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AMERICANS FOR JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST — P. O. B. 4841 — BEIRUT, LEBANON

"THERE WAS NO SUCH THING
AS PALESTINIANS."

"THEY DID NOT EXIST"

"There was no such thing as Palestinians . . . It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

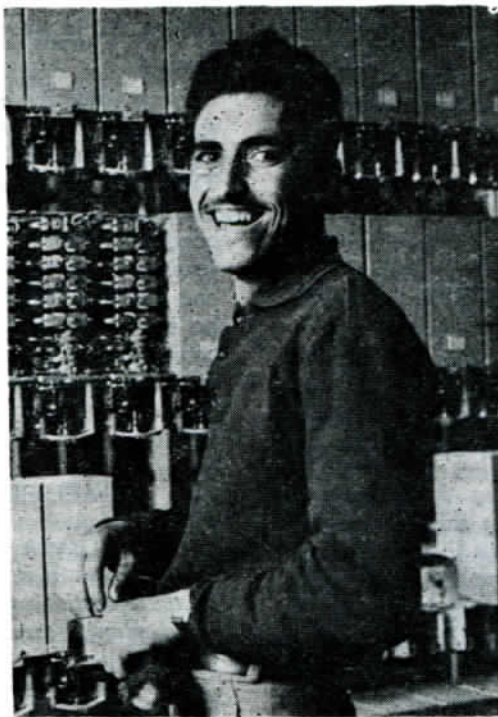
Golda Meir, June 15, 1969

"HOW CAN WE RETURN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ? THERE IS NOBODY TO RETURN THEM TO."

Golda Meir March 8, 1969



This is a Palestinian . . .



This is a Palestinian . . .



This is a Palestinian . .

GOLDA MEIR SPEAKS HER MIND

To Frank Giles of the SUNDAY TIMES, London, June 15, 1969

ISRAEL, A WESTERNIZED INTRUDER

Q. Rightly or wrongly, the Arabs look upon Israel and Israelis as Westernized intruders, bent upon aggrandisement, in a Muslim Middle East. What can you say or do to show them that they are wrong?

A. If this means that we have brought in a modern phase of thinking, we have. I came to Israel in 1921. One of the first sights that shocked me was an Arab ploughing with a very primitive plough, which was really a piece of wood with some nails below. Pulling the plough was an ox and a woman. Now if it means that we have destroyed this romantic picture by bringing in tractors and combines and threshing machines, this is true: we have. We have our own political ideology and so on. We are, I admit, an element which has taken this part of the Middle East that we are in control of; that is our country Israel and we have made of it a modern society which is based on more equality. We plead guilty to that. As for aggrandisement, nobody can honestly claim that the war of 1967 broke out because Israel wanted more territory. All that we did in 1967, fortunately for ourselves, is that we carried the war on to enemy soil instead of fighting on Israeli soil. Anybody who is attacked tries to do that.

FOUR-POWER RESOLUTIONS NOT ACCEPTABLE

Q. Israel does not approve of the present Four-Power attempts to resolve Middle East tension. Do you like the idea of international guarantees for frontiers?

A. NO WE DO NOT. I cannot imagine that Israel would again consent to any deal under which we would have to depend for our security on others. We are more intelligent than that. One does not have to be very sophisticated to come to the conclusion, after the bitter experience of twenty years, that the only people we can depend on for our security are ourselves.

Q. Would not the approach to peace be easier if there were a simple, single, agreed, Israeli plan, instead of a lot of differing notions about the future shape and composition of Israel?

A. I think we have that plan. I think the very fact the Israeli Government did not sit down and draw a map and say "This map and no other" and then present it to the world and the Arabs shows that we are not offering the Arabs an ultimatum.

We will want secure borders but this will be discussed with the Arabs once they agree to live in peace with us. The trouble is that they have not said they're ready to do this. So some other countries in the world, among them good friends of ours, say, "Now let us try to negotiate instead of the Arabs, and to mediate." This is something that Israel will not accept.

If you want further justification for our attitude, you have only to look at what has been published in

Cairo after Gromyko's visit. Using the Security Council resolution as a covering, the Russians and Egyptians express again very clearly their hope that they can force Israel back to the pre-June 1967 lines and situation. Again, the word "peace," which is after all the declared objective of the UN resolution, is not even mentioned. The need to establish secure, agreed, and permanent frontiers is completely ignored. In other words, this should be taken as a declaration of Russian policy, which is often, in the context of the Big Four, described as "flexible." Who can blame Israel for maintaining her negative attitude towards four power initiatives? The Cairo declaration proves again that the Soviet Union is not willing or ready to agree to anything which is not Egypt's policy.

We do not underestimate the difficulties, but we would have to say no, even to our friends, if they tried to persuade us to accept a settlement that was not a settlement. I do not say Israel is all-powerful and does not need friends; everybody needs friends, Israel more than anyone. But after the experience of three wars, we have decided this time to go for the real thing or, failing that, to make the best of our situation as it is.

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION IN ISRAEL

Q. Not long before he died, Mr. Eshkol, your predecessor, said in an interview that Israel does not want any part of the settled area of the West Bank. Do you go along with that?

A. I want to tell you quite frankly there is a difference of opinion in Israel. There are some people who say after the experience that we have had that we should stand on the post-six-day war boundaries. Others say we want peace and we are prepared to compromise. There are very many people in Israel, I do not know how many, who do not want a large additional Arab population because we want the State to maintain its Jewish character. But nobody knows how many think one way and how many think the other way. There is no use having a Jewish squabble about Israel's future boundaries before there is an Arab ready to discuss this future with us. Speaking for myself, and not for the Government, I am not one of those who say "not one inch of soil must be yielded up."

ISRAEL BEARS NO RESPONSIBILITY

Q. It seems to me that the heart of the Middle East problem as it is today is to be found in the plight of the Palestinians with their sense of grievance. Does Israel admit a measure of responsibility?

A. NO, NO RESPONSIBILITY whatsoever. If you say, is Israel prepared to cooperate in the solution of their plight, the answer is yes. But we are not responsible for their plight.



Courtesy of The Daily Star, Beirut.

This is a humanitarian problem. But the Arabs who created this refugee problem by their war against us and against the 1948 UN resolution have turned this into a political problem. After all, there are millions and millions of refugees in the world and I have not yet heard anybody that said the three million Sudeten Germans should go back to Czechoslovakia—nobody. I do not know why the Arab refugees are a particular problem in the world.

WHO ARE THE PALESTINIANS?

Q. Do you think the emergence of the Palestinian fighting forces, the Fedayeen, is an important new factor in the Middle East?

A. IMPORTANT, NO. A new factor, yes. There was no such thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian State? It was either southern Syria before the first world war, and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist.

There is really no such thing as a representative body speaking for so-called Palestinians. Perhaps there was a possibility of coming to some understanding with people of the Western Bank. After two years, everybody has come to the conclusion there is no such thing.

Nor do I favour a separate, Palestinian Arab State. There are fourteen Arab States with immense territories, with natural resources. What would this tiny State of the Western Bank really mean as to its viability, as to its possibility of existence? It would have to be part either of Israel or of Jordan.

DIMINISHED ADMIRATION

Q. At the time of the six-day war and just after, there was the most widespread admiration and support for your country in Britain and elsewhere. There still is, but I think it would be less than honest if one did not admit some of the admiration had diminished, in face of the continuing lack of any real prospects for peace in the Middle East.

A. I want to be very honest and very exact. Personally in these few days, in my discussions with the British Government I feel we are dealing with a friendly Government. But there has been a change since the six-day war. Although I have not felt it here, I know it exists—and not only here, everywhere else. This to me personally and to the people of Israel is one of the most shocking experiences. Actually, what has happened since before the six-day war? Why did we have so much sympathy? Because the world felt that Israel really was in danger of being destroyed, Israel and its people. On June 11, the world woke up to find out that Israel was still here and the sympathy lessened.

We are told our image has been worsened in some way. We are no longer an object of concern, on the verge of being destroyed, but we are alive. We can be forgiven for being alive. What we are not really to be forgiven for is that we want to ensure that we will never again give the world a reason to be concerned about our physical existence. I do not understand it. It hurts us that this change has taken place. But, as I have said before, if I have to choose between a lot of sympathy in the world towards Israel destroyed, and less understanding of Israel with Israel alive, I am sorry that we are not understood, but I think I would rather be alive.

COMMENTARY ON GOLDA MEIR'S INTERVIEW

READERS' REMARKS

These following two letters were also printed in the Sunday Times in response to Frank Giles' recorded interview with Golda Meir.

Sir: I congratulate the Palestinians and Arabs generally in at last getting their propaganda into a leading British newspaper, in a form acceptable to the British public, and by none other than the Israeli Prime Minister!

To treat the Palestinians as if they were not worthy of consideration, and almost as if they did not exist, is crass stupidity. And to discount world opinion as a matter of indifference is worse. The "I want to tell you frankly," and "I want to be very honest," are too confidently gushing for the British public to stomach, and, to crown all, she virtually admits that the minute the Israelis do come to the conference table with the Arab States, they will fall apart through internal strife from Zionist greed and fanaticism. The Palestinians have told me all this, but never till now did I fully believe them.

Sarah Neely, Tripoli

Sir: Mrs Golda Meir says: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering themselves as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

There were almost twice as many Arabs as Jews in Palestine at the end of the British Mandate. How did these Arabs "not exist?" By what magic of nationalist phraseology are they conjured away? To the nationalist politician the politically inconvenient simply isn't there.

It might be said that Arab nationalist politicians say equally absurd things, and I would sadly agree. But human rights are involved, the rights of the Palestinian Arabs who have lost homes and property. "There are millions and millions of refugees in the world," said Mrs. Meir (she would not, I think, have made such a cynical statement in 1944). For her "the Arabs" created the refugee problem for other Arabs, and "the Arabs" must solve it.

If Israel is the only Palestinian nation, it must assume a proper responsibility for all Palestinians. And this means taking back, or properly compensating, the Arab refugees.

Peter Partner, Winchester

EDITORIAL ANALYSIS

WHOSE FAIR LADY?

In *My Fair Lady* Professor Higgins explains that "the science of speech" can be used "to blackmail and swindle" as well as "to teach." Unfortunately, perhaps, words are the tools of the politician's trade and how he uses them can adversely affect the action and reaction of the auditor. One of the strange phenomena of persuasion is the auditor's reaction to the speaker, which figures significantly in his value judgment of the message. In today's political arena the worth of ideas is bonded to the charismatic image of those who expound these ideas. Perhaps the image even becomes the message!

Aristotle ruled that in order to be rhetorically effective one should follow three rules: 1) reason logically, 2) understand human character and goodness in their various forms, and 3) understand the emotions. These rules have certainly been followed by the political

Zionists in their successful creation of the image of Israel as being a pitiable country struggling against insurmountable odds to establish a haven for the oppressed people of the Jewish faith. The Israeli leaders have learned their lessons well as they regularly repeat their studied arguments which rationalize their attitudes and policies to the point of making them—to the unsuspecting—indisputable. The persecution complex of the Israeli political Zionists, coupled with the guilt complex of many in the West, creates an atmosphere tailor-made for the projection of arguments which, though based on false premises, are accepted as fact.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis of all the studied arguments used by Mrs. Golda Meir in her interview with Frank Giles, but a few examples are in order.

1) "When I came to Israel in 1921." Since Israel per se was not established until the Partition of Palestine Resolution in 1948, Mrs. Meir in 1921 emigrated to Palestine which was still under British Mandate.

2) "An Arab ploughing with a very primitive plow." In 1921 how much mechanized equipment was in use in the Western world? The meagre equipment of the Arab is not the point. What Mrs. Meir neglects to say is that she found in Palestine well developed, cultivated and thriving industries of many kinds. The citrus and olive groves plus the vineyards, all Palestinian owned and operated and which were steeped in generations of family heritage, were flourishing businesses. The desert was blooming in Palestine long before Mrs. Meir began her "sanctuary" in the U.S.A.

3) "Nobody can claim that the War of 1967 broke out because Israel wanted more territory." If this premise were true then the implementation of the 1967 U.N. Resolution should have been readily expedited rather than rejected by the "non-expansionist" Israel. Mrs. Meir recently stated that "Israel will not yield one inch of territory that is necessary for Israel's security." It is very easy to rationalize expansionism by calling it security! Why is the land presently occupied by Israel more than twice the area initially designated in the U.N. Partition Plan?

The other arguments concerning the Four Power Talks, Israeli Internal Politics, the Status of the Palestinians, the Responsibility for the Refugees and Israel's World Image need further qualification. However, it is the hope of AJME that when one is apprised of the FACTS one will be able to avoid being swayed by what appear to be cogent arguments which are wrapped in appealing packages when offered to the public by the Israeli image builders.

What Mrs Meir and the other Israeli leaders have overlooked in Aristotle is what he has said about politicians: "...the litigant will sometimes not deny that a thing has happened or that he has done harm. But that he is guilty of injustice he will never admit... So, too, political orators often make any concession short of admitting that they are recommending their hearers to take an inexpedient course or not take an expedient one. The question of whether it is not unjust for a city to enslave its innocent neighbours often does not trouble them at all."

What would Professor Higgins say of Mrs. Golda Meir's use of speech? Surely, the fair lady isn't being fair!

THE PEOPLE WHO DO NOT EXIST

The Palestinians have been much talked about in recent times. The people who inhabited the area between the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean Sea have since 1948 largely become exiles from their homeland by the establishment of the state of Israel. During the past few years the Palestinians have become better organized and more vocal as a people. At the same time, the Israeli government has begun emphasizing its own uniquely-held opinion that Palestinians "do not exist." While the Israeli position is impossible to maintain, it is stated repeatedly in an obvious attempt to counteract the emergence of the Palestinian people as a unified political and moral force. To help define what the Palestinians are, the *Newsletter* presents the following adaptation from a forthcoming book *Goodly Cities: A Survey of the Peoples of Palestine*, by Frank Harris.

COMPOSITE ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS

The Palestinians are a people of composite ethnic origins as were their forebears, the Canaanites who inhabited the land from at least the fourth millennium B.C. Human skeletal remains discovered in Palestine in recent years establish that as early as 50,000 years ago Palestinians were already a mixture of races. Throughout the long pre-classical period Egyptians, Hebrews, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Persians and others came from every direction to mingle with the indigenous inhabitants of the area. Some of these foreigners sprang from Arabia, introducing Arabian blood into the Palestinian makeup thousands of years ago. From the beginning of man's history there has occurred in Palestine a continual mixing of blood-lines from everywhere in the ancient world.

In more recent history, Greeks flowed into the area of Palestine in substantial numbers. Greek culture dominated the area for a thousand years, bringing more European blood to the people of Palestine. This Greek influence left a far greater and more lasting imprint on the ethnic makeup of the Palestinians than had that of the earlier Hebrews. Indeed, the Hebrews themselves were a mixture of many different peoples of diverse origins. Ethnically, they contributed nothing new and were identifiable from the older inhabitants only by their religion.

The growth of the Roman and Byzantine Empires during the early centuries of Christianity brought still more European blood to Palestinian veins. Contrary to popular belief, this was not greatly diminished by the Arab conquests of the seventh century. Arabs did not swarm out of the desert to settle in great numbers west of the Jordan Valley. Arab influence had already been significant from time immemorial in those territories lying between the desert and the highlands west of the Jordan Valley, even though the indigenous Mediterranean cultures dominated the area from that watershed to the coast. From the seventh century on, the Arabic language and the religion of Islam became widespread and Arabic culture grew and developed in Palestine among a people only a portion of whom were of Arab

ethnic background. But it should be noted that while Arabic culture was dominant, it was not universal. The older Christian faith, for example, continued to flourish and remains important among Arabic-speaking communities today.

The Crusades brought a new influx of Europeans to further mix the ethnic composition of Palestine. From Aleppo to Antioch in the north to Aqaba and Ascalon in the south, tens of thousands of settlers and soldiers continued to Europeanize the area. Even today, whole villages of "Arabs" consist of blond, blue-eyed people whose ethnic background is as much western as eastern.

European ethnic influence in Palestine declined during the Ottoman period, but not because of any great influx of Turks or Arabs. The beginning of this period coincided with the development of the Cape Route between Europe, India and the Far East. At this time the flow of trade dwindled, as did the number of western pilgrims. Both began to revive about the end of the eighteenth century and the rejuvenation accelerated with the opening of the Suez Canal exactly a century ago. Palestine again became a crossroad of civilization and the influx of foreigners resumed. Indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise. For Palestine is the bridge between west and east and the civilizations of the world have met and mingled here since the dawn of time.

Thus, for at least 50,000 years, Palestine has been a melting-pot of people of many races. This polyethnic background of the modern Palestine people is little appreciated. For one thing, it means that the Palestinians have had a continuous existence in fact for thousands of years. This should be immediately understood by the American people whose own ethnic origins are as complex as those of Palestine.

THE EXTENT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The actual number of the Palestinian people is another factor which is generally unknown. The world has come to think of this people only as refugees maintained by UNRWA, even though these account for only a portion. At the present time, there are about 500,000 cared for in UNRWA camps. Another 400,000, outside the camps and partially self-supporting, receive food rations costing approximately \$20 per year per person. Still another 300,000 are eligible only for educational and health service assistance. Finally, there are 120,000 registered with UNRWA as refugees, but receiving no aid or benefits in any form. A total of 1,360,000! We thus hear continuously of "a million and a half Palestinian refugees" and conclude that this represents the entire Palestine people.

On the contrary, the number of Palestinians, Christians and Muslims alike, now approaches three million, a figure which can be reached by any normal means of population estimate. For example, one can begin with

the Muslim-Christian population of Palestine in 1947, which was 1,300,000. Add to this the 200,000 Palestinians then living in other parts of the Middle East and abroad, allow a natural increase of 3 per cent and the present number of people of Palestinian origin is more than 2,800,000. Or one may begin with the Palestinians who are not listed as refugees. Documented sources show that today 700,000 self-supporting Palestinians live in Jordan (West Bank included), 300,000 in Israel, 140,000 in the Gaza Strip, 270,000 in other Arab countries, 100,000 in Europe and the Americas. The total figure is about 1,500,000, to which must be added the 1,360,000 refugees registered with UNRWA (see above). Again the number of Palestinians approaches three million. While many are citizens of other countries their hearts are in Palestine. There is no question that they constitute a nation.

THE NEW LEADERSHIP

It is not only in numbers that the Palestinians have increased. In their exile they have increased in stature as well. They have excelled in education, presently including some 50,000 university graduates, and are now among the best educated peoples of the Arab world. They occupy positions as professors, doctors, lawyers, bankers and oil company technicians and executives. They serve on the staffs of some of the largest commercial enterprises in the area and own or operate some of the more important and successful ones. A fact not generally known is that a similar situation applied to the Palestinians before 1948. Israel dispossessed a people of culture and education.

The war of June, 1967 brought a new generation of Palestinians into prominence. The younger Palestinians have emerged with a strengthened and sharpened national consciousness that can no longer be disregarded in seeking a solution to the conflict with Israel. What is more important, the Israelis cannot continue to ignore the Palestinians if they wish to have peace.

The Palestinians do exist. They exist under a new and determined leadership behind which are scores of younger potential leaders from the universities and professions, injecting new ideas and technical skills into the struggle for their homeland. And this leadership has the support of the entire Palestinian people.

The dispersion of the Palestinians has not been to distant lands and time has not been sufficient to dissipate their unity or determination. A million live in Israeli-held territories under the heavy and increasingly nervous hands of the conquerors. A third of a million live in Israel itself. The vast majority of another million and a half live and wait along the borders of Israel and the occupied territories. Their waiting is not an idle one. They are busily preparing themselves for the struggle to return to their historical homeland. No peace treaty of any form is possible that ignores this new and major political factor in the Middle East. The return of the Palestinians to their native land could be a peaceful one if Mrs. Meir and other Israeli leaders could bring themselves to alter their attitudes toward the Palestinian people.

ple. If they cannot do so, the struggle will be a long one and will result in "bitterer strife than ever the world has known."

It is inconceivable that the current official Israeli position with regard to the Palestinians can be anything more than propaganda for western consumption. Three million people whose roots in Palestine go back to remote antiquity can hardly be dismissed by the casual assurance of Mrs. Golda Meir that "they do not exist." They do exist. Their existence is recognized by all nations of the world. Only Israel, in its attempt to obscure its seizure of another people's homeland, proclaims otherwise. For to admit the existence of three million Palestinians is to admit their claim to the land which was theirs from the beginning of time.

POINTS TO PONDER

"Asked whether the Palestinians were not also entitled to their homeland, Premier Levi Eshkol answered: 'What are the Palestinians?'" **NEWSWEEK**, Feb. 17, 1969.

"Asked about the role of the Palestinians in any future peace settlement, Foreign Minister Abba Eban said: 'They have no role to play.'" **LE MONDE**, Jan. 20, 1969.

"The Palestinians 'are not a party to the conflict between Israel and the Arab states'. Ruling by the Israeli Military Court at Ramallah." **JEWISH OBSERVER**, April 18, 1969.

Mrs. Meir is visiting the U.S.A. to say "to our American friends that no one has the right to decide our (Israeli) destiny in our place. Not even you!" and "We will continue to say 'No' to the Security Council, and the U.N. General Assembly if necessary." This issue of the **NEWSLETTER** has been prepared to share with our readers a portrait of some of the Israeli propaganda attitudes toward places, people and peace in the Middle East. It is hoped that with the help of this issue readers will be better able to discern between the facts of the Palestinian problem and the fanciful fretting through political subterfuge associated with the visit of prominent Israeli politicians to the U.S.A. This issue points out that there *was* and *is* a Palestinian people.

EDITORIAL :

BIGOTRY : A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE

Mrs. Golda Meir, upon the inauguration of a street in Mr. Eshkol's name, said about Jerusalem, "There are others who consider this city to be holy as well, but only the Jews have paid with their blood to unify it; no one can say a place is holy and then go about destroying it." One would normally hesitate to attribute to the Israeli Prime Minister a bland naiveté but surely she knows that Jerusalem in recent history was not divided until the forcible imposition of a Zionist State upon the inhabitants of Palestine. Contrary to the idea of blood being spilled to unify Jerusalem blood was spilled in the process of creating disunity. Unity implies peace, but where is there peace under Israeli militarism?

It would seem that the seeds of destruction are inherent in the Israeli inimical attitude toward anything that is not particularly Jewish. There is ample evidence of this today in the way that Jerusalem and its inhabitants are being mauled by the Israeli militaristic machine. Bigotry is a disease which rots the mind and destroys any humane and moral sense one might have had. But it does not mature overnight; it has to be cultivated. It would seem that any country which subscribes to a policy of religious and racist isolationism must be suffering from an epidemic of bigotry. When this happens is it possible for any emancipated person not to doubt the veracity of pronouncements and promises made by the leaders of such a country?

In the *Jewish Newsletter* of May 16, 1960 an item of news is recorded from the Israeli daily newspaper *Haaretz* of April 19, 1960. The paper describes an act of the then Premier Ben Gurion who in his capacity as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs ordered the cancellation of a postage stamp depicting the city of Nazareth. A corner of the stamp showed a church and a cross to which the Chief Rabbi and the religious parties objected. *Haaretz* criticized the Government action on the grounds that Israel is not an exclusively Jewish state;

it has a Christian and Muslim population whose existence and institutions cannot be ignored. The paper argued that the existence of churches and crosses in Nazareth and Jerusalem is a fact which should not be suppressed because it is not necessary to insult other religions in order to protect Judaism. The paper further stated that:

"Ben Gurion's capitulation to the ultra Orthodox demands can lead the Christian world to believe that the Holy Places in Israel are not secure and that a State which shows so much fanaticism and hatred for Christianity cannot be trusted."

Perhaps Mrs. Golda Meir's sense of history is impaired by her zeal in trying to bolster Jewish Israeli citizens at a time of a waning military euphoria. Jerusalem to be sure is a bloody city, but unity that is to last in the whole of the Middle East as well as Jerusalem, must be based on respect for human dignity. Where is the concern for human dignity in the exile of the Palestinians, the destruction of homes, the defacement of Muslim and Christian shrines, the exercise of military law, the suppression of free speech, the torture of prisoners, the harassment of school children, the perpetuation of second class citizenship for Christians, Muslims and Oriental Jews and the military vindictiveness against civilians.

I.F. Stone, an American Jew always loyal to Israel, has written, "For me the Arab problem is also the No. 1 Jewish problem. How we act toward the Arabs will determine what kind of people we become: either oppressors and racists in our turn like those from whom we have suffered, or a nobler race to transcend the tribal xenophobias that affect mankind." The formula for peace is not based upon blood or conceived through bigotry but rather on the concern for human dignity perceived through humility. What will history record of Mrs. Golda Meir's contribution to peace in the Middle East?



Mrs. Farouk Shababi. Born in Jerusalem of the Ansari family, for centuries hereditary guardians of Al Aksa Mosque.



Mrs. Joumana Husseini Bayazid. Born in Jerusalem of one of oldest and best known families there. Accomplished artist.



Mr. Kamal Abdulrahman. Born and educated in Haifa, Palestine. Family resided there from 13th century to 1948. Businessman.

THE REFUGEES AND...

- *Palestinian by Birth*
- *Palestinian by Historical Family Heritage*
- *Palestinian, but Exiled by Force*



Mr. Yosef Tekoab. Born and educated in Shanghai, China. Israeli Delegate to the U.N.



Mrs. Golda Mabovitch Meyerson (Meir). Born in Kiev, Russia. Lived in America, 1906-1921.



Mr. Abba Eban. Born in Capetown, Union of South Africa. Reared and educated in England. Israeli Foreign Minister.

THOSE WHO CAUSED THEM TO BE

- *Non-Palestinian by Birth*
- *Non-Palestinian by Family Heritage*
- *Israeli by Conquest*

THE MORAL CASE FOR THE ARABS

by John Nicholis Booth

One of the most glorious characteristics of the Unitarian Universalist movement is its demand that the prophetic ministry be sustained. Since our founding days, the obligation has been sternly placed upon us to apply our religious principles to the total community. In recent months this and other liberal pulpits have cried out against abuses in Vietnam, race relations, censorship, and inhumanities of every form. Today, we examine briefly some of the lesser known evils of the Middle Eastern conflict between the Arabs and Jews.

It is particularly difficult to deal with this subject. Many American Jews are Zionists; others are not. Some misinterpret any unfavorable description of Israel as anti-Semitism. Our natural compassion over Jewish suffering has established a sort of unofficial, unspoken moratorium on criticism of Jews. Perhaps they aren't aware of this; thus the resentment they may express when Israeli policies and actions receive criticism in the same way that any other nation in similar positions, would be excoriated. Many of my statements of fact are taken from Jewish sources, not Arab or Gentile.

U.S.A. RESPONSIBILITY

The Arab-Jewish conflict is our business. The United States, through the United Nations, was chiefly responsible for Israel's creation and has been the principle financial support of it. Our nation has given Israel the colossal, almost unimaginable, sum of 3.4 billion dollars in aid across 19 years. Private charities have handed over 1.1 billion dollars more. No nation in history has received so much money per capita to lift it up, and which could be concentrated in so small an area. For this reason any comparison of Israel's progress with that of the desert-bound Arab states, who, even as a collective group, have not received this much assistance, is gratuitous and even fatuous.

Israel, then, occupies a key role in our own nation's list of creations. Her actions reflect for good or ill upon us, her prime creator. At the moment, a large number of the world nations intensely dislike the United States for two factors. First, for our blasting to pieces a small nation, Vietnam, on the other side of the world from us. Secondly, for our setting up and sustaining what they

regard as a child of imperialism, Israel, on the soil of another people, also on the other side of the world. To expiate our past sins against the Jewish people we did not give them any of our own territory (they refused Uganda which was not ours, when it was offered) but wrenched territory from the Arabs, a people who, until threatened by Zionist territorial ambitions, had never directed pogroms against the Jews. In fact, in the past they had received them most hospitably when they fled from persecution. We turned over previously friendly territories to the Jews. In the Arab view this makes both the West and the Jews major ingrates, compounding injustice with injustice.

WISDOM AND COMPASSION

Pliny once wrote: "Let honor be to us as strong an obligation as necessity is to others." The Arab's honor is at stake. His kin have lost their possessions and holy lands to other people. Arab leadership reactions have often been overly emotional and accompanied by a disagreeably threatening stance. These indignant blasts have turned many Americans against the Arabs. But should our own emotionalism replace wisdom, 'it serves you right' spite supplant compassionate understanding, our own resentment prejudice our sense of justice? We are challenged to rise above our surface irritations over shrill diatribes, often issued for local consumption, and recall the provocations, injustices and persecutions of centuries that lie behind the self-destructive Arab belligerencies. Are we big enough to probe beyond gut reactions and incessant propaganda to find the essential moral issues and admit the underlying rights?

The moral case for the Arabs rests upon several foundations. These involve more background information than most Americans possess. Without these facts it is understandable why many people cannot comprehend Arab intransigence in accepting the existence of Israel as a nation. If one knows the background, then the Arab's vow to wage wars for one hundred years, if necessary, as they did to drive out the Christian crusaders, becomes meaningful and not an idle threat.

The core conflict is over what Robert Ardrey has termed, in another context, the "territorial imperative." It is within the breast of all living creatures, from bird to dog, and wild animal to man, to guard and fight to the death over what they regard as their own land. The Jews claim Palestine because of "the right of prior occupation and historical association." Obviously, to be moral, these Jewish rights to Palestine would have to be greater than those of the Arabs. The fight is joined on this point.

Dr. Booth is the minister of the Unitarian Church of Long Beach, California. An author, traveller and speaker of reknown, Dr. Booth reveals his expertise when speaking to issues which he concludes need discussion and analysis. In this case he speaks to the problem of the Palestinian Arab who has been and is being treated unjustly by the Zionists.

ZIONIST RATIONALE

A Long Beach rabbi asked Christian clergymen in this community to deliver from their pulpits a canned prayer for Israel which he mailed to them during the six day war. One paragraph in his accompanying letter began:

"Israel was created two decades ago by the overwhelming vote of the United Nations to provide a home and haven for the remnant of the Hitler holocaust which the 'civilized world' had watched in silent indifference."

The whole concept of Zionism, the creation of a physical Jewish nation, as opposed to a spiritual Israel in men's hearts, began in the 1890's when Theodor Hertzl wrote *Der Judenstaat*. Long before Hitler, political wirepulling was going on behind the scenes in the USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, South Africa and other key Jewish centers to secure support among Jews and Gentiles alike for a nation. The Jews needed a legal basis as a cornerstone for a state. And so they wrested from Great Britain, in the heat and emergency of World War I, when that nation was seeking support anywhere it could, an official statement called THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

WHOSE CLAIM IS GREATER?

Who had the greater claim, Arab or Jew, on May 15, 1948, when Israel was established, to that most desirable area basking under the Mediterranean sun, washed by a lovely ocean, redolent of the most sacred history and religious associations of Moslems, Christians and Jews, a land of spreading orchards, a Middle Eastern crossroads?

Allow me to quote some sentences from an interview I had with an Arab scholar in Damascus: "The Jews invaded and seized Palestine from its settlers about 1200 B.C. It was an act of aggression as the Old Testament, written by the Jews themselves, reveals," he said. "However, Christian Sunday Schools have led outsiders to believe that the Jews were the only people living there; that it was their country, This accounts for much pro-Israeli sympathy."

There arose two Jewish kingdoms, an upper and a lower. But, quoting Dr. Julian Morgenstern, "There were only two brief simultaneous periods in the life of each kingdom, neither lasting more than 50 years, where there was any indication of national strength and glory." Even in Roman times more Jews lived outside Palestine than in it. In 135 A.D., the Roman Emperor ejected them. For centuries not one Jew lived or breathed in Jerusalem. In 700 A.D., a few Jewish families did move into the town of Nablus. But otherwise, for the 1700 years after the Diaspora began, which is longer than the time the Jews had lived there before, very few of them were in the territory we call Palestine. The Arabs moved in in the 7th century. Since 637 A.D. the population has been chiefly Arab, its lands owned by Arabs, tilled by Arabs, its people Arab; 1300 years of Arab settlement, just as long as the earlier Jewish period but this one extending right down to today.



L'Express March 16, 1969. "She (Mrs. Golda Meir) only kept one memory of her childhood in Russia: the sound of her father's hammer nailing the doors and windows when a pogrom was announced. She never forgot it. Her vocation was clear: working so that never again, anywhere in the world, would a child tremble at the sound of a hammer." (Now as an Israeli leader Mrs. Golda Meir causes countless numbers of Palestinian children, like the one pictured above, to fear the sound of Shalom because it means Israeli jets with napalm, Israeli soldiers with bullets and Israeli Security men with clubs, crowbars and explosives).

Even in periods of pogroms in Europe and elsewhere in succeeding centuries, the Jews, in fleeing, did not elect to return to Palestine as a place of refuge. In David Ben Gurion's book *Israel: Years of Challenge*, on page 3 he writes: "... in 1878 a Jew from the Old City of Jerusalem, Yoel Moshe Salomon, together with the earlier Hungarian halutzim or pioneers, set up the first Jewish village." The first village in 1743 years!! In 1883 there were still only 200 Jewish families in the whole of Palestine. Two years after the Balfour Declaration, in 1919, there were but 65,000 Jews in the area.

A Jewish National Fund began buying up land from the Arabs as a wedge until they could get enough land and people concentrated there to make their state. Under the British Mandate, enough Jews entered, either legally or illegally, to bring the total to over 600,000 by May 1948 when the Mandate ended. How many Arabs were living there? Before the war started in 1948 there were almost 1,200,000 Arabs in that territory, their homeland for 1300 years.

THE FACTS OF THE ISSUE

The backbone of the Arab moral case begins and rests here. Legally and morally, they assert, by every principle enunciated by the democracies, no outside powers had the right to treat them like cattle and decide whose

nation the land and people should become. President Wilson, after World War I, declared for the principle of the self-determination of all peoples. The United States agreed to it and has proclaimed it repeatedly in castigating Communist countries, India over Kashmir, and others for violating the rights of majorities. There were two Arabs for every one Jew in the territory now called Israel.

The extent of the Arabs' thirteen centuries of continuous settlement in that area can be judged by examining the 1951 report of the Palestine Conciliation Commission of the U.N. It estimated that more than 80 percent of Israel's total area and more than 2/3 of Israel's cultivable land belonged to Arab refugees being prevented from returning home. One-third of Israel's Jewish population was living on absentee Arab property; nearly 1/3 of the new Jewish immigrants were settled in urban areas abandoned by Arabs. The amount of Israel's cultivable abandoned Arab property was nearly 2 1/2 times the total area of Jewish owned property at the end of the Mandate. On top of this we must remember that 300,000 Arabs remained in Israel with their holdings as well. Nearly all the olive groves, half the citrus groves and 10,000 shops, businesses and stores in Israel in 1953 belonged to absentee Arab refugees.

Who, then, has the greater moral right to the land occupied by Israel today? Do you wonder why the Arabs refuse to recognize the integrity or existence of the state of Israel? Do you now understand Ardrey's "territorial imperative" as applied to Arab claims? As one Arab remarked to me: "How would you Americans feel if a cohesive group, financed heavily by people in faroff countries, came into your area, bought up a quarter of all the property, mainly with outside capital, and then pressured one nation to persuade the United Nations to award the territory in which you live to the newcomers? It's a big return on a small investment. How can you Americans cheer and finance, even today, the people who did it?"

NO "TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS!"

The second thesis of the Arabs has long been that Zionism is inherently expansionist, and, despite Israel's pretension to have no "territorial ambitions," as enunciated again just before the June 1967 conflict broke out, will continue to be so at Arab expense. Arabs cite official Zionist writings before the state was established. They point to David Ben Gurion's efforts to get world Jewry, which approaches 12 million people, to migrate into an area only 3/4 the size of Vermont. They cite the Israeli Press and statements in the Knesset, or parliament, as evidence of designs on more territory. What is transpiring in the occupied Arab territories at this moment underlines the accuracy of their judgment.

The 1967 war worked wonders for Israel's domestic crises. It caused world Jewry to give the nation as much money in the immediate weeks after it ended as the whole six day fight cost. The many unemployed men were absorbed into the army or given jobs in occupied areas. Spreading strikes were called off. Lagging tourist traffic was revived. Jews are rushing to visit the Wailing Wall and the Old City. Above all, the forward march of Zionism has resumed. The frustrated mystique has been unblocked at the expense, once again, of creating

more refugees, more poverty, more heartbreak among the Arab peoples.

Now the West Bank of the Jordan is gone. The Arabs, often misused by some of their leaders, have been humiliated. The territorial imperative again rears its head. On the West Bank, Jordan grew 80 percent of its olives, 65 percent of its vegetables, 60 percent of its fruit: on 2,301 square miles of fertile territory. Yet the Jordanians aren't surprised at the seizure. They had heard, as I did when I sat in the Knesset one hot August morning in 1952, declarations that Israel must expand into and annex all of Jordan as far as the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. This, of course, takes the best of the State of Jordan. The war, as the U.N. stated officially, sent 323,000 refugees streaming into the remnant of Jordan, into Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, which already were housing about one million refugees, many of them in despairing desert camps and villages.

HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATION

There is no known case in history where a people has been deprived of its properties en masse and received virtually no reparations, as in this instance. Of 323,000 refugees in the latest war, the Israelis permitted only some 13,000 to 15,000 to return, despite opposite promises, a pitiful performance of humanitarianism. It reminds us of Einstein's query of Chaim Weizmann before Israel was established: "What about the Arabs if Palestine were given to the Jews?" he asked the future first president of Israel. "What Arabs?" Dr. Weizmann replied. "They are hardly of any consequence."

Across 19 years the civilized world has waited for Israel to lift a finger and show some of the humanitarianism she asked for and was given after World War II. The waiting has been in vain. The world has watched in stunned disbelief to see a people who knew the torture of oppression in concentration camps in 1943, themselves taking over another people's land only five years later, 1948, and sharing in the creation of one million dispossessed, homeless refugees. Only five short years from sufferers in Germany to conquerors in Palestine: and then turning a deaf ear to a million refugees whose lands they seized.

Why hasn't the world risen up in protest? Because the voices of conscience have been pressured and crushed into silence. Arabs claim, with justification, that their moral case can hardly receive a fair hearing on this continent. Some brief examples are in order here.

CONSEQUENCE OF INTEGRITY

The foremost historian of the West, Professor Arnold Toynbee, in volume VIII of the *Study of History* analyzed the Zionist takeover in the Middle East with the same objectivity that has made his judgment honored the world over. As a result, he suffered incredible vituperation and the smearing label of "anti-Semite."

The distinguished Biblical scholar and archaeologist, Dr. Millar Burrows of Yale (University) Divinity School, was pilloried and his book *Palestine is our Business* called "an anti-Semitic opus." The volume represented his sober and reasoned evaluation of the moral situation in the Arab-Israeli confrontation. Curiously, Professor Burrows had been for some time a

vice president of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism!

I have a great respect for the professors at Harvard, some of whom have been members of my two churches in the Boston area. The tragedy of Professor William Ernest Hocking, the eminent Harvard professor of philosophy, is further evidence of the abusive treatment accorded scholars who do not agree with the Zionists. Dr. Hocking once exercised his democratic prerogative to speak, responsibly and quietly, of the injustices meted out to the Arab peoples. American Zionists launched such a wrathful attack upon him personally, slandering this gracious gentleman's reputation, that he, in shock, declined to speak any further on the subject. He once said that his severest blow was to have longtime Jewish friends decline any longer to speak to him.

Miss Dorothy Thompson, famed columnist, longtime supporter of Zionism, and fighter against Naziism, joined H.E.L.P., a group of prominent American clergymen, judges, college presidents, philanthropists and diplomats to focus attention on the terrible plight of the Arab refugees (without any anti-Israel blame). She was assailed as "anti-Semitic" and a joiner of a "Pro-Arab Hate Group." She had the courage to speak out on the refugee problem as she had on various other controversial issues all her life. Her reward for humanitarianism went beyond being crucified verbally; her column was eventually cancelled by the syndicate.

What encouragement is there to speak forthrightly in the great American tradition of free speech when the result is subtle terrorism by misrepresentation and slander? The list of defamed people is distinguished: Dr. Harry Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, Mrs. Willie Snow Ethridge, respected writer and the wife of the publisher of the famed Louisville Courier-Journal, Dr. Bayard Dodge, president of the American University in Beirut, author Vincent Sheean, Rev. Dr. Peter Marshall and others.

THE "ANTI-SEMITIC" LABEL

In Ben Hecht's autobiography *Child of the Century* he labelled President Franklin D. Roosevelt an anti-Semite because his personal attitude was apparently against Zionist statehood, although it was never clearly expressed publicly. When President Truman's Secretary of Defense, James V. Forrestal, tried to get both political parties to lift the Palestine question out of the domestic political scene he received a warning from Bernard Baruch that "close identification with the anti-Zionist position was exposing (him) to the charge of anti-Semitism." Forrestal's position had nothing to do with anti-Zionism whatsoever. The Baruch "wording" has been adopted by many Zionists for use against their critics.

I could cite the virtual boycott of *The New York Times* by American Zionists for opposing in the 1940's, the partition of Palestine. In November, 1946, the Jewish publisher of the *Times*, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, a non-Zionist, said publicly: "I dislike the coercive methods of Zionists who in this country have not hesitated to use economic means to silence persons who have different views. I object to the attempts at character assassination of those who do not agree with them."

The Zionist tactic is consistent. It begins the attack on a critic by denouncing him as a person, attempting to question his integrity and undermine his authority, and frequently uses the once supreme epithet of calling him an anti-Semite. Boycotts follow or indirect efforts to injure the critic professionally or commercially. Sometimes the victim hasn't found out until later what was being done to him. The net effect is to silence timid publishers, commentators, writers, and businessmen who seek peace and don't want to alienate the Jewish population. The Arab constituency is small; let it bear the injustice.

Americans, as a result, scarcely know what is really transpiring and so they haven't protested as they normally would. The term anti-Semite has become so diluted as to include anyone who is merely critical of either Jewish or Israeli practices. It carries about as much sting as to be called a Communist by a John Bircher. Birchers and Zionists have used these once strong words too often in ridiculous and false contexts to leave any of the old condemnation or meaning present in them.

IS THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE VIABLE?

In closing I would leave a few allied thoughts with you, First: we must resist any minority that insists on its own desires with respect to foreign policy being the basis of our country's foreign policy, as Dr. William Yale points out in his book *The Near East* published by the University of Michigan, with Allan Nevins as editor. He further suggests that we beware of the emotional demands of partisan idealists who ask for a noble and ethical justification based on unethical power politics, as in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The President of the United States declared on February 20, 1957, in connection with the first Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip, a truth that applies equally today: "Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose the conditions of its withdrawal? If we agree, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order."

If a major basis of democracy is the right of a population to receive information openly, then the pressures, censorship and defamation tactics of Zionists in America are a threat to our way of life. They have corrupted politicians, editors, businessmen, even you and me. Afraid of the justices in the Arab positions, they have tried by every means to prevent our discussion and support of them. And thus you and I, on the basis of half truths accepted in good faith, believe that we are applauding merit when really we are being inhuman and unjust to a long-suffering, misrepresented branch of the human family.

Voltaire's gem, "I may disagree with what you say but I will defend with my life your right to say it" has been buried by the Zionists. Fear of truth is the father of censorship and, sadly, a motivation for defamation. I call upon you to defend the defamed, from the Middle East to the United States, to seek justice for the downtrodden and dispossessed, and to insist that no group can throttle our right to hear and express all responsible points of view without fear of injury or slander.

What others are saying

Letters to the Press

NOT 'ALTOGETHER' UNINFORMED

The Times of London Jan. 26, 1968

From the Rev. W.W. Simpson

Sir:

May I, as one who over a good many years has been in close contact with a great many Jewish organizations and individuals, and who is not altogether uninformed on Middle East affairs, assure Mr. Christopher Walker (January 24) that if there were such an entity as "International Jewry" (the phrase has sinister connotations) its members would not be slow to oppose racial discrimination and apartheid in Israel today, if it could be shown to exist, whether against Palestinian Arabs or any other community.

Mr. Walker should be careful to distinguish between such discriminatory policies as he alleges, and the practical task of solving the tragically difficult human problems consequent upon even six days of warfare and 20 years of bitterly anti-Israel propaganda. As it is, there is abundant evidence of genuine and generous efforts on the part of Jews both in Israel itself and throughout the world to deal constructively with precisely these problems.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON, General
Secretary, The Council of Christians
and Jews,

41 Cadogan Gardens, S.W.3, Jan. 24

DISCRIMINATION: INSIDE STORY

The Times of London Jan. 31, 1968

From Mr. Shimon Tzabar

Sir:

As one who was born in Israel, who has lived there all his life and fought in all the Israeli wars, I am surprised that the Rev. W.W. Simpson (January 26) denies the charges about discrimination in Israel put forward by Mr. C. Walker (January 24), which are widely known.

As an example of social discrimination in Israel I would point out that no respectable Jewish landlord will rent a room to an Arab. (An Israeli short film was made on this subject called *I Ahmed*). Dishwashing, waiting, cleaning, and brickmaking are almost the only Arab occupations in a Jewish city like Tel Aviv, while educated Arabs cannot get even a simple white-collar job outside their Arab communities.

In the past two years we in Israel have witnessed violent social disapproval in Kibbutzim where local girls have married Arab boys. In all cases the bridegrooms were refused membership of the Kibbutzim, and had to leave with their wives. Official discrimination is demonstrated by the Citizenship law. In essence this law states that any Jewish immigrant can automatically become a full citizen of Israel; but for an Arab it is not enough to be born in Palestine—he has also to prove that he was present in the country at a certain time in 1948.

Those who were not present then are termed *nifkad nobab*, "present-absent."

I may also add that freedom of political organization—an essential part of democratic life—is not granted to Arabs unless they join Jewish organizations. Arabs were forbidden to establish the El Ard party, and local sports clubs, on the grounds that they were Arab nationalist organizations; however, Jewish nationalist organizations are both legal and flourishing.

Yours faithfully,

SHIMON TZABAR.

65 George Street, W. 1, Jan. 26.

WHICH ARABS?

To The Christian Science Monitor, April 5, 1969:

It seems that the Reverend Carlsgaard (March 15) believes that the formula for peace in the world is based on strength rather than justice. He speaks of a peace treaty between the Arabs and Israel. Which Arabs? He does not even mention the Palestinians whose desperate situation is the basis of the whole problem.

Until the Palestinian Arabs have achieved their rightful place in the Palestine of the future no other Arab country will be able to conclude a peace treaty with Israel. And it must be obvious that such a peace treaty, if it were entered into, would not end the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs who are a separate entity and who will continue to fight until justice is theirs.

True, a peace treaty entered into sincerely by both parties will be a lasting peace but the parties involved must be Israel and the Palestinian Arabs. Sincerity on Israel's part can be demonstrated only by their acceptance of the Palestinians as a people with a rightful claim upon the land which they (Israel) have wrongfully seized. An Israel/Palestine rapprochement would clear the way to a quick solution of all the contingent conflicts between Israel and other Arab states.

Joan Gaskell, Albany, Calif.

Readers are urged to share the Newsletter with their friends, local newspapers and representatives in government; it is edited by Professor Leonard Lee, and published ten times a year in Beirut, Lebanon by AJME.

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- 3) *Patron*—any amount over \$10.



THE DESPAIR...



*AND
REACTION
OF A
STATELESS
PEOPLE
WHO IS
RESPONSIBLE ?*

I cannot go home because I am not a Jew

Izzat Tannous, M.D., submitted a Statement On The Palestine Arab Refugees before the United Nations Special Political Committee on November 30th, 1959. An excerpt of that report, which follows, points out once more the utter frustration of the Palestinian, and in this instance a Christian Arab who is forbidden to return to his own home and assume his Palestinian National identity.

I happen to be a Christian Arab of Christian parents born in Palestine. My home is in Jerusalem where I lived all my life. I am not permitted to go back by the Israelis, not because I declared war on any country, not for occupying other people's homes; and not for persecuting the Jews, but for the simple reason that I was not born a Jew. While American Jews, Austrian Jews and even Arab Jews can go and occupy my home today I cannot do so because I am a Christian. The Jewish faith is the only valid visa to go and live in Israel today. Did you ever conceive that this could take place in this twentieth century, the century of the Declaration of Human Rights, the era of religious tolerance? I had the honor to tell this committee last year and I will tell it again this year, that my home is only 300 yards away from the armistice line and my clinic is on the other side of the road . . . I see people in them, people coming and going but I cannot move an inch forward. If I do I will be killed and my body will be labeled "guilty of the

Criminal Act of Arab infiltration." This infiltration, Mr. Chairman, into one's own home, land, farm, and country has been the cause of the death of hundreds of my countrymen by people who, only a few years ago, were total strangers to the land. Moreover, this home of mine is being offered to any Jew in the world, be he from Warsaw, Tokyo or the West Indies, if he will condescend to go and take it. The Palestine Arab refugee problem is the transplantation of one people of one faith in the place of other people of other faiths through the force of arms. It is the problem of religious discrimination . . . How can we improve the political atmosphere to begin peace talks of any kind if we are still prevented from reaching our homes? The mere discussion of "right of return" will be a "psychological road block" to a solution . . . It is the duty of the United Nations before it is too late to place the Palestine problem in its proper perspective.

P. O. B. 4841

Beirut, Lebanon

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