

EDITORIAL

from Duncan Macpherson

Stop Press: Crisis in the Holy Land

Recent events in the Holy Land have reached a level of horror unsurpassed since the ethnic cleansing of 1948. Members of Living Stones will wish to make appropriate representations to encourage an end to the violence, to express their solidarity with the Living Stones in the Holy Land and to express sympathy with all the victims of current violence. Not least, they will wish to pray for the coming of God's justice and peace in the land of Jesus.

In This Issue

This issue of the magazine begins with "Voices from the Holy Land" reflecting some responses from the indigenous Christian leadership to the escalating horror of recent events in the Holy Land. The second of our series of articles "From the Diaspora" recalls one Palestinian Christian's recollections of 1948 and two of the terrorist atrocities that preceded the beginnings of exile for so many Palestinians. Other important material in this issue of the magazine includes an article introducing *Holy Land Studies* by its editor, Michael Prior. The contents conclude with the final part of Stephen Sizer's article on Christian Zionism, and the first part of an article on "Patterns of Pilgrimage" by the editor of this magazine.

A New Publication

Those of us associated with *Living Stones* from the beginning will be aware of our desire to launch a journal to deal at a serious academic level with problems and issues affecting the Holy Land and surrounding areas. Very soon after *Living Stones* was founded in 1986 we decided to produce a *Newsletter*, which later developed into *Living Stones Magazine*. Members of Living Stones warmly welcomed the founding and development of *Sabeel* in Jerusalem, and of its network of supporting organisations in the UK (*Friends of Sabeel* UK), USA, and elsewhere. The papers of the *Sabeel* international conferences were published in turn. With the encouragement of my colleagues in *Living Stones* I edited the volume, *A Millennium Guide to Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (London: Melisende, 2000). The discourse continued to develop. But the setting up of an academically serious inter-disciplinary journal still remained outstanding and clearly it constituted a project that *Living Stones* could not undertake on its own but required a university setting. We are delighted to announce that has now proved possible and that the new journal is shortly to be published. The timely nature of the venture can be measured by the

extraordinary academic support for the publication, with some of the leading scholars in the field serving on the editorial committee and advisory board. *Living Stones* welcomes this new enterprise in bringing issues concerning the Holy Land to this level of scholarly analysis.

The Editor of *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, Rev Dr Michael Prior, C.M, is no stranger to the pages of this magazine. Michael has been the Chair of *Living Stones* from its inception and has contributed to every issue of our magazine. He has also written widely on issues concerning the Holy Land, including *The Bible and Colonialism. A Moral Critique* (1997), *Western Scholarship and the History of Palestine* (1998), and *Zionism and the State of Israel: A Moral Inquiry* (1999). He has pioneered a new and emerging moral discourse on the biblical narrative, and on its interpretation in ways that have been used to justify colonialism and oppression, specifically, but not exclusively, with reference to Israel-Palestine. He has sought to address the moral implications of some traditions of the biblical narrative which appear to mandate 'ethnic cleansing' as a divine mandate. His moral critique of these narratives is gaining significant attention even within the biblical academy. He has been active in support of justice and peace in the Holy Land over the past twenty years. He was invited to be the first Visiting Professor of Theology at Bethlehem University (1996-97), where he prepared the programme in Religious Studies at the university, and contributed to developing modular course in the tour-guide programme. Michael Prior is also Chair of the new and exciting Holy Land Research Project, in Department of Theology and Religious Studies, St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill (University of Surrey), TW1 4SX England.

Dr Nur Masalha, the Associate Editor of *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal* is one of the most distinguished Palestinian academics, and has published a number of works on his research in Palestinian historiography, which have received international acclaim. His work on the Palestinian refugees, including social and economic conditions, rehabilitation and resettlement, restitution of property and 'population transfer' is characterised by meticulous archival research, original thinking and systematic analysis. His books include *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of 'Transfer' in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (1992); *A Land Without a People* (1997); and *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion, 1967-2000* (2000), which are widely viewed as authoritative works. Nur Masalha is also the Director of the Holy Land Research Project, in St Mary's College.

Duncan Macpherson

VOICES FROM THE HOLY LAND

Letter to Mr Colin Powell from the Patriarchs and Heads of Churches in Jerusalem Jerusalem, 2002

'Justice and peace must kiss each other.' (Psalm 85:10)

We, the Patriarchs and Heads of the Christian Churches in Jerusalem, representing the four families of churches (Greek Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Catholic and Evangelical (Anglicans and Lutheran) are very concerned about the present situation in Palestine and Israel, and about this very difficult time in our history. We write you this letter expressing our appreciation for the American administration and for its role in trying to solve the Israeli/ Palestinian conflict along with the European Union, Norway and Russia.

At the same time we plead with you as Christian leaders, who are concerned about both Palestinians and Israelis and with the future of their children, to help both sides equally implement peace and justice.

As we meet you in Jerusalem, we would like to share with you our vision in which we want both nations to live in their own state, equally, equitably, justly and peacefully, so that both nations will be a blessing for the Middle East and for the world. The peace of the world is dependent upon the peace of Jerusalem.

1 The Conflict between Israel and Palestine

We want to express the symbiotic relationship between the Israelis and Palestinians in this land. We want security for the Israelis and justice and freedom for the Palestinians. We see that security of Israel is dependent upon justice for the Palestinians.

A The Arab population in the region and elsewhere are now-a-days hostile to Israel because of the Palestinian cause. Since the Palestinian cause is the core problem of the Middle East conflict, the Arab world will become friendly with Israel once it is solved in a just way, accepting Israel's existence in the Middle East. But in order to get to that point, justice must be implemented according to international legitimacy as represented by UN resolutions 242, 338, and 1397 which call for a political solution. This means that the principle of land for peace ought to be implemented. The Israeli occupation in all its forms must end and Arab land must be returned so the State of Palestine can exist within the 1967 borders. The Israeli settlements must be dismantled, the Palestinian right of return must be fairly addressed and there must be a shared Jerusalem for the two peoples. All forms of violence and counter-violence will end when a political solution is implemented and guaranteed by the United States and the European countries.

B The Palestinian/Israeli conflict is not a mere question of violence. Violence is only a symptom of the root cause of the Middle East conflict, namely, the Israeli occupation of 1967 territories. The Palestinians today are satisfied to have their own state within the 1967 borders which amounts to

5000 square kilometres of the historic Palestine. Continuing to address only the question of violence will keep us all, Palestinians and Israelis, in an indefinite circle of violence. Enough blood has been shed from both sides. It is time now to start a new era of just peace and mutual recognition of each other's human, civil, religious and political rights.

C The Interfaith Dialogue among Jews, Christians and Muslims will continue to be a tool for peace education and a catalyst for reconciliation. This process has started in the Alexandria Declaration in January 2002, and was supported by the local, regional and international religious and political leadership.

2 The Present Situation of Conflict, Suffering and Death

We believe that all kinds of military attacks and operations and spiral violence ought to be stopped immediately. Churches and mosques have not been spared by the Israeli military forces. A total ceasefire must be immediately declared on both sides to understand what Prophet Zechariah said: 'Not by might, not by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts.'

This means there must be a total withdrawal of the Israeli army without any delay from the re-occupied Palestinian territories, as President Bush said, easing the life of Palestinians in their daily lives and work, and at the Israeli checkpoints. At the same time a parallel political negotiation must take place immediately.

We still see that Mr. Arafat is the elected president and the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and he is the only one who can deliver the peace agreement in this period of history.

At this time we strongly believe that international protection must be imposed in order to secure the lives of the people.

3 The Issue of the Basilica of the Nativity

We believe this situation must be handled in two ways:

A Humanitarian aid which includes water, food and electricity must be given to the 250 people who have taken refuge in the church. As we know, not all of them are fighters, but there are many civilians in the church, including women and children. Also, the body of the man who was shot and killed on April 8 must be allowed to be removed and buried according to his own tradition.

B A possible solution for the Palestinians inside is to have a three day truce declared in which the Israeli army will withdraw from Bethlehem, including the area of the basilica. Then the Palestinian Authority will be asked to collect the weapons and allow the people to go outside the basilica and go safely home.

Mr. Secretary, we have represented Christianity in this part of the world for the last two thousand years. We believe that the future of Palestinian Christianity is also in peace and not in

war. We believe that the Christian Church can be an instrument of peace, justice and reconciliation. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said, 'I have a dream.' Our dream is that these two peoples who represent the three monotheistic religions may live in just peace and freedom, in security and reconciliation.

**From the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem
Saturday, April 6, 2002**

Dear brothers and sisters,

It is very sad that for the first time and because of war you won't be able tomorrow to reach the Basilica of the Nativity for the Sunday mass and prayers. I would have dearly wanted to be with you and to pray with you but it is forbidden until this very moment to get there. Nonetheless we call upon all of you our faithful to pray for tomorrow for the cause of peace; for an end to this war; and for the politicians to understand that the only way for a durable peace in this region is only and uniquely justice.

As for what is taking place in the Basilica of the Nativity itself, we are deploying every effort in order to put an end to this deadlock. False news and rumors were propagated to the effect that the Franciscan brothers are being held hostages inside their convent by the Palestinians. An official communiqué by the Custody of the Holy Land declared that this is not true. We also declare that this is false, and we strongly condemn this false news that only add insult to injury. We also strongly condemn the siege of the Basilica and the psychological war waged by the Israeli soldiers around it.

From Bethlehem our heart goes to all of the other cities and locations which had been invaded and are now under siege. We call upon all of you faithful, Christians and Muslims alike, to keep faith and courage. We are with you and peace-loving people all over the world are with you. The Holy Father John Paul II himself, the Churches of the world and many politicians are working toward putting an end to this ordeal. May the peace of the Lord be with you all.

**Who's Right to Prayer?
Prof. Sami Adwan, Faculty of Education,
Bethlehem University-Palestine**

On March 28, the same day the 14th Annual Arab Summit in Beirut concluded with a peace initiative, Israeli forces surrounded the Bethlehem district. Dozens of tanks and armoured vehicles stood at the ready. I was impressed to see Israeli soldiers at morning prayers.

Omar Bin Al-Khatab Mosque, opposite to the Nativity Church, was hit by tank shells and was in flames. Israeli forces neither allowed the local fire department to reach the mosque nor attempted to do anything themselves.

Calls for prayers have not been heard from mosques and the bells of churches have mostly been quiet. In Beit Jalla, one Israeli soldier was quoted as saying: 'Palestinians are not allowed to pray' to people on their way to church for Easter services.

One of the holiest places in the world, The Church of Nativity, is under siege. Its doors are closed, tanks are just

outside. Clergy and civilians are inside seeking safety. The statue of Virgin Mary on the top of Saint Mary's church was destroyed, and six other churches were hit by heavy shelling.

I am no longer impressed by the scene of the Israeli soldiers praying that morning

Please join me in this special appeal to stop Israeli Forces from attacking clergymen, destroying and attacking holy places and from prohibiting believers from praying and worshipping God.

Attacking clergy, destroying Islamic and Christian holy places, and prohibiting Palestinians from worshipping is a clear violation of religious rights and international conventions. These policy and practices sure do not bring peace and security to Israelis.

Beit Jalla, April 3, 2002

**Detailed Story of Christmas Church Invasion
Urgent Message from Bishop Dr Munib A Younan,
Lutheran Bishop in Jerusalem, April 5, 2002**

It is with great relief that we are able to report that Revd Dr Mitri Raheb and his family are safe today after a two and one-half hour incursion into the Lutheran church compound by Israeli Defense Force (IDF) soldiers yesterday, April 4, 2002. According to Revd Dr Raheb, he heard the soldiers entering the compound at about 1:45 pm. The compound consists of the pastor's residence, offices, a guesthouse, a gift shop, an artists' workshop and meeting rooms. Under construction is a conference center. Much of the compound has been financed by partner churches. The compound had been damaged on Tuesday, April 2, when the IDF re-occupied Bethlehem with tanks, bulldozers and troops. Revd Raheb had quickly inspected the damage on Wednesday, but was unable to inspect the church building itself as the danger from snipers was too great. As of Thursday, a quick look from outside the church showed only one minor stained glass window broken, but a complete inspection will have to wait until the troops are gone and the danger is over.

Revd Raheb telephoned the office of Bishop Dr Munib Younan as soon as he heard the soldiers entering which allowed the bishop to begin making phone calls protesting the incursion. Several short phone conversations with Revd Raheb as the incursion continued enabled the bishop and his staff to give up to the moment reports in phone calls to the Israeli military and the government as well as to European and American diplomats and heads of churches. Bishop Younan was demanding that the soldiers be removed from the church property and that Revd Raheb and his family be kept safe. By 4:10 pm the ordeal of incursion for Revd Raheb and his family was over. A second IDF commander had come and ordered the soldiers out of the church compound.

Following is a report of the conversation held with Revd Raheb after the soldiers left.

Three different groups of Israeli soldiers entered the property, each group consisting of fifteen men. Revd Raheb shouted at them from the second floor, 'Get out! This is a church. I want to talk to your commander.' The soldiers were breaking down doors and saying, 'This is not a church.' Revd

Raheb continued to speak to them, saying, 'I am the pastor of the church. I want to come down and talk to you. Do not shoot.' He was wearing his clergy garb, easily recognizable as a pastor.

At that point Revd Raheb did go down to the ground floor and spoke with the commander, insisting this was church property. The commander said they needed to inspect a particular house, pointing at it. This house was not a part of the compound and Revd Raheb took one group of soldiers out to the street to show them how the house was not located on the compound. In the meantime, another group of soldiers was breaking down office doors, searching through the property.

The IDF deputy commander for the Bethlehem area called Revd Raheb on mobile phone, a result of the bishop's insistent phone calls. The commander asked to speak with the soldiers but they would not take the mobile phone and talk to him. The breaking of doors and searching continued. Revd Raheb was continually asking to speak more with the commander in the compound.

By this time the soldiers were on the second floor, now in Revd Raheb's office searching through drawers and files. The pastor's telephone rang, and this time it was the bishop inquiring about the pastor's situation. Revd Raheb later said, 'I believe they thought I was an expatriate pastor until they heard me speaking Arabic and realized I was Palestinian. Then their attitude and actions toward me changed for the worse.' They closed off the telephone, later taking his mobile phone, too. 'Now you are detained,' they said, forcing Revd Raheb to sit in a corner of his own office. 'Don't talk.' When Revd Raheb continued to speak and one of the soldiers replied, the soldier was reprimanded by the others. Revd Raheb reported that the soldiers' language was vulgar and nasty, cursing Arabs and making threats. This was the most alarming time for the pastor because this group of soldiers seemed out of control. The search in the pastor's office continued for about an hour.

At one point the soldiers let Revd Raheb go to his home to get keys to open an iron door leading to the construction project. He was able to speak with his frightened wife and family momentarily before returning to his office with the keys. Once they had opened the door the pastor was ordered to sit once again while they searched the construction site. Much of this area had already been damaged and vandalized on Tuesday, Revd Raheb reported.

About two hours into the incursion, another IDF commander arrived. His attitude toward Revd Raheb was completely different, speaking kindly to him. 'You are not responsible for anything,' the commander said. 'Don't worry, you are safe.' This commander ordered the soldiers out of the compound, but before they left the commander and a few soldiers did some repair work on the doors and windows immediately facing the street. It was at this point that Revd Raheb was able to go outdoors and see what damage had been done, noting one minor stained glass window in the church was broken. The gift shop area in the compound has sustained the worst damage. Part of the building itself was destroyed and the door to the gift shop could not be repaired.

While he was outside Revd Raheb was told by neighbors that mines had been planted in the streets of the

Old City by the soldiers, some of which had already exploded. The IDF commander confirmed this. Reporters had begun to gather near the church but the pastor was told not to talk to them, and by the time the soldiers left the reporters had gone. Revd Raheb told the commander that he was concerned the soldiers would return but the officer said that wouldn't happen, and a mark was made on the building which indicated to soldiers that this building had been inspected and was safe.

Throughout the experience, Revd Raheb insisted to the soldiers and the commanders that the church does not allow armed people to enter the premises. The church compound was not used for fighting, only for helping people in need.

Although very shaken, Revd Raheb reported that he and his family were safe. The damage and destruction done to the church compound, however, were very extensive. We denounce such attacks and demand from the Israeli government protection and sanctity of churches and church property.

From Bethlehem local churches and Organizations An extremely unprecedented dangerous measure

Friends,

It is the first time since the fourth century in which Christians of Faith were prevented from performing the Sunday mass in the Church of nativity. Yesterday April 7, The Israeli occupation forces prevented people of Christian faith from arriving into the Church of Nativity to attend the Sunday service. This unprecedented move from the side of the Israeli occupation forces is an extreme violation to International law and norms.

We strongly condemn this extreme and highly threatening procedure. We as well condemn the siege of the Birth Place of our Lord Jesus Christ. We as well strongly condemn the acts of killings of innocent civilians, the arrestment of hundreds of innocent people, the destruction and vandalizing of the ancient parts of our beloved city. This city of peace, which hoisted many of the world political and religious leaders including His Holiness the Pope, during its Bethlehem 2000 celebrations.

Please raise your voices with ours calling for an end to the Israeli occupation. Let us work together to lift the siege and insure that no one will think again of attacking our holy shrines.

Patriarchs and Heads of the Churches in Jerusalem Press Release

Peace upon all those who wish peace

Peace cannot be obtained by the war nor by the tanks or by the bloodshed, especially in Bethlehem.

There is no need for more bloodshed in Bethlehem. This morning blood was shed. We refuse all bloodshed, Israeli or Palestinian. Bethlehem must not remain any more a place of war.

We ask the Israeli Authorities to withdraw all its instruments of war; to go in peace, and to send back their soldiers to their families.

On this barrier of war we proclaim the Gospel of peace, the Gospel of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Prince of Peace. We invite all the Churches of the world to proclaim it with us.

We invite our faithful to remain strong in their patience, faith and in the tranquility of soul which comes from the peace and the justice of God. We invite them to ring the

bells of Christmas today at 2.00p.m. in Bethlehem, Beit-Jala and Beit-Sahour, the town of the Shepherds and the Angels who proclaimed peace to the world and in all the parishes in the Holy Land, as a sign of the peace in their hearts and as moment of prayer and supplications until the end of this war.

*Patriarchs and Heads of Christians Churches in Jerusalem,
On the Military Barrier before Bethlehem*

Bethlehem, 8 April 2002

FROM THE DIASPORA

Dr Ramsay Fawzie Bisharah

This is the second of a series of interviews with Palestinian Christians living in exile in Britain. In this issue the interview Dr. Ramsay Fawzie Bisharah, an Anglican from Jerusalem answers questions about his life and reflects upon his experiences.

**Can you tell us something about your experience of being a Christian living in the Holy Land?*

I was born in Jerusalem in 1937 and I was named 'Ramsay' after Ramsay MacDonald. My family name means 'gospel' or 'glad tidings.' My father, Kamleh Khammar Bisharah, was the son of Fawzie Sallem Bisharah, a Greek Orthodox Christian who was mayor of Nazareth from 1936 until 1948 and my mother, Emily Farhoud Kurban, was the daughter of Farhoud Kurban, Pastor to German Lutheran Mission of Beit Sahur and Jerusalem. My father worked as a Medical Supplies Officer for the British Mandate's Department of Health and we moved with his work, spending time in Safad, Nablus, Jaffa, Gaza, and Jerusalem up until January 1948 when we became refugees in Lebanon. My memories begin in Gaza around 1941 where my father's work brought me into contact with Allied Forces from El Alamein and the wounded soldiers from hospitals in and around Gaza.

Father would send ambulances to bring soldiers for Sunday teas at the various families designated by my mother. Our guests would bring accordions or mouth organs and would proceed to entertain us with hymns and other singsong favourites such as 'Danny Boy.' These tunes still tug at my heartstrings when I hear them. 'Danny Boy' in particular, reminds very much of me of my father.

During summer breaks from school I began to accompany my father on his official trips all over Palestine from Rafah, South to Nazareth and the North to the Galilee

distributing medical supplies. On our way back home, the empty baskets used for medical supplies would be filled with fruit: grapes from Khan Younis; pomegranates from Tul Karem and Oranges and Sweet Lemons from Jaffa. On one of our trips we were in the Galilee and the truck suffered a puncture and my father, took the opportunity to introduce us to his friend and former headmaster the Reverend SH Semple, headmaster of the Scots College, in Galilee. This man had been a formative influence on my family, and during his time at the College my father had imbibed Semple's moral and spiritual values which he, in turn, passed on to me.

Another educator who affected me more directly was Elias Haddad, Vice Principal to Semple. Haddad had taught my father at Scots and was later to be my teacher at Brummana High School in Mount Lebanon between 1953 and 1955. Every time I failed to pay attention in class he would repeat the same words: 'Ramsay, please remember that your father ran barefoot seeking knowledge. I sincerely hope you will neither fail him nor me nor your dear country Palestine, because one day, God willing, we shall return to our Holy Land and we shall seek your professional help in building the land as we would like it to be, exemplary to all nations.'

But before I became a refugee in Lebanon in 1948 I was to begin my education with six years at St George's School in Jerusalem. It was a school that catered for boys from the most prominent families of Jerusalem as well as for boarders from the more privileged families of Jaffa, Gaza, Haifa and elsewhere. Typically Victorian school rules obtained at Saint George's in those days, with English as the sole and obligatory language of instruction and of all conversation on the school premises, imposed by gradations of corporal punishment. Even speaking to each other in Arabic incurred

a beating. Needless to say we all ended up speaking the King's English quite fluently! I do not think we had more than two hours a week of Arabic, throughout my stay at St George's.

**What memories do you have of the events leading up to the loss of your homeland in 1948?*

I escaped narrowly with my life in 1946. I used to attend the YMCA on King George's Avenue facing the King David and at 11.45am a whistle would blow when it was time to go home. On the 22 July 1946, minutes before noon, Jewish terrorists bombed the King David Hotel, killing approximately 100 British, Arab, and Jewish workers employed there. For whatever reason that day I left before the whistle for the 11:45 bus home and unexpectedly met my mother on the bus returning from a shopping expedition. As we came to our house we were rocked by an explosion that shook the whole of Jerusalem. I have often thanked God that neither of us had caught the 12:00 bus as it was blown to bits by the explosion that blasted the King David Hotel. However, my father and mother lost a number of close friends in that event which was to haunt them for the rest of their lives.

A few months later, after the King David bomb, around midnight, I happened to be lying in my bed when another blast shook Jerusalem. My little brother, who was out of bed, was thrown several metres down the corridor by the blast. As I rushed to my brother, my parents were already kneeling near him on the floor consoling him and trying to find out whether he had been hurt. The explosion was from a bomb that had demolished the Semiramis Hotel in the Q'atamaun Area of Jerusalem next to our Greek Colony home, killing all the residents and staff of the hotel.

I later heard that the Jewish Underground had warned members of the Jerusalem family of Lorenzo that their home was near to a heavily mined area and advised them to leave for the safety of the Semiramis Hotel. A childhood friend was a member of this family. He had spent the night at his aunt's house and woke to find that he had lost his father, mother, and seven siblings of his family in the bombing. That same morning, when I witnessed the searching of the ruins of the hotel, I recall seeing the feet of the night guard sticking out from the ruins. In early January 1948, after yet another narrow escape, my father finally decided to evacuate us to Beirut. I left Palestine January 1948 and have not set foot there again to this day. Father returned to his post in Jerusalem until he was forcibly evacuated with his British colleagues at work in May 1948

Now jobless and penniless, my parents found teaching posts at the English Quaker Missionary Boarding School, the Brummana High School. The Quaker Mission gave my parents staff residence in a lovely rented home surrounded by lovely pine trees. As a Palestinian Refugee, I learned to value the

Quaker Spirit ethos with its ethic of tolerance and non-violence. The son of the President Chamoun, Danny Chamoun took turns to serve us at table as part of an exercise in humility in human relations. The BHS catered for Christians, Moslems, Druze, and Jews teaching mutual respect. I consider that if more of the sons of prominent Lebanese families had attended the school the terrible sectarian strife might have been averted. Later I attended American University of Beirut's School of Public Health before leaving for further studies in the USA in 1961. My work in health administration took me to a number of countries. In 1982 after the Israeli attack on Lebanon I arrived with my family in London, yet again as refugees. What impact does the fact of being a refugee have on an individual's consciousness?

Edward Said and I were childhood friends from Jerusalem and St George's. His mother comes from my father's village of Nazareth, Her father taught my father Sunday school at Nazareth. When we were children of six or seven Edward and I used to climb my grandfather's plum tree in the garden and exchange childhood dreams. I remember him telling me how his father, a well to do businessman with an American Passport, had already promised to send him to Harvard. I think that he became slightly American in outlook whereas I became more British. In Mandate Palestine our education was not culturally Arabic at all. When we finally realised that they were Palestinian we were lost between opposing cultures. I consider that 1967 was the watershed. I regret that Edward's insights have not been recognised more generously in the official Palestinian movement. However, unlike my childhood friend, I have never become politically active, largely because I find it hard to identify with any political ideology or programme. It is only when my friend Jameel Bullata introduced me to Living Stones that I have given my name to any organisation.

**How do you see the situation for the Christian communities in the Holy Land and what role can they play in bringing about a better future?*

Our communities are becoming more and more marginalised. In the present situation I do not see much reason to be hopeful for the future of Christians or of anybody else. However one of the main contributions that members of the Palestinian Christian communities have made and must continue to make is in the areas of health and education. In the area of education I think particularly of the work of people like Hannah Nasser, the president of Bir Zeit University. In the directly political arena, I admire the contribution Hanan Ashrawi and would like to think that her democratic and principled approach to the peace process and to nation building will have more rather than less of a role in the future.

A NEW JOURNAL

HOLY LAND STUDIES
A MULTIDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL

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Published twice yearly, by
 Sheffield Academic Press. A Continuum Imprint
 by
Michael Prior (Editor) and Nur Masalha (Associate Editor)

This new journal will promote critical, innovative and sensitive approaches to the Holy Land and its people. It will encourage reflection upon and analysis of all aspects of the question. *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal* will make a unique contribution to the debate on Palestine and its future. It will publish fresh ideas, paying particular attention to issues that have a contemporary relevance and a wider public interest. It will be multidisciplinary, bringing together insights from a range of relevant disciplines. What advantage is there in a multidisciplinary approach?

The proliferation of academic disciplines and sub-disciplines in recent times ensures that few deal with any subject in a way which respects its complexity. The discourse on the 'Holy Land' is no exception. Although the term 'Holy Land' suggests particular connotations (Western, religious, etc.), we, as editors, do not intend to restrict discussion in any way. On the contrary, our intention is to widen the discourse, out of respect for the variety of its aspects, and to do so in a spirit of social, political, and cultural inclusiveness. The variety of scholars on the Editorial Committee and its International Advisory Board, distinguished in diverse aspects of the discipline, reflects our determination to promote a collaborative discourse at the highest academic level.

Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal will make a unique contribution to the debate on Palestine and its future. It will publish fresh ideas, paying particular attention to issues that have a contemporary relevance and a wider public interest. It will draw upon expertise from virtually all relevant disciplines (history, culture, politics, religion, archaeology, and sociology). Conventionally these diversified discourses are kept apart. This journal brings them together, and does so in a way that will bring the discussion further. It will encourage analysis of social, cultural and economic conditions, promote critical, innovative and sensitive approaches, and consider wider social, political and cultural settings. The timely production of this journal has already received a quite extraordinary academic support from a wide range of intellectuals.

The International Advisory Board includes Professors Edward Said (New York), Ilan Pappé (Haifa), Tim Niblock (Exeter), Samih Farsoun (Washington DC), Dan Rabinowitz (Jerusalem), Naseer Aruri (Massachusetts), David Burrell (Notre Dame), As'ad Ghanem (Haifa), Khalil Hindi (London), Naim Ateek (Al-Quds), Vincent Malham (Bethlehem),

Thomas L. Thompson (Copenhagen), Donald Wagner (Chicago), Oren Yiftachel (Beer Sheva), William Dalrymple (London), Peter Du Brul (Bethlehem), Thomas Mullins (Harvard), Bernard Sabella (Bethlehem), Salim Tamari (Bir Zeit), Rosemary Radford Ruether (Evanston), and Noam Chomsky. The board includes Jews, Christians and Muslims, political scientists, historians, biblical scholars, Middle East specialists, university vice-chancellors, theologians, etc.

Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal is aimed at an academic and wider public readership. The subjects which the journal will deal with include the Holy Land as a geographical and intercultural meeting-place; the Holy Land and its surroundings; social history and historiography; pilgrimage to the Holy Land down the ages and today; the nineteenth-century European 'scramble for Palestine'; modern nationalism(s); Western colonialism; the Arab-Israeli conflict; the political economy of Israel-Palestine; democracy and civil society; state and religion; the role of religion in society; religious and cultural pluralism; majorities and minorities; religion and modernity in the Holy Land; postmodernism and religion; interfaith dialogue(s); interpretation(s) of the Bible and the Quran; archaeological discourses. Why such multidisciplinaryity?

Every relevant discipline which deals with Canaan-Palestine-the 'Holy Land'- Palestine/Israel falls victim to specialisation. Archaeologists analyse and attempt to describe the past. Biblical and Quranic scholars also illuminate the past. Historians, too, tend to confine their attention to events of the past. Sociologists and anthropologists deliberate on the diverse cultural, political and religious identities of the inhabitants. Political scientists consider various political arrangements and options. Geographers concern themselves with space and human environment. The discourse on international law deals with titles to sovereignty. International conventions consider issues of human rights. All pretend to eschew making value judgements. While theological and religious discourse delights in making moral judgements, it frequently assumes a metahistorical perspective, with little to say about international law and human rights, concentrating instead on the analysis of texts and abstract concepts, with little evidence of social analysis or moral critique.

Such diversified discourses function in isolation from each other. And yet, each element (and many more) reflects only a portion of the fuller picture. What results is a series of

truncated discourses, each peddling its own grasp of wisdom, with none respecting the complexity of the question. Clearly, the task is too large for any one (sub-)discipline. There is a further problem.

The specialisation of scholarship in every branch of learning is such that non-experts retire from the debate out of fear, and even the most versatile scholars scarcely ever move beyond the limits of their own (sub-)discipline. The tendency to escape into specialisation results in evading the responsibility of engagement with the wider world, with the excuse that even critical moral questions must be left to the specialist. The concerned individual nevertheless is left with the imperative of judging.

In devising an appropriate methodology for investigating a situation which has multiple elements we have something to learn from the world of nature, and in particular from two of the principles of Quantum Theory, Uncertainty and Complementarity. Werner Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty reveals that at any specific moment only one of the elements in a system can be subjected to analysis: e.g., it is not possible to ascertain both the position and momentum of a particle: 'the more precisely the position is determined, the less precisely the momentum is known.' There is a fundamental dilemma that even the act of observation itself can distort the system, and does so, at least at the atomic level. Niels Bohr's Principle of Complementarity, on the other hand, argues that the classical definition of states in terms of space and time is unsatisfactory, and that it is only by combining these two complementary aspects that a true picture of even the physical world can be obtained. At levels more complicated than the physical, different, and even opposing elements complement each other in helping to describe a complex mechanism.

And, certainly, the issues surrounding the Holy Land are complex. They embrace the past, the present, and even the future: the future, not only in terms of the region's need for peace and stability, but in virtue of the land's unique importance in traditional eschatologies. Moreover, one encounters 'two nations' and 'three faiths', diverse theologies (Jewish, Christian and Islamic), conflicting Jewish and Palestinian perspectives on 'exile', 'refugees', 'diaspora' and 'return', opposing nationalisms and possible binationalist options, social and economic conditions, Palestine in history and today, ecumenism and interfaith relations, mediaeval philosophy, modernisation, religious revivalisms and fundamentalisms, Christian Zionism, Political Zionism, Religious Zionism, Post-Zionism, the 'new historiography' and the 'new sociology' of Israel and Palestine, the peace process, Biblical, Talmudic and Quranic scholarship, Theology and liberation, etc. It is envisaged that *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal* will address all such aspects over a period.

So much of the above themes focuses on ideologies and superstructures. This journal is committed to encouraging reflection upon, and analysis of, social, cultural and economic conditions as they impinge upon ordinary people in the region and not just the conditions, but also the dispositions underlying them.

Authors are encouraged to adopt critical and innovative approaches to the discourse, and to write with a sensitivity

to the public nature of their own (sub-)disciplines, rather than confine themselves to an 'in-house' monologue. They are also counselled to consider the wider social, political and cultural settings which constitute the contexts in which they carry out their specialised investigation, and to be conversant with the major insights of other relevant disciplines. Authors, while preserving the highest levels of academic integrity, are not required to be intellectually dispassionate, or to adopt a value-neutral disposition, or to be emotionally detached from the vicissitudes associated with the region. They are encouraged, rather, to assume a public responsibility for attempting to make that troublesome part of the world a better place.

The First Number

In his 'The Post-Zionist Discourse in Israel: 1990-2001' Dr Ilan Pappé, Professor in the Department of Politics in the University of Haifa, Israel, describes the development of the Post-Zionist critique within Israeli society, from the late 1980s, when it first appeared in academic works, and follows its dissemination into other areas of cultural activity (theatre, newspapers, films, TV and radio). It assesses the overall impact of post-Zionism on Israeli society, with particular stress on the way the recent *Intifada* (begun in September 2000) has influenced its fortunes in Israel, and raised some fears for the immediate future.

The Editor of the journal, Dr Michael Prior, Chair of the Holy Land Research Project, St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, discusses 'Ethnic Cleansing and the Bible: A Moral Critique'. He notes that even for secular Zionists Jewish claims to exclusive title to 'the land of Israel' rest on the Bible. Although Political Zionism was an assault on Judaism its settlement policy today has no more ardent supporters than Religious Zionists. The Bible salves whatever pangs of conscience they might have about the expulsion of the Palestinians: normal rules of morality are suspended, and ethnic cleansing is applauded. However, its land traditions pose fundamental moral questions, relating both to their content—they mandate the ethnic cleansing of Canaan—and to the ways they have been deployed in favour of various colonial enterprises, including Zionism. Nevertheless, neither has been sufficient to bother the biblical academy to the point of critical opposition. Academics have an ethical responsibility, and are accountable to a wider public. This essay proposes that a moral exegesis of the Bible and an ethical evaluation of its interpretation, not least as it refers to the Holy Land, is indispensable today.

Dr As'ad Ghanem of the Department of Political Science, University of Haifa, Israel, discusses 'The Binational Idea in Palestine and Israel: Historical Roots and Contemporary Debate'. The article deals with the question of binationality in the Israeli Jewish-Palestinian framework in Israel/Palestine. The first part presents the relevant theoretical background, and the second sets forth the guidelines which lead one to think that the binational concept in Israel/Palestine is the only possible solution. The third part discusses the historical roots for the progress of the idea in Jewish and Palestinian thought. The fourth enumerates the forces preventing a separation between Israel and the West Bank

and Gaza Strip, leading to the need to consider a solution based on establishing a common political framework. The fifth part evaluates the support for and the opposition to this idea, and its prospects of being accepted among the Israeli and Palestinian publics. The final part presents general guidelines for a binational settlement between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs in the joint state of Israel-Palestine.

The Associate Editor of the journal, Dr Nur Masalha, Director of the Holy Land Research Project, St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, discusses 'Reinventing Maimonides: From Universalist Philosopher to Religious Fundamentalist (1967-2002)'. The study focuses primarily on two strands of Jewish fundamentalism in Israel: the Zionist nationalist 'messianic' camp and the ultra-orthodox rabbis and non-Zionist religious parties. It explores the doctrinal differences between these two concerning the 'messianic doctrine', their attitudes towards Palestinian Christians, and their impact on Israeli foreign and domestic policies. The two currents invoke the interpretation of the Jewish Law of Moses Maimonides to justify their respective attitudes towards the Palestinians. The essay explores the 'reinvention' of Maimonides by Jewish religious

fundamentalists, who metamorphose him from being a rationalist and universalist philosopher—the most illustrious example of the Golden Age of Arabo-Islamic-Judaic symbiosis—into an anti-Arab religious zealot.

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CHRISTIAN ZIONISM: JUSTIFYING APARTHEID IN THE NAME OF GOD

Stephen Sizer

(This article is the concluding part of that published in Living Stones Magazine 19. This second part reviews Christian Zionist attitudes to the status of Jerusalem, the rebuilding of the Temple, the rights of Arabs and the expectation of Armageddon.)

6. Jerusalem, The Eternal and Exclusive Jewish Capital

In 1992, the ICEJ sponsored various receptions marking the 25th anniversary of what they referred to as the 'Reunification of Jerusalem'.³⁹ In 1996 this position was reiterated.

Because of the sovereign purposes of God for the City, Jerusalem must remain undivided, under Israeli sovereignty, open to all peoples, the capitol of Israel only, and all nations should so concur and place their embassies here.⁴⁰

In 1997 the ICEJ gave support to a full page advert placed in the New York Times entitled, 'Christians Call for a United Jerusalem' signed by 10 evangelical and fundamentalist leaders including Pat Robertson, chairman of Christian Broadcasting Network and president of the Christian Coalition; Oral Roberts, founder and chancellor of Oral Roberts University; Jerry Falwell, founder of Moral Majority; Ed McAteer, President of the Religious Roundtable; and David Allen Lewis, President of Christians United for Israel.

We, the undersigned Christian spiritual leaders, communicating weekly to more than 100 million Christian Americans, are proud to join together in supporting the continued sovereignty of the State of Israel over the holy city of Jerusalem. We support Israel's efforts to reach reconciliation with its Arab neighbors, but we believe that Jerusalem or any portion of it shall not be negotiable in the peace process. Jerusalem must remain undivided as the eternal capital of the Jewish people.⁴¹

The signatories wished to 'remind the world' that:

Jerusalem suffered through 19 years of Arab occupation until 1967; a dark period when Christians and Jews alike were denied access to their holy places

and thousands of Arab Christians felt compelled to leave the city. Now for the first time in 2000 years, the City of God (sic) is accessible to people of all faiths ... Since 1967, the Israeli government has demonstrated sensitivity to the concerns and needs of all Jerusalem's residents, including the Palestinians ... Israel's biblical right to Jerusalem as a sovereign capital is by divine mandate and is secured by God's irrevocable covenant ...

Readers were invited to:

Join us in our holy mission to ensure that Jerusalem will remain the undivided, eternal capital of Israel. The battle for Jerusalem has begun, and it is time for believers in Christ to support our Jewish brethren and the State of Israel. The time for unity with the Jewish people is now.⁴²

Tom Getman, director of World Vision in Palestine, responded with an open letter to the ICEJ calling them 'either hopelessly naive or liars.'

Two things you may want to consider in your blatant partisan support:

1. For 5000 years any time this city has been under the exclusive control of one power it has been the cause of untold bloodshed; and 2. Israel's so called 'exemplary record in guaranteeing access to biblical sites' has been significantly sullied in recent years, and even over this past Easter weekend, when in and around the Old City, streets were blocked off to all traffic except Jewish Pessah worshippers. For those of us who could not get to Good Friday and Easter services, and for your Palestinian brothers and sisters in Christ who could not even get out of Bethlehem, you are setting yourselves up to be perceived as either hopelessly naive or liars. Jerusalem is the spiritual home for 2 billion people ... Only 15 million are Jewish. The better part of wisdom would be for 'God's chosen' to share it or they will absolutely guarantee being proven the world's rejected once again.⁴³

Nevertheless Israel has progressively built more and more settlements in East Jerusalem while at the same time

³⁶ Sarah Honig, 'Adopt-a-Settlement Program', *The Jerusalem Post*, 2 October 1995.

³⁷ 'zionism.htm' *Jews for Jesus FAQ*, www.jewsforjesus.org.

³⁸ Brickner, *Don't*.

³⁹ *International Christian Embassy Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, ICEJ, 1993), 24.

⁴⁰ International Christian Zionist Congress Proclamation, International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem. 25-29 February 1996.

⁴¹ 'Christians Call for a United Jerusalem' *New York Times*, 18 April 1997, www.cdn-friends-icej.ca/united.html.

⁴² 'Christians Call for a United Jerusalem' *New York Times*, 18 April 1997, www.cdn-friends-icej.ca/united.html.

⁴³ Tom Getman, 'A Response to Christian Zionist Exclusivism' *Cornerstone*, Issue 15, spring 1999, 19.

demolishing Palestinian homes and depriving Palestinians of residence permits thereby shifting the demographic balance in favour of Jews. David Pileggi is therefore not surprisingly confident that the 'facts on the ground' will ensure Jerusalem remains under Israeli control.⁴⁴ Probably the most controversial issue uniting many Christian Zionists with more extreme Jewish Zionists is the issue of the Temple Mount.

7. The Rebuilding of the Temple

The rebuilding of the Jewish Temple is something many Christian Zionists assume will happen soon. David Brickner bases his belief on passages such as Daniel 9.

Obviously the Temple has been rebuilt because Daniel tells us this ruler puts an end to sacrifice and sets up some kind of abomination (a loathsome horror that would be anathema to Jewish worship) right inside the Temple in Jerusalem. Ultimately this ruler is destroyed in a final conflagration of enormous proportion. Who exactly is this 'ruler' who makes a treaty with Israel? Why will the Temple be rebuilt in Jerusalem, and what will this final conflagration alluded to be like?⁴⁵

While Jews for Jesus claim they do not endorse the activities of Jewish groups committed to rebuilding the Jewish Temple, it nevertheless provides information on, and offers direct Internet links to, eight extreme Jewish organisations involved in attempts to destroy the Al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock, rebuild the Jewish Temple and re-institute Temple worship and sacrifices. These include the Temple Institute and Temple Mount Faithful.⁴⁶

Indeed, Zhava Glaser of 'Jews for Jesus' praises Gershon Salomon, founder of 'The Temple Faithful'.

Very few Jews have the courage to talk about the most important subject in the Jewish religion: that is, the question of the Temple, the high priest, the altar and the place of sacrifice. Gershon Salomon is a man of such courage. This 53-year-old scholar is the founder and head of a group called, 'The Temple Faithful.' ... in October of 1990, he announced that he intended to lay the cornerstone for the Third Temple. And that pronouncement so inflamed the Jerusalem Muslim community that the Temple Mount riot ensued which led to the killing of many Arabs and Jews. Admittedly, Salomon says that he would remove the Muslim presence from that site; his idea is to move the Dome of the Rock and the al Aksa Mosque (which have stood on the mount since the 7th century) and possibly have them transported to Mecca. He also wants to increase the Jewish population of Jerusalem, and by that he means in the Old City. One must take Salomon seriously.

Nine thousand people are on his 'Temple Mount Faithful' membership list.⁴⁷

One of the most popular books among Christian Zionists is *Ready to Rebuild: The Imminent Plan to Rebuild the Last Days Temple*, by Thomas Ice and Randall Price. These dispensational writers advocate the rebuilding of the Jewish temple next to, if not in place of, the Dome of the Rock.⁴⁸ This Jews for Jesus book review implies the State of Israel is behind moves to rebuild the Temple.

Something is happening in Israel! For many years there has been speculation as to whether the Second Temple, destroyed in 70 AD, will ever be rebuilt—even though Scripture predicts it. Now you can read the startling evidence. The move is already underway. This fascinating, fast-moving overview of contemporary events shows why the Temple is significant in Bible prophecy and how, more than ever, Israel is ready to rebuild ...⁴⁹

8. Antipathy Toward Arabs and Palestinians

Christian Zionists, while lovers of Israel, rarely show the same emotions toward Arabs and Palestinians. Anti-Arab prejudices and Orientalist stereotypes are common in their writings.⁵⁰ Hal Lindsey is probably the most popular Christian Zionist author with sales of more than 20 books exceeding 50 million copies. He insists,

Long ago the psalmist predicted the final mad attempt of the confederated Arab armies to destroy the nation of Israel ... The Palestinians are determined to trouble the world until they repossess what they feel is their land. The Arab nations consider it a matter of racial honour to destroy the State of Israel. Islam considers it a sacred mission of religious honour to recapture Old Jerusalem.⁵¹

Franklin Graham, now President of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, made similar remarks in a recent newspaper interview.

The Arabs will not be happy until every Jew is dead. They hate the State of Israel. They all hate the Jews. God gave the land to the Jews. The Arabs will never accept that.⁵²

Comparisons between Hitler and Arabs are also made frequently within International Christian Embassy material.

⁴⁴ David Pileggi, 'Stumbling Over Jerusalem' *Shalom*, November (1991).
⁴⁵ Brickner, *Future*.

⁴⁶ Rich Robinson, 'Israeli Groups Involved in Third Temple Activities' *Jews for Jesus Newsletter* Issue 10, Adar 5753, 1993.

⁴⁷ Zhava Glaser, 'Today's Rituals: Reminders or Replacements' *Issues*, 8, 3.

⁴⁸ Thomas Ice and Randall Price, *Ready to Rebuild, The Imminent Plan to Rebuild the Last Days Temple*. (Eugene, Harvest House, 1992).

⁴⁹ Jews for Jesus review of *Ready to Rebuild* by Thomas Ice and Randall Price (Eugene, Harvest House, 1992), www.store.jewsforjesus.org/books/products/bk154.htm.

⁵⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, Vintage, 1978).

⁵¹ Lindsey, *Israel and the Last Days* (Eugene, Oregon, Harvest House, 1983), 38-39.

⁵² *Charlotte Observer*, 16 October 2000.

Just as there was a definite ideology behind the hatred and atrocities of Hitler and the Nazis, there is one behind the hatred and wars by the Arabs against the Jews and people of Israel.⁵³

Many Christian Zionists are reluctant even to acknowledge the existence of Palestinians as a distinct people group. Dave Hunt is typical of those who equate Palestinians with the ancient Philistines, and who use the term *Palestinian* in a pejorative sense.

Central to the Middle East conflict today is the issue of the so-called Palestinian people ... Palestinians? There never was a Palestinian people, nation, language, culture, or religion. The claim of descent from a Palestinian people who lived for thousands of years in a land called Palestine is a hoax! That land was Canaan, inhabited by Canaanites, whom God destroyed because of their wickedness. Canaan became the land of Israel given by God to His people. Those who today call themselves Palestinians are Arabs by birth, language, and culture, and are close relatives to Arabs in surrounding countries from whence most of them came, attracted by Israel's prosperity. The name Palestine comes from the Philistines, who were not Semites, but invaded Canaan from Crete and parts of Asia Minor. Yet Arafat, an Arab, claims that ancestry.⁵⁴

Christian Zionists invariably portray Palestinians as terrorists, implacably hostile to Jews and the State of Israel and persist in referring to the Palestinian Authority as the PLO.

The PLO is an Islamic terrorist organization. It trained most terrorists around the world: Idi Amin's murder gangs who killed about 300,000 black Christians in Uganda; the Italian Red Brigades; German Baader Meinhof gang; the Iranian Revolutionary Guards; terrorists in Latin America, etc. Arafat committed his first murder at age 20. Under him the PLO became the most vicious and bloodiest terrorist organization ever known. It holds records for the biggest hijacking (4 aircraft at once), the largest number of hostages (300 at one time), the largest ransom extorted (\$5 million from Lufthansa) and the greatest number and variety of targets (40 civilian aircraft, five passenger ships, 30 embassies or diplomatic missions, and massacres of school children), etc ...

Incredibly, Arafat and his PLO murderers have been sanitized and lionized by world media. John Paul's recent trip to Bethlehem was in response to Arafat's invitation to join him there to celebrate 'our Jesus Christ.' Our Jesus Christ? Arafat says Jesus was a Palestinian freedom fighter against Israel, and the Pope smiles and blesses him! John Paul II has warmly

received Arafat in Rome many times. This ruthless, sadistic terrorist and murderer was given the Nobel Peace Prize and is honored as the champion of justice for the Palestinian people.⁵⁵

Rob Richards justifies Israel's apartheid regime, on the grounds that Palestinians are the biblical equivalent of the 'alien' residents in Eretz Israel, to be respected but not having the same status or equal rights as the Jews.

The alien has rights and we can remind Israel of this. Palestinians and Arabs who have made Israel their home come under that biblical word 'alien'.⁵⁶

Richards ignores the fact that Palestinians over the age of 50 were living in their own land of Palestine long before the State of Israel was imposed upon them. Brickner likewise uses the term 'sojourner' to describe the status of Palestinians in Eretz Israel.

God commanded Israel to be kind to sojourners because we were once sojourners in the Land of Egypt and we know what it is like to be treated harshly.⁵⁷

While the United Nations is invariably viewed with great mistrust, for many Christian Zionists, the two nations of America and Israel are seen as linked not only by common self-interest but also more significantly by similar religious foundations. Together they are perceived to be pitted against an evil world dominated by Islamic regimes antithetical to the values of America and Israel.⁵⁸ It is therefore not hard to see why Christian Zionists are pessimistic of, or even oppose, the current peace process. Walter Riggans, for instance, believes the Oslo Peace Accord threatens to legitimise Palestinian claims to Jerusalem and the West Bank.

... many Jewish people are quite devastated, and feel they have been betrayed into the hands of cunning and ruthless Palestinians who are exploiting the accords as a first step towards the elimination of Israel.⁵⁹

Cohen is equally pessimistic.

Partnership of Jew and Arab is untenable in Israel ... we live in an age of political correctness which claims we live in a world where all people have equal rights. I don't agree with that because I don't think it squares with the biblical record ... the search for peace in the Middle East, laudable though it is, is a wild goose chase.⁶⁰

⁵³ Jan Willem van der Hoeven, *Babylon or Jerusalem?* (Shippensburg, Pasadena, Destiny Image Publishers, 1993), 132-133.

⁵⁴ Dave Hunt, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem', TBC, September 2000.

⁵⁵ Dave Hunt, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem', TBC, September 2000.

⁵⁶ Richards, *Has*, 159.

⁵⁷ Brickner, *Don't*.

⁵⁸ Merrill Simon, *Jerry Falwell and the Jews* (Middle Village, New York, Jonathan David, 1984), 63-64, 71-72.

⁵⁹ Walter Riggans, 'The Messianic Community and the Hand Shake' *Shalom*, 1, (1995).

⁶⁰ Cohen, *Guildford*.

Regrettably such a stance which sees the land as exclusively Jewish, in which Palestinians are 'aliens' and to which Jews from around the world are encouraged to settle, not only undermines the witness of the indigenous Jewish and Palestinian Christians who live there, but also disregards the New Testament ethic which requires us to live by equal grace and common justice.

9. Anxious for Armageddon

It is with regard to their perspective on the future that Christian Zionists appear to be 'Anxious for Armageddon'.⁶¹ The 1967 'Six Day War' marked a significant watershed for Christian interest in Israel and Zionism. For example, Jerry Falwell did not begin to speak about modern-day Israel until after Israel's 1967 military victory.

Falwell changed completely. He entered into politics and became an avid supporter of the Zionist State ... the stunning Israeli victory made a big impact not only on Falwell, but on a lot of Americans ... in 1967, the United States was mired in the Vietnam War. Many felt a sense of defeat, helplessness and discouragement ... Many Americans, including Falwell, turned worshipful glances toward Israel, which they viewed as militarily strong and invincible. They gave their unstinting approval to the Israeli take-over of Arab lands because they perceived this conquest as power and righteousness ...⁶²

Hal Lindsey asserts,

The Bible foretells the signs that precede Armageddon ... We are the generation that will see the end times ... and the return of Jesus ...⁶³ Never before, in one book, has there been such a complete and detailed look at the events leading up to 'The Battle of Armageddon'.⁶⁴

Jerry Falwell's 'Friendship Tours' to Israel include not only meetings with top Israeli government and military officials but also,

... On-site tour of modern Israeli battlefields ... Official visit to an Israeli defence installation ... strategic military positions, plus experience first hand the battle Israel faces as a nation.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Don Wagner, *Anxious for Armageddon* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, Herald Press, 1995); Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics, Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War*, (Westport, Lawrence Hill, 1986).

⁶² James Price and William Goodman, Jerry Falwell, *An Unauthorized Profile*, cited in Grace Halsell, *Prophecy*, p. 72.

⁶³ Hal Lindsey, *The 1980s, Countdown to Armageddon* (New York, Bantam, 1981), back cover.

⁶⁴ Hal Lindsey, *The Final Battle* (Palos Verdes, California, Western Front, 1995) front cover.

⁶⁵ Donald Wagner, 'Beyond Armageddon', *The Link* (Americans for Middle East Understanding), Vol. 25 No. 4, October/November 1992,3.

Invariably therefore Christian Zionists are pessimistic and even antagonistic toward peace negotiations in the Middle East.

Because of the sovereign purposes of God for the City, Jerusalem must remain undivided, under Israeli sovereignty, open to all peoples, the capital of Israel only, and all nations should so concur and place their embassies here ... the truths of God are sovereign and it is written that the Land which He promised to His People is not to be partitioned ...⁶⁶

Neil Cohen expresses the sentiments of many Christian Zionists as to why peace cannot be negotiated, and why continual conflict is inevitable.

At no time in history did God cancel his covenant with the Jews. What he promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob remains true to this day and will remain true at least until Jesus returns and the search for peace in the Middle East, laudable though it is, is a wild goose chase.⁶⁷

Christian Zionists sometimes attempt to silence critics with the threat of divine retribution. For example, Brickner warns those who do not share his particular Zionist perspective that they are fighting against God.

Peril awaits those who presume to say that God is finished with His chosen people: 'And in that day I will make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all peoples. All who lift it shall be slashed, and all the nations of the earth will be gathered against it' (Zechariah 12:3). Woe to anyone who joins those nations to gather against the Jewish people who are now back in the city of David. Just as God judged the nation of Egypt for her ill treatment of His people, so will He judge nations today. Evangelicals who would understand the Middle East must pay close attention to the teaching of Scripture, and take note of the cosmic forces that now do battle in the heavens but will soon do battle on earth. They must choose carefully which side to uphold.⁶⁸

10. A Summary of Christian Zionism

This article has sought to show that behind their commitment to work '... with God in his continuing purpose for the Jewish people,' another agenda is being pursued by many Christian Zionists, best summarised in Kelvin Crombie's own epilogue.

For if the Bible is true, literally, then Israel would be restored, first physically, then spiritually. The CMJ work in Israel was founded during the last century upon such a belief. The establishment of the State

⁶⁶ International Christian Zionist Congress Proclamation, International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem. 25-29 February 1996.

⁶⁷ Debate between the author and Neil Cohen, Guildford Diocesan Evangelical Fellowship, St John's, Woking, Surrey, 18 March 1997.

⁶⁸ Brickner, Don't.

of Israel in 1948 was surely an indication that such beliefs were correct ... Those who established the work at Christ Church ... believed in the future physical restoration of Israel to its land ... it reminds us that throughout the history of the Church a remnant of believers has remained faithful to God's covenant relationship with Israel.⁶⁹

Such literalist assumptions of restorationism preclude any possibility of an alternative reading of the Bible, history or a just and lasting outcome to Middle East peace negotiations. While there is a commitment by Jews for Jesus and CMJ to evangelise Jewish people, their solidarity with other non-evangelistic Christian Zionist agencies such as Bridges for Peace and the International Christian Embassy has led to many Evangelicals equating their faith with Zionism, becoming apologists for the State of Israel itself and defending apartheid and human rights abuses in the name of God.⁷⁰

Kenneth Cragg summarises the implications of Christian Zionism's ethnic exclusivity.

It is so; God chose the Jews; the land is theirs by divine gift. These dicta cannot be questioned or resisted. They are final. Such verdicts come infallibly from Christian Biblicists for whom Israel can do no wrong—thus fortified. But can such positivism, this unquestioning finality, be compatible with the integrity of the Prophets themselves? It certainly cannot square with the open peoplehood under God which is the crux of New Testament faith. Nor

can it well be reconciled with the ethical demands central to law and election alike.⁷¹

The Middle East Council of Churches (MECC), representing the indigenous and ancient Oriental and Eastern Churches, has been highly critical of the activities of Christian Zionists. They regard Christian Zionism as a deviant heresy, subservient to a political agenda to:

... force the Zionist model of theocratic and ethnocentric nationalism on the Middle East ... (rejecting) ... the movement of Christian unity and inter-religious understanding which is promoted by the (indigenous) churches in the region. The Christian Zionist programme, with its elevation of modern political Zionism, provides the Christian with a world view where the gospel is identified with the ideology of success and militarism. It places its emphasis on events leading up to the end of history rather than living Christ's love and justice today.⁷²

Essentially, Christian Zionism distorts the Bible and marginalises the universal imperative of the Christian message of equal grace and common justice. It may be argued that it is actually Christian Zionists who are anti-Semitic because of their partisan support for Israel's apartheid regime, their antipathy toward Arabs and Palestinians, and their hostility toward any negotiated Middle East peace deal. In doing so they have, whether intentionally or otherwise, legitimised the oppression of Palestinians in the name of God.

⁶⁹ Crombie, Love, 257-258.

⁷⁰ Regina Sharif, *Non-Jewish*. p. 7; see also Uri Davis, *The State of Palestine* (Ithaca, Reading, 1991), 28.

⁷¹ Kenneth Cragg, *The Arab Christian A History in the Middle East* (London, Mowbray, 1992), 238.

⁷² MECC, *What is Western Fundamentalist Christian Zionism?* (Limassol, Cyprus, Middle East Council of Churches, 1988), 13.

PATTERNS OF PILGRIMAGE

Duncan Macpherson

Part I: The Early Centuries

A survey of the history of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land over the centuries reveals that pilgrims may be driven by a variety of spiritual motives. These include desire for closer sense of Communion with God, to make reparation for sin, to express thanksgiving or to pray for a particular intention. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land can also be understood in political, cultural or economic terms as a mechanism for establishing influence or control in the region or for exporting internal contradictions from the pilgrim's own society. Whatever the reasons or explanations given for going on

pilgrimage to the Holy Land, however, the actual pilgrimage will invariably include one or more of the four elements of historical enquiry, devotional imagination, liturgy and preaching.

The presence and the relative importance of these four appears variously in the earliest accounts of prayer and Bible reading at holy sites, the evolution of the mediaeval form of pilgrimage, the didactic nineteenth century form of Protestant pilgrimage and the liturgically based devotional pilgrimage of Eastern Orthodox pilgrims. The importance of the

indigenous Christian communities for foreign pilgrims has not always been recognised and the final part of this study will emphasise the value of sharing in the liturgy and preaching of these communities and record some experiences of such sharing.

All liturgy and liturgical preaching take place within, or creates their own, sacred place. The Holy Land of what is today Israel/Palestine has its special claim to be regarded as sacred space. As the locus of the events, real or imagined, recorded in the Old Testament, Jerusalem and other sacred places of the Holy Land had an established importance within Judaism. Until the destruction of the Second Temple pilgrimage was a compulsory feature of religion. For Muslim's the pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj* is the fifth pillar of Islam. By contrast, for Christians, visiting the holy places in Palestine has always been optional. Certainly, the practice of praying at these places had become established by the fourth century and there is evidence that it goes back well before that date and has continued up until today¹.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Early Centuries

In 323 the Emperor made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire. His mother Helena visited Palestine and took considerable interest in identifying biblical sites. In particular she began the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to enclose the sites of the crucifixion death and burial of Jesus. The available records of pilgrimage before that suggest that pilgrims before the time of Constantine were motivated primarily by the spirit of historical enquiry, although preaching seems to have figured in their stories also. Other less educated pilgrims may have had other ideas about the meaning of the holy sites but in the nature of things they have left no literary record.

The earliest recorded Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land was Melito of Sardis (d. 190) a pilgrim whose interest in the Holy Land involved the two elements of historical enquiry and preaching. His theological opposition to Gnosticism probably inspired his visit to the Holy Land in around 160. Since the Gnostics denied both the physical humanity of Christ and the unity of the Old and New Testament dispensations, it was important for Melito to 'establish accurately the books of the Old Testament' and to identify the scenes of the Lord's incarnate life. Another pre-Constantinian pilgrim to the Holy Land was the Alexandrine theologian and philosopher Origen (c. 185-254). While still a layman Origen went to Palestine in 215 to preach at the invitation of the bishops of Caesarea and Aelia (Jerusalem). Recalled to Alexandria by his bishop, Origen later returned to Palestine in 230, setting up a school of Theology there at Caesarea in 231. In his travels around the Holy Land one of his primary concerns was to seek out the sites of biblical events. According to Firmilianus, a Cappadocian bishop who visited Origen there, he was in the Holy Land for the sake of the holy places, and in particular, to trace the footsteps of Jesus.²

It seems evident that Melito and Origen both went to the Holy Land for scholarly rather than for spiritual reasons. Indeed one commentator claims that it is 'misleading, indeed anachronistic to call Origen a pilgrim.'³ Clearly Jerusalem did not have the same significance for them as for later pilgrims. Indeed,

at this stage, it was Caesarea rather than Aelia (Jerusalem) that had the chief bishop of Palestine and 'Jerusalem had no special place on the Christian map.'⁴ Nonetheless, it seems that the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane and the river Jordan had a devotional significance for the Christians who lived in Aelia. With their focus on the heavenly Jerusalem rather than the earthly one, the Christians of this period would view Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives and meditate upon its rejection of the Lord rather than upon its status as a holy city. On the Mount of Olives too, they visited and prayed at cave that was, reputedly, the site of a resurrection appearance to John the Beloved Disciple.⁵ At nearby Bethlehem, too, they venerated the cave of the Nativity.

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, narrates the story of the visits of Melito and Origen but did not then discern any spiritual significance in the Holy Land. In Eusebius's anti-Judaism polemics he frequently contrasts Jerusalem with the heavenly city or with the new Roman city of Aelia Capitolina built on the site of Herodian Jerusalem. In his later writings however the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre has elicited a much more positive attitude and we read that she 'fell down and worshipped before the Cross as if she could see the Lord hanging on it. On entering the Tomb of the Resurrection she kissed the stone which the angel removed from the sepulchre door; then like a thirsty man who has waited long, and at last comes to water, she faithfully kissed the very shelf on which the Lord's body had lain. Her tears and lamentations there are known to all Jerusalem—or rather to the Lord himself to whom she was praying.'⁶ Certainly, the holy places became more valued as a reaction to the Arian Christology that Eusebius sympathised with. If the Incarnate Word was indeed fully God, then the points of contact between the Word and the physical world became vitally important. St Jerome describes the extraordinary fervour of two aristocratic Roman women, Paula and her daughter, as they venerated the sacred sites in Jerusalem.⁷ The Orthodox reaction to the Arian heresy helps to explain the emergence of such fervent veneration of the material locations where the Divine Word had intersected with the human world. Consequent upon the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, the holy places of Palestine also served an ideological purpose by attracting pilgrims to the Holy Land and thus consolidating both the influence of the new faith and the authority of the Emperor who espoused it.

Even among the Orthodox, however, the practice of pilgrimage did not go unchallenged. Gregory of Nyssa, writing in 379 AD, attacks pilgrimage on the grounds that it was not enjoined in the New Testament, it encouraged a dangerous mixing of the sexes and it brought people no closer to God. In any case his Church in his native Cappadocia had more to recommend it than that the Church in Jerusalem. Elsewhere however, Gregory is defending the sacramental and incarnational character of Orthodox Christianity and asserts that the Holy Land had special significance for Christian believers because it has the 'signs of the Lord's sojourn in the flesh' and 'received the footprints of Life itself.'

One of the first of the increasing number of pilgrims who left any record of their journey was the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), whose account amounts to little more than a catalogue

of biblical sites. There is no reference to prayer or liturgical celebration as a feature of his pilgrimage or of any contact with local Christians.

The most important record of pilgrimage during this period is that of Egeria (381-384), who was probably a nun, who travelled to holy places throughout the Middle East. She records liturgical celebrations with preaching in Jerusalem⁸ and elsewhere and, although the Eucharist was not a feature of her visits to the shrines outside the basilicas in Jerusalem, visits to the other sites were always accompanied by the reading of the appropriate biblical text.

It is clear from our brief survey of early Christian pilgrimage that a major concern was to visit the places associated with the Bible and the ministry of Jesus. In the case of Egeria in particular, we have detailed accounts of her participation in the liturgical ceremonies in Jerusalem. Thus, '... it was always our practice when we managed to reach one of the places we wanted to see to have first a prayer, then a reading from the book, then to say an appropriate psalm and another prayer. By God's grace we always followed

this practice whenever we were able to reach a place we wanted to see.'⁹

Throughout the Byzantine period established pilgrimage itineraries developed, shrines built over supposed holy sites multiplied and pilgrims took the opportunity to join in liturgical celebrations at these shrines, often joining with the indigenous faithful. Sharing in the Holy Week and Easter celebrations at Jerusalem and in the Christmas feast at Bethlehem was particularly popular. These events provided ample opportunity for highly charged liturgical preaching as evident in the sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem, the first Bishop of Jerusalem to preside at the Liturgy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁰

(This series will conclude with an account of the varying patterns of Christian Pilgrimage under Arab, Crusader and Ottoman rule, before discussing the nature of contemporary pilgrimage and the value of sharing the experience of liturgical celebration and preaching with the indigenous Christian churches.)

WHAT ABOUT THIS GAP?