a theology of the Church as an institution established by God and charged not only with leading humanity to spiritual salvation but with constructing a spiritually inspired social, political and economic order here on Earth. The Church as God's instrument is likewise empowered to intervene in civil government whenever it is judged to be inimical to the mission of the Church. Thus, the Church has the moral mission to overthrow anti-Christian regimes and furthermore establish Christian regimes in their places.

The Crusade of 1949 emerged from a similar context. Historically, the survival of the Holy Places and the Christian population of the Holy Land was judged to be in dire peril, politically, "Christendom" was being threatened by communism and other anti-Christian forces from without and dissent from within, and theologically, the Church perceived a threat from a militant Judaism intent on reclaiming its former role as God's chosen people.

The emergence of this modern-day crusade, as has already been seen, took place over nearly three years beginning with a general Catholic press ambivalence concerning partition, followed by a growing concern at the damage suffered by the Holy Places and the exile of the Christian population, and finally the Israeli reluctance to honor its "commitment" to the internationalization of Jerusalem, and their insistence on declaring the city the capital of the new state of Israel. It

was in response to this final stage in the general deterioration of Catholic-Jewish relations that the "crusade" was declared.

The first use of the word "crusade" in reference to the problem of Jerusalem was the Papal Encyclical, "Auspicam Quaedam," of May 1, 1948.

We desire, therefore, Venerable Brethren, that supplications be poured forth to the Most Holy Virgin for this request: that the situation in Palestine may at long last be settled justly and thereby concord and peace be also happily established.

We place great confidence in the most powerful patronage of Our Heavenly Mother - patronage which during this month, [May, the traditional Catholic month of Mary] dedicated to her, innocent children especially will implore in a holy crusade of prayer.

However, it was only following the publication of the encyclical "Redemptoris Nostri" a year later, that the militant newspaper, The Tablet, began to employ the word in support of the internationalization of Jerusalem. In an article which included the text of the encyclical, entitled, "Pope Urges Crusade to Save Holy Places, Pleads for Refugees: Says Internationalisation of Jerusalem is Necessary to Safeguard Shrines," the newspaper stressed that not only was a "crusade of prayer" called for, but, "every legitimate means" to achieve this goal was demanded. Beginning with this article, the newspaper launched a massive campaign to make Catholics aware of the importance of the Jerusalem issue which included reports of mass rallies, the texts of sermons and speeches by Catholic dignitaries, declarations by Catholic organizations and calls on American political leaders to support the cause of Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> This crusade was waged on various fronts; first an effort to mobilize

10. The Tablet, April 23, 1949. While the use of the term "crusade" has become rather commonplace in contemporary rhetoric to refer to anything from a mobilization of resources to combat the use of drugs or in favor of a brand of jeans, for Catholics, Jews and Muslims, it still evokes visions of marching armies at the service of Christendom under the banner of the popes to "liberate" the Holy Land from the hands of infidels. For Jews it evokes memories of mass slaughter at the hands of Christians and for Muslims, the occupation of the Muslim Holy Places in their third most Holy city. Furthermore, for conservative Catholics it evokes memories of a united "Christendom" wielding temporal as well as spiritual power to achieve its objectives in this world. See the works of BAITON on the concept of Crusades.

the Catholic masses, second, to elicit the support of Christians in general, third, to exert pressure on world governments, and fourth, to mobilize and publicize the expressions of support from Protestant, Jewish, Moslem and other leaders.

Three days later, the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference released an appeal to Catholics of the United States "to use their democratic privileges" to obtain from their government and from the UN, "assurances that the original commitments as to Christian rights in Palestine will be carried out." The appeal was signed by Cardinals Mooney of Detroit, Spellman of New York and Stritch of Chicago, plus nine American Bishops and archbishops.<sup>11</sup> The appeal specified that the phrase, "an international character to Jerusalem and its environs," of the encyclical, "Redemptoris Nostri," in fact referred to the provisions of the 1947 Partition Resolution.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in November 1947, voted the partition plan for Palestine. The Christian world did not oppose this decision because it did safeguard our religious and humanitarian stake in the Holy Land. The international zone of all Jerusalem and its environs, free access to all sacred shrines, the freedom of religious organization and the rights of ethnic and religious minorities, wherever located, were considered by all Christians as satisfactory guarantees.

Concerning the refugees the appeal continued,

We are further moved by a sense of elementary justice to point out, completely in accord with the United Nations decision, that the end of all this misery can only come when the refugees will be permitted to return to their homes.

The reference to the 1947 resolution as being the status sought by the Vatican in its encyclical, marks a major turning point in the relations between Israel and the Catholic press in the USA. As has been seen, the letter of the French cardinals of May 5, 1949, had made no reference to the Partition Resolution. In fact, it had welcomed the efforts of the PCC to negotiate a "new statute" for the city which would nonetheless respect the Catholic interests in the city. The French cardinals stressed, as had the encyclical, "Redemptoris Nostri," that the goal of Catholic efforts was "un regime international pour la ville de Jerusalem et ses environs."

The NCWC insistence that the Jerusalem provisions of the Partition Resolution be respected was to remain the centerpiece

11. The Tablet, April 30, 1949, pp.1 and 3; see also The New York Times, April 27, 1949, p.3.

of the American position on the Jerusalem question and the crusade launched by the American Catholic press. The personal involvement of the American Catholic hierarchy, in particular Cardinal Spellman, who was president of the CNEWA and ex-officio member of the NCWC, lent added prestige to both the Catholic efforts to resolve the Jerusalem problem and the crusade. In fact, just two days after the publication of the appeal, April 28, the cardinal met with president Weizmann of Israel in New York to discuss this problem. The New York Times, reported that following this meeting, Dr. Weizmann announced that "several important misunderstandings" had been "cleared up." Cardinal Spellman, commenting on that remark, was reported to have stated, "Dr. Weizmann stated that 'our aims in the Jerusalem question though not identical are nevertheless reconcilable.'" This is confirmation by Dr. Weizmann himself that there is still existing divergence of views. Unfortunately, the divergence reaches matters fundamental, namely, whether internationalization, as agreed upon among the United Nations, will be effected or evaded.<sup>12</sup> This growing divergence of opinions between the Israeli government and Cardinal Spellman was reflected in a letter of May 19 from President Truman to the cardinal which stressed that Dr. Weizmann was ready to admit only "some degree of internationalization" for Jerusalem. Nevertheless, President Truman noted that there was no final position of the Israeli government on this question.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to Spellman's personal diplomacy with Dr. Weizmann, he also spearheaded the effort called for by the NCWC to exert pressure on American elected public officials. He perceived the American government as being subjected to massive pressure from the Jewish lobby and organizations, and insisted that the government likewise be made aware of the Catholic position.<sup>14</sup> In response to the April 19 letter from President Truman, the cardinal responded ten days later with a request for a clear statement of what the American government understood by the internationalization of Jerusalem, as this seemed to vary between effective UN sovereignty as demanded in the 1947 UN Partition Resolution, and a variety of diluted versions which

12. The New York Times, May 6, 1949, pp.3 and 6. Most authorities of and participants in, the events at this time agree that Cardinal Spellman himself was directly responsible for the strong American Catholic position. See, for example, BRECHER, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy, p.26. However, MC DONALD, in My Mission in Israel, p.174, argues that Msgr. McMahon, rather than Spellman was behind the uncompromising drive for internationalization.

13. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, Vol.VI, p.1017, May 19, 1949.

14. Ibid., letters of April 29, 1949, p.1015, and July 13, 1949, p.1293.

envisaged only UN supervision over a partitioned city under Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty.

In a later letter of July 13 Spellman specified that the essence of internationalization lay in UN sovereignty over the city. If Israel and Jordan were recognized as having sovereignty over the respective Arab and Israeli sectors, they might later invoke the rights of territorial sovereignty to revoke any UN role in the city or any promises made to the Church. The task at hand, he argued, was to define Israeli and Jordanian rights in a city under UN sovereignty, and not UN rights in a city under Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty.

The Tablet likewise took seriously the call to use every legitimate means to mobilize Catholics and the world in defence of Jerusalem. The newspaper continued to present the return of the refugees as a clear humanitarian request which the Israeli government refused to respect. On April 30, the same day as the newspaper printed the Appeal of the American hierarchy, it also printed an article entitled, "Finds Million Arabs Lost Palestine Homes."<sup>15</sup> The article stated that not only had a million Arabs already been expelled, but continued expulsions were taking place in the Galilee.

Throughout the summer of 1949, The Tablet printed a series of articles, speeches and resolutions emanating from various Catholic sources to illustrate the widespread support for the internationalization of Jerusalem that existed among Catholics, Christians and Jews.

On June 11, The Tablet printed the text of a speech given by Archbishop (later Cardinal) Richard J. Cushing of Boston at a rally of 40,000 in Boston's Fenway Park. The speech was also printed by L'Osservatore Romano in July. In what was described by The Tablet as,

an awe-inspiring spectacle, the like of which seldom has been witnessed in this great Catholic center [Boston], before a giant crucifix and majestic white and gold altar, with alternating interludes of music, the assembled men prayed the rosary for peace.

Within this setting of "magnificent religious pageantry" Archbishop Cushing called on all Catholics to pray that "those in power in Israel to determine the status of the Holy Places, will be conscious that they are not merely agents of man, they are also instruments in the hands of God." The Israeli attempts to evade its "pledges" with regard to the internationalization of Jerusalem were condemned as both contempt for the "duly constituted authority" of international agreements and the UN. If Israel was unwilling to respect the legally and freely

15. The Tablet, April 30, 1949, "Finds Million Arabs Lost Palestine Homes," p.3.

contracted commitments regarding Jerusalem, then world peace was threatened.<sup>16</sup>

International peace, he continued, was possible only through the acknowledgement of,

the sanctity of the pledged word in matters personal and public, national and international. We pray that they will rediscover the sanctity of duly constituted authority without which social order and therefore peace and prosperity become hopeless illusions. ... The sublime events of that night [when Christ died] have given Jerusalem an international character which no political convention should attempt to annul.

The archbishop queried, "How can Christendom, how can Catholicism, fail to take a prayerful but passionate interest in the fate of these sacred places?" He then appealed to Christian leaders to "put aside the cynicism and the callous indifferences to spiritual values shamelessly revealed in some recent declarations by political spokesmen, even representatives of so-called 'Christian nations.'"

As if to reinforce the archbishop's appeal to all Christians, on the same day and page, an appeal sponsored by the "Near East Missions" of which Spellman was president and McMahon national president was published by The Tablet. The appeal read as follows;

#### WHY ARE THEY SILENT?

We have listened in vain for one authoritative voice from the non-Catholic Christian world - demanding that the Shrines of the Holy Land be forever set apart as Holy Ground. ... The Vicar of Christ - has spoken not once but many times! Now, for a second time he has sent Monsignor McMahon to the Homeland of our Savior - the Birthplace of our Faith: to proclaim the Rights of God, and of God's Church; - and to voice the Rights and the Needs of the Refugees of Palestine. ... This past week we have received pathetic letters of thanks from Archbishops Marina, Assaf, Malouf and Abea for aid that You have given their suffering people... But the crisis is not passed! We still need Your help. These men of God have become beggars for Christ's poor. ...

16. The Tablet, June 11, 1949, pp.1 and 9, and L'Osservatore Romano, July 18-19, 1949. Archbishop Cushing was named archbishop of Boston in 1944, and was renowned among Catholics for his dedication to the foreign missions. However, in contrast to Spellman of New York, Cushing was less inclined to take aggressive positions on issues which were highly politicized.

Another voice of concern for the situation of Jerusalem which was presented by The Tablet was the text of a resolution passed by the New York, Queens County, Chapter of the Catholic War Veterans of America (CWV). This organization, which was described by The National Catholic Almanac in 1950, as "a leader in the fight against subversive influences" within the United States, contrasted the various calls for internationalization by Pius XII and the UN with the Israeli seizure of half of the city by force of arms, continued defiance of the UN and "indifference for the public opinion of Christians throughout the world." The resolution warned that the rising tide of resentment by Christians against the State of Israel, "may lead to serious lack of unity and harmony between Jews and Christians, not only in our country, but throughout the world." The resolution called upon "the Christians of the world and also the leaders of Israel [to] guarantee for all time,"

1. The full rights of Christian minorities in the Holy Land;
2. Free access for all Christians to all Christian Shrines and;
3. The security, stability and peace of the Holy City, by the internationalization of Jerusalem as prescribed and directed in detail in the Act of Partition...

Copies of the resolution were sent to President Truman, the State Department, US delegates to the UN, the Senators from New York, the representatives from Queens County, numerous UN officials and delegates, Pope Pius XII, various bishops and the Apostolic Delegate in Washington.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the above resolution, Mr. William H. O'Neill, Commander of the Queens County CWV, sent a personal letter to President Truman, stating that, "Up to the present time the leaders of the State of Israel have failed to fulfill their solemn pledges for the internationalization of Jerusalem as prescribed in the Act of Partition of the United Nations, dated November 29, 1947." The letter requested that Mr. Truman give due consideration to this concern which, "extends to the entire Christian world."

In addition to the above documents emanating from Catholic circles, several non-Catholic statements of concern were printed by the newspaper. In June, a joint report issued by the "World Council of Churches" (WCC) and the "International Missionary Council" in Geneva was published. The report began by stating;

17. The Tablet, August 20, 1949, p.5, letter dated, August 17, 1949. The Catholic War Veterans of the USA (CWV) was founded in 1935 by Rev. Edward J. Higgins, "to promote united veteran action and to demonstrate the religious faith and patriotic loyalty of its members," is headquartered in Washington D.C. See The National Catholic Almanac, 1950, pp.693-699.

When governments are, to any considerable extent, animated by a special religious conviction and committed to the predominant protection of its expression, there exists the danger of discrimination against those who hold other convictions and desire to give expression to them. This danger is present in all Palestine, and is most acute in areas where current religious work is most actively pursued by adherents of a faith differing from that represented in the government.

In order to protect against this "danger of discrimination," the report noted that special measures were necessary in this area, "for the protection of world-wide use of the Holy Places" and "the guarantee of human rights and freedom for all inhabitants." To this end, "the protection of holy places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine and free access thereto should be recognized as a matter of international responsibility."<sup>18</sup> While the report neither endorsed the need for the internationalization of the Jerusalem area of 1947, nor defined what it meant by "international responsibility," the report did admit that there were real grounds for Christian concern.

This report from the WCC, was followed a few days later by the publication of a letter from the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, Rt. Rev. Weston Henry Stewart to the PCC, then meeting in Lausanne. It was published under the headline, "World Protestant Body Fears for Holy Places," with the subtitle, "Urges International Responsibility in Palestine; Cites Violation of Church Rights." Bishop Stewart stated that the Anglican position on Jerusalem had been stated at the 1948 Lambeth Conference, attended by 329 Anglican Bishops from around the world, which had urged the UN, "to place Jerusalem and its immediate environs under permanent international control, with freedom of access to sacred places secured for the adherents of the three religions."<sup>19</sup> He went on to state that the overwhelming majority of the Christians of the world supported this position, because, in his view,

religious freedom as interpreted in the West is a thing almost unknown in the Middle East, and indeed a thing contrary to the religious law of Islam and Judaism which attaches civil penalties, e.g., loss of inheritance, to conversion to Christianity.

The bishop proposed the establishment of a supranational tribunal "to protect and adjudicate in holy places, not only

18. The Tablet, June 11, 1949, p.9, signed by Kenneth G. Grubb and Dr. O. Frederick Nolde.

19. The Tablet, June 18, 1949, p.22, letter dated May 20, 1949.

inside but outside Jerusalem - for example, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jacob's Well, the Sea of Galilee." Furthermore, "any such body would have its task very greatly facilitated if it were charged outright with the civil administration of the Jerusalem-Bethlehem area," which might also include the towns of Ramallah, Bir-Zeit and Jifnah. The article observed that, in fact, the major Holy Places, those covered by the historic agreements of the "Status Quo," "are in no immediate danger either from Muslims or Jews." "Important as they [the Holy Places] are, the possibility for the Christian to live his life in reasonable social and economic security and practice his creed 'as of right and not on sufferance' is something far greater." Under the present partition of the city, the mainly Christian suburbs (the German Colony, Greek Colony, Qatamon, Bak'a and Talbighah) had been seized by the Israelis as had the Christian business areas of the New City outside the walls, "on which churches and monasteries of the old city depended for their maintenance."

The bishop went on to say that the present de facto partition of Jerusalem, "has given a great deal to the Jew and left something for the Moslems: It has given nothing to the Christians but rather taken away most of what he had, and left him little beyond a tolerated existence." Only the civil administration, by an international (supra-national) tribunal, could guarantee a reasonable social, economic and religious security, "as of right and not on sufferance" of the Christian community of Jerusalem. In addition to guaranteeing the survival of the Christian community, placing the city under an international rule would also permit the Christians to play a positive peacemaking role in this "strife that has lasted for millenia between Isaac and Ishmael, Esau and Jacob." He envisaged the resettlement of the Christian refugees in Jerusalem as a "laboratory in which to work out the world's problem of social reconciliation."

The bishop appealed to the nations of the world to come to the aid of the Palestinian Christians, "not as one of expediency - political, strategic and economic - but as a moral and spiritual question that touches a nerve center of the world's religious life." He continued;

Frankly, it is the universal feeling among Palestinian Christians that the nominally Christian powers of the West have almost cynically abandoned them to their fate because they are a politically inarticulate minority and will not in any case create civil disturbance.

In addition to the WCC report and letter of the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, The Tablet printed the text of a letter from seven Christian Church leaders in Jerusalem to the UN Secretary General. The letter was signed by by the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchs, the Coptic Archbishop, the Principal of the Ethiopian Convent, the auxiliary Bishop of the

Latin Patriarch, the Vicar of the Syrian Metropolitan and the Anglican Bishop. The above clerics lamented that the Palestinian refugees, "many of whom indeed are of our own flocks" were "displaced from those parts of Jerusalem and Palestine which are now in Jewish occupation." If aid for these refugees were not increased or at least kept up, this "would amount to little short of what has come to be known as genocide." The letter called either for permission being granted to those refugees to return "to their own towns, villages, and lands, or, alternatively, to establish them elsewhere under conditions where they can earn their own living."

As if to appeal to the strongly Catholic Irish population of New York, The Tablet summarised a statement made by Mr. Sean MacBride before the Dail, the Irish Parliament, under the headline, "Cites Common Ties Between Christians and Jews."<sup>21</sup> MacBride made a "special appeal to the Government of Israel for the protection of Holy Places and the internationalization of Jerusalem." He defended his appeal on the basis of "our common suffering from persecution and certain similarities in the history of the two races [which] create a special bond of sympathy and understanding between the Irish and Jewish peoples." He noted that the recent discussions in London and Washington between Israeli and Irish diplomats were "reassuring and justified the hope that, when final details of the peace in Palestine came to be settled, the Government of Israel would guarantee to putting the Holy Places under an international regime..." MacBride was quoted as saying that the Irish Government "strongly" supported the internationalization of the "whole of Jerusalem."

At the same time as The Tablet was rallying American Catholics in support of the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem, the personal diplomacy of Cardinal Spellman continued unabated. In August, Msgr. McMahon of CNEWA was sent to as special envoy to Jerusalem where he met with Prime Minister Ben Gurion. Ben Gurion recalled that McMahon "came to see me and told me that if they [the Vatican] had been aware of the fact that we were going to proclaim Jerusalem as our Capital, the State of Israel would not have been established at all." The Prime Minister responded, "'I don't understand you; Jerusalem was Israel's capital a thousand years before the birth of Christianity."<sup>21</sup>

Likewise, Cardinal Spellman received a response to his letter of July 13, to President Truman on August 11. The response was written by Secretary of State, Dean Acheson who wrote as follows;

20. The Tablet, August 13, 1949, p.4, statement dated August 10, 1949.

21. For a report of this discussion, see, BRECHER, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy, pp. 25-26.

I believe that your apprehensions on this point will be dispelled by the assurance that we have no intention of recognizing the sovereignty of any state in the Jerusalem area. The type of international regime which we have in mind would involve the distribution of governmental powers among the three authorities concerned, namely, the two adjacent states and the United Nations authority. It will not be an application of the concept of sovereignty in the usual sense, but will rather be a matter of a precise definition of the location of respective governmental powers. In the present case, where only the rights of the adjacent states in the area will be those defined in an agreement to which they are parties, they will clearly be in no position to deny the rights of the United Nations, which will be defined in the same agreement.<sup>22</sup>

In Rome, the acting Vatican Secretary of State, Msgr. Domenico Tardini, had expressed similar apprehensions concerning the possible recognition of Israeli sovereignty in the Jerusalem area to Mr. Gowan, the acting American representative at the Vatican. Msgr. Tardini, argued that even a limited Arab and Israeli sovereignty would facilitate "conflicts between two neighboring groups and complicates the [UN] commissioner's role who is placed without adequate powers between two sovereign groups."<sup>23</sup>

This growing Catholic impression that neither the Truman administration nor the American representatives on the PCC appreciated the intensity of Catholic commitment to the internationalization of Jerusalem, seriously alarmed the acting American representative at the Vatican. In a telegram to the Secretary of State, Mr. Gowan argued that even if the PCC was able to negotiate a settlement acceptable to Israel and Jordan, it would be rejected by the UN General Assembly "unless it receives utmost support from Christian community." He went on to criticize the American delegation's resort to vague political compromises to resolve the objections raised by Catholics. The telegram cited the recent Catholic objection to the Israeli policy of settling Jews in the former Christian suburbs, then under Israeli occupation. In response to the Catholic objections the PCC proposed an article (number 5) which read as follows, "The responsible authorities of Jewish and Arab zones shall not carry out an immigration policy of a nature to change the present demographic equilibrium of the area of Jerusalem." In reaction to this proposal, the American delegation redrafted the article, "as to have little meaning." The revised version was

22. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, Vol. VI, "The Secretary of State to Francis Cardinal Spellman," August 11, 1949, pp.1293-4.

23. Ibid., "The Secretary of State to the Acting Representative at Vatican City," September 1, 1949, pp.1348-9.

then adopted in spite of vigorous objections by the French delegation,<sup>24</sup>

A position paper prepared by the Department of State, dated September 14, 1949, presented the opinion that the complex Jerusalem problem should be solved on the basis of the de facto partition of the city, with only a cosmetic international regime. "We feel that the establishment of a Jerusalem regime in the nature of a corpus separatum under the United Nations is entirely impractical." While "possible strong developments in American Catholic and Jewish public opinion" were foreseen, it was hoped that some Israeli - Jordanian agreement could still be negotiated and made acceptable to the UN.<sup>25</sup>

The New York Times was less optimistic in an article on August 19, when it wrote;

The big change in the situation according to Israeli, Arab and Commission [PCC] sources, is the result of strong intervention by the Vatican in favor of a completely internationalized city. ... Until the strong stand by the Vatican there seemed a good chance that a Jordan - Israeli agreement could ultimately be reached on the maintenance of a split city with guarantees to all religions of access to the Holy Places.<sup>26</sup>

However, the Vatican was not the only Christian voice which spoke out on the question of Jerusalem. Communications were addressed to the PCC from, the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchs of Istanbul and Alexandria, the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch and the whole of the East, the Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Coptic Orthodox Archbishop of Jerusalem and the Near East, and other dignitaries.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, the Jewish anti-Zionist group, the Neture Karta Community, expressed its concern for the future of the city.<sup>28</sup> Each of the above groups expressed strong opinions on the prospect of Israeli, Jordanian or UN sovereignty for Jerusalem.

24. Ibid., August 17, 1949, pp.1321-1322.

25. Ibid., September 14, 1949, pp.1383-1387.

26. The New York Times, August 19, 1949, Michael Hoffman, p.3.

27. See in particular, BOVIS, p.7, and BRIDGEMAN, Charles T., "The Internationalization of Jerusalem and the Christian Population," General Assembly Document A/1286, pp.32-38.

28. The secretary of the Neture Karta Community, Rabbi Israel Domb of London, requested that the Orthodox Jewish quarter of Mea Sharim, "where the Orthodox population be included in the international zone of administration or in any international scheme which may be created." The secretary claimed to speak in

By September 1949, the Catholic crusade had effectively begun to mobilize Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox concern for the future of Jerusalem. In spite of the variations in these opinions, most were in agreement that the present 'partitioned' condition of the city was unacceptable and that some sort of international administration was necessary if the Christian community was to survive.<sup>29</sup>

However, not all Catholics nor Christians agreed with either the ideology of a Catholic "crusade" or the demand for the internationalization of the city as contained in the 1947 Partition Resolution. As will now be seen, European opinion was mixed concerning both issues.

#### 4. European Reactions to the Catholic Crusade

The European Catholic press greeted this Catholic crusade with mixed reactions, ranging from enthusiastic support to outright opposition. The most vocal supporter was The Tablet of London which had long viewed Zionism and the subsequent state of Israel as the vanguard of Moscow in the Near East. The strong ties which existed between the periodical and The Tablet of Brooklyn, Msgr. McMahon of CNEWA and L'Osservatore Romano combined with its traditional outspokenness, made it a highly respected international spokesman for Catholic interests. The periodical continued to stress that the Church was undergoing a major crisis in which its very survival was at stake.<sup>30</sup> In an article entitled, "Jerusalem and Rome," published on June 11, 1949, the historical gravity of the present period was stressed.

The article interpreted the situation confronted by the Church in 1949 to that of the reign of Pope Boniface VII (974-985) which had marked the beginning of an age in which the Church had been "tossed by the most violent tempests." Beginning with "the Avignon Captivity, the Great Schism, with its popes and anti-popes; the confused age of the Councils; and finally the proclamation of national churches, with the rise of the great Protestant princes in the sixteenth century," the power and influence of the Church had been progressively and

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the name of all Orthodox Jews who were at that time, according to him, unable to openly express their views, "because of various factors and above all the domination of Zionist propaganda who possess all the media to intimidate and belittle all those who are not prepared to share their ideals." See BRIDGEMAN, p.18.

29. For statistics on the population of Jerusalem at this time, see in particular Trusteeship Council Document T/457; BOVIS, p.7; and BRIDGEMAN, General Assembly Document A/1286, pp.32-38.

30. The Tablet of London, June 11, 1949, p.379.

intentionally eroded by the world powers. This progressive diminishing of "the central significance of the Church for mankind" had continued unabated until the present. The inability of the Church in 1949 to respond to either the physical attacks against it in Eastern Europe, in Palestine and elsewhere, or the ideological challenges posed by Communism were symptoms of the diminishing will and power of the Church to ensure the "survival and extension of the guiding and saving creed" of Jesus Christ.

The Church however, according to the article, was not without resources to finally confront this millenia long decline. "The Catholic problem is essentially one of mobilization, of making speedily effective great latent forces and powers; and this is true all through the Church, and in all her administration, but particularly of the laity who make up the hundreds of millions whom the Church claims." The Church was being besieged in an effort to eradicate it, "it is plain to even the most sleepy Catholic that a great persecution is raging against the Church, to root out the faith from many old Catholic nations - Poles and Lithuanians, Hungarians and Czechs, Slovaks and Slovenes." In addition to the campaign being organized from Moscow, the Israelis were intent on destroying the Christian presence in Jerusalem. In "a definity violation of international morality by the Israelite Government," the Israelis were adamant in refusing to permit the Christian refugees to return to their homes in West Jerusalem and to provide effective guarantees for their continued survival in the city.

The Tablet's conviction that the USSR and Israel were both out to destroy the Church was repeated in still another article entitled, "Jerusalem and Prague" on June 25, 1949.

While the establishment of some international status for Jerusalem comes to seem in the same category of remote objectives as the peace treaty for Germany, the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Committee moves towards deadlock at Lausanne. The Israeli Government shows a fundamentally uncooperative attitude that can be not unfairly compared with that of the Soviet Government over Germany; and there is indeed a lamentable resemblance between the language used by a growing number of Israeli spokesmen and that habitually used in the East European capitals to denounced in one breath the interference of the Vatican and that of the United States.<sup>31</sup>

The author rejected the Israeli accusations that the Vatican was "meddling" in the question of Jerusalem and charges that the USA was "interfering" in the Jerusalem issue, the boundaries of Israel, and the question of the Arab refugees. The author drew the conclusion that if a more cooperative attitude was not

31. The Tablet of London, June 25, 1949, p.411.

forthcoming from Israel, the PCC would be deadlocked.

It is high time that Israel was told, in sterner language than has yet been used, that the future of the Holy Places is a vital matter to Christians all over the world; that the fate of the Arab refugees is also vital to every Christian conscience; and that the future of Israel would be much better served, if it is hoped to establish for it an accepted place among the community of civilized nations, by repudiating, rather than encouraging, the view that no finality of frontiers is accepted and that Israel is an aggressive and predatory nucleus for further expansion.<sup>32</sup>

The Tablet of London, more than any other Catholic periodical, illustrates the "Crusader mentality" that was sweeping large segments of the Church. The above articles illustrate the evolution of the rather modest "crusade of prayer" for a solution to the Jerusalem problem called for in the encyclical, "Auspicia Quaedam," into a general crusade against Israeli expansion and anti-Catholicism. Furthermore, The Tablet placed this crusade within the context of a general mobilization of the Church against Communism and all its enemies. According to the newspaper, the Church could rely on neither the Western powers nor the UN to come to its aid. Even the PCC, in which Msgr. McMahon and so many other Catholics had placed such great hopes, was rapidly heading towards "deadlock at Lausanne." Only the total mobilization of all the resources of the Church in a modern-day crusade could halt the decline of the Church which had begun under Pope Boniface VII.

In contrast to The Tablet of London, the French Catholic press was reluctant to identify itself with this crusading spirit. This reluctance can be attributed to various factors, the most important of which was the relatively cordial relations that existed between the French Church and the French Government. The American Church had relatively difficult relations with the Truman Administration in Washington due to the administration's reluctance to take a firm position on the suppression of the Church in Eastern Europe and the European DP problem. Mr. Truman's strong and public support for the establishment of the State of Israel and unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine, while showing indifference to the plight of the Christian DPs, was resented by the American Church, and did little to encourage Catholic confidence in their government. As a result, a key ingredient of the crusade was to exert pressure on governments to defend Catholic interests around the world. Likewise, as has just been seen, the London Tablet which had lost all hope in the UN and PCC to protect Catholic interests, had endorsed the idea of crusade with enthusiasm.

32. Ibid.

The French Church, on the other hand, did not suffer from such a sense of estrangement from the government and disillusionment that neither the UN nor the French government could still negotiate a settlement to the Jerusalem and Palestine problems. The French Church was much more aware of the difficulties facing the French government and still entertained hopes that the "eldest daughter of the Church" could be made aware of its Catholic responsibilities and a settlement of the Jerusalem problem could thus be negotiated. For this reason, rather than welcoming the American sponsored crusade, the declaration of the French Cardinals of May 1949 rather carefully stated;

Les cardinaux français souhaitent que se développe en France un courant de sympathie en faveur des lieux saints.<sup>33</sup>

A second reason for this French Catholic reluctance was the relatively vocal French Catholic support for Israel. Many of these Catholics were hesitant to endorse a position, "dite catholique", that was perceived by many as being tainted with anti-Israeli, even anti-Semitic, motives or too overtly political in nature. With the exception of Louis Massignon, no French Catholic of importance enthusiastically endorsed the internationalization plan of 1947, and the majority eventually retreated into silence when Pius XII and The Tablet of Brooklyn began preaching their crusade against Israel. As will be seen, Cahiers Sioniens went so far as to publicly declare its opposition to this "grande politique" of the Church.

L'Aube reported on the events that surrounded the Jerusalem question, such as the French Cardinal's appeal of May, and noted Masignon's departure for the Holy Land in August, but expressed no opinion on these events.<sup>34</sup> The newspaper which had defended its earlier support for the idea of Jewish statehood on purely humanitarian terms - to correct a tragic injustice of anti-Semitism which had been inflicted on the Jews by Europe - was no doubt loath to become involved in an issue which was being increasingly posed in terms of a conflict between Catholics and Jews.<sup>35</sup> This policy of simply reporting the news without elaboration continued throughout the Fall of 1949, until December, as will be seen, when it was broken by an "editorial" written by Louis Massignon.

La Croix, which in June 1949 had sought to remind its readers that the Jerusalem issue was of Catholic - Christian -

33. L'Aube, May 6, 1949.

34. L'Aube, August 3, 1949, "Nous allons défendre l'honneur chrétien du nom français à Bethléem."

35. L'Aube, December 14, 1949.

monotheistic - human concern,<sup>36</sup> and encouraged them to adopt Bethlehem as an expression of the age old French involvement in support of the Christians of the Near East,<sup>37</sup> likewise refrained from announcing its support for the Catholic crusade. The newspaper made several references to the decisions taken by the Israeli government to award the Russian Orthodox Holy Places to the "Red" Patriarchate of Moscow in preference to the "White" Patriarchate of New York.<sup>38</sup> However, beginning in September 1949, a marked change in policy can be observed. La Croix thereafter became one of the major European supporters of the Catholic Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem.

The reluctance of La Croix to endorse the crusade can be explained by its role as the "official" newspaper of French Catholics. As such, its editors were well aware of the widespread French Catholic support for Israel and were hesitant to adopt a policy which would alienate them. Furthermore, the widespread Catholic attitude that the Vatican and the French hierarchy was tainted by its failure to speak up for the Jews during the Second World War continued to undermine the moral authority of La Croix, Pius XII and the French hierarchy to speak on anything related to the Jews or Israel.

An indication of the strong support for Israel that continued to exist among French Catholics well into 1949, is the publication of a lengthy dossier by Documentation Catholique, entitled, "La question juive et le sionisme," in July 1949.<sup>39</sup> Five major documents were printed in the dossier; 1) "Les juifs 'perfides,' Une déclaration du Saint-Siège," 2) "L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne," 3) "Congrès de chrétiens et de juifs à Fribourg," 4) "Les juifs dans l'enseignement chrétien," and 5) "Une enquête syndicale en Palestine." The first document was a reprint of the Vatican Declaration, the following three

36. La Croix, June 10, 1949, J.Rupp.

37. La Croix, June 21, 1949.

38. The problem of the "Russian" Holy Places and religious establishments alarmed La Croix because of the long French Catholic involvement in the Holy Places and institutions of Jerusalem. It was precisely disputes concerning ownership of such places that had given rise to riots and hostilities between Christian communities and the Crimean War. Many Catholics argued that the authority to settle such disputes should be invested with the UN or an international tribunal, rather than with Israel or Jordan.

39. Documentation Catholique, July 17, 1949, cols.937-958. "Les juifs 'perfides'," was first printed in Bulletin de l'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, in January 1949; "Congrès de chrétiens et de juifs à Fribourg," in Cahiers Sioniens, January 3, 1948, pp.183-186; "Les juifs dans l'enseignement chrétien," in Lumen Vitae, Bruxelles, 1949, N.1; and "Une enquête syndicale en Palestine," in Cahiers Sioniens, April 1949.

documents were written by Rev. Paul Démann of Notre-Dame de Sion and had appeared in the Bulletin de l'Amitié judéo-chrétienne, Cahiers Sioniens and Lumen Vitae, while the last was by Gaston Tessier and had also appeared in Cahiers.

The choice of documents as well as the title of the dossier, "La question juive et le sionisme," is an indication of the extent to which the clear-cut separation between the "Jewish question" and Zionism as a political phenomenon continued to dominate French Catholic thinking. This dossier is all the more striking when one realizes that this separation was, in mid-1949, being seriously questioned in the USA and even in France, where Louis Massignon and others had rejected it outright. Rev. Démann, the author of three of the documents, was significantly to emerge as the most outspoken opponent of the Catholic crusade to internationalize Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the publication of this dossier at that particular time was a strong indication of the continued vitality of the Catholic left at a time when the militant Catholic conservatives were reemerging.

The most outspoken French supporter of the emerging crusade was the ultra conservative newspaper, La France Catholique. As early as May 13, 1949, Jean le Cour Grandmaison, in an article entitled, "Libérer les Lieux-Saints," had written;

Prière et action: telles sont les armes de cette nouvelle croisade, entreprise avec les moyens pacifiques mais dont le but reste le même qu'il y a mille ans: libérer le Saint-Sépulcre et les Lieux sacrés où s'est joué le grand drame de notre Rédemption.<sup>40</sup>

Various documents emanating from "l'Association Populaire Catholique Suisse;" Michael Assaf, Melchite Archbishop of Petra, Jordan; "La Ligue féminine d'Action Catholique;" Msgr. Thomas McMahon of the CNEWA; Pax Romana and "Le Fédération Nationale d'Action Catholique;" were reprinted which supported internationalization.<sup>41</sup> The strong religious inspiration of this support is evident. Israel was described as driven by a "nationalisme exacerbé" directed against both Muslims and Christians.<sup>42</sup>

However, the newspaper strongly emphasized that the object of this crusade went far beyond the immediate internationalization of Jerusalem to include the elaboration of "un concept chrétienne de la politique internationale."<sup>43</sup> Michael Habib, in

40. La France Catholique, May 13, 1949.

41. La France Catholique, June 3, 1949, "Deux Documents," p.4; June 10, 1949, p.4; July 29, 1949, "CNEWA;" August 12, 1949, "Pax Romana," pp.1 and 4.

42. La France Catholique, May 27, 1949.

43. La France Catholique, June 17, 1949, p.3 and June 24, 1949, Michael Habib. In spite of his name, Michael Habib was not of Arab origin.

a series of articles, argued that the greatest danger for the Church was the Soviet and American desire to dominate Europe, the former through military means and the latter through economic means. Only a revitalized Christian Europe would be able to withstand the pressures of "Protestant" American and "Atheist" USSR. La France Catholique, likewise was in the forefront of the attacks against the Catholic left and, as has already been seen, was bitterly opposed to any form of the theology of adaptation. As a result, its vigorous endorsement of the crusading mentality and theology of confrontation made it the major spokesperson for the newly militant Catholic right in France.

In contrast to La France Catholique, Cahiers Sioniens strongly opposed the launching of such a crusade under the guise of protecting the Holy Places. In an article of August 1949, entitled, "La Question des Lieux Saints," written by Rev. Démann, the "grande politique" which underlay the crusade, was violently attacked as an attempt by certain Christians and especially Catholics to achieve "revendications temporelles" rather than the protection of the Holy Places.<sup>44</sup> The article argued that the two issues - Holy Places and Arab refugees - were entirely separate ones that could and should be solved separately. "Nous ne disons donc pas qu'il n'y a pas une question des Lieux Saints, tout à fait distincte de celles des réfugiés arabes, ceux-ci ne devant pas servir de monnaie de troc pour ceux-là, ni l'inverse."

The above statement amounted to a direct attack on the very core of the principle which underlay the crusade, and in particular the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem. This principle was inspired by the idea that Catholic interests anywhere in the world could only be protected through a direct Catholic involvement in the political regime in place. Thus, in the case of Jerusalem, only direct Catholic participation in the sovereignty of the city, though the exercise by the UN of that sovereignty was acceptable to the Church. By rejecting the "revendications temporelles" of the Church, Démann was rejecting the principle of crusade itself.

Démann further argued that the crusade would inevitably pit the Church in a disastrous struggle with Israel and the Jewish world.

Cette attitude [anti-Israélienne de certains milieux et de certains organes chrétiens et notamment catholiques] provoque ou renforce fatalement, chez les Israéliens, l'animosité envers les chrétiens et particulièrement envers l'Eglise catholique.

The very idea of a crusade required an enemy, but in the case of Israel, the enemy had already been the object of centuries of persecution and hatred. "Il est si facile de faire appel à la

44. Cahiers Sioniens, August 1, 1949, pp.181-188.

passion, dans l'espèce: à la passion antisémite, pour l'exploiter tout en la nourrissant." He continued;

Mais nous disons d'abord que ces exigences ne sont pas à faire valoir contre quelqu'un, qu'on désigne d'avance comme un ennemi; elles sont à faire valoir pour les intérêts spirituels de l'Eglise et de toute l'humanité, envers tous ceux, Musulmans, Juifs ou Chrétiens, qui s'opposent à ces intérêts spirituels si hauts et si universels.

A crusade against Israel, which was in fact the content of the present crusade according to Démann, would "semer la haine à propos des Lieux Saints" rather than lead to their protection. In particular, he faulted the "directives pontificales" which encouraged and gave this direction to the crusade.

While Démann did not specify what particular "directives pontificales" he was referring to, the recent article by Rev. Messineo SJ in Civiltà Cattolica which was discussed in the previous chapter, was no doubt in his mind.<sup>45</sup> This article had severely criticized Israel for refusing to honor its promises to the UN and world community in 1947 regarding Jerusalem, and attributed its desires to gain control of the city as inspired by crass political interests rather than the lofty Catholic concerns for the sanctity of the Holy Places. In short, the idea of a "superior justice" was being suffocated by crass politics. Messineo likewise referred to the admission of Israel to the UN as an error which only served to encourage its expansionistic designs.

With the exception of La France Catholique and to an extent, Civiltà Cattolica, the European Catholic press was hardly enthusiastic for either the mentality which the crusading ideal represented or the application of this ideal to the Jerusalem problem. The strong American sponsorship for this crusade seems to have had only limited support in Rome and even less in Paris. This situation must be evaluated against the ongoing negotiations of the PCC which attempted to elaborate a Jerusalem proposal which would both respect the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1947 Partition Resolution Jerusalem Proposals, and the present demands of Israel and Jordan then in control of the city. During the late Summer and early Fall of 1949 the periodic progress reports of the PCC served to

45. Civiltà Cattolica, July 2, 1949, pp.3-15. Antonio Messineo had long been concerned with the relationship between justice and the political reality. See, Giustizia ed espansione coloniale, 1937, and La Nazione, 1942. He firmly believed that the Church possessed international rights which the UN should recognize. See in particular, Il diritto internazionale della dottrina cattolica, 1944. Likewise, he argued that the UN should protect the rights of national and religious minorities. See, Il problema della minoranze nazionali, 1946.

encourage both the Catholic supporters of a negotiated settlement and the supporters of a crusade to return to the original Jerusalem statute of 1947. As will now be seen, the presentation in September of the PCC final proposal was to further split the Catholic community.

#### 5. Catholic Reactions to the PCC Plan of September 1949

The PCC plan for an international regime for Jerusalem, which was released in September 1949, was an admirable attempt to negotiate a statute which incorporated many of the elements of the 1947 proposal and the specific demands of Israel and Jordan. According to the plan, the city would be permanently demilitarized and divided into two zones, one Arab and the other Jewish. The administration of municipal affairs would be in the hands of the Jewish and Arab municipal officials, except in matters reserved for a UN commission and the international organs provided for by the plan. These organs included a mixed elective council, an international tribunal and a mixed tribunal.<sup>46</sup>

The commissioner would be charged with the task "to ensure the protection of and free access to the Holy Places," and the protection of human rights of the population, as well as the rights of "distinctive groups" within the population. He would also "undertake to secure for ministers of religion, pilgrims and visitors free circulation throughout the area of Jerusalem without distinction as to nationality or faith."

Concerning the Holy Places themselves, the draft proposal stated that they, and the religious buildings, sites and routes giving access to them "shall be placed under the exclusive control of the Commissioner." He would also "supervise" the carrying out of undertakings made by the states concerned regarding the Holy Places, buildings and sites outside Jerusalem. Any disputes were to be submitted to the international tribunal for decision. Immigration which "might alter the present demographic equilibrium of the area of Jerusalem" was also banned.

The plan, being neither fully territorial nor fully functional in its approach, was criticized by Israelis, Jordanians and Catholics alike.<sup>47</sup> Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe

46. For the PCC Plan of September 1, 1949, see UN Document A/973.

47. BRECHER, p.73. Territorial internationalization, as called for by the Partition Resolution would have placed the Jerusalem area under a separate sovereign regime. Functional internationalization, on the other hand, would have recognised Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty, subject to certain restrictions regarding the Holy Places and pilgrim access.

Sharett called it anachronistic and described the restriction on immigration as a menace to Jerusalem's economic future. He repeated his demand that internationalization should be restricted to the Holy Places only. King Abdullah said in Amman on October 8 that Jerusalem would be internationalized "only over his dead body." As a result, Israel and Jordan intensified their ongoing negotiations towards a bilateral settlement that would divide the city between them. Abdullah asked Israel to cede the Jerusalem - Bethlehem road and the Israeli-occupied Arab quarters of West Jerusalem. Israel offered to make certain concessions in exchange for Jewish rights in the Arab-occupied Jewish quarter of the Old City.<sup>48</sup>

The Vatican was well aware that any settlement of the Jerusalem problem would have to have the support of the US for its implementation. Neither Israel nor Jordan were willing to give up their conquests in Jerusalem. Only pressure from the US could induce them to make any concessions.<sup>49</sup> However, at this time, relations between the Catholic Church and the US government were tense. President Truman had under-estimated the growing Catholic concern for the Jerusalem issue and the effectiveness of Vatican diplomatic pressure on Catholic member states of the UN. Michael Hoffman of The New York Times as has already been noted, had reported that the "big change in the situation according to Israeli, Arab and Commission sources, is the result of strong intervention by the Vatican in favour of a completely internationalized city." Before this intervention, Hoffman argued that there had seemed to be a good chance the a Jordan-Israeli agreement could ultimately be reached.<sup>50</sup>

Likewise, the forementioned State Department Position Paper of September 14, had stated;

The strongest element of interest in the Jerusalem settlement among the membership of the United Nations, apart from the Arab States and Israel, is found in the Catholic countries. While no great interest was manifest during the first half of the year, there have recently been evidences of increasing interest in the problem by the Vatican and various Catholic communities. This interest indicates a possibility of a strong demand for an international regime in the nature of a corpus separatum.

In the concluding paragraph, the paper referred to a possible effort by some Catholic countries "to put up a plan of more far-reaching internationalization," if the PCC report were not

48. JOSEPH, p.334.

49. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, August 11, 1949, pp.1299-1301.

50. The New York Times, August 19, 1949.

adopted by the General Assembly. The State Department was much more sensitive to the potential power of the Church in the UN, especially on an issue which the Vatican had taken a strong position. President Truman, however, had ambivalent feelings on the Vatican and the Catholic Church in general.<sup>51</sup>

The Vatican was swift to give its reactions to the PCC Plan. The Plan was submitted to the General Assembly on September 12, and the following day Vatican Radio announced its strong disapproval. It was judged as inadequate to carry out the instructions formulated in the terms of reference of the PCC, which insisted that the commission elaborate, "a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area, which will provide for maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area." Vatican Radio noted that the plan had in fact recognized the de facto partition of the city under the guise of providing "maximum local autonomy" to the Israelis and Jordanians.<sup>52</sup>

The plan was criticized as just another version of the previous plans that had been rejected by the Church, such as the internationalization of the Old City only, or a functional internationalization for the Holy Places, which had recognized the Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty over the bulk of the city. Vatican Radio insisted that if sovereignty was not vested in the UN, nothing need prevent the Arab and Israeli states from rejecting any intervention on the part of the UN as unwarranted interference in their internal affairs. Thus, any guarantees or rights granted to the Church or Christians in general would be granted by and at the mercy of Israel and Jordan. Such question as the fate of the Christian population, operation of religious schools, access by pilgrims and clerics, would be subject to Israeli and Jordanian good will, rather than international rights.

The Vatican Radio broadcast continued that the plan was virtually meaningless and contemptuous of Christian rights. Such rights could be exercised only in an environment that respected the Christian faith, did not eliminate the usefulness of Christian educational institutions, and did not keep away Christian pilgrims. As a result, Jerusalem must be effectively separated from the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict. A separate territorial entity, under the sovereignty of the UN, might prevent future conflicts. Admittedly, the city was of strategic, political and religious importance to both parties, and neither would agree to a settlement unless the city were under the sovereignty of an impartial third party such as the UN.

The radio broadcast concluded by listing the three Catholic demands for a Jerusalem settlement.

51. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, September 14, 1949, pp.1383-1387.

52. For English translation of the broadcast see, The Tablet, September 17, 1949, "Vatican Radio."

1) A special status for Jerusalem is needed not only because of the large number of Holy Places there, but also because the city is today the most critical point on the line of division that separates Israel and the Arab states.

2) Genuine internationalization would prevent future conflicts, the prospect of which distressed the Catholic world and all peace-loving people.

3) Full international guarantees are required for the safe-guarding of the Holy Places and of Catholic rights everywhere in Palestine.<sup>53</sup>

The radio statement placed great emphasis on the necessity to exclude Israeli-Jordanian sovereignty from Jerusalem. Protective measures for the Holy Places, access for pilgrims, the functioning of religious institutions and barriers against future Israeli-Arab wars would be rendered meaningless if the UN recognised Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty over the city. The PCC plan had cleverly avoided any mention of the word "sovereignty" and it was precisely this point the radio statement found objectionable.

Shortly after the Vatican Radio broadcast, L'Osservatore Romano printed an article entitled, "Gerusalemme citta contesta."<sup>54</sup> The article, filed from Jerusalem, described conditions in the city, divided by barbed wire, empty of pilgrims and where renewed fighting might break out at any moment in spite of the armistice. This state of affairs sharply contrasted with what the article referred to as the "supranational" character of the city which was the result of the presence throughout the centuries of pilgrims from every country and the sanctity of the Holy Places, sacred to both Christians and Moslems. (Interestingly, no mention was made of the Jewish Holy Places.)

The preservation of a "community of interests" between Christians, Jews and Muslims could only be guaranteed if none of the three was given control of the city. Control by any one would result in continued warfare. Thus only a "special regime" could guarantee and protect the "supranational" character of Jerusalem.

The Tablet of Brooklyn wrote on September 24 that opinions differed within the Church as to "whether, and to what extent, the new United Nations proposals carry out the terms of the 1947 resolution, and would constitute a 'true and proper internationalization'."<sup>55</sup> The article noted that the Holy See

53. Ibid.

54. L'Osservatore Romano, September 22, 1949, "Itinerari D'Oriente," p.3.

55. The Tablet, September 24, 1949, p.13.

"remains firm in its often stated view that only a return to the 1947 plan could effectively fulfill its demands." As for the Israeli government, "It has already become clear that it is utterly opposed to the new plan, terming it 'unrealistic and unworkable,' endangering the economic future of the Holy City and depriving Jews of their rights to settle in Jerusalem." The attitude of the Arab states was said to be "still unknown."

On the possible merits of the PCC plan and its possible adoption by the UN, The Tablet was still undecided, even after the Vatican Radio had criticized it. On November 19, the paper wrote that, "Whether and to what extent, the proposal by the Conciliation Commission could be considered a true and proper internationalization is still a matter of dispute."<sup>56</sup>

America, on the other hand, argued that the plan "firmly fixes sovereignty over the whole Jerusalem area, including Bethlehem, in the hands of the United Nations."<sup>57</sup> The periodical drew the conclusion that, "As far as we can judge from press reports, the proposed statute seems to approach that 'genuine internationalization' which the same Vatican voice asked for."

The Franciscan, Crusader's Almanac, while not directly referring to the PCC proposal, nonetheless published an article on October 1, which emphasized that whatever plan would be adopted it must be legally binding on Israel and Jordan and enforceable by the UN. The article continued that the present Israeli government could be trusted to act in a responsible manner. The Holy Places which were under the charge of the Franciscan Order had benefited from the "good will" of the present Israeli government and there was no doubt that the personal guarantees given by it would be carried out. But, reflecting the widespread Catholic fear that the present "moderate" government was being assailed on all sides by religious fanatics, anti-Christian militants and Orthodox Jewish radicals, the article asked, "What of subsequent governments?" The existing "good will" could be quickly forgotten by subsequent Israeli leaders and the Holy Places subjected to all sorts of persecution, taxation and restrictions. As a result, the article insisted that only the internationalization of the city could guarantee that Israeli leaders continue "to act in a responsible manner."<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the crucial period of September to November 1949, American Catholic opinion was divided over the degree to which the PCC plan, represented true and acceptable internationalization, effectively placed sovereignty over Jerusalem in the hands of the UN and, most importantly, contained any possibility of being implemented by the UN. It was generally agreed that Israel would oppose any plan which denied it

56. The Tablet, November 19, 1949, p.5.

57. America, September 24, 1949, pp.655-656.

58. Crusader's Almanac, October 1, 1949, pp.18-23.

sovereignty over the areas of the city under its control. Likewise, Jordan's King Abdullah would resist making any concessions to UN control. The only possibility of forcing both Israel and Jordan to make such concessions was through massive American pressure which The Tablet hoped could be exerted by the ongoing Catholic crusade.

In France, the PCC plan met with almost total silence. L'Aube and La Croix made no mention of it whatsoever. L'Aube simply noted on September 17 that the plan had been rejected by Israel. The Témoignage Chrétien, however, on September 16, published an article entitled, "La seule solution: une véritable internationalisation des lieux saints." This unsigned article stressed that there were two outstanding questions to be resolved; the return of the refugees and the status of Jerusalem, to achieve peace in the Holy Land. The author wrote that Israel had no intention of permitting their return and, in fact, was planning to eventually expand the Jewish state to the river Jordan. The only way to halt this Israeli expansion and return the refugees to their homes was to vigorously support the PCC plan. The article stressed that the "authenticité spirituelle" of the UN, its honor and its very survival depended on its ability to resolve the Jerusalem problem.<sup>59</sup> If adopted and implemented, the PCC plan would guarantee peace between Arabs and Jews, and guarantee the survival of the Christian minority in the city. The author went on to suggest;

J'ajoute que cette solution réclamée par les habitants, même musulmans, est la seule qui permette aux 100,000 chrétiens de Palestine de continuer à vivre sur place, la plupart dans la zone internationalisée. En les garantissant contre les exactions toujours possibles de la part des musulmans ou des Israélites, elle leur évitera d'avoir à émigrer.<sup>60</sup>

A few days later, on September 23, R. Barrat summarised the PCC plan. He stated that it was obviously less than "complete internationalization," but if the proposed High Commissioner was well chosen and would enjoy the support of the Western Christian countries, the city could succeed in "calming the appetites" of the Jews and Arabs.<sup>61</sup> While not directly requesting the appointment of a Catholic to the post, Barrat seemed to imply that such an appointment would be desirable.

Likewise, La France Catholique greeted the plan in an article dated September 23, entitled, "Vers L'International-

59. Témoignage Chrétien, September 16, 1949.

60. Ibid.

61. Témoignage Chrétien, September 23, 1949, see also Etudes, November 1949, pp.252-254.

isation des Lieux Saints," by Louis Salleron.<sup>62</sup> Salleron wrote that the plan fulfilled the essential Catholic demands of; 1) adequate protection for the Holy Places, religious sites, churches and communities, and 2) proposed a sufficiently international status for the territory of Jerusalem. However, as the plan was being debated by the Israelis, Arabs, and other interested and concerned parties in Lausanne, from September to December, the newspaper remained silent. It was only in December when the impasse in Lausanne became obvious that the newspaper once again began to speak on the issue.

It must be remembered that the PCC plan was only one of many proposals circulating at the time, both formally within the UN and informally. Both the Vatican Radio statement and the press observed that the many "various compromise proposals regarding the status of Jerusalem" contained positive as well as negative elements. For example, a "trusteeship" scheme of "indirect internationalization" in which the UN would entrust the de facto administration of the city to the Arabs and Jews, while retaining ultimate de jure sovereignty was proposed, as well as the earlier mentioned "functional internationalization" proposal limited to the Holy Places exclusively. These and many other plans, as well as revisions to the numerous plans, animated the UN debates on the PCC plan.<sup>63</sup> The Catholic objective during this period was to press for the maximum amount of UN control over the Jerusalem area and the retention by the UN of sovereignty.

On one side of the Atlantic, the American Catholic Crusade was vigorously pressing these demands on an American administration which was viewed as unconcerned with "Catholic issues," and totally under the influence of the "Jewish lobby" and Jewish press. As a result, there was little hope that the American influence at the UN could be mobilized to satisfactorily modify the PCC plan. On the other side of the Atlantic, however, the French Church and press continued to be optimistic that the French government could be sufficiently influenced to play this role. In a telegram dated August 11 from Stuart W. Rockwell of the American PCC delegation to Dean Acheson, American Secretary of State gives an early insight into the inner dynamics of the PCC.<sup>64</sup> Rockwell wrote that the US and Turkish delegations favored placing the PCC plan on the agenda of the General Assembly when it met in September. Boisanger, the French delegate, however, according to the telegram, opposed this, in favor of continued efforts to modify the plan to satisfy increasingly vocal Catholic objections. Rockwell wrote;

62. La France Catholique, September 23, 1949, Louis Salleron. See also, Ecclesia, September 1949, "Bataille aux Lieux Saints," Pierre Croidep, pp.9-17.

63. For a summary of the many plans, proposals and counter proposals circulating at this time see, BRECHER and BOVIS.

64. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, pp.1299-1301.

One difficulty in this is attitude Boisanger who states belief it premature to present compromise proposal to parties and that PC must continue discussions in effort conciliate parties. Alleges PCC has made progress and that on number important questions cannot be decided so fast. Moreover opposed to PCC going to GA with proposed solution stating PCC has mandate conciliate not arbitrate and that long as either party ready continue conciliation discussions PCC has no choice but do so.

Boisanger believed that continued discussions within the framework of the PCC could possibly lead to a further modification of the "basic positions" which, according to the telegram "remain unchanged." In particular, Rockwell cited the Jerusalem problem.

Jerusalem committee has run into unexpected snag due attitude French representation. Benoist [Philippe Benoist, of the French Delegation] now arguing that it premature for committee to agree on Jerusalem as long as other issues unsettled, that Vatican pressure makes it difficult for French government to agree to anything less than complete internationalization, that UN authority in Jerusalem must control real property transfers and immigration to city etc. Sudden tactics Benoist certainly reflect overall attitude Boisanger toward PCC initiative and probably desire French Government accommodate Vatican. Members French delegation state important French Catholics sending them personal letters urging complete internationalization.

American pressure, on the other hand, to submit the plan to the General Assembly was based on the belief that the Arab states sought to be "'forced' to acquiesce in possible decision of GA resolution problem." Rockwell continued;

USDel believes no Arab chief delegate here would dare break front by reaching agreement on important points which could be considered unfavorable to Arab position, ... USDel also believes that if GA passed plan which gave something to Arabs on territory there is good chance Arab states would accept.<sup>65</sup>

The French delegation was acutely aware that if the PCC plan was presented to the General Assembly in September without further attempts to make it satisfactory to Catholic interests, it would be opposed by the Vatican and the majority of the Catholic members of that body. The delegation was well aware of the importance of the numerous Central and South American votes, plus those of Europe, the Phillipines and Lebanon. Furthermore,

65. Ibid.

it was also realised that the PCC constituted the ideal context in which to negotiate such delicate and volatile issues as Jerusalem, the Holy Places and the rights of Jews, Christians and Muslims in the city. The General Assembly, on the other hand, with its public speeches, press coverage and charismatic personalities, would hinder the process of negotiation rather than facilitate it.

As a result of the submission of the plan to the General Assembly in September, little choice was left to the Catholic world but to intensify its Crusade and mobilize all the resources at its disposal.

## 6. The intensification of the Catholic Crusade

L'Osservatore Romano, as has already been seen, viewed the Jerusalem problem as one of the many facing the Catholic world. By 1949, the Berlin crisis and the deteriorating situation in Korea were threatening world peace, China had totally fallen to the Communists and Eastern Europe was firmly behind the iron curtain. The very existence of the Church in Eastern Europe, China, North Africa, the Near East and Palestine was in doubt. Likewise, the spectre of Communist penetration of the governments of Italy and France alarmed Catholics. Furthermore, a third world war was viewed as a growing possibility.

Pius XII had reacted to this rapidly deteriorating world situation by issuing the Papal Bull, "Jubilaeum Maximum" which had announced the promulgation of 1950 as a Holy Year. The Bull declared that the intentions of the Holy Year were;

que les droits sacro-saints de l'Eglise soient toujours sauvegardés entièrement et inviolablement contre les embûches, les mensonges et les persécutions de ses ennemis.<sup>66</sup>

The Bull called on all Catholics to work for peace everywhere it was threatened, "mais surtout dans les Lieux Saints de la Palestine."

The significance of the Bull was not lost on the Catholic press.<sup>67</sup> Its call for the mobilization of the Catholic world to combat the enemies of the Church and insist of the respect of its "sacro-saints" rights was directly related to the UN debate on Jerusalem. The Tablet of Brooklyn, Amitié judéo-chrétienne, L'Osservatore Romano, The Sign, The Tablet of London, La France Catholique, and other Catholic newspapers and

66. Acta Apostolic Sedis, Vol.XLI, 1949, p.257. French translation found in Documentation Catholique, January 1, 1950.

67. Documentation Catholique, January 1, 1950.

periodicals interpreted the Bull as a signal that the time had come for the Church to mobilize all its resources to demand the internationalization of Jerusalem, In their opinion, no other example of the flagrant violation of the "sacro-saints" rights of the Church could be more alarming than the situation of the Holy City of Jerusalem.<sup>68</sup> The Jerusalem issue was ideally suited to become the goal of such a crusade for three reasons. First, the very name "Jerusalem" evoked deep feelings in all Christians and therefore had a dramatic mobilization effect. Second, the Church was defending a UN resolution that had been accepted by the US, USSR, all of Europe, Latin America, as well as by Israel. Therefore, its position was identical with the majority of world opinion, as well as in defence of legality to the extent that the 1947 resolution was "legally binding." Third, a successful resolution of the Jerusalem question would both enhance the prestige of the Catholic Church as peacemaker in world politics.

One of the most enthusiastic voices which welcomed the proclamation of the Holy Year, and emphasized its links to the Jerusalem crusade and the crusade to reassert the temporal authority of the Church, was The Tablet of London. An article entitled, "Jerusalem and Rome," stated;

Another holy city, with lesser shrines but greater relics than Jerusalem, is calling the faithful of the Catholic world next year, and the Holy Year of 1950 will have a character such as no Holy Year in modern times has had.<sup>69</sup>

The last Holy Year had been in 1933, "to commemorate the nineteenth century of the Crucifixion of Our Lord, [and] came just before the European crisis began to gather momentum." The proclamation of 1950 as a Holy Year was of a greater urgency because the Church itself was facing an eradication campaign of growing intensity. The major aim of the 1950 Holy Year was to mobilize Catholics and Christians, as well as the governments of countries in which the Church was still free, to counteract that campaign.

But it is among their [the persecuters of the Church] major anxieties that the religion they seek to extirpate is one which flourishes in powerful countries outside their control, countries whose policies matter to them economically and militarily.<sup>69</sup>

This strong identification of the Church with the non-Communist countries marked the unequivocal identification of the Church

68. See in particular, L'Osservatore Romano, November 10, 1949, p.2 and November 14-15, 1949.

69. The Tablet of London, June 1949, "Jerusalem and Rome," p.379.

with the "Western" NATO and Capitalist powers in the opinion of The Tablet.

In addition to being members of "Western" society, the article argued that Catholics should also rediscover the "practical reality of the universal society of which they are also members." This "universal society" likewise is a powerful instrument to be used in the struggle against the ever more powerful enemies of the Church. However, "we are people who have allowed certain essential muscles to grow exceedingly flabby, and who find it very difficult to promise the strength we suddenly need." The British and American Churches, in particular, were called upon to lead the campaign against the enemies of Christendom, but in particular to demand the total internationalization of Jerusalem as promised by the Zionists. The US and Great Britain bore the largest measure of responsibility since Great Britain had "pursued policies over a generation, to create the national home [for the Jews]," and Washington "was where the sequence of events was really determined." These two "Christian" countries were responsible for the creation of the State of Israel while claiming to be leaders of "Christendom." "It is to Christendom above all, that the Jews owe the creation of the Jewish State. Without the support of Christendom the State of Israel would never have been started at all." The article concluded with a somewhat mysterious call for the Catholics of the USA and Britain to establish a new "Catholic international organization" to renew Christendom.

The Tablet of London was not the only publication to link the Holy Year with the Jerusalem Crusade. L'Osservatore Romano referred on two occasions to this link as did the American periodical The Sign.<sup>70</sup> However, The Tablet of London went further than this linkage, which the Papal Bull "Jubilaeum Maximum" itself had stated. The Tablet argued that the internationalization of Jerusalem was but the first step in the regeneration of the Church, and in particular the reality of "Christendom," the temporal as well as spiritual power of the Church. Christendom was in fact identical with the "West," and its enemies were well defined in the opinion of The Tablet, Israel and world Communism.

However, few Catholic publications were as straightforward and to the point in their efforts to arouse Catholics to support the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem. On September 19, Msgr. James H. Griffiths, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariat,

70. L'Osservatore Romano, November 10, 1949, p.2 and November 14-15, 1949. The Sign, December 1949, pp.11-13, noted that the internationalization of the Holy Places and Jerusalem was "particularly important for the coming Holy Year, when many of the faithful will want to visit the native land of the Redeemer."

addressed the Nassau County (New York) Council of Catholic Women. The address was reprinted in full in The Tablet of Brooklyn and the Crusader's Almanac.<sup>71</sup> Msgr. Griffiths stressed that Palestine has been of importance to Christians since biblical times. Furthermore, he insisted that, "We should not fail as Christian leaders to realize that the settlement of the Palestine situation involves each one of us and that it affects our spiritual and cultural lives."

Today, world statesmen are seeking a solution of the problem. Palestine is not merely a Holy Land of the Jews and the Moslems but it is also a Holy Land of the Christians. The trouble has been that the rights of the Christians have not been recognized.

In particular he argued that Catholic women should take a leading role in settling the Palestine issue. "With the opening of the General Assembly on September 20," when the UN began to debate the PCC proposal, he urged his audience to pray that the delegates, "may have the courage of their convictions and that when they see the right they shall follow it.

Central to The Tablet's campaign to mobilize American Catholics was the opinion that an anti-Catholic, pro-Israeli, and anti-internationalization "Cold War" was being waged by the secular press, with a view to discredit Catholic intentions regarding Jerusalem, to deny the need for the internationalization of the city, and to support the recognition of Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty over the city. This perception did more to determine the American Catholic position during this period than did the PCC plan with all its merits. As has already been seen, during the Palestine War, a similar press war had erupted over the situation of Christians in the recently Israeli occupied city of Nazareth. However, by October 1949, The Tablet perceived a generalized strategy by the Israelis and their supporters. On October 1, in an article entitled, "Finds Christian Opinion is Ignored in Jerusalem; Propoganda Confusing issues to Distract Americans from Basic Problems,"<sup>72</sup> it wrote, "These articles reveal what appears to be a tactic of stating half-truths, of taking certain comments favorable to the Israeli side out of context, of dragging in the 'Russian bogey'." The article referred to "letters of complaint" that had been "taken out of context and made to appear - without the qualifying 'but - as endorsements of Israeli attitudes in general." Casual remarks by Catholics had suddenly been awarded the "dignity of official declarations" in order to confuse Catholics and

71. The Tablet, September 24, 1949, "Msgr. Griffiths Urges Women to Assume Role as Leaders."

72. The Tablet, October 1, 1949, pp.1 and 20.

Christians or to convince them that the Church had no firm position of Jerusalem, and was in fact anti-Semitic and anti-peace. The newspaper argued that clearly this campaign was aimed at contrasting the growing support for internationalization not only among Catholics, but Christians in general.

The article continued that the Catholic objectives were, first "the true and proper internationalization of Jerusalem," and second, "the return to their homes of the Arab refugees." In demanding these two objectives, the Catholic world was not, as certain "New York dailies" argued, seeking to gain control of Jerusalem for itself, but rather supporting two demands which had been "ordered and reaffirmed by the United Nations General Assembly." In fact, it was Israel which sought to obscure the UN support for these objectives and achieve an eventual "unilateral modification or abrogation" of them in favor of Israeli control of the city and the permanent exile of the Arab refugees.

Those who have a selfish interest in preventing, or attempting to prevent a decent solution of these two issues, dispose of powerful means to influence and bring pressure on public opinion.

Another false charge which the article sought to deny was that the Catholic - Israeli dispute over the two issues was in fact, "strained relations between two faiths which have a vital stake in the Holy Land." The article insisted that "It is a question of strained relations between Christianity on one hand and the political state of Israel on the other." This charge of a confrontation between two religions seriously alarmed the newspaper. In a lengthy article on October 8, J.J. Gilbert once again insisted that the two issues did not involve a confrontation between two religious communities, as was being increasingly argued by American Zionists and in particular, The American Zionist Council.<sup>73</sup> Gilbert quoted from a recent public announcement by the Council which had stated;

...that leading rabbinical bodies in the United States are united against any attempt to internationalize Jerusalem; that they are taking a leading part in a campaign to keep Jerusalem within the framework of the State of Israel; that sermons devoted to the Jerusalem issue were to be preached during the high holy days by several thousand orthodox rabbis; and that telegrams, communications and resolutions would be dispatched to President Truman in the name of Jewish houses of worship and organizations.

The above quotation gives an insight into the escalation of the Jerusalem and refugee issues, from political problems

73. The Tablet, October 8, 1949, pp.1 and 20. This article was later reprinted in Catholic Action, November 1949, p.3.

between Israel, the Church and the UN to a head-on clash between "two faiths," Christianity and Judaism. The distinction between the political state of Israel and the Jewish people as a religious community, which had enabled the Church to come to terms with Zionism and accept the establishment of the state of Israel, was being threatened. As has been seen in the last chapter, this distinction and its eventual erosion was directly responsible for the emergence of the Catholic crusade to internationalize Jerusalem. Up to this time, the American Catholic press had been relatively immune to such theological perceptions of events in Palestine and later Israel. Such debates and confrontations had been limited to the European Catholic press. However, when the American Catholic press did begin to become aware of it, it did so with a vengeance, and in response to a direct challenge from the Jewish press and Israeli government propoganda.

Michael Brecher, in his book, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy argues that before and during the Palestine War the dominant image-components of Israeli foreign relations and government propoganda had been the military and economic capabilities of the Israeli army.<sup>74</sup> The state thus sought to rally world opinion to ensure the survival of the state and resist the invasions of the Arab armies and ensure the economic viability of the new state. However, by 1949, once these goals had been achieved, Brecher argues, that "the dominant strand in his [Ben Gurion's] attitudinal prism was the historical, national and emotional links between Jewry and Jerusalem." In order to rally world Jewish support for the state, the Israeli government appealed to the unity of the Jewish people both as a people sharing a common national identity and increasingly as a religious community. Likewise, once the state had become a reality, world Jewish opinion, even the hitherto hostile Orthodox Jewish opinion, began to forge links with the "Jewish" state. The American Zionist Council assumed a leading role in rallying American Jews to the support of the state.

In addition to appealing to American Jews to come to the aid of Israeli claims to Jerusalem, Christians were also mobilized by the American Christian Palestine Committee (ACPC) which had been established in 1946 by the merger of the American Palestine Committee founded in 1932 and the Christian Council on Palestine, founded in 1942. More than 3000 American Protestant clergymen were among its members. The Committee published numerous pro-Zionist books and pamphlets including, Nowhere to Lay their Heads (1945) by Victor Gollancy, Let the Promise be Fulfilled (1946) by Dorothy Thompson, Truth about Palestine (1946), Problems of the Middle East, (1947), and Land Reborn (1950). Catholic members of the Committee included Rev. George

74. BRECHER, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy, pp.11-39. See also Brecher's discussion of the pressure of the Jewish Orthodox Parties on Ben Gurion to include religious Jewry in his governing coalition, pp.9-21.

Barry Ford, chaplain at Columbia University, Thomas Sugrue, and Claire Huchet Bishop, active in Christian-Jewish Relations. Jacques Maritain was also listed as a member.<sup>75</sup>

In May 1949 members of the Committee organized a study tour of Israel, and upon their return issued two appeals in October and November, and later a book entitled, A Christian Report on Israel in early 1950. Until this first "appeal" in October, the Committee had been virtually ignored by the Catholic press. However, by the fall of 1949, Catholic - Israeli relations had become so strained, the struggle for Jerusalem had become so vicious and the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem had become so intense that the Committee was made the object of a vicious attack by The Tablet. The newspaper reacted so bitterly against the appeals of the Committee not only because of its outspoken support for Israeli control of Jerusalem, but even more significantly because the group was a direct public challenge to the self-assumed Catholic role of articulator of American and world Christian opinion on Jerusalem. As was previously seen, The Tablet had published numerous statements of support for internationalization and alarm at the situation in the Holy Land emanating from world Christian groups. Therefore, the appeals of the Committee directly questioned the solidarity and unity of Christian opinion on this subject which The Tablet had labored to present.

While the newspaper did not print the text of the appeals, the release of such an appeal was described by The Tablet as, "the opening gun of an intensive campaign to secure American leadership in permitting the government of Israel to take over the City of Jerusalem and the Christian holy places."<sup>76</sup> In addition to various factual "misrepresentations," the appeal made two assertions that were deemed false. The first claimed that the PCC plan was in fact supportive of the "principle of internationalization," and that its framers were motivated by a sincere desire to internationalize the city and had this ultimate goal in mind. The Tablet rebutted this claim by stating that "the advocates of the (PCC) proposal have never been identified with the supporters of such a 'principle'." In addition, the principle was at odds with the Catholic assertion that internationalization was necessary to preserve peace between the Arabs and the Israelis. "The 'peace of Zion,'" the appeal argued, "a concept so sacred to Christian tradition cannot be erected upon the discontent and resentment of civilian populations who are averse to being governed by an international regime." Jerusalem, it continued, "is the natural and historic capital of the State of Israel."

75. For a very critical account of the role of the ACPC see, NIJIM, American Church Politics in the Middle East, pp.115-117.

76. The Tablet, October 29, 1949.

The Tablet, on the other hand, claimed that the Zionist leaders had accepted the internationalization of Jerusalem as a condition under which the state had been created and under which it had been admitted to membership in the UN. The present campaign by Israel and the ACPC amounted to a determined effort to escape from this condition. "After the State was set up and was recognized by the United Nations, however, the Jews opposed the internationalization proposal and, according to reliable reports, have been taking steps to make Jerusalem the capital of the new state."

The second appeal was reported under the headline; "Leaders' Ask UN Give Jerusalem to Israel, Arabs, - Internationalization Scored - Latest Propoganda Move Against Pope's Proposal."<sup>77</sup> It was noted that the appeal had been printed by The New York Times and had been addressed to President Truman, Carlos P. Romulo, President of the UN General Assembly, and Trygvie Lie, Secretary General of the UN. This appeal suggested that the problem of Jerusalem did not require internationalization but rather that a UN Commission would be sufficient to protect the Holy Places. The role of the commission, it suggested, would be confined to authenticating the Holy Places, supervising their preservation, guaranteeing free access to them and supervising the restoration of those damaged in the recent fighting. The appeal claimed that the American Government was opposed to internationalization, and that even Msgr. McMahon had stated that the Holy Places faced no immediate danger from Israel. The appeal was not only attacked by The Tablet as exhibiting "only a superficial understanding of the issues and difficulties involved," but also by America as totally based on falsehoods.<sup>78</sup>

As the headline of the article suggests, "'Leaders' Ask UN Give Jerusalem to Israel, Arabs," the signatories of the appeals came in for specific attacks by The Tablet. They were referred to as "propagandists," whose "names are familiar on letters, petitions and appeals for any any and all causes except those approved by Catholics." Particular mention was made of John Haynes Holmes, a well-known and prolific Protestant minister, who had welcomed the Zionist enterprise as the beginning of the creation of "an ideal world society,"<sup>79</sup> Paul Tillich, a famous theologian, member of the ACPC executive committee, Daniel A. Paling, editor of the Christian Herald, and William F. Albright, the archeologist and biblical scholar, and member of the ACPC executive committee.

77. The Tablet, November 5, 1949, pp.1 and 21.

78. America, November 19, 1949, p.170.

79. Pro-Palestine Herald, Vol.1, 1932, "Zion: A Romance and Adventure," p.2.

During the early 1940s, the ACPC had appealed to the humanitarian, as well as religious sensibilities of American Protestants to gather support for the Zionist cause. An example of this is their 1945 book, Nowhere to Lay their Heads. However, by 1949, when Israel had become a political reality and the humanitarian arguments were more aptly applied to the Palenistian refugees, the committee was forced to shift its emphasis. The new appeals were directed almost exclusively toward the biblical basis of Zionism, a topic which most Protestants were well versed in. Their emphasis on Jerusalem as the "natural and historic capital of Israel" was justified by reference to the divine selection of Israel and to Israel's centrality in the eschatological economy.<sup>80</sup>

The Tablet strongly objected to such biblical justification being cited for the Israeli claims to Jerusalem. However, in face of such religious inspired rhetoric, plus the internal dynamic unleashed by the crusade itself, the newspaper began to appeal to the very religious passion it had hoped to avoid. On October 15, it published a lengthy article entitled, "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem...". The article stated that in 1947 "...the Zionists both abroad and in the United States were not scandalized or repelled by the proposition of the International Enclave of Jerusalem."

There was no rending of garments. There were no declamations asserting that it would be traditionally or historically impossible to conceive of a State of Israel without Jerusalem as its capital and a part of its sovereign territory.<sup>81</sup>

However, in 1949, the situation was vastly different,

During the past week the daily press carried the news that a crusade was about to be organized in this country by Zionist factions to call on all Jews, but particularly those with Zionist affiliations, to take a Biblical Oath, whereby they would bind themselves to oppose relentlessly the internationalization of Jerusalem. ... The Jews of America, and especially Zionists - for it should be recalled in all accuracy, that all Jews in the United States are not Zionists - were called on to invoke a passage from the Psalms to give scriptural support to their inspired opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem and its environs. ... If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten and my tongue cleave to my mouth.

80. See especially NIJIM, American Church Politics in the Middle East.

81. The Tablet, October 15, 1949, p.4.

The article made it clear that this crusade was being organized by Zionist "factions" and that "all Jews are not Zionists." Nevertheless, certain "special pleaders" were addressing all Jews to take this "Biblical Oath" supporting their "inspired opposition" to internationalization. These pleaders, used "fraudulent, captious, rabble-rousing, racist presentations" to convince Jews that Christian concern was "implicit, anti-semitic, anti-Israeli."

These efforts by Zionists to introduce religious passion into the issue and to claim the Holy City as the monopoly of just one religious community, aroused Catholics for whom, according to the article, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem" was equally meaningful. The article put forward a passionate plea for solving the problem on the basis of the "original Resolution of the General Assembly [which] still remains valid and operative." Jerusalem was, "an objectively legal issue which can be peacefully adjusted by adhering to the democratically expressed will of the Parliament of Man." If the Israelis and the Jordanians persisted in opposing internationalization, other groups would have no choice but to arouse religious and fanatic passions as the Zionists were doing. The article's emphasis on the international and juridical aspects of the question was an effort to detract from the mystical-religious nature of the emerging crusade. It called that "Jews of the world and the vast Mohammedan population be informed carefully of the basic international, juridical concepts involved," "which affects untold millions of Christians throughout the world for all of whom Jerusalem is a Holy City and not merely the monopoly of one or even two religious groups."

The article insisted that, "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem," was a challenge to the millions of Christians, "have stood unarmed, bloody martyred guardians at the untended Tomb of Christ and at the other Holy Shrines of the Old Testament and of the New Testament through the centuries." "And we Christians do not intend to 'forget Jerusalem' even in this latest hour of struggle between Isaac and Ishmael!" The article concluded with a plea, "Let the General Assembly meet this tremendous challenge with courage and with a sense of international justice."

This direct confrontation between the ACPC and The Tablet, with its heightening tone of religious rhetoric and crusading spirit, is an indication of the extent to which the Jerusalem issue had become, on one hand, a direct confrontation between "Christendom" and world Judaism, and on the other, a confrontation between "Christendom" and a hostile anti-Catholic world composed of Israel, world Judaism, liberal Protestantism, and world Communism. For The Tablet, the principle of internationalism, as agreed upon in 1947, had become sacrosanct in itself, and anyone who questioned this principle was not only abandoning the Christian claims to Jerusalem, but even more importantly, was anti-Catholic. Only the Church stood out as a tower of strength against the Israeli and Marxist undermining of

the American resolve to defend freedom and international justice.

Alden Brown, in his history of The Tablet, "The Tablet", the First Seventy-Five Years, described the atmosphere that animated the newspaper as follows;

The "free world" was in the process of forsaking its religious heritage and then destroying its moral fabric: the new secularism (liberalism led to this) could neither uphold democracy nor resist the intrigues of communism.<sup>82</sup>

The lofty ideals that had guided American involvement in the war against Hitler, and the creation of the UN, were now being eroded by forces that were both anti-Catholic and anti-American. In early January, 1948, Patrick Scanlan, managing editor of the newspaper, had written, "We still have faith in Americanism. Let Europe fritter away her chances for recovery by playing with (other) destructive 'isms'".<sup>83</sup> However, by late 1949, The Tablet began to perceive the same destructive forces at work within the USA. The fact that so many prominent Christian, even Catholic, leaders could publicly support the abandonment of Christian claims to Jerusalem was proof that America was "forsaking its religious heritage" at the urging of that "propaganda agency" for the Israeli government, the ACPC.<sup>84</sup>

In spite of this growing attitude that only the Church was concerned for the protection of Jerusalem, the PCC Plan of September 1949 still offered some encouragement that Christian interests could be protected. As has been seen, The Tablet had reported that the degree to which the plan could be considered a true and proper internationalization, "is still a matter of dispute."<sup>85</sup> In fact, the Catholic world was clearly undecided if not confused throughout the fall and early winter of 1949. As has been seen, Mr. Eban had stressed this during the debates on Israeli admission to the UN in May 1949. Furthermore, conflicting signals emanated from various Roman sources which did nothing to clarify "a Catholic position" on the Jerusalem issue and in particular the PCC Plan then before the UN General Assembly. As has been already seen, the Vatican Radio broadcast of September 13 had criticized the plan as virtually meaningless and contemptuous of Christian rights. This been followed by an article in L'Osservatore Romano on September 22, which called for a "special regime" to protect the "supranatural character" of the city without specifying if or to what extent the PCC plan fulfilled this demand. Likewise, an Apostolic Exhortation of Pope Pius XII of November 11, 1949, addressed to "the bishops and faithful of the world" served to

82. BROWN, The Tablet, the First Seventy-Five Years, p.44.

83. The Tablet, January 1, 1948.

84. The Tablet, November 5, 1949 and November 19, 1949, p.5.

85. The Tablet, November 19, 1949, p.5.

further confuse the issue.<sup>86</sup> The exhortation stated, "It is a strict obligation that today, more than ever before, ardent prayers be offered to Heaven for the Holy Land..." Pius repeated his call for a "Crusade of prayer for Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine that,"

...there be granted as soon as possible to Jerusalem and to the whole of Palestine a status in accordance with the norms of true justice that will remove the danger of war and ruin and will preserve the sacred character of those places which are venerated and loved by the followers of Jesus Christ; a status which would safeguard all the rights which throughout past ages the children of the Church have acquired for the whole Catholic world by their lively devotion, active zeal and sacrifice.

In the charged atmosphere of November, when the Catholic, American, European and UN leaders were debating the degree to which the PCC plan conformed to Catholic demands, this exhortation did little to clarify the Catholic position. In particular, the call for a status for "Jerusalem and to the whole of Palestine" was especially confusing. Nevertheless, The Tablet billed it a confirmation of the Pope's personal support for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area as well as his endorsement of the crusade to achieve this aim, under the headline, "Prayers for Jerusalem Again Asked by Pope."<sup>87</sup>

The clearly "low key" tone of the exhortation can be interpreted as a sign of the hesitation that both the Pope, certain organs of the Vatican and the majority of the European press began to feel as regards the militancy and bellicosity of the "American" crusade. This hesitation can be attributed to the fear that both the content and rhetoric of this crusade was rapidly going beyond the limited goal of a just solution to the Jerusalem question and risked becoming a direct religious confrontation between Jews and Catholics. As has already been seen, La Civiltà Cattolica had already warned in January 1949 that the emergence of "religious fanaticism" would render the problem of Jerusalem insolvable and have disastrous consequences for Catholics, Jews and the city of Jerusalem.<sup>88</sup> L'Osservatore Romano, likewise, stressed throughout the fall and winter of

86. The exhortation was issued on November 8, 1949 and published in L'Osservatore Romano on November 11, 1949. The above English version was published in The Tablet on November 19, 1949, p.5; The Register, November 20, 1949; The New World, November 18, 1949, pp.1 and 7; and in French in La Croix, November 11 and 17, 1949.

87. The Tablet November 19, 1949, p.5.

88. La Civiltà Cattolica, January 1949, pp. 11-21.

1949 that Catholic concerns were not only for the future of Jerusalem, but the safety of the refugees,<sup>89</sup> the reparation of any damage suffered by the Christian Holy Places<sup>90</sup> and the freedom to operate the numerous charitable organizations in the Holy Land.<sup>91</sup> Special stress was placed on the long established European activities there, as well as the more recently established charitable organizations of the American Church.<sup>92</sup>

While it is dangerous to speculate that the Vatican sought to distance itself from the "American crusade," nevertheless, throughout November, the Israeli English language newspaper, The Jerusalem Post did speculate in this direction. The papal Apostolic Exhortation of November 11, was presented under the headline, "Pope calls for Crusade of Prayer for Jerusalem : No Mention by Vatican of Internationalization Plan."<sup>93</sup> The newspaper observed the absence of any detailed proposals in the Pope's exhortation which was furthermore interpreted as a Vatican willingness to enter into direct negotiations with Israel to reach agreement on all the outstanding issues between the Church and the Jewish state. This "turning point in Israeli - Catholic relations" was, according to the article, based on the observation that "Jews did more than pray, but defended the City with their lives." The Vatican's apparent willingness to remain silent on internationalization was interpreted as Rome's recognition that Israel had earned the right to control the city because of the enormous sacrifices it had made on its behalf during the Palestine War.

A few days later, The Jerusalem Post observed that in fact, the Catholics were "beset by internal differences between Franciscans and Jesuits."<sup>94</sup> The former were demanding total

89. Concerning the refugees see in particular, L'Osservatore Romano, March 23, April 9, May 23-24, 25, 29, July 13, 20, September 19-20, 29, 1949.

90. Concerning the Holy Places see in particular, L'Osservatore Romano, May 22, June 19, July 21, August 24, October 6, 10-11, 27 and November 26, 1949.

91. The charitable organisations included, L'Osservatore Romano, May 23-24 on the Red Cross, July 21 on the Franciscans, December 4 on Caritas, Switzerland, November 24, on The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, August 4, September 19-20, November 20 and December 5-6 on Pro Palestina, Belgium, November 2-3 on the Pontifical Mission in Jerusalem, and November 18 on Pro-Terrasanta.

92. American activities mentioned include, L'Osservatore Romano, July 20 on Msgr. McMahon, July 18-19 on Msgr. Richard Cushing and October 3-4 on the American Catholic Refugee activities.

93. The Jerusalem Post, November 11, 1949, pp.1-3.

94. The Jerusalem Post, November 20, 1949 and November 22, 1949.

internationalization while the latter, among whom "Israel is making friends," were campaigning for the internationalization of only the Holy Places, with the City itself divided between Israel and Jordan. Finally, on December 5, the newspaper announced that an Israeli Inter-Ministerial Committee for the Holy Year was about to leave for Rome to discuss the situation of the Holy Places located throughout Israel, including Jerusalem, Tiberias, Nazareth and Ein Kerim.<sup>95</sup> Due to the expected influx of large numbers of Christian pilgrims during the Holy Year, the Israeli committee sought to facilitate the transportation, housing and frontier formalities of these pilgrims. Both the ministerial visit and the success of the Holy Year pilgrimages would be signs of the good relations that could exist between the Vatican and Israel.

At the same time as The Jerusalem Post was expressing its pleasure at the prospect of direct Vatican - Israeli contacts without the intermediary of either the CNEWA and its secretary Msgr. McMahon or the Franciscan Custos, both of whom according to the newspaper were uncompromising in their demands for total internationalization, a new avenue for direct contacts was opened by an initiative of Pius XII. In November 1949, Pius announced the appointment of a new Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem to fill the seat which had lain vacant since the death of Msgr. Luigi Barlassia who had died in 1947. The new patriarch, Msgr. Alberto Gori was a personal appointment of Pius and while responsible for the ancient Franciscan possessions and rights in the Holy Land, was also expected to take steps to place Catholic - Israeli relations on a workable plane.<sup>96</sup> Msgr. Gori joined Msgr. Gustave Testa, who had been appointed to the recently established position of Apostolic Delegate of Jerusalem. On February 11, 1948, Pius had created this Vatican diplomatic position and given it jurisdiction over Israel, Jordan, Cyprus and Jerusalem.<sup>97</sup>

It is unfortunate that if such direct negotiations took place no mention was made of them in the Catholic press. Nevertheless, this diversification of sources of information, contacts and Catholic representation in Jerusalem, plus the intentional vagueness of the Apostolic Exhortation, both encouraged Catholic and non-Catholic opinion that severe divisions did exist in the Catholic camp. Furthermore, as was obvious from the exhortation, the Pope was optimistic that if direct negotiations were entered into, an acceptable "status" could be found, acceptable to both parties. However, as will

95. The Jerusalem Post, December 5, 1949.

96. L'Osservatore Romano, November 24, 1949, p.2 and December 28, 1949, p.2. See also The Jerusalem Post, November 22, 1949.

97. Annuaire de l'Eglise Catholique en Terre Sainte, Jerusalem, Ha besch, The Commercial Press, 1979, p.4.

However, as will be seen shortly, this hope was dashed when the American hierarchy categorically condemned the PCC plan and demanded the implementation of the Jerusalem Statute as defined in the Partition Resolution of 1947.

The above confusion referred to by The Jerusalem Post is also reflected in those American periodicals which had adopted the most militant stand on the Jerusalem issue such as Catholic Action, The Sign and the Canadian review, Relations. Catholic Action, in its November issue, published an unsigned article entitled, "Catholic Thinking on the Internationalization of Jerusalem," which admitted that "much confusion on the subject [of Jerusalem] exists." The article continued that in spite of this confusion, the "Catholic" position was perfectly clear. This position was unwavering support for the UN Partition Resolution Resolution which "decreed", "(a) the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine; (b) the establishment of an Arab state in Palestine; and (c) the Internationalization of the Holy City of Jerusalem, including such surroundings as Bethlehem on the south, Ain-Karim on the west, and the Mount of Olives on the east." In spite of Israeli objections which reject any form of internationalization as "unworthy of serious consideration" the Catholic position has not wavered since November 1947.<sup>98</sup>

The Sign, likewise expressed its concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation regarding Jerusalem in an article entitled, "Jerusalem Belongs to the World".<sup>99</sup> The adamant refusal of Israel to permit the internationalization of the city was attributed to the growing power of the Orthodox Jews in the political and religious establishments in Israel. The article observed that, "the chief political factor is the inability of Premier Ben Gurion's Mapai Socialist Party to govern without a coalition with the Mizrachi, or Orthodox political bloc." This bloc had forced the "secular" socialists to acquiesce to the whim of a fanatical rabbinate, "composed of men who are divorced from the realities of the democratic process of government and rely on archaic laws, formulated more than two thousand years ago." As a result Orthodox Jewish laws in such matters as divorce, remarriage, the status of women, illegitimacy, polygamy, Shabbat observance, compulsory circumcision and dietary regulations had been imposed on all Jewish citizens of the state, whether they be secular or religious Jews. The article continued by stating that the "fanaticism evolving in Palestine" would not only lead to the declaration of a religious state, but had already resulted in a situation in which the fanatics, "have entrenched themselves in Jerusalem and are now broadcasting to the world that they will not permit internationalization of a city sacred to Christians, Jews and Moslems alike."

98. Catholic Action, November 1949, p.3, based on an October 3 letter of the N.C.W.C. News Service.

99. The Sign, December 1949, pp.11-13.

The only manner in which the rise of the religious fanatics could be checked, according to the article, was for the Catholic world to support the internationalization plan which had been drawn up by the PCC. "Under this plan both the Arab and Jewish municipalities would be responsible to an international authority whose jurisdiction would be supreme over the Holy Places, including Bethlehem, the city of the Nativity." The PCC plan, which was described by the article as coinciding with the various pleas of the Pope, would effectively place limits on the actions of the Israelis. The article concluded by stating that, "Israel must be made to realize that its scornful treatment of Christian rights and the just requests of the Pope is earning the ill will of many Christians throughout the world who are supported and helped mightily to bring to fruition Jewish aspirations for national independence."

In addition to Catholic Action which rejected the PCC plan in favor of the 1947 Partition Resolution Plan, and The Sign which announced its strong support for the PCC plan, Columbia, the organ of the Knights of Columbus simply reported to its 900,000 members that the Supreme Council had adopted a resolution which read;

Be it resolved, that the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus urged prompt action by our government and by the United Nations to bring about, through the internationalization of Jerusalem and its environs, assurance of full protection of Christian rights.<sup>100</sup>

The above reference to "Jerusalem and its environs," clearly indicated that only internationalization as envisaged in the Partition Resolution was acceptable to that organization.

Finally, the Canadian Jesuit review, Relations announced to its readers in an article entitled, "Les Catholiques et la Palestine." that only internationalization as envisaged by the UN in 1947 could;

protéger et préserver les intérêts spirituels et religieux uniques situés dans la Ville des trois grandes religions monothéistes établies dans le monde: chrétienne, juive, musulmane. ... Jérusalem restait ce que Dieu avait voulu qu'elle fût: l'héritage de Dieu, la montagne à laquelle montent les peuples, la lumière dans laquelle marchent les Nations.<sup>101</sup>

100. Columbia, October 1949, p.14. Columbia, was the official publication of the Knights of Columbus which had a membership of 900,000.

101. Relations, November 1949, "Les Catholiques et la Palestine," Joseph Ledit SJ, pp.302-304.

The unique role that Jerusalem was to play in history was that of a spiritual capital for all monotheists, Jews, Christians and Moslems alike, and not a political or spiritual capital for the state of Israel or world Judaism. Reflecting the review's theological perception of events in Palestine, the article concluded by repeating its longheld position regarding both Israel and the Jerusalem problem;

On ne voit que trop, hélas, où tend le totalisme juif - à faire de Jérusalem la capitale politique d'Israël et la capitale spirituelle du monde juif. Tout cela mène à un seul résultat: la négation totale du Christ dans sa propre patrie; le retour à l'Ancien Testament par la suppression du Nouveau.<sup>102</sup>

This uncertainty and confusion concerning the Catholic position on the PCC plan in particular and the Jerusalem issue in general, persisted throughout the Fall of 1949. However, underlying the above press reactions on the degree to which the PCC plan offered effective internationalization of Jerusalem, was the growing impression that Israel was less than eager to arrive at any negotiated solution to the Jerusalem problem. As the above discussed article from, Relations indicated, the emerging identification of the state of Israel as both the representative of a sovereign state and the representative of world Judaism, increasingly forced Israel to legitimate itself in the eyes of the latter through the incorporation of Jerusalem into the state and its declaration as the capital. In spite of any conciliatory gestures or diplomatic moves by the Vatican, the American Church leadership eventually abandoned any optimism that a negotiated settlement could be arrived at and formally declared its rejection of the PCC process in favor of the 1947 Statute.

Following the mid-November annual meeting of the American Catholic Hierarchy in Washington D.C., a statement was released which stated that "while pretending internationalization of the Jerusalem area, it [the PCC plan] by no means achieves it." Furthermore, the American hierarchy was unanimous in demanding that the Jerusalem area must be placed "under the sovereignty and effective control" of the UN.

102. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the insistence of Ben Gurion and his government in making Jerusalem the capital of Israel, a move which risked alienating much of world public opinion, antagonising many foreign governments, alienating the Moslem and Christian worlds and even placing the legal legitimacy of the state of Israel in doubt by rejecting the validity of the Partition Resolution upon which Israeli legitimacy and legality was based. See in particular the argument of the Cuban delegate to the UN during the Israeli admission to the UN which had stressed this point in General Assembly Document A/818, pp.331-332.

There can be no question as to the meaning of internationalization in the Papal letters. It is the concept originally expressed by the General Assembly itself in November 1947. It is a truly international regime and not a mere control or curatorship. Therefore only such a real internationalization can establish peace in the area and effectively safeguard the Holy Places for future generations.<sup>103</sup>

This statement is an indication of the extent to which the American hierarchy, or at least certain influential members of it, supported the position that the 1947 resolution must remain the only Catholic position, and that the PCC had reached its limits in wresting concessions from Israel. In effect, the statement was a recognition that any hope in arriving at a negotiated settlement to the Jerusalem problem had vanished.

The sharp contrast between the above statement and the Papal Exhortation dramatically illustrates to what extent the American Church had assumed a leading role in the Catholic world. The material resources of the American Church, combined with the leading role of the United States as the bastion of the "Free World" transformed the American Church into the major power of Christendom. In contrast to the traditional Vatican and European emphasis on discrete diplomatic overtures, judicious encyclicals and exhortations, and unpublicized private initiatives by highly placed clergymen, the American Church injected its own "American" style of public "Crusades," blaring newspaper headlines, bitter press attacks and public religious pagentry with thousands of participants to advocate for its objectives. In the rarefied atmosphere of late 1949 in which the Jerusalem issue had become a direct and public confrontation between Israel and the American Church, even the Jewish world and Christendom, the Catholic world in its entirety had no choice but to come to terms with this modern-day crusading spirit of the American Church.

In general the European Catholic press, with the exception of The Tablet of London and La France Catholique of Paris, had been reluctant to endorse the crusade in its early stages, and became more so as it became even more intense during the Fall and early Winter of 1949. La Croix continued to remain loyal to its vision of the UN as an active partner with the Church in the quest of a "pax christiana." In an article of October 25, entitled, "O.N.U." Jean Caret argued that the UN had become "le seul lieu de rencontre" between the two super-powers

103. The statement was published in The Tablet, November 26, 1949, and in Catholic Action, December 1949, p.20. See also the text in Our Bishops Speak, ed. National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1952, pp.366-367.

who were becoming increasingly embroiled in such explosive situations as the war in the Balkans, the deteriorating situations in Berlin and Korea, as well as the situation in Palestine. Thus far, he continued, the UN had been unable to resolve these and other explosive situations, but he remained optimistic that if Catholics would place their combined moral support behind that organization, it would ultimately succeed. Peace, Caret insisted, was an "oeuvre spirituelle" as well as "humaine."<sup>104</sup> Even as late as October 1949, Caret remained loyal to the vision that the Church should and could remain aloof from the emerging Soviet and Western blocs, and even play a significant role of reconciliation.<sup>105</sup>

Nevertheless, France's sensitivity to its position in the Muslim world, and even as a major Muslim power through its possessions in North African and Sub-Sahara Africa, was reflected in the publication of a telegram from the Algerian muftis to Robert Schuman, minister of foreign affairs on November 10. Under the headline, "L'internationalisation des Lieux Saints intéresse aussi les musulmans," the danger of Israeli annexation of Jerusalem was opposed in favor of "la primauté du spirituel sur les ambitions des impérialistes et sur l'avidité des capitalistes." A separate Jerusalem area would, in the opinion of the muftis, protect the Holy Places of the three monotheistic religions and act as a symbol of the reconciliation between all the fidels of Abraham.<sup>106</sup>

The following day, the three papal encyclicals and other pronouncements on Palestine, Jerusalem and the Holy Places were summarized, as well as the Apostolic Exhortation of November 11.<sup>107</sup> On November 20-21, it was likewise noted that the US bishops had announced their opposition to the PCC plan. Finally, on November 25, an editorial written by chief-editor Emile Gabel, entitled, "Terre Sainte," was published which rather blandly stated that, "Il faut vraiment que le problème palestinien soit un sujet qui afflige particulièrement et angoisse le coeur du Saint Père." He called upon Christians to overcome their apathy.

Si nous, catholiques, nous n'attachons pas une importance capitale au problème des Lieux Saints, pourquoi se plaindre de l'incurie des Etats et des hésitations de l'O.N.U.?<sup>108</sup>

Témoignage Chrétien and L'Aube remained silent on the Jerusalem issue following the publication of the PCC plan. Even La France Catholique, which had welcomed the plan on

104. La Croix, October 25, 1949.

105. See, La Croix, May 6, 8 and 9, 1949, and L'Osservatore Romano, November 10, 1949.

106. La Croix, November 10, 1949.

107. La Croix, November 11, 1949.

108. La Croix, November 25, 1949.

September 23 as fulfilling the demands of the Church regarding Jerusalem, remained silent until mid-December. The only publication which adopted a significant position on the crusade was L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne. As has already been seen in the last chapter, the December 1949 issue of the publication had attacked both the idea of internationalization and the idea of a crusade to achieve this goal. Jacques Maritain, its editor, had argued;

Mais parler d'internationalisation à propos des Lieux Saints, c'est admettre une fois pour toutes l'hostilité permanente entre Juifs et Chrétiens, et supposer que ces lieux doivent être protégés contre ceux-là.

Likewise, the idea of a crusade was criticised as being but a tool in the "grande politique" of certain churchmen to achieve "les intérêts matériels."<sup>109</sup>

The intensification of the American sponsored Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem brought into clear relief certain elements of the broader Catholic-Israeli confrontation which had emerged during the preceding year. First, many Catholics continued to be inspired by the vision of "Christendom," that nebulous political-theological-historical term that had given birth to the Holy Roman Empire and had launched the Medieval crusades and continued to inspire theocratic dreams of many religious leaders. The demand that the UN retain sovereignty over Jerusalem and the surrounding area, as opposed to Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty, was the specific goal of this crusade. Second, in the confusion that surrounded the PCC plan, the Catholic supporters of both the Crusade and Christendom were able to identify those Protestants, Jews, Communists and fellow Catholics who were opposed to the revival of "Christendom." As has been seen, The Tablet of Brooklyn was in the forefront of this "drawing of battle lines" between those forces of God and good and the "forces of evil." Even the Vatican did not measure up to the American Catholic demands. As will now be seen, this crusade was to be "crowned with success" when the UN General Assembly voted on December 9, 1949 to reaffirm its intention to internationalize the territory of Jerusalem, as envisaged in the 1947 Partition Resolution.

109. L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne, December 1949, p.14.

## 7. The UN General Assembly Reaffirms its Support for the Complete Internationalization of Jerusalem

The Ad Hoc Political Committee of the UN General Assembly began considering the PCC Plan at its 43rd meeting held on November 24, 1949. From that date until December 9, when the General Assembly reaffirmed its support for the territorial internationalization of Jerusalem as envisaged by the 1947 UN Partition Resolution, in the words of The Tablet, "developments tumbled over one another."<sup>110</sup> Reflecting the confusion which reigned on the Jerusalem issue, a series of proposals were placed before the General Assembly which attempted to harmonize the Catholic and Israeli demands. The Australian delegates proposed instructing the PCC to "reconsider" its plan, "with a view of bringing its proposals ... into closer harmony with the proposals set out in the resolution of November 29, 1947."

A second proposal, supported by the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and eventually Israel, called for a "functional internationalization" which envisaged a degree of international control limited exclusively to the actual structures of the Holy Places and not to the Jerusalem area in its totality. Such an arrangement was inspired by the "Lateran Treaties" which had granted a similar status to certain churches in the city of Rome, but outside of the Vatican State itself. Still another proposal was made by Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon which closely resembled that of Australia, except for its insistence on immediate action by both the PCC and General Assembly. Dr. Malik "asserted that Israel might at any moment declare Jerusalem her capital and absorb the Arab-held sectors of the city, and Israel and Jordan might come to an agreement by by-passing the United Nations."<sup>111</sup>

During this period, the internal confusion within the Catholic Church continued. In particular, the Vatican continued to nurture the hope that a negotiated settlement could still be arrived at, while the American Church demanded an immediate UN reaffirmation of the 1947 Partition Resolution Jerusalem Statute whatever its chances of implementation. Vatican Radio announced its support for the Australian draft proposal which both called on the PCC to bring its proposal into closer harmony with the 1947 Statute, and the "restructuring" of the committee itself. This restructuring included the prolonging of the activities of the committee for yet another year, plus its enlargement from the present three members (US, France and Turkey).<sup>112</sup> This

110. The Tablet, December 3, 1949.

111. See UN Yearbook, 1949.

112. The New World of Chicago, December 2, 1949 and The Tablet, December 3, 1949.

broadcast indicates that the Vatican still had hopes that a negotiated settlement to the Jerusalem issue could be achieved, in spite of the rather hostile Israeli and Jordanian receptions of the PCC plan of September.

The Tablet, on the other hand, entertained no such optimism. On December 3, in a front page article entitled, "Jerusalem issue stirs up debate in UN Assembly; Israel and Jordan adamant in keeping parts of city now under their control," reported that Mr. Sharett the Israeli Foreign Minister, "not only reiterated his government's rejection of the proposals made by the Conciliation Committee, but took a stand described as more uncompromising than any ever taken before by Israel." Sharett was reported as also suggesting that only the Old City (then under Jordanian control) be internationalized, its Arab inhabitants be moved out and a "spacious and dignified compound" be created to contain the Holy Places and religious foundations.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, in a complicated turn of events, the USSR submitted an amendment to the Australian draft resolution proposing, inter alia, to delete any reference to the PCC and to dissolve the committee, while retaining the call for the return to the 1947 resolution. The adoption of this amendment guaranteed the support of the Soviet Union and its allies for the Australian draft resolution. It also succeeded in rallying the support of the majority of the Arab states, with the exclusion of Jordan. And finally, the energetic lobbying of Dr. Malik had mobilized the Catholic delegates that "it was now or never." Thus by the end of November, the Australian proposal had been transformed into a document which simply called for the internationalization of the Jerusalem area, as envisaged in the 1947 Partition Resolution without any instruments to implement it.<sup>114</sup> As such, the proposal had come to resemble the earlier proposal. This proposal was adopted by the Ad Hoc Political Committee on December 7.

The Tablet greeted the vote as a victory for principles over expediency, and predicted that it would be adopted by the General Assembly without delay and with a "convenient margin."<sup>115</sup> The Lebanese delagete, Dr. Malik, was hailed as a major spokesman for the Catholic position at the UN who had stressed that the only alternative to a return to the 1947 plan would be a "compromise plan of a partitioned Jerusalem" and "the eventual Israelization" of the entire city. He likewise emphasized that in light of strong Catholic concern for the city, the newly emerged Soviet bloc support and widespread alarm concerning the safety of the city, if the world did not now come to the aid of Jerusalem, it would be too late. He concluded, it is "now or never."

113. The Tablet, December 3, 1949, p.15.

114. Un Document A/AC.31/L.41 of November 25, 1949.

115. The Tablet, December 10, 1949.

Two days later, on December 9, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 303(IV) by a vote of 38 to 14, with 7 abstentions. The resolution read as follows.

303(IV), Palestine: Question of an international regime for the Jerusalem area and the protection of the Holy Places

The General Assembly, Having regard to its resolutions 181(II) of 29 November 1947 and 194(III) of 11 December 1948, Having studied the reports of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine set up under the latter resolution,

I. Decides, In relation to Jerusalem,

Believing that the principles underlying its previous resolutions concerning this matter, and in particular its resolution of 29 November 1947, represent a just and equitable settlement of the question,

1. To restate, therefore, its intention that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international regime, which should envisage appropriate guarantees for the protection of the Holy Places, both within and outside Jerusalem, and to confirm specifically the following provisions of General Assembly resolution 181(II). (1) the City of Jerusalem shall be established as a corpus separatum under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations; (2) the Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority ...; and (3) the City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, Ein Kerem (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern, Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map;

2. To request for this purpose that the Trusteeship Council as its next session, whether special or regular, complete the preparation of the Statute of Jerusalem, omitting the now inapplicable provisions, such as articles 32 and 39, and, without prejudice to the fundamental principles of the international regime for Jerusalem set forth in General Assembly resolution 191(II) introducing therein amendments in the direction of its greater democratization, approve the Statute, and proceed immediately with its implementation, The Trusteeship Council shall not allow any actions taken by any interested Government or Governments to divert it from adopting and implementing the Statute of Jerusalem;

II. Calls upon the States concerned to make formal undertakings, at an early date and in the light of their obligations as Members of the United Nations, that they will approach these matters with good will and be guided by the terms of the present resolution.

In favour; Afganistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussia, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the Ukraine, the USSR, Venezuela, Yeman.

Against; Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Guetemala, Iceland, Israel, Norway, Sweden, South Africa, Turkey, the UK, the USA, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining; Chile, Dominican Republic, Honduras, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Thailand.<sup>116</sup>

The initial Catholic response to the General Assembly vote reflected the confusion that had reigned in the Catholic world since the month of September. On one hand the Vatican had favored a continuation of negotiations within the framework of an expanded PCC, while the American Church had sought to force an immediate decision, in principle if not in actuality. Until the very last debate on December 6, it was unclear if the question would come to a vote or if it would be delayed until the following session. It was due primarily to the energetic lobbying of Dr. Malik that the vote was actually held on December 6. The vote was clearly a surprise, not only for many Catholics, but for Israel, Jordan, the USA and European states as well. Mr. Eban, the Israeli delegate to the UN, made a statement to Dean Rusk, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, that the Vatican was probably "elated" with the passage of the resolution, "which the Vatican had not anticipated."<sup>117</sup>

116. UN Year Book, 1949, 275 Plenary Meeting, fourth session, December 9, 1949, official records.

117. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, December 13, 1949, p.1538. Certain commentators believe that Catholics were surprised by the adoption of the resolution, others view it as the result of a coordinated plan. It has also been argued that it was a ploy to pressure Israel and Jordan to be more forthcoming when the UN reconvened in early 1950. Unfortunately, a study of the Catholic press is inconclusive on this point. It must remain the object of pure speculation until a depth study of the Vatican archives is undertaken.

According to a summary of a conversation between Mr Sharett, the Israeli Foreign Minister and the American Secretary of State, held just before the crucial vote and published in Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, Mr. Sharett had stated that;

the Vatican was not displeased with the manner in which the Israeli Government was conducting its relations with Catholic representatives within Israel and that, as the Vatican had not expected any action at the present session of the General Assembly, representatives of Israel and the Vatican could continue their current talks thereafter."

Mr Sharett continued by stating that he thought that the Vatican was divided regarding the question of full internationalization for the Jerusalem area.<sup>118</sup>

The major Catholic newspapers were sharply divided in their reactions to this "victory" which according to Mr. Eban, "the Vatican had not anticipated." The Tablet remained silent for almost two weeks following the surprise victory. It was only on December 17 and especially on December 24 that the newspaper formulated a specific reaction to the vote.<sup>119</sup>

La Croix, three days before the crucial General Assembly vote had reported that the General Assembly would most probably be unable to muster the necessary two-thirds majority vote to approve the resolution, thus delaying any action well into 1950. The day before the vote, on December 8, the Australian draft resolution was described as a "chose curieuse," which would be surely defeated because of massive American and Israeli opposition. Finally, on December 13, F. Roussel wrote that he was shocked (herisse) at the passage of the resolution and expressed his inquietude for the future of Jerusalem.<sup>120</sup>

In contrast to the alarm expressed by La Croix, L'Aube and Témoignage Chrétien welcomed the vote. In an article published in L'Aube as an 'éditorial' on December 14, Louis Massignon hailed the decision of the French government to abandon the PCC plan in favor of the 1947 Statute as an expression of its "devoir présent." He continued by describing the vote as a gesture of remembrance for all those Frenchmen who had given their lives for the Holy Land, its churches and institutions. However, he insisted, this vote was only the beginning of a historic task which would be intensified during

118. Foreign Relations of the USA, 1949, December 7, 1949, p.1525.

119. The Tablet, December 17, 1949.

120. La Croix, December 6, 1949, p.4; December 8, 1949, "Administration ou Contrôle des Lieux Saints par L'O.N.U.?" F. Roussel, pp.1 and 2; and December 13, 1949.

the up-coming Holy Year.<sup>121</sup>

Massignon's collaborator, R. Barrat, even more forcefully interpreted the vote as a Catholic victory in an article in Témoignage Chrétien, entitled, "Jerusalem internationale," on December 16, 1949. He stated that the UN reaffirmation of the 1947 resolution was a recommitment by that world body to the "principle" of internationalization. He wrote;

La question est de savoir si Israël accepte oui ou non le principe d'une internationalisation - même partielle - de Jérusalem et de sa région. ... A cette question les Israéliens ont toujours refusé de répondre depuis la mort de Bernadotte. La preuve en est dans ce fait qu'ils avaient déjà, ces mois derniers, pris violemment parti contre le projet de la commission de conciliation qui était beaucoup plus doux que le projet actuel.<sup>122</sup>

The article continued that the Israeli statements had been traditionally vague concerning Jerusalem, and the succession of plans, commissions, draft proposals and UN resolutions had taken on an air of absurdity. "Tout se passe donc comme si Israël refusait absolument d'envisager la possibilité d'une internationalisation. Comme s'il considérait Jérusalem comme sa capitale, une capitale qu'il recouvrira un jour ou l'autre, quand le moment sera venu." Israel had engaged in these discussions as a means of delaying any action on the Jerusalem issue. "Que l'on discute sur les modalités de cette internationalisation, entièrement d'accord. Mais que l'on accepte d'abord le principe."

Barrat, as well as the bulk of French Catholic opinion, welcomed this statement of principle, but was aware that the eventual implementation of such a resolution would fall on the Trusteeship Council of the UN. Once the passions which had greeted its adoption had cooled, it would be the task of the President of the Council, Roger Garreau, a Frenchman, to attempt to rally Israeli, Jordanian, American and French support for the resolution. Cahiers Sioniens, for example, optimistically observed that Garreau had been given "une grande liberté d'interprétation," and thus a possibility of rallying Israeli and Jordanian support theoretically existed.<sup>123</sup>

In contrast to the hesitation and confusion by the Catholic press, The Jerusalem Post clearly interpreted the vote as a

121. L'Aube, December 14, 1949.

122. Témoignage Chrétien, December 16, 1949; see also Barrat in La France Catholique, December 23, 1949, pp.2 and 3; and Ecclesia, December 1949, "Bethleem," pp.5-10.

123. Cahiers Sioniens, March 1, 1950, pp.68-70.

Catholic victory and the culmination of what it perceived as a well planned, centrally orchestrated and Vatican inspired "crusade." Reports of "a terrific last-minute exercise of Catholic pressure" at the UN, in particular on Catholic delegates and governments,<sup>124</sup> had "proved overwhelming."<sup>125</sup> The Vatican had been driven by an obsession to "demonstrate world Catholic power."<sup>126</sup> However, of even more significance than such flights of journalistic perception and rhetoric, was the fact that such a perception and such rhetoric was shared by the Israeli leaders. In a speech of December 5 before the Israeli Knesset he announced;

We declare that Israel will never willingly give up Jerusalem, as she has never surrendered her faith in the thousands of years of peoplehood, her national unity, or her right to Jerusalem, to Zion - in spite of the persecutions of which there has been no likening in history.

Later, on December 13, four days after the decisive UN vote, Ben Gurion delivered another speech before the Knesset which represented a major turning point in Israeli foreign policy. This speech dramatically affected Israeli perceptions of, and relations with the rest of the world. This speech was likewise instrumental in determining Catholic attitudes towards the UN resolution itself. Ben Gurion announced that three powerful forces had joined hands against them; the Arab, the Catholic and the Communist worlds. As a result, "Israel is aligned against the whole world" in its struggle to retain control of Jerusalem as it had struggled against the world to preserve its faith in its peoplehood and national unity. He concluded by declaring that the struggle for Jerusalem "has only just begun."

Who knows how it will end or how great the price we may have to pay. Our only weapon is historic justice. It is the same justice on which we have relied throughout the year.<sup>127</sup>

It was in reaction to this speech that The Tablet broke its two week silence on the UN vote. The article which summarized and quoted extensively from Ben Gurion's speeches of December 5 and 13, was entitled, "Israel Defies UN Decision to

124. The Jerusalem Post, December 9, 1949.

125. The Jerusalem Post, December 11, 1949.

126. The Jerusalem Post, December 11, 1949, p.3.

127. The Tablet, December 17, 1949, pp.1 and 4, see also BRECHER, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy, Chapter 2, pp.9-55, and BEN GURION, Memoires.

Make Jerusalem Free." The speeches were interpreted as Israel's declaration of its "defiance of Christian, Moslem and even considerable Jewish opposition." A commentary on the attitude adopted by Israel was followed by a summary of the speeches, under the heading, "Principles Victorious Over 'Practical View'" by Alba I. Zizzamia. Zizzamia observed that "a variety of reasons were advanced for its [the UN resolution's] victory after days of debate marked by confused anxiety, caution and considerable wavering."

It has been interpreted, depending on the point of view, as a triumph for spiritual and religious interests as against the political, for principle as against what is currently "practical" and even as a victory for the Soviet Union. [However] Uppermost in the minds of supporters of internationalization was the basic necessity of establishing the principle of UN sovereignty over the Jerusalem area. This the resolution did, whatever the methods or consequences of putting it into effect.<sup>128</sup>

This article illustrates the degree to which the principle that Jerusalem must not, under any circumstances, be recognised as under Israeli sovereignty, had come to dominate Catholic thinking. In contrast to the 1947 negotiations over partition, when the effective implementation of an international regime had been a realistic possibility for Catholics, by December 1949, this hope had all but vanished. Israel and Jordan had de facto sovereignty over the city and showed no signs of being willing to surrender it, even if de jure sovereignty was denied them. However, in many Catholic circles, the denial of de jure sovereignty to Israel had assumed a theological dimension. As has already been seen in the previous chapter, the inclusion of Jerusalem within the boundaries of the "Zionist" state would be in effect transform and be "proof" of the state's "religious" character. This the Catholic world was reluctant if not unwilling to do. On the other hand, once Israel had given ample evidence of its unwillingness to permit the internationalization of the city or to renounce its de facto sovereignty over the city, the Catholic world had no choice but to guarantee that de jure sovereignty was denied it.

In effect the UN resolution of December 1949, was an expression in terms of international law regarding Jerusalem, of the theological position that the state of "Israel" was but a unlawful usurper to a dignity and possession of another power. In the same manner that the Church had become the heir of ancient Israel and as such was the people of Israel - the Chosen people of God, legal title to the city of Jerusalem had passed

128. The Tablet, December 17, 1949, "Principles Victorious over 'Practical View'," Alba I. Zizzamia, p.4.

to all of humanity, as expressed through the UN. As the above article in The Tablet argues, Catholic support for the UN resolution on Jerusalem had been inspired by the "basic necessity of establishing the principle of UN sovereignty over the Jerusalem area."

Furthermore, if the Catholic Church sought to obtain an unequivocal statement from the Israeli government whether it supported the "principle" of internationalization, and as a result if further negotiations would be warranted, The Tablet regarded the speeches of Ben Gurion as just such an unequivocal statement. Ben Gurion's speech was viewed as confirmation that the Israeli authorities had no intention of permitting the internationalization of the city, and also confirmed the argument put forward by Dr. Malik that the only realistic alternative was for the UN to immediately restate its commitment to the principle even if there seemed to be no realistic possibility of its implementation.

On Christmas eve 1949, The Tablet reprinted the bulk (over 2000 words) of the final address given by Dr. Charles Malik before the General Assembly on December 9, as expressing the "viewpoint of Christians throughout the world."<sup>129</sup> The title given the speech was, "Summarizes the Case for a Free Jerusalem." In its introductory remarks, The Tablet observed;

Although the Israeli regime has since occupied the Holy City, the words of Dr. Malik are reprinted here extensively because they express the viewpoint of Christians throughout the world and particularly because they emphasize principles which may be violated but cannot be permanently ignored by any government, including Israel.

This remark indicated that the UN resolution of December, was in some manner, more than an empty gesture which Israel could ignore with impunity. Without employing the term, the above reference indicated that the resolution had declared a sort of "collective non-recognition" of the Israeli, and for that matter Jordanian, occupation of the city of Jerusalem. In contrast to past procedures in international behavior and law in which a de facto occupation or seizure of a territory eventually gained international de jure legitimacy through bilateral or multilateral treaties, the establishment of the UN had created an international authority which could interrupt this practice. As stated in the introductory remarks by The Tablet, Israel could violate, but not "permanently" ignore the UN resolution. At some time in the future, Israel would be forced to return to that body and request recognition of its conquests.

129. The Tablet, December 24, 1949, p.5; see also The Register, December 18, 1949.

The speech by Dr. Malik itself quoted amply from American Catholic periodicals, the declaration of the American hierarchy and various papal statements to prove the Catholic unanimity on the Jerusalem issue. He stressed that, for the first time, the Arab World had been prepared to share Jerusalem with the Jews and Christians. "Here, for the first time in more than a thousand years, the whole hinterland of that region agrees to share its [Jerusalem's] government with you [the Christian World]." He appealed to Israelis to transcend their narrow nationalism and conceive of a Jerusalem "as something above politics," as "completely devoted to the highest flowering of modern Hebrew culture and thought" while at the same time "equally devoted to the flourishing of Moslem life, culture and thought" and "to the flourishing of Christian culture."

Malik did not accuse the Israelis of intentionally planning to seize the Jordanian sections of the city, nor did he accuse them of deliberating liquidating the Christian presence there, but he did observe that under Israeli occupation, Christian "life is now snuffed out, it is squeezed out and well nigh liquidated" through the struggle of "two antagonistic nationalisms facing one another."<sup>130</sup>

The text of this speech was accompanied by a photograph of the official Vatican poster designed to launch the Holy Year of 1950. The contrast between the pessimism of Malik on the possibility of implementing the resolution and the poster's emphasis on 1950 as a crucial year for the Church, is an indication of the extent that The Tablet considered the "victory" of the UN resolution as an initial victory in a larger struggle to assert a Catholic presence in a hostile world. Throughout the crusade to internationalize Jerusalem, The Tablet had lashed out against the American non-Catholic press, so called "Christian" supporters of Israel, Zionist propaganda

130. Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian, had been both Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Lebanon to the USA since 1945, and since 1946, was a member of the UN Economic and Social Council (UNESCO). In November 1948 he was elected president of the latter council and presided over the drafting of an international bill of human rights. See, The Challenge of Human Rights, by Malik (1949); and Human Rights in the UN, New York, UN Publications, 1952. He strongly opposed the partition of Palestine and subsequently viewed the influx of Palestinian refugees as a threat to "Christian" Lebanon. During the period 1949-'50, he was instrumental in presenting the Arab and Catholic position to the UN and viewed himself as a bridge between the Arab and Catholic worlds. See his War and Peace; a statement made before the Political Committee of the General Assembly, November 23, 1949, and his later work, Christ and Crisis, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1962, 101p.

in the US, liberal and leftist Catholics. as well as the general Communist plot to undermine and destroy both the US and the Church. In fact, these adversaries were considered as even more dangerous than the Israeli government because they not only opposed the internationalization of Jerusalem, but were the vanguard of a campaign to weaken American institutions, government and moral fiber.

To a large degree, this explains why the Jerusalem issue itself abruptly disappeared from the pages of The Tablet following the "victory" of December 1949. Nevertheless, the struggle against anti-Catholic and anti-American forces continued on other fronts. The crusade to save Jerusalem was in fact but the first battle in the larger war to save America from its liberal, leftist and later Communist enemies. Subsequent events confirmed that the Holy Year of 1950 was taken seriously by The Tablet and would result in the newspaper's strong support for the anti-Communist rampages of Senator McCarthy.

L'Osservatore Romano reacted to the UN Resolution on December 21 in an article written by Gonella which was rather blandly entitled, "Le decisioni per Gerusalemme."<sup>131</sup> In sharp contrast to The Tablet's heralding of victory for the Catholic world, L'Osservatore Romano was far from enthusiastic with it. Gonella did not pronounce on the merits of either the PCC plan nor on the December resolution. He simply observed that;

Referring to that proposal [PCC] the Jewish Minister of Foreign Affairs immediately pointed out that it was 'devoid of any practical sense.' Even though the plan was strongly supported by the UN, which drew it up, most members agreed with the Minister's view. Thus, the proposal of the Conciliation Commission was rejected and a proposal confirming the UN's initial decision was approved instead.

The December resolution was placed within the context of the 1947 Partition Resolution which had attempted to avoid what appeared to be an inevitable recourse to war to solve the Palestine problem. However, the resolution was followed by a lack of decision and the ensuing uncertainty produced a fait accompli wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the Partition Resolution. Gonella perceived an emerging pattern in which, "the principle of justice is replaced by one of expediency." The Israeli rejection of the PCC plan had been submissively accepted by the UN members who then, with equal passivity and irresponsibility, had proceeded to reaffirm the principle of internationalization in December 1949 but with no serious intention to implement it. In both cases, according to Gonella, a total "lack of decision" had accompanied the UN initiatives.

131. L'Osservatore Romano, December 21, 1949, translated by author.

Gonella lamented that the UN had been reduced to such a state of weakness. Such irresponsible behavior "merely strengthens the very thing which the UN intends to ban, i.e. the principle that in practice, anyone can be right if strong enough, even in situations where they have no rights." He concluded by stating;

Now that the UN has developed and approved the principle - never altogether abandoned - of internationalizing Jerusalem and its surrounding areas, in its decision of 10 December, Catholics throughout the world will respond to the Pope's appeal and begin to pray for Palestine, and hope that their prayers will be answered.

What Gonella perceived as a growing paralysis and irrelevance of the UN had consequences that went far beyond the issues of Palestine and Jerusalem. Like any major world actor, the Vatican had its own agenda of political, strategic and ideological goals. Of particular concern was the future of the colonial possessions of the "Christian" states of Europe, of which North Africa was of immediate importance in the late 1940s. As has already been seen, the perception of events in Palestine by L'Osservatore Romano had been dominated by its dream that Europe could once again exert its traditional domination of the Mediterranean basin, including the Middle East and North Africa. However, by 1949, Europe was being rapidly excluded from this area by the USA and USSR, and the UN had proven itself incapable of influencing events there, as in the case of Palestine. In addition, the emerging tide of Arab nationalism raised the spectre of independent Moslem states from Syria southward to Somalia and westward to Morocco which would, like Israel, prove reluctant to respect the ancient "rights" of the Church and Christian world in the areas under their control. For this reason, L'Osservatore Romano placed the UN resolution within the context of the more general Vatican efforts to ensure the survival of Christian minorities and interests in an increasingly threatening world.

Most Catholic periodicals which reported on the vote, agreed with The Tablet, L'Osservatore Romano and the French press that the resolution was a statement of principle which stood no chance of being implemented.<sup>132</sup> Even more than the vote itself, the subsequent remarks by Ben Gurion seemed to seal the fate of the city. America, in an editorial on Christmas Day,

132. See for example, La France Catholique, December 23, 1949, Robert Barrat, p.4; The Register, December 18, 1949, "Prayer Brought Internationalization of Jerusalem," William H. Fanning Jr.

entitled, "Jerusalem made international,"<sup>133</sup> not only observed that Ben Gurion was continuing to transfer his government to the "eternal capital" of Israel and that King Abdullah likewise ambited the city as his capital, thereby rendering the UN resolution inoperable, but more seriously, in the opinion of the editor, the American government was doing nothing to oppose these moves.

More astonishing still, an "interested government" - the United States Government, to be precise - promptly went to work to "divert" the Trusteeship Council from its assigned task of drafting the statute for the Jerusalem enclave. ... The internationalization of Jerusalem can easily be implemented if the United States and Britain want it. ... America has only to put an embargo on the transfer of dollars to Israel.

Like The Tablet, America was alarmed at the massive pressure exerted on President Truman from anti-Catholic and anti-American circles. While The Tablet had clearly identified these circles, America merely referred to their power which had forced the president to abandon his own 1948 Democratic Party Platform which had called for the internationalization of Jerusalem. The periodical feared that Truman would be forced into further anti-Catholic and anti-American positions on such key issues as civil rights and the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The New World of Chicago, the recent convert to Catholic internationalism, went even further than The Tablet and America in criticizing Truman. The architect of the newspaper's internationalist stance, J.J. Gilbert, on December 30, declared that the president was totally ignoring American public opinion in refusing to stand up to both Israel and Jordan on the issue of Jerusalem.<sup>134</sup> Gilbert elaborated that this ineffectiveness of Truman was symptomatic of his even more dangerous failure to confront the enemies of America elsewhere. He cited the Communist victory in China, Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe and the decline of the UN as being caused by the lack of an effective American foreign policy. Rather than a coherent policy based on morality, justice and peace, Truman appealed to "cynical self-interest." The "atheist" Soviet Union was worthy of an American ambassador, while "Catholic" Spain was refused diplomatic recognition.<sup>135</sup> Likewise, Truman called for a strong UN but did nothing to strengthen it.

133. America, December 24, 1949, "Jerusalem made International," pp.1 and 4.

134. The New World of Chicago, December 30, 1949, p.5.

135. The New World of Chicago, February 17, 1950, p.4.

In addition to the specific insights to the UN resolution The New World presents a lucid insight into why the Jerusalem issue almost totally disappeared from the American Catholic press following this vote. At issue was no longer the specific problem of Catholic refugees from Palestine, the protection of the Holy Places or the sovereignty of Jerusalem, but rather an American president and administration which refused to adopt firm stands on a host of issues which threatened the "morality, justice and peace" which America represented. This general decline of Catholic confidence in the American administration would inevitably degenerate into Senator Joseph McCarthy's campaign to ferret out the individuals and centers of influence responsible for this state of affairs. The American crusade to internationalize Jerusalem, in effect became the opening skirmish in a crusade to save America.

The Sign, in contrast to the bulk of the American Catholic press continued to report on the Jerusalem issue well into the 1950s.<sup>136</sup> Editor Rev. Ralph Gorman continued to argue that the Christian claims to the Holy Land "far surpassed" any Zionist claims because any rights the Jews had had to Palestine had been transferred to the Church.<sup>137</sup> He concluded by bluntly comparing the Zionist claims to Palestine to the claims of Hitler's "superior Nordic race" to its "Lebensraum."

Like The Sign, Relations objected to the Israeli claims to Jerusalem, and in particular Ben Gurion's formulation of these claims from a strongly theological perspective.<sup>138</sup> In an article entitled, "Jérusalem, pierre d'angle de l'O.N.U." the periodical strongly objected to Ben Gurion's perception of Israel "seul contre un monde ligué." On a historical level, this assertion was simply false. The article cited the powerful influence Israel exerts in the United States and Canada through its well organized and "furious" lobbying efforts, the fact that thirteen UN members had supported Israel in the recent UN vote, and the massive economic influence the Jewish supporters of Israel exert in the world.

On a religious level, Ben Gurion's reference to Israel being "seul contre un monde ligué" was objectionable because it encouraged Israelis to withdraw into a self-imposed fortress mentality which rejected all non-Jews as enemies and inferior. Not only would this mentality reject any "foreign" involvement in Jerusalem and the Christian and Muslim Holy Places, but would eventually attempt to eliminate the presence of these Holy

136. The Sign, February 1950, "The Palestine Affair," p.6; August 1951, "The Arab Near East," p.2; and November 1951, "Whither Zionism?" p.6.

137. The Sign, February 1950, p.6.

138. Relations, January 1950, "Jérusalem, pierre d'angle de l'O.N.U.," pp.2-3.

Places themselves. For this reason, the author argued that the Israeli leaders,

devraient éviter les paroles de défi, à moins que, nationalistes pugnaces, farouches observateurs de la Torah, ils ne soient convaincus que tout autre culte sur le mont Sion est impie, mêlé de polythéisme, et, dans les mots de l'Ancien Testament, 'un adultère'.

The author clearly did not believe that the Israeli leaders were "farouches observateurs de la Torah", but the use of such "oriental" rhetoric, reminiscent of "La voix stridente de dictateurs disparus," clearly encouraged such a development.

The article concluded by arguing that the only way to avoid a continuation of what Ben Gurion had described as "la plus grande bataille politique dans l'histoire de notre peuple" was to force Israel to recognize that its political demands had to be placed within the context of international law, the UN and the International common good which the UN represented. No state was permitted to endanger world peace and exclude itself from the world community in the pursuit of its national goals.

The Commonweal, that bastion of liberal Catholicism and opponent of all crusades, was likewise aware of the disastrous effects of the recent Jerusalem crusade had had on Catholic - Jewish relations.<sup>139</sup> An article entitled, "Jews and Catholics" of January 1950, lamented that Moshe Sharett, the Israeli Foreign Minister, would "interpret the Pope's political attempt to keep Jerusalem an international city, as 'revenge for an ancient sin'." Unfortunately, the article continued, "such erroneous conclusions by Sharett, were a sign of the kind of Catholicism he and his fellow Jews have seen." "The crime of anti-Semitism is equal to the bitterness it produces in reaction."

Thus, what had begun as a political attempt to solve the age old problem of Jerusalem by Catholics had degenerated into a battle between anti-Semitic Catholics, on one hand, and anti-Catholic Jews, on the other hand. These two groups of fanatics were both "bound with the same chains of darkness" that risked infecting all Catholics and Jews. This was a "situation loaded with danger that must not be allowed to continue.

Finally, Cahiers Sioniens, which observed that the UN Resolution had been recommended by the Vatican, lamented that Ben Gurion should interpret the crusade and UN vote, "de mesure d'antisemitisme, devant laquelle le peuple juif, pas plus que toujours, ne baissera jamais la tête."<sup>140</sup> In spite of the understandable Israeli bitterness, the article quoted

139. The Commonweal, January 13, 1950, "Jews and Catholics," p.382.

140. Cahiers Sioniens, March 1, 1950, "L'Internationalisation de Jérusalem," pp.68-70, quotation from Ben Gurion taken from, Bulletin d'Information Sioniste, January 16, 1950.

extensively from Ben Gurion's speech in which he had promised that Israel would protect the Christian Holy Places.

...mais trois mille ans avant l'assemblée de l'O.N.U., le Roi juif Salomon a construit le premier Lieu Saint à Jérusalem; quand il eut achevé son oeuvre il pria pour son peuple, et il pria également pour l'étranger en disant: Et si l'étranger qui n'est pas de ton peuple Israël vient d'une terre lointaine, pour l'amour de ton nom, ayant appris que ton nom est grand, ta main forte et ton bras étendu, quand il viendra prier dans cette maison, entends-le des cioux, lieu de ta demeure, et accordé aussi à sa demande, afin que tous les peuples de la terre te reconnaissent et sachent que ton Nom est appelé sur cette Maison que j'ai bâtie.

In conclusion, the article stated that Roger Garreau, the president of the Trusteeship Council and a Frenchman, had been given a "grande liberté d'interprétation de la décision prise le 9 décembre 1949." Garreau had expressed the belief that the intention of the resolution could be respected while giving equal respect to the desires of the Jewish population of Jerusalem to become part of the state of Israel. Such a solution could be arrived at according to Garreau, "toute intransigeance étant mise de côté, dans l'intérêt de la paix en Palestine."

## 8. Conclusion

This diverse and divisive Catholic reaction to the Catholic Crusade to internationalize Jerusalem and the UN vote is a clear illustration of how closely this crusade in general and the Jerusalem issue in particular had become intricately intertwined with, and eventually superseded by, the Catholic efforts to come to terms with the post-World II era. As has been seen, by 1949 the Jerusalem issue had become related to Vatican efforts to reassert the Church as a major actor in the world arena and to mobilize the Catholic masses during the 1950 Holy Year. In the USA, the Catholic hierarchy and national institutions mobilized Catholics with the intention of transforming America into a bastion of Christianity and true Americanism. In France, the quasi-permanent chasm between the Left (progressive) and Right Catholics continued to immobilize the Church.

Even though the UN vote of December and the subsequent Israeli moves had effectively eliminated any hope of implementation, the forces unleashed by the crusade were of profound consequence for the Church. In fact, these consequences continued to dominate the character of the Church until the revolution of the Second Vatican Council.

In the USA, the country which had contributed most to the

crusade, the consequences were the most far-reaching. It would be no understatement to affirm that the American Church's perception and reactions to the events of the ensuing quarter century were the direct result of this crusade. The UN vote of December was interpreted as an initial success for the "Catholic lobby" which had only recently overcome its isolationism. Washington had been made aware that a highly motivated, well organized and vocal Catholic constituency existed and it could not be ignored by elected officials. Even though Washington had voted against the resolution, its failure to aggressively attempt to influence other states to follow its lead, as it had done in 1947 and during the UN admission debate, was significant.

This new sense of strength and influence, combined with the hope that Washington might possibly yet prove to be a reliable instrument in defending the Catholic world, encouraged the old "Americanist dream" that true American values were identical with true Catholic values. However, this growing optimism and expectation was threatened by ever-present anti-Catholic and, according to The Tablet, anti-American forces, especially in the secular press and in government. As a result, the tremendous energies and crusading spirit unleashed to "save" Jerusalem were turned against the source of all anti-Catholicism and anti-Americanism, the Communists. In one of the most controversial periods in both American and American Catholic history, Senator Joseph McCarthy, with the support of many Catholics, began to ferret out Communists, their liberal sympathizers and intellectual and artistic partisans. The most vocal supporters of the senator were The Tablet of Brooklyn and those Catholic periodicals and individuals which had most vocally supported the Catholic crusade.

At the Vatican, L'Osservatore Romano continued to place the Palestine and Jerusalem problems within the larger context of the world situation. The emerging Cold War, Berlin crisis and Korean conflict, coupled with the fear of a Communist victory in Italy and even France, gave the Church no choice but to ally itself with the USA. The division of Europe, hitherto the bastion of Christendom, was sealed by the creation of two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact which amply proved the unrealistic nature of Gonella's earlier dreams of Europe's revival as an independent power. Furthermore, the Progressive Catholics began to introduce the poison of Communist ideology into Catholic teaching in France which was weakening its commitment to its role as the historic defender of the Church in the Middle East.

L'Osservatore Romano had great difficulty coming to terms with the rapidly changing post-War world. Protestant America was still suspect for many Catholics, as was the American Catholic community. Nevertheless, the importance of such clerics as Cardinal Spellman, Msgr McMahon, and Cardinal Richard Cushing, both as a source of leadership and financial resources,

could not be resisted. However, not only was Rome compelled to deal with American Catholics, but before the public forum of the newly-created UN, the "Third World countries" of Latin American, Lebanon and the Philippines vigorously claimed to represent Catholic interests. Even Australia and Communist Poland defended their support for the Jerusalem resolution by citing their Catholic constituencies.

It might be an overestimation to assert that the traditional Church power structure was being seriously threatened by these new Catholic forces. Nevertheless, it can safely be said that the traditional Church leadership composed of Italian and European clerics was being questioned by new forces from within the Church. Rome's lack of enthusiasm for the December vote was further evidence that the Vatican was no longer able to control the new forces animating the Catholic world.

Other factors contributed to this weakening of the influence of Rome. One of the most important was the personal criticisms of Pope Pius XII by many Catholics, Jews and others for his "silence" during the holocaust by the Nazis. For many, this charge not only weakened the prestige of the Holy See as a spokesman for moral questions, but especially on any aspect of the Jewish question, Israel or Jerusalem. This problem also had compromised such Catholic voices as La Croix and Civiltà Cattolica, two of the most loyal bulwarks of the Vatican.

Finally, of no minor importance was the age of Pius XII. After having reigned throughout the turbulent inter-war period, survived the war and attempted to revitalize the Church and Europe after the war, he died in 1958 at the age of 82. The urgent task of reforming the Church to meet both the secular and spiritual challenges it faced were immediately confronted by his successor, Pope John XXIII. The work of John XXIII, and of the Second Vatican Council, are well known and made great strides in opening the traditional, Euro-centered Church to the new forces within it.

In France, the crusade was greeted with scepticism, even outright opposition. This can be attributed to the unique post-World War II conditions in France which deeply accentuated the traditional diversity within the French Church. The very idea of an American-style crusade, studded with public proclamations, glaring newspaper headlines, public meetings and processions with a copy of the wooden cross of Jerusalem, conflicted sharply with the discrete efforts of the French Catholic leadership to negotiate a compromise between the full internationalization demanded by the CNEWA and the alternative compromises proposed by the Israelis and the PCC. In fact, even after the ill-fated vote of December, the French Church continued its efforts to achieve a solution.

However, the Catholic crusade represented a crucial watershed in French Catholic contemporary history. The clearcut

polarization between the Progressive Catholics and their supporters, and the Conservative groups which adopted opposing views on Zionism, the state of Israel and the Jerusalem issue, was further aggravated by the Vatican's condemnation of Communism and the Progressive Catholic movement. Even after the papal condemnation, such issues as the Indo-China war and problem of Algeria continued to polarize French society, both Catholic and secular.

The result was that during the crucial years of the early 1950s which were dominated by the Berlin crisis, the Korean war, decolonization, and the Cold War, France progressively slid into a growing paralysis. The quasi-permanent governmental crisis which was already acute by 1950 continued to deteriorate until the downfall of the Fourth Republic in 1958.

A second reason why the crusade was greeted with scepticism was because of the lack of need for such a mobilization. The French Church, more than any other, was diverse in its interpretation of Catholic teaching on Israel, the Jews and Judaism, its diverse attitudes of the authority of Rome in French Catholic affairs, its willingness to criticize the opinions of other Catholics, its extent of lay involvement in forming Catholic opinions and the high intellectual quality of its scholarship. If the French Church suffered from a defect, it was of over-mobilization. French Catholics of both the right and left were the heirs of long traditions which they militantly defended, as has been seen, to the point of paralysis.

In addition to the above-mentioned repercussions in France, the USA and at the Vatican, the Catholic crusade offers a rare insight into the inner workings of the most ancient existing transnational organization and government in the world. The symbolic, political and religious importance of Jerusalem, combined with the crucial post-World War period that formed the immediate context for the problem, resulted in a highly transparent policy-making process unprecedented in Catholic history. Both the supporters and opponents of the crusade turned to the Catholic press to convince their fellow Catholics of the merits of their positions.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

The Catholic reactions to the birth of the State of Israel and the problem of Jerusalem as they emerged during 1947-1950 were both the modern expressions of an age old problem and, at the same time, unique manifestations of these problems. As an age old problem, they involved the control of the Christian Holy Places; the protection of the Christian population of the Holy Land; the access and freedom of worship for clerics, pilgrims and tourists; and finally the theological and ecclesial reaction to the idea and later reality of a Jewish state and Jewish control of Jerusalem. Throughout the preceding two thousand years, these factors have combined into countless crusades, wars, interventions, massacres, international agreements, treaties and anti-Semitism. Likewise, the theological, political and ecclesiological aspects of the questions have contributed to the complexity of these issues.

The 1947-1950 episode of these age old questions was the attempt to elaborate a regime for the City which would satisfy the interests of each of the many parties involved in the form of an international regime under the sovereignty of the United Nations. The very fact that Christians, Jews and Moslems; the Vatican, Orthodox Christian and Protestant leaders; Israelis, Palestinians and Arabs; Americans, Soviets, French and British, all contributed to the elaboration by the UN of the internationalization proposal is no less than miraculous. The proposal for an international regime for Jerusalem remains a monument to the human belief and hope that the Jerusalem question is solvable.

This study of the attitudes of the Catholic press in the USA, France and at the Vatican on the birth of the State of Israel and the question of Jerusalem from 1947 to 1950, is, as the title indicates, an in-depth study of a particular problem, within a brief period of time. The inevitable problem which arises at the end of such a study is what is the value and importance of such specialized research and studies. On one hand, there is no doubt that it is a significant and original contribution to human knowledge on the specific topic of the Catholic Church, Israel and Jerusalem. However, it also contributes a significant insight into relations between the Catholic Church and the State of Israel, Catholic-Jewish relations, the Catholic vision of the Church, the attitudes of the Church towards the world today, and finally, the role of religion as a force in the modern world. In this conclusion I will attempt to elaborate the significant aspects of this study on each of these levels.

## 1. The Catholic Church and the State of Israel

The birth of a Jewish state in the land of Israel, which claimed to be the heir of the ancient Israelite kingdom of the Old Testament, which likewise adopted the biblical name of "Israael" and later proclaimed Jerusalem as its eternal capital, was perceived as a direct challenge to the traditional claims of Rome to be the "New Jerusalem," the embodiment of the New Covenant between God and humanity and the new "Chosen People" of God. In spite of anguished attempts by many Catholics and Jews to diffuse this conflict by claiming that Zionism was "just another nationalism," no different from British, French or American, and that a "Jewish State" without Jerusalem would be just another national state, by 1949, many Catholics had become convinced that a "secular" Jewish state was an impossibility.

Throughout the period 1947 - 1950, Catholic theologians, scholars and intellectuals struggled to reconcile their conflicting perceptions of the Catholic Church as a divinely established instrument of God's designs for humanity, with a Jewish state which seemed to many to be usurping this role by putting forward its own agenda claiming divine origins and mission. However, before relations between the Catholic Church and the state of Israel could be clarified, the theological relationship between Catholicism and Judaism had to be confronted. In fact, during the period under study, it was this problematic surrounding Catholic - Jewish relations which hindered the evolution of any Catholic - Israeli understanding.

## 2. Catholic - Jewish Relations

Before any serious dialogue between the Church and the state of Israel could be undertaken, it was necessary to confront the underlying problems affecting Catholic-Jewish relations. In addition to the complex ecclesiological understanding of the Church as the "New Israel," the long history of anti-Semitism, the recent Nazi massacre of six million Jews, and the accusations of silence on the part of the Vatican and Catholic hierarchy during this holocaust, stimulated a far reaching Catholic and Christian analysis of Christian teaching, tradition and scriptures concerning the Jews and Judaism.

In contrast to the intellectual and theological polemics on the Jews and Judaism of the pre-holocaust centuries, immediate post-holocaust Catholic-Jewish relations were marked by a sense of Christian guilt, Jewish and Christian recriminations and a conviction that Christian theological teachings and traditions were sorely in need of reinterpretation, even radical change. Many Catholics painfully realized that theology was not only an intellectual or contemplative pursuit, but was both a religious

response to the problems faced by humanity and, as well, a determining factor in the human response to these problems.

The impetus for much of this theological ferment did not come from the traditional clerical and theological elite, nor was it disseminated in the traditional Catholic press. As has been seen, new Catholic periodicals, ecumenical groups and lay theologians were in the forefront. In spite of considerable opposition from more conservative Catholic circles, issues were raised, questions were asked, answers were proposed, categories were formulated and research was undertaken which laid the groundwork for much of contemporary theological work on Christian-Jewish relations. These writings, discussions and often individuals which dominated the period 1947 to 1950, re-emerged in the 1960s during the Second Vatican Council which inaugurated a new era in not only Catholic-Jewish relations, but relations with non-Christians in general.

### 3. Catholic visions of the Church

The Catholic reactions to the establishment of the State of Israel and the Jerusalem question were inspired by both the Church's theological beliefs and institutional or ecclesial interests. One of the major conclusions of this thesis is that the three dimensions of the Church's existence, its theology, ecclesiology and social activism are inseparable, and are in fact, determined by each other. As has been seen, the diverse theological interpretations of Catholic - Jewish relations, demanded equally diverse interpretations of the nature of the Church, which in turn, gave rise to diverse positions on the State of Israel, and in particular, the Jerusalem question.

This diversity was exhibited on many levels. Individual Catholic intellectuals, clergymen and theologians; Catholic newspapers, periodicals and organizations; and national Churches, all contributed to the divergent theologies, ecclesiologies and political positions on Israel and Jerusalem. By late 1949, they had become consolidated around two diametrically opposed positions. One stressed a conservative theology of the Church as the "New Israel - New Chosen People of God," an ecclesiology which stressed the ideal of "Christendom" and a vision of social involvement which demanded "Crusade" confrontation with the enemies of the Church, in particular the Zionists and world Communism. The other position stressed a theology of adaptation and disengagement from the worldly powers, an ecclesiology which emphasized the spiritual mission of the Church and a vision of social involvement which emphasized the common ideals of Jews, Marxists and Christians.

This tension which existed within the Church was by no means definitively resolved by the Second Vatican Council, even if the Council clearly launched the Church on the latter position. The same tensions continue to determine the Church's reactions to the problems of the present day.

#### 4. The Church and the Catholic World

As has been amply illustrated in this thesis, the Catholic Church perceived itself as being more than a corpus of teachings, beliefs and rituals. It exists, and has existed for almost two thousand years, as a transnational institution possessing a sovereign government, millions of followers, clerical and lay religious orders, a flourishing press, hierarchy and recognised international status, as well as numerous theological, political, national and theological orientations. In an age when the nation-state has become the recognised unit of inter-national relations and organization, the "Catholic World" and "Christendom" are often relegated to the status of a residual artifact of a distant age. Nevertheless, this study of the contemporary Catholic Church during the period 1947 to 1950, gives a rare insight into this institution and its engagement in the modern world. This rarely revealed transparency of the Church was encouraged by the conjuncture of several Catholic circumstances. Most importantly, the impression held by many Catholics that the Catholic hierarchy and Pope Pius XII himself had not responded to the Holocaust as the "representative of Jesus Christ on Earth" should have done, encouraged many Catholics to openly question this "silence," plus many of the teachings of the Church on the Jews. Furthermore, in France, many Catholics who had cooperated with the Marxists and Jews in the resistance movement against Hitler, were openly critical of the "institutional" Church which they considered to be tainted by collaboration. On the other side of the Atlantic, the youthful and aggressive American Church was openly critical of both the French "Leftist Catholics" and the absence of a strong Catholic leadership in Rome, and as a result sought to rectify both deficiencies. The often vehement and open debates between the elements of this sorely divided Church, were responsible for the rare transparency of the Church at this time.

What eventually emerged as "the Crusade to Internationalize Jerusalem" must be placed within this context of the internal crisis of the Church. The very idea of a crusade implies a religious and military enterprise, wartime internal rigor, firm leadership, mass mobilization, unquestioning obedience to superiors, stifling of dissent, unflagging zeal and a clearly identified enemy and objective. In this case, the objective became the Holy City of Jerusalem, the birth-place of Christianity and the enemy was the state of Israel. This crusade was as much a major campaign to "protect" Jerusalem, as a crusade to resolve the internal crises which were ravaging the Church.

## 5. The Catholic Church and the World Order

The days when the Church could raise armies or rely on powerful empires to protect it in defense of its interests and Christendom, ended abruptly with the loss of the Papal states. Since then, the means at the disposal of the Church to influence world political, military, social, intellectual and spiritual developments has been radically limited. Nevertheless, the Church as a whole has not abandoned its belief in the concept of "Christendom" with the social and political obligations which this concept entails. The problem of Jerusalem dramatically underlined the disparity between the political objectives of the Church and the remaining means at its disposal to achieve these objectives.

In 1947, the UN was viewed by the Church as holding promise for the peaceful solution of international problems and the protection of the legal rights and interests of the Church in the world. The large Catholic bloc of Latin American and European Catholic states, plus Lebanon and the Philippines assumed a virtual Catholic veto in that organization. Catholic leaders like their American, Soviet, French and British counterparts, lobbied, pressured and threatened states to support or oppose key resolutions. However, in the eyes of many Catholics and other observers, the inability of the UN to enforce its 1947 and 1949 resolutions to internationalize Jerusalem, marked the decline of that organization as an effective barrier to the appetites of nation states and as a peace-making force in the world. Nevertheless, the ability of the Catholic world to make its influence felt on the issue of Jerusalem was ample proof that it was still a world power to be contended with.

In spite of the rather surprising influence wielded by the Catholic world on the issue of Jerusalem, the broader question of how the Catholic vision of a just, humane, peaceful and moral world order could be established remains as problematic now as then. This problem was further complicated by the fact that Catholics were by no means in total agreement concerning the nature of a world order acceptable to Catholics. Nevertheless, the possibilities, limits and dangers of the various means were explored during this period. These means ranged from Papal Encyclicals to mass meetings; from collaboration with Marxists, Jews, Protestants and other "men of good-will" to anti-Marxist, Protestant and Jewish crusades; from reliance on the new "Christian" protectorate of the American Church to fear of "Protestant" American; from the emergence of lay Catholic leadership to reliance on the traditional clerical and hierarchical leadership; and from welcoming the emergence of indigenous Catholic rites in the newly emerging states of African and Asia to insistence on strict conformity to Roman rite practices. While none of these issues were solved by the "Jerusalem Crusade," they were raised, heatedly debated and

remain as problematic today as during 1947-1950. In fact, these issues go far beyond the confines of a "Catholic" or even "Christian" issue to embrace the problem of all religious communities when confronted with major problems.

## 6. Religion in the World Today

When viewed from the perspective of 1986, the Catholic attitudes towards the birth of the state of Israel and the Jerusalem question from 1947 to 1950 assume an importance which is not evident when viewed from a more limited perspective. As has been seen in the text itself, the Catholic Church was in a state of theological, ecclesiological and political ferment during this period. The crusade was in fact the desperate attempt by one faction of the Church to stem the tide of ferment which was questioning the traditional beliefs, customs, traditions and institutions of the Church. Following the temporary "success" of the crusade in limiting this ferment, the Second Vatican Council inaugurated an new era in Catholicism, even in Christianity, which plunged the Church into the contemporary world with a vengeance. In Latin America, Liberation Theologians preached revolution against oppression and dictatorship. Lay movements around the world struggle, together with, and often against the clergy, against nuclear war, violation of human rights, abortion, racism, sexism, hunger and economic injustice. Catholics join Jews, Protestants, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Marxists in such ecumenical endeavors.

This theological, political and ecclesiological transformation of the Church since the Second World War was paralleled by a similar evolution of the other world religions. In fact, at no time in history has religion exercised such a "disruptive" role in the world as at the present. Khomeini's Shi'ite Revolution in Iran, Khadafi's Islamic Revolution, Polish Catholic opposition to Marxism, the Irish Catholic and Protestant struggle in North Ireland, Israeli ultra-nationalistic Gush Emmunim, Lebanese Christians, Druze, Sunni and Shi'i Muslims, the role of Cardinal Sin in the Philippines, the American Christian "religious right," the Latin American Liberation Theologians, plus a plethora of other religious movements battle to radically transform the world. In contrast to past centuries when the spiritual urge was rigidly circumscribed by religious and secular leaders, today's spirituality is often directed against "secular" society, the privatization of religion and "institutionalized" religion. The subversive, revolutionary nature of these movements, their aggressive missionaries, militants, terrorists, holy armies and inspired visionaries from Northern Ireland to the Holy Land and California to India not only threaten "established" religion and the nation state, but question the existence of a distinction

between the two. In today's world, theology has become politicized and politics had become theologized.

Each of these above movements necessitated a radical reinterpretation of theological concepts, ecclesial structures, religious history and ultimate goals of religion. Likewise, each movement is in direct response to a particular social, economic, political or cultural problem, faced by a particular religious community. In short, religion had become one of the major categories through which the masses, ethnic groups as well as elites, express their refusal to tolerate such conditions and their hopes for a better future. If only for the reason that such movements are becoming increasingly important and "disruptive," they deserve to be studied both in their historical origins and present manifestations. It is my hope that this work has made a small original contribution to understanding the role of religion in the world today in general, and in particular, the role of the Catholic Church.



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