**A *Tembel* Hat in the Streets of Nazareth: Paul Gauthier’s Israeli Experience**

1. **Introduction**

The lectures that the French priest and theologian Paul Gauthier (La Flèche 1914 – Marseille 2002) gave after his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1952 became so popular that they were recorded and reproduced, accompanied by the colored slides Gauthier took during the trip, in several towns and villages near Dijon, where Gauthier worked as a theology teacher at the Grand Séminaire. Gauthier’s charisma and visual sensibility attracted the attention of a cameraman, who suggested to Gauthier that they travel to the Holy Land together and make a film about the life of Jesus Christ. Gauthier, who at that point (1954) had abandoned his career as a teacher to become a worker-priest in Jacques Loew’s mission of *prêtres-ouvriers* in Marseille,[[1]](#footnote-1) saw this opportunity as an extension of the working apostolate he had chosen for himself, since, as he said, “more workers attend cinema than Mass.”[[2]](#footnote-2)

They departed in November 1955 for what Gauthier thought would be a short absence but in fact turned out to be a long and life-changing experience. When work on the film had finished, he decided not to return to France but to become a worker-priest in Nazareth, while exploring the new Jewish society of Israel, which greatly aroused his curiosity. Thus, for the next eleven years, Nazareth in particular and Israel in general would become his home. While he had set out to search for traces of the life of Jesus for a film, Gauthier ended up “incarnating” him in his own life.

Some years after his arrival, Gauthier was invited to the Second Vatican Council by Georges Hakim, archbishop of the Galilee. There Gauthier led the group the “Church of the Poor,” which aimed to bring the issue of poverty and pastoral service to the forefront of Council discussions[[3]](#footnote-3) and to distribute Gauthier’s *Jésus, l’Église et les pauvres* (written in Israel in 1963) among the participants.[[4]](#footnote-4) By the end of the 1960s, Gauthier’s message would inspire the nascent Latin American liberation theology movement, with its “preferential option for the poor.”[[5]](#footnote-5)

1. **A charismatic figure within a complex reality**

Gauthier first spent a couple of months in Nazareth in 1956, and after a short return to Paris, he settled in the Galilean city in 1957. Soon after his arrival, he became a recognized figure in the local landscape, inspiring the sympathy and respect of both the Arab population of Nazareth and the Jewish authorities. Even the Israeli daily press showed an increasing interest in him. For example, an article from December 1958 reads:

The priest walks through the main street of the city. Dressed in khakiclothes and a tembel hat, he goes to his workplace. … When the tembel hat of Father Paul is seen in the main street of Nazareth, dozens of hands rise up to greet him. He is known in Nazareth as an affable man, capable of resolving any conflict peacefully.[[6]](#footnote-6)

Gauthier’s choice of wearing khaki clothes and a *tembel* hat (a round brimless hat), both strong hallmarks of the Jewish pioneers, was a statement that would differentiate him from both the many Christian clergymen living and working around religious institutions in Nazareth, and the Arab population of the city, most of which opted for a more traditional clothing style.

Nazareth in the 1950s was a city mired in social crisis. The War of Independence (1948) had left Israel’s Arab population in a fragile situation. Many Arabs, especially residents of rural villages, had fled or were forced to leave their homes and became refugees in the neighboring Arab countries or in large Arab towns within Israel. Nazareth took in a great share of internal refugees, provoking the emergence of a social crisis. This is how Gauthier described the situation in *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église* (1963), a document he wrote for Vatican II:

“Up until 1948, it had been a village of 12,000 inhabitants, a trading center for the villages of Galilee, with its *souks* (Arab market places), its donkey markets, cobblers’ shops, its carpenters … Suddenly, the Judeo-Arab War provoked an influx of refugees to this small and holy town, where everyone, whether Christian or Muslim, feels protected by a maternal presence. In eight days, the city had doubled its population. People crowded in everywhere: in the schools, at the Casa Nova Hospice, in the slums, in caves, in stables, in chicken coops, in pig sties, not to mention the barracks and hastily built shantytowns. Churches and religious communities, in their generosity, do everything they can to help these refugees, and distribute donations received mostly from Belgium. But how to provide them with decent work and housing?[[7]](#footnote-7)

Gauthier was especially disturbed by the marked disparity between the living conditions of the clergy of the numerous religious institutions established in Nazareth, and those of the general population, in “a city which should shine with all the glory of the Gospel, to be a home of social justice and peace.”[[8]](#footnote-8) From the time of his arrival, he dedicated all his efforts to finding a solution for the work and housing crisis he had encountered in that city. In his *Les mains que voici: journal de Nazareth* (published in 1964), Gauthier describes the first steps of the enterprise that had begun in 1956:

After three months spent trying to think of diverse solutions, it seems that a workers’ cooperative for building houses could provide a solution. With my friend Gurevitch, an attorney at law, we have built the legal structure, and with the approval of Mgr. Hakim [Archbishop of Galilee], we have assembled about forty workers. A committee has been elected, comprised of workers, myself among them. The project has been closely examined and will permit the idea of communal social action to spread in the people’s consciousness. [[9]](#footnote-9)

1. **The Cooperative of Housing: A bridge between Jews and Arabs**

It did not take Gauthier long to understand the workings of the young state’s political apparatus and identify the different officials who would help him execute his project. Directly following the War of Independence, and up until 1966, a separate military regime was put in place to deal with the Arab population. Two governmental entities were responsible for the Arab population in Israel: the military regime, which was security-oriented and operated through an arm of the Israeli Defense Force; and the Ministry of Minorities, a government agency which was humanitarian and politically-oriented in nature.[[10]](#footnote-10) Gauthier soon succeeded in creating personal communications channels with both offices and “conquered the hearts of both the military regime officials and the representatives of the various government departments in Nazareth,” as was written in an article in the Israeli press on his behalf.[[11]](#footnote-11) For example, in the *Journal de Nazareth,* Gauthier recalls a friendly visit from representatives of the Israeli government and the Histadrut (the national trade union), who had come to Nazareth to ask for Gauthier’s advice on how to improve the living conditions of the Arab citizens, and listened “with a surprising attention and good will” to his advice.[[12]](#footnote-12) And indeed, shortly after that meeting in 1957, the Israeli civilian and military authorities gave their accord to the creation of the cooperative, and promised their financial and technical support.[[13]](#footnote-13) Thanks to the intervention of Father Gauthier, it would be the first time the State of Israel invested money in Arab construction, financing three-fifths of the houses’ cost outright, and giving long term loans for the payment of the rest.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Gauthier was well aware of the polarities of Israeli reality and politics. He expressed as much in the “State of Israel” entry he wrote for the French Catholic Encyclopedia published in 1966: “The State of Israel presents particular characteristics, which can be summarized by the following four antinomies: peaceful and belligerent, occidental and oriental, capitalist and socialist, democratic and Jewish.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

On the one hand, working and living among the marginalized Arab workers in Nazareth, Gauthier witnessed the effects of the military regime on the Arab population. Nevertheless, when describing his experience in Nazareth both in his writings[[16]](#footnote-16) and in the interviews he gave to the Israeli press, he found it important to remark upon the “goodwill” of the Jewish leadership toward the Arab population, and saw his cooperative as not just a solution for the work and housing problem, but also as a bridge that would put an end to the suspicion and hostility between Jews and Arabs in Israel. As he says in a newspaper article from April 1959:

At Christmas [1957], the cooperative received the map with the land plot demarcated for the construction of housing. “Indeed, it was a nice Christmas present,” smiles Father Gauthier. “However, despite the readiness and willingness of all the relevant ministries, especially that of the military regime, to help us realize our initiative, many [Arabs] were still reticent and suspicious. … Indeed, even I, ever the optimist, did not believe that things would start happening at such an expedient pace. And here you are today, witnessing the magnificent two-family homes erected on this mountain. This is a good beginning for a big enterprise, but moreover, this housing will put an end to the distrust, fear and baseless naysaying among the Israeli Arabs,” Gauthier promised.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Throughout his life in Nazareth, Gauthier saw himself as a mediator between Jews and Arabs in Israel, helping bring about peace between the two people at the local level.

1. **An apostolate of poverty**

As mentioned previously, Gauthier settled in Nazareth while in search of the traces of the life of Jesus. Spiritually nourished by the religious experience of Charles de Foucauld (1858–1916), the French Catholic priest who traveled to Nazareth and the Middle East to imitate Jesus’ life of poverty and manual labor,[[18]](#footnote-18) Gauthier had placed these two principles as the pillars of his theology.

First of all, he made the decision to live in poverty, and demanded the same commitment to poverty from all Catholics, directing his critique specifically at the influential clergy of Nazareth, many of whom were “tragically unwilling to apply pontifical directives on fair salaries,”[[19]](#footnote-19) despite owning large properties. For Gauthier, poverty should be a precondition for any missionary work:

Christ has pronounced this prophecy: “Come to me, all you who are weary and burdened, and I will give you rest” (Matt 11:28). But before he spoke, here, in Nazareth, Jesus wanted to live and suffer with the little people, working at the mercy of difficult employers, in order to save humanity from sin and give it hope. How might we hear this Psalm and transmit the invitation of Christ to the damned of this earth or those crushed by the sin of the world? Should we not take the humblest place in the harsh human condition?”[[20]](#footnote-20)

In Nazareth, Gauthier strictly adopted the principle of poverty as his lifestyle. He asked that his salary be food alone, but when the cooperative fellows insisted, he would only accept to be paid the bare minimum.[[21]](#footnote-21) He gave up the apartment offered to him at the cooperative to a large family who had been living in an ancient cave in the Schneller Quarter in Nazareth (a piece of land under German Christian ownership), and made his residence instead in an extremely humble hut. A description of Gauthier’s hut is provided by a journalist who visited him in 1966: “The hut, made out of bits of tin and tree branches, is almost empty of furniture. It has only two beds and a bookcase full of philosophy books in different languages. Here lives Father Paul Gauthier. … ‘Jesus Christ too lived in a miserable hut,’ he says.”[[22]](#footnote-22)

In an earlier article from 1958 another journalist wrote that the hut did not even have electricity or running water.[[23]](#footnote-23) The cave where the family had resided was transformed by Gauthier into a meeting and prayer space for his small group of disciples, a few young European and Latin American Catholics, members of *Les compagnons de Jesus charpentier* [“Companions of Jesus the Carpenter”], Gauthier’s religious enterprise in Nazareth. In May 1967, only a few weeks before the war, an article about Gauthier and his group had appeared in the mainstream daily newspaper *Maariv*:

Father Gauthier doesn’t wear a cassock. He puts it on only when leading prayers, every day at six, exclusively for the disciples living with him. They walk to an ancient cave, twenty meters away from their cabin. … [The cave] is lit up by two small oil lamps, and contains a wooden table as well as two or three ritual articles. The door to the cave was hand made by Gauthier out of wooden panels taken from the housing construction sites where he himself used to work as a builder. This is how he still views himself now, even though these days—he says apologetically—he spends most of his time writing books.[[24]](#footnote-24)

1. An apostolate of manual labor

Indeed, despite his relatively advanced age by the time of his arrival (forty-two), his lack of training, which caused him to endure much physical pain while working, and the “oppressive” Israeli heat,[[25]](#footnote-25) Gauthier spent most of his years in Israel as a manual laborer. Manual work was for him the most profound religious experience, an activity which allowed him to feel as if he were physically incarnating Jesus. His *Journal de Nazareth* is full of descriptions of the spiritual experience of labor, such as:

As I am mixing the concrete, I see four companions carrying heavy stones. They are 150 meters lower down and must climb up three terraces of five to ten meters each. The concrete is finished, I must join the stone bearers. I go down to where the team is. There it is, the pile of big stones. Each weighs about 50 kg. Do I just lift them? A comrade solves my dilemma: he places one on my shoulder. I may have placed it wrong, because I get tired fast. Arriving to the half-way point, I have to muster all of my strength. I think of those Jerusalem haulers burdened with loads three times heavier than this, and of the One whose back carried, along with the Cross, the sins of the world. Are not the comrades ahead of me, carrying stones heavier than mine, a living testimony of Jesus’ burden that is earthly sin? This meditation allows me to get to the top. Undoubtedly, this is the best Way of the Cross I have been given the opportunity to experience. Is it me who carries the stones with Jesus or Jesus who carries them with me?[[26]](#footnote-26)

Through this experience of hard manual labor, Gauthier felt the two thousand years separating him from the father of Christianity disappear. That was, according to his own testimony, the answer he used to give to his fellow workers when asked why someone like him, who certainly had other options in life, would choose this kind of work.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Gauthier saw collective labor as an act of religious love. For him, the spiritual meaning of collective work is based on the idea that the individual effort is a potential relief for one’s fellow workers. By taking the heaviest stone, he says, one reduces the suffering of one’s comrades. Thus, for humanity to take hard work upon itself is an act of brotherly love.[[28]](#footnote-28) For working people, as for Jesus before them, “work is a redemptory sacrifice.”[[29]](#footnote-29) That is why, Gauthier says in an attempt to promote a working apostolate among the Catholic clergy, the task of the priest is to offer this sacrifice to others as God’s gift.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Besides the physical effort that makes work a religious sacrifice, Gauthier also noted the potential of the meditative dimension of manual work. Monotonous and intellectually unchallenging, it leaves man’s mind free for contemplation and prayer. In his own words:

The work of digging is considered to be the basest trade that can be accomplished by the basest of imbeciles, provided he has strong enough muscles. That leaves the mind unoccupied during work. But very quickly, the mind finds itself engaged, buried in your arms, your back, in your hands, in this earth you dig, you bring up to the surface.[[31]](#footnote-31)

It was during these long hours of digging that Gauthier claimed to have reached the highest religious and social insights, which would shape the theology he would write throughout his years in Israel and disseminate at Vatican II. For example, he narrates the occasion when, while digging a trench, Psalm 130, *De Profundis*, appeared on his lips and revealed itself to him in a new light. Although the trench reminded him of a tomb, he suddenly understood that the abyss from which the author of the Psalm is calling God at its beginning is not the shadow of death, as it is traditionally interpreted. “No: the abyss from the bottom of which I cried out to You, o Lord, is this depth of the misery of my digger brothers, the lowest of the laborers, the damned of the Earth. *De Profundis* had never taken on such a meaning.”[[32]](#footnote-32)

Consequently, the last verse of the Psalm, which is usually translated as: “And He will redeem Israel from all his iniquities,” is interpreted by Gauthier as “He will liberate humanity from its injustices.”[[33]](#footnote-33) In Gauthier’s contemporary scenario, wherein Israel is no longer the oppressed and the weak, humanity takes the place of the Biblical Israel, and social injustices that of personal sins. At this point in his philosophy, this is not necessarily a political statement, but the religious aspiration of imitating Jesus in his carrying of the burden of the Cross, along with the burden of human suffering.

1. The kibbutz – a source of sublime wisdom

As noted previously, during his years in Israel Gauthier established close relations with Jews, relations that went much further than pragmatic dealings related to his workers’ cooperative. He studied Hebrew while staying and working in kibbutzim (collective agrarian settlements) and showed interest in the *kibbutznik* lifestyle. He found in the kibbutz a social corrective to the unjust economic and social system dominating the modern world, which was responsible for marginalizing and oppressing the people for whom he claimed to be speaking up. As he wrote in his *Journal de Nazareth*:

Certainly, from what I have learned so far, the kibbutzim represent an extraordinary accomplishment in contemporary human society. This way of life and work breaks with ordinary custom: communal life, the suppression of salary and money, communitarian work! All this seems utopic, impossible. And yet, there are nearly three hundred exemplars of it in Israel, comprised of a total of around a hundred thousand men and women. […] There were the kibbutzim which paved the way for the creation of Israel; they fashioned a new type of man, remarkable for his patience, his action and altruism, like Ben Gurion, and they continue to sustain the pioneer spirit in this country.[[34]](#footnote-34)

Gauthier’s admiration for the kibbutz can be noted even in his contributions to Vatican II—in the documents he wrote for and during the Council, as well as in lectures he gave.[[35]](#footnote-35) In a time of strong anti-communist Catholic propaganda, Gauthier felt attracted precisely to the socialist elements of the socio-economic structure of the kibbutzim he visited. “In the kibbutzim,” he wrote to the Fathers of the Council, “there is no exploitation of man by man, but a certain wisdom, a more human way of life.”[[36]](#footnote-36) Moreover, Gauthier identified in this new Jewish structure, a fulfillment of the “Christian” values presented in the New Testament and put into practice by the early Christian communities in first century Judea:

[In the kibbutzim] the Jews had abolished the system of wages, applying more generally the ways of the monks in their monasteries, and understanding the value of work just like the first community of Jerusalem. They share their goods and their work, as it is written in Acts 4:32–34: “All the believers were one in heart and mind. No one claimed that any of their possessions was their own, but they shared everything they had… there were no needy persons among them.”[[37]](#footnote-37)

Despite the historical inaccuracy of referring to the New Testament’s community of early Christians in Jerusalem as monks living in monasteries -a Middle Age phenomenon-, it is clear that after his experiences working and living in the kibbutzim, Gauthier arrived at the conclusion that Christians should learn from these Jews how to fulfill the Christian beatitudes regarding social issues.[[38]](#footnote-38) His aspiration was for Catholic priests to learn from this new Jewish way of life, and to use it as inspiration for a new apostolate oriented toward the vast majority of modern-day society which, being largely secular, would no longer accept clericalism and paternalism.[[39]](#footnote-39) He thought that this experience could provide tools for worker-priests serving in working-class neighborhoods such as the Paris suburbs.[[40]](#footnote-40)

Hence, he made an agreement with Kibbutz Ginosar, on the northern shore of the Lake Tiberias, and began bringing over groups of Christian volunteers—members of the fraternity he founded*—*to work in the different manufacturing and agricultural branches for a period of six months side by side with kibbutz members “in great friendship,”[[41]](#footnote-41) while studying Hebrew in the kibbutz *ulpan* (the Israeli system for adult Hebrew learning). The success of this partnership eventually went so far as to reach the ears of Pope John XXIII who in 1960 delivered a special greeting to the kibbutz for their hospitality toward the many Christian pilgrims who had sojourned there, as reported in the Israeli press:

Pope John XXIII delivered a personal greeting to Kibbutz Ginosar today through a special emissary, the priest Pierre [*sic*] Gauthier of Nazareth. In it, the Pope wished to thank the administration of the kibbutz for the wonderful hospitality they had extended to a group of pilgrims from a special Christian fraternity whose members advocate fulfilling the ideals of Christianity through manual labor. Dozens of pilgrims belonging to this fraternity have recently been hosted in Ginosar. These pilgrims continue to be in close contact with Kibbutz Ginosar.[[42]](#footnote-42)

Staying in kibbutzim also allowed Gauthier to connect with another central aspect of the Israeli experience. While Nazareth allowed him to feel close to Jesus, the kibbutzim offered him the connection with Biblical nature and landscapes. The kibbutzim he visited in the Jezreel Valley, on the shores of Lake Tiberias, and in the Negev desert provided Gauthier with living proof that “the Holy Land is not a relic. It is a reality.”[[43]](#footnote-43) And it was a reality that reverberated with Biblical references not only in his mind, but also for his fellow Jewish workers. This is reflected, among other places, in a paragraph from his journal in which Gauthier narrates his day working as a shepherd in Kibbutz Mishmar HaNegev:

In the afternoon, at three o’clock, I get to lead the sheep to the desert with Moumousse [the person in charge of the flock, a former teacher in France]. In a thick cloud of dust raised by the one thousand and two hundred legs, we head away from the kibbutz. The sheep glean seeds or bits of straw along the way. After an hour or two of walking, we stop and Moumousse tells me about the topography and the archeology of this land formerly walked by Abraham and Jacob. He takes from his bag a Hebrew Bible from which he comments on the passages referring to this area and to the flock.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Of course, the flock and the shepherd are central motifs in the Christian tradition, a fact that charges Gauthier’s experience with unambiguous messianic overtones:

I quote to him the passages from the Gospel about the Good Shepherd, the sheep without a shepherd … he knows these texts but interprets them in a naturalistic sense. We share a piece of bread. A sheep called Kouki approaches familiarly to partake of our snack.

As the shepherd helps the lost sheep to rejoin its flock, reflects Gauthier, we too need to be prepared to receive the lost flock of Israel with love when it finally finds its way home.[[45]](#footnote-45)

In the kibbutzim, Gauthier was exposed to a new approach to reading the Bible, different to the one his religious background had taught him. Gauthier noticed that the *kibbutzniks*, like most modern Jews, read the Bible as a historical, “profane” book.[[46]](#footnote-46) And indeed, the Bible played a central role in the Zio nist ethos. It was, for the founding fathers of the Zionist movement, not only an instrument for galvanizing the internal unity of the Jewish people and motivating them to engage with Zionism, but also a weapon in the struggle for the land itself.[[47]](#footnote-47) The historical dimension of the Bible, emphasized in modern Israel, is what gave the Jewish people, in their own eyes, the right to the land, and the justification for the Jewish return to it.

1. **Gordon and the redeeming nature of work**

It is not by chance that the principles we presented here—the centrality of manual work and an unmediated connection with the soil and the Biblical landscapes—were the two elements that nurtured Gauthier’s religious experience in the years he spent in Israel. These were also the pillars on which the Jewish nationalist ethos that emerged by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries was built, and which shaped the character of the nascent State of Israel that Gauthier encountered on his arrival. These pillars were best formulated and developed by the Zionist philosopher and pioneer Aaron David Gordon, “the theoretician” of organic Jewish nationalism.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Aaron David Gordon (Podolia, today in Ukraine, 1856 – Degania, Israel, 1922) grew up in a traditional Jewish family but was attracted to secular studies and Zionist ideas. In 1904, at the age of forty-eight, he immigrated to Israel and—as a worker, a philosopher and a writer—became a symbolic figure of the Jewish settlement at the beginning of the 20th century.

Gordon called for the sanctification of labor through the renewal of manual Jewish labor, not only as part of the Zionist nationalist project, but most importantly as an individual means of redemption.[[49]](#footnote-49) For Gordon, physical agricultural labor was a means to achieve humanity’s desired return to nature, and the thing that would enable the individual and the nation to reconnect with their most profound source of life.[[50]](#footnote-50) He succeeded in finding in physical work the romanticism that so many young men and women who had left their lives in the diaspora in Europe to build a new world in the Land of Israel, only to be disheartened by the extremely harsh conditions prevailing in the land at the turn of the century, could not. In the face of despair, Gordon found a source of hope in manual labor as a way for Jewish people to connect with this land of their supposed ancestors. At the same time, he emphatically negated the diaspora, which, according to him, was responsible for the state of atrophy in which Jewish existence found itself in his day. In a letter from 1909, published in a compilation named *Letters of a Worker from Palestine—*mentioned by Gauthier in his Journal of Nazareth, Gordon writes:

Listen, my brothers and sisters, to my dream, and remember that you too have dreamed like me. In my dream—I come to the land. … Remember, though, that beneath the ruins [of diaspora existence] there is a hot whispering coal, hidden from the ravages of that life, and the spirit of the land blows to revive it. … And I shake it off strongly, with all my might, I shake that life off myself. And I start everything from the beginning, everything from the beginning. From the A,B,C my life begins again; I do not change, I do not mend, I start everything anew. And the first thing that opens my heart to life, the likes of which I have yet to know, is work. Not work to make a living, or work as a *mitzvah*. But one’s life work, work from which shines forth a new light, a light which I have seen, a light which is one of the deepest roots of life. And I work ... Hence, whenever I continue to work, to toil, to suffer – no drop of blood, no effort of my strength or of my mind is lost, because every drop of blood is a flicker of fire, and every effort of strength and mind— a spark of resurrection for my soul.[[51]](#footnote-51)

As previously seen in Gauthier, we have here a description of manual work as a religious experience, capable of providing redemption to the land, the people and the individuals. However, contrary to the Christian’s view, for Gordon this work has a prominent nationalistic element. Work leads to redemption only when it is performed by the Jewish people on the land to which their soul is inextricably linked. Thus, it is not only toil but also, and perhaps primarily, the ancient history of the Jewish people that links them to the land and gives them rights to it.[[52]](#footnote-52) Gordon’s thought had clear political content that was either missed or dismissed by Gauthier.

Another element that attracted Gauthier to Gordon is the religious, mystic tone he utilized in his writings, which in Gauthier’s eyes contrasted with the secular-Marxist atmosphere he found in most of the kibbutzim he visited, and which he found very much alarming.[[53]](#footnote-53)

It is not surprising then, that Paul Gauthier was deeply moved by the ideas of this Jewish thinker, of whom he had become aware of when, during a visit to Kibbutz Degania— the first kibbutz in Israel, established in 1909 on the southern shore of Lake Tiberias, a region which, in Gauthier’s words, “was nothing but swamps and malaria, and yet forty years later is an earthly paradise”[[54]](#footnote-54)—he had been taken to the Gordon Museum.

Like Gordon, Paul Gauthier had also moved to Israel at a relatively advanced age to experience physical toil among poor laborers. As mentioned previously, he also describes the physical effort of work as a source of religious joy and personal redemption:

Today, the work has been particularly hard. It was necessary to carry stones, to handle the shovel and the pick, to serve the concrete. The heat was overwhelming. I find myself, tonight, broken, all the painful muscles ... and yet a great joy has sustained me all day.[[55]](#footnote-55)

Gauthier found in Gordon’s philosophy a suitable articulation of his own romantic ideas about labor. However, there is a significant difference between the two, a difference that perhaps speaks more broadly of the divergent ways in which Judaism and Christianity view the essence of religious duty. For Gordon, it is labor itself which provides man with the opportunity to live a life in the image of God, in the sense of “being partners with God in Creation.”[[56]](#footnote-56) Gauthier agrees with Gordon that work means a partnership with God in creation, as well as redemption for humans and for the land.

However, Gauthier felt that, while containing some of the truth, Gordon’s words “are inexact from a theological point of view.”[[57]](#footnote-57) This is because, while Gordon emphatically insisted on the material and spiritual dimensions of work as being one and inseparable,[[58]](#footnote-58) Gauthier insisted in presenting them as two different spheres of redemption: temporal and eternal, earthly and divine:

These two orders are different and there is an atheist Marxist interpretation of work that is no more than a caricature of true redemption. However, there is also a Christian sense of work, which through Christ becomes redemptive. If the two orders are different, they are not separated. In the earthly, temporal and material sphere, through work man can emerge out of misery. There is in work an accomplishment of man. Work allows man not only to provide for his daily bread, but to become more human and to participate in human solidarity by helping build the earthly city. For the Jews, this point of view is powerful and clear.

In the spiritual, eternal, celestial sphere, work allows man to collaborate with the Creator, who had commanded “conquer and possess the earth,” to complete creation. Work permits man to redeem his pain through the offer of fatigue and sorrow that comes with toil. Work permits man to communicate with the Carpenter of Nazareth and through him with all his brothers and the Father who “works endlessly,” as well as with the Creative Spirit. That is wonderful.[[59]](#footnote-59)

In the earthly sphere, the accelerated development of the State of Israel is a vivid example of the power of work in "helping build the earthly city," which can bring temporal and material redemption to those who, like the Jewish pioneers, were fully invested on it. However, there is for Gauthier another a Christian dimension of work, which makes work redemptive due to its connections to the figure of Jesus, and his sacrifice for humanity. Since Zionism—and Gordon’s philosophy within it—refused to go beyond the first dimension of redemption and "communicate with the Carpenter of Nazareth", the Zionist process of redemption cannot be complete.

Indeed, Gauthier’s reference to work as an “offer of fatigue and sorrow,” brings us back to the concept of sacrifice, which Gauthier, following the Christian tradition, placed at the center of his theology of work. It is worthwhile to mention that Gordon, on the other hand, was entirely against the idea of sacrifice, as can be gleaned in particular from his personal letters.[[60]](#footnote-60)

1. **The Six-Day War and Gauthier’s radical turn**

Paul Gauthier’s religious experience in Israel lasted twelve years. During this period of time, although he was in a daily contact with the Israeli authorities, fostering his workers’ cooperative in Nazareth, he avoided making critical statements pertaining to the national and international spheres of the Israeli politics. On the contrary, in the entry on the State of Israel he wrote in 1966 for the Catholic Encyclopedia, he affirmed that “it is correct to say that the State of Israel is peaceful,” as expressed in its Declaration of Independence,[[61]](#footnote-61) and that it is clear that the state is guided by prophetic principles.[[62]](#footnote-62) However, a year after writing these words, Gauthier would suddenly be confronted with a new reality that would undermine this worldview.

Paul Gauthier and his associate, Sister Marie-Therese Lazcare, spent the war mostly on the Jordanian side of Jerusalem, trying to assist the civilian population affected by the events. The French Catholic journal *Cahier du Témoignage chrétien* dedicated the volume of July 1967 to the diary of Sister Marie-Therese in which she recounts her experience of the war in Jerusalem. References to the bullying and cruelty of the Israeli soldiers toward the civilian Arab population, including forced expulsions, looting and razing houses, can be found throughout the diary, although not without emphasizing that there were humane attitudes to be found among the Israeli forces as well.[[63]](#footnote-63) In that short volume there is also an article by Paul Gauthier about the war. This paragraph reflects the spirit of the article:

When the first Israeli troops entered Jerusalem, it seemed that everything was possible, everything, that is to say, peace. These troops were as dignified, simple, and human as soldiers in an army can be. Some of the Jewish and Arab soldiers could be seen fraternizing. But two days later, everything changed: plunder and brutality were not even the worst of it, since those are part and parcel of any war. The worst was the expulsions and the destruction that left so many refugees in its wake. We lost the chance for peace. It was a huge and bitter disappointment for those who, refusing to take the side of the Jews, love the one and the other as brothers.[[64]](#footnote-64)

From this paragraph we learn that Gauthier’s position regarding the war was not unequivocally negative, and that he did not automatically support the Catholic world’s hostile reaction, including Pope Paul VI’s condemnation of the Israelis’ use of force, the demand for an immediate solution for the Arab refugees and for the creation of an international regime to take control of Jerusalem.[[65]](#footnote-65) Even after the beginning of the war, and faced with the sight of Israeli soldiers entering Jerusalem, Gauthier still believed in the Israeli pioneer spirit he so admired.

Far from denying the rights of the Jews to have a State in the Land of Israel, and while acknowledging that the Jewish state emerged as a response to a monstrous injustice—the ravages of the Holocaust and World War II—Gauthier’s claim was simply that “war is useless if it does not lead to a more just state of things than the one against which the parties are struggling.”[[66]](#footnote-66)

However, after witnessing some of the abuses of the winning side toward the most vulnerable Arab population, Gauthier felt he could no longer serve as the “neutral” mediator which, out of the messianic consciousness that informed the eleven years he spent in Israel, was the role he had dreamed of fulfilling. As noted earlier, for him, the workers’ cooperative was a bridge of peace and mutual acceptance between Jews and Arabs in Israel. However, in the aftermath of the violent events that took place during and after the war, this bridge could no longer be sustained.

The way the close relationship between Gauthier and Kibbutz Ginosar came to an end sheds light on Gauthier’s change of heart regarding the State of Israel. In an interview I conducted with Atallah Mansour, a Christian Arab journalist who was very close to Gauthier in his years in Nazareth, he told me the story of Gauthier’s departure from Israel, a story which is not related in any of Gauthier’s writings. According to this testimony, a few days after the end of the Six-Day War, Gauthier published an article in the North American press (since the article was rejected by the Israeli censorship) denouncing the abuses he had witnessed perpetrated by the victorious Israeli soldiers upon the civilian Arab population of several villages. The members of Kibbutz Ginosar felt deeply betrayed. They posted the article on the kibbutz billboard, marked with a big sign reading “our friend.” Gauthier no longer felt welcome there. A few days later he would leave the country with no personal belongings, never to return.[[67]](#footnote-67) He crossed over to Jordan and spent the next few years working among the poor population and the refugees there. From the Jordanian side of the border he began to see Israel in a completely different light.

The most telling example of what I see as a radical religious as well as political transformation is a lecture he gave at the “First World Conference of Christians for Palestine,” in Beirut in May 1970, and which he likely reproduced in Europe later (a copy of this lecture was sent from Belgium to Kibbutz Ginosar by a member of the Histadrut in October 1970). Far from the feelings of friendship and admiration Gauthier expressed in the books he published before 1967—some of which have been cited in this paper—this lecture shows a completely hostile approach to the State of Israel, its authorities and even the kibbutzim. One example of this turn can be seen in the way he would retell the story of the abovementioned visit of the Israeli authorities to Gauthier seeking for an advice regarding the humanitarian situation of the Israeli-Arab population. As said before, this meeting was described by Gauthier in his diary as extremely friendly, even when Gauthier gently questioned the priorities of the State of Israel when it came to protecting Jews over anyone else.[[68]](#footnote-68) However, in the lecture given thirteen years after the event, Gauthier would tell his audience a very different version of the answer he had given in that meeting to the Israeli authorities:

“You act exactly like Hitler, you apply the same methods, except that you have changed the algebraic sign. Where Hitler put the minus sign, an imperative to destroy all Jews, you in turn put the plus sign, an imperative to save all Jews. But it is the product of the same basic racism: whether it’s all Jews or no one but the Jews.”[[69]](#footnote-69)

Later in the lecture, Gauthier would even allude to a resemblance between the Israeli troops and the Nazi soldiers.[[70]](#footnote-70)

The Histadrut was treated in much the same way. In 1966, only a year before the war, in his attempts to enlighten the Catholic world about the State of Israel in the abovementioned entry for the Catholic Encyclopedia, Gauthier wrote: “The government and the workers’ union (Histadrut) make great efforts to build friendships with all people, especially with young nations, and willingly and generously lend them technical and social assistance.”[[71]](#footnote-71) Four years later, however, in front of an anti-Israeli audience, the Histadrut would be presented as an imperialistic entity “which became a Zionist instrument of the Jewish workers to conquer the labor market and eliminate the Arab workforce,”[[72]](#footnote-72) and which used their relations with the new Arab neighbors only as propaganda to appease international public opinion.[[73]](#footnote-73)

Finally, even the kibbutzim, which, as we have seen, had elicited so much admiration from Gauthier in the past, were not spared from his contempt. This is how Gauthier recalls the invitation that Kibbutz Ginosar extended to him and his companions to come and spend a period of time in the Kibbutz:

We were happy to live in a kibbutz. This communitarian way of life appeared to us like the manifest ideal both of the Gospel and of Socialism: everyone working according to their possibilities and receiving according to their necessities. There are no poor since everything is common property. *It took us time to discover that the realization of this ideal relies on injustice and is linked to Capitalism*.[[74]](#footnote-74)

Gauthier continues explaining that, when wealthy Jews purchased the land upon which the kibbutz was established from Arab landowners hailing from Egypt and Lebanon, there had been Palestinian peasants cultivating it who were then left without the means to make a living. This situation provoked a rivalry between the Jewish settlers and the villagers, until one night the members of the kibbutz decided to attack and destroy the Arab village, expelling the inhabitants and bombing their houses. “That is why,” he says, “while working in the kibbutz fields, we came upon the ruins of a village. The establishment of the kibbutz came at the expense of a ruined Palestinian village, first dispossessed from its lands by Zionist money, and then razed to the ground by Israeli force.”[[75]](#footnote-75) This was the fate, Gauthier continues, of over a million Palestinians terrorized by the Israeli forces and made to flee their homes to become refuges.[[76]](#footnote-76)

The identification of Zionism with Capitalism and imperialism, absent from Gauthier’s writings prior to 1967 (except for a brief mention of the Jewish lifestyle in the city of Tel Aviv),[[77]](#footnote-77) converted for him the whole geopolitical conflict between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East, into a class war: the poor and oppressed against the imperialist rich. This is what, according to him, happened in the Six-Day War: “In this context, the Six-Day War of 1967 appeared to us as one battle in a global world of the exploited peoples against the rich nations, in this case, of the Arab people against Israel and the USA.”[[78]](#footnote-78)

This new one-dimensional, classist approach of Gauthier toward the State of Israel would later be adopted by left-wing Catholics in an anti-Israeli position that was present in Latin America’s liberation theology of the 1970s and 1980s, and even more in recent years.[[79]](#footnote-79)

Gauthier had arrived in Israel driven by the religious fervor of *De imitatione Christi*. As such, while identifying with the poor Arab workers,[[80]](#footnote-80) he was also religiously moved by the new Jewish society. As Attalah Mansour told me with a sarcastic smile: “he was an enthusiastic Zionist ‘Jew’, albeit a liberal one.”[[81]](#footnote-81) The “Gordonian” spirit he had absorbed in the kibbutzim and in the young state led him to affirm that “Christians have the right to see in the return of the State of Israel the historical facts that could become ‘the premises of Redemption.’”[[82]](#footnote-82)

However, after the Six-Day War, deeply disappointed with his incapacity to fulfill the messianic role he had set for himself—that of serving as a bridge of respect and understanding between Jews and Arabs—he experienced a radical religious transformation, which led him to put aside his universalistic approach and adhere instead to a worldly political position of clear “good” and “evil” actors. Still today, more than fifty years after these events, the elder members of Kibbutz Ginosar, who knew Gauthier personally, refuse to talk about him.

In the second half of the twenty-century, the Catholic Church has dedicated considerable efforts in order to come to terms with the contemporary Jewish people and the creation of the State of Israel. Some scholars would claim this to be an unsolved issue in Catholic theology until today.[[83]](#footnote-83) For Paul Gauthier, dealing theologically with the question of the Jews and the State of Israel was not a theoretical issue, but an everyday reality. In addition of shedding light on an unknown chapter in the history of Jewish and Christian modern political theology, this story of religious and social activism, may also contribute with a new angle to look at interreligious dialogue and at paths of coexistence in politically conflicted zones in general and in contemporary Israel in particular.

1. On the activities of Father Loew and the Mission de Marseille see, Émile Poulat, *Naissance des prêtres-ouvriers* (Paris: Casterman, 1965), 415–443. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Desmond O’Grady, *Eat from God’s Hands: Paul Gauthier and the Church of the Poor* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1965), 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. # Paul Gauthier*, “Consolez mon peuple”: Le Concile et L’Eglise des Pauvres* (Paris : Les Editions du Cerf, 1965), 277-281.

   [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Paul Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1963). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. José Legorreta, “Identidad y Cambio en la Iglesia Latinoamericana,” in *El Pacto de las Catacumbas: la misión de los pobres en la Iglesia*, ed. Xabier Pikaza and Jose Antunes da Silva (Navarra: Verbo Divino, 2015), 253–274. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Shraga Har-Gil, “Aba Paul MiNatzeret” [“אבא פול מנצרת,” Father Paul from Nazareth], *Davar* [*דבר,* Word], December 26, 1958. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église*, 84–85. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Paul Gauthier, *Les mains que voici: journal de Nazareth* (Paris: Édition Universitaires, 1964), 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici*, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Uzi Benziman and Atallah Mansour, *Dayarei Mishne* [*דיירי משנה*, Subtenants] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1992), 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. David Sitton, “Plitim Aravim BeIsrael Ovrim LeShikunei Keva” [“פליטים ערבים בישראל עוברים לשיכוני קבע,” Arab Refugees in Israel Move to Permanent Housing], *HaBoker*, April 29, 1959. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici*, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. O’Grady, *Eat from God’s Hands,* 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Paul Gauthier, “L’État d’Israël,” in [*Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain : encyclopédie*, (ed. Gérard Jacquemet](https://haifa-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=972HAI_MAIN_ALMA2176278770002791&context=L&vid=HAU&lang=iw_IL&search_scope=books_and_more&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=default_tab&query=any,contains,990001027590402791) , vol. 6, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1966), 208. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. See, for example, Gauthier, *Les Mains que voici*, 131; O’Grady, *Eat from God’s Hands,* 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Sitton, “Plitim Aravim.” [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Charles de Foucauld, *Oeuvres spirituelles: anthologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1958), 664. As quoted in Gisbert Greshake, “The Spiritual Charism of Nazareth,” *Communion* 31 (Spring 2004), 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Gauthier, *Les Mains mains que voici,* p. 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid.,36. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid., 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Yoel Dar, “Komer Bone Shikunim LaPlitim” [“כומר בונה שיכונים לפליטים,” A Priest Builds Housing for Refugees], *Davar*, July 5, 1966. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Har-Gil, “Aba Paul MiNatzeret.” [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Tuvia Carmel, “Ha’av Gauthier Meargen Ezra LeNitzrachei Haolam—MiMeono BeNatzeret,” [“האב גוטייה מארגן עזרה לנצרכי העולם—ממעונו בנצרת,” Father Gauthier Organises Help for the World’s Needy—from his Home in Nazareth], *Ma’ariv*, May 22, 1967. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici*, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Ibid., 30–31. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Ibid., 34–35. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Ibid., 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Ibid., 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Ibid., 50, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid., 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Ibid., 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Paul Gauthier, “L’athéisme de masse” (recorded lecture at the Second Vatican Council, Second Vatican Council Archive, Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library, KU Leuven, 28.9.1965). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église,* 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ibid.*,* *Les Mains que voici*, p. 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Paul Gauthier*, “Consolez mon people,”* 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici*, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Paul Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église,* 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. “Bracha Ishit Meha’Apifior Nimsera LeKibbutz Ginosar” [“ברכה אישית מהאפיפיור נמסרה לקיבוץ גינוסר,” A Personal Greeting from the Pope Delivered to Kibbutz Ginosar], *Davar*, June 29, 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici*, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Ibid., 83–84. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Ibid., 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Zeev Sternhell, *Binian Uma O Tikun Chevra?* *Leumiut VeSozialism BeTnuat HaAvoda HaIsraelit* [*בניין אומה או תיקון חברה? לאומיות וסוציאליזם בתנועת העבודה* הישראלית, Nation Building or Social Reform? Nationalism and Socialism in the Israeli Labor Movement] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1995), 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Ibid., 26–27. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Aaron David Gordon, “HaKhalom UPitrono” [“החלום ופתרונו,” The Dream and its Solution] (originally published in 1909], in *HaUma VehaAvoda* [*האומה והעבודה,* The Nation and the Work] (Tel Aviv: HaSifria HaTzionit, 1955), 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Ibid., 86. For an analysis of Gordon’s approach to nature, and its connection to the national renaissance, see: Yehoyada Amir, *Prophecy and Halakha: Towards Non-Orthodox Religious Praxis in (Eretz) Israel* (Working Paper Series, New York: The Tikva Center at New York University School of Law, 2012), 28–38; Eilon Shamir, *For the Sake of Life: The Art of Living According to Aharon David Gordon* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 2018)(Hebrew); Einat Ramon, *A New Life, Religion, Motherhood and Supreme Love in the Works of Aharon David Gordon* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2007)(Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Gordon, “HaKhalom UPitrono,” 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Gordon, “Avodatenu Me’ata” [“עבודתנו מעטה,” Our Work is Meager](originally published in 1918), in *HaUma VehaAvoda* [*האומה והעבודה,* The Nation and the Work] (Tel Aviv: HaSifria HaTzionit, 1955), 244. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 77–82. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Ibid., 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Aaron David Gordon, “Ir’urim VeHegyonot” [“ערעורים והגיונות,” Ruminations and Reasonings], in *Kitvei A. D. Gordon* [*כתבי א. ד. גורדון*, The Writings of A. D. Gordon] (vol. 5, Tel Aviv: Hapoel Hatzair, 1929), 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Gordon, “Ha’avoda” [“העבודה,” The Work] (originally published in 1911), in *HaUma VehaAvoda*, (*האומה והעבודה,* The Nation and the Work] (Tel Aviv: HaSifria HaTzionit, 1955), 94–95. On the resemblance between Gordon’s idea of work and the Hassidic concept of *Avoda BeGashmiyut* (Worldly Toil), see Abraham Shapira, *Or Hachaim Be“Yom Ktanot”* [*אור החיים ב"יום קטנות",* The Light of Life in “Yom Ktanot”] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved 1996), 240–246. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jésus et l´église*, 34–36. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Muki Tzur (ed.). *At Einech Bodeda BaMarom: Mikhtavim MeA. D. Gordon VeElav* [*את אינך בודדה במרום: מכתבים מא. ד. גורדון ואליו,* You Are Not Alone Up There: Letters to and from A. D. Gordon] (Tel Aviv : HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 1998), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Gauthier, “L’État d’Israël,” 208. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Ibid., 209–210. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Marie-Thérèse Lazcare, « Le journal de Sœur Marie-Thérèse » in “Jérusalem et le sang des pauvres, 5–8 Juin 1967,” special issue *Cahier du Témoignane chrétien,* no. 47 (1967), 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Paul Gauthier, “Jérusalem, capital de l’Humanité,” in “Jérusalem et le sang des pauvres, 5–8 Juin 1967,” special issue *Cahier du Témoignane chrétien,* no. 47 (1967), 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Livia Rokach, *The Catholic Church and the Question of Palestine* (London: Saqi Books, 1987), 71–83. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Gauthier, “Jérusalem, capital de l’Humanité,” 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Atallah Mansour (Israeli-Arab journalist and author), in discussion with the author, May 2019. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Paul Gauthier, *Les exigences de la foi chrétienne devant le problème palestinien*: *intervention a la première conférence mondiale des chrétiens pour la Palestine du Père Paul Gauthier à Beyrouth, le 9 mai 1970*, (Geneva: Groupe d’Étude sur le Moyen-Orient, 1970), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Ibid., 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Paul Gauthier, “L’État d’Israël,” 208–209. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Gauthier, *Les exigences de la foi chrétienne devant le problème palestinien*, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Ibid., 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Ibid., 7. My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Gauthier, *Les exigences de la foi chrétienne devant le problème palestinien*, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Ibid., 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Gauthier, *Les mains que voici,* 79*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Gauthier, *Les exigences de la foi chrétienne devant le problème palestinien*, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. See among many others: Enrique Dussel, “Lo político en Levinas: hacia una filosofía política crítica,” *Signos filosóficos*, no. 9 (January–July, 2003), 130–131. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. See, among others, Enrique Dussel, “En Búsqueda del Sentido (Origen y desarrollo de una Filosofía de la Liberación),” *Anthropos* 180 (1998), 17; Martine Sevegrand, *Israël vu pars les catholiques français (1945–1994)* (Paris: Karthala, 2014), 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Atallah Mansour (Israeli-Arab journalist and author), in discussion with the author, May 2019. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Paul Gauthier, [*Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*,](https://haifa-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=972HAI_MAIN_ALMA2176278770002791&context=L&vid=HAU&lang=iw_IL&search_scope=books_and_more&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=default_tab&query=any,contains,990001027590402791) 213. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Karma Ben-Johanan, *Reconciliation with no satisfaction, Unresolved tensions in Christian-Jewish relations,* IN PRINT. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)