

BACKGROUND NOTES ON PALESTINE

REPORT No. 4

I did 'go to Israel'; this is what I found

Visit to Palestine
Summer 1969

by
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Hansen

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FOREWORD

This booklet is the second of several to be published by the Jerusalem Committee.

Part of our job is to discover the facts about Palestine and what is happening to the Palestinians, and to tell what we find regardless of the very unpleasant threats and nuisances to which members of our Committee are from time to time subjected in consequence.

This report does not seek to do more than give a brief eye witness account of one man's very recent visit to Jerusalem and the occupied territories and his reactions to some of the things he saw and heard.

It may be of value to those who prefer facts to fiction.

THE JERUSALEM COMMITTEE

October, 1969



GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

It is foolish to pretend that in East Jerusalem and elsewhere in the occupied West Bank the indigenous Arab population is not suffering; and it is the aim of this report to try to identify the nature of the suffering and all it means to the people most intimately affected by the changes since June 1967. There is in many places a superficial atmosphere of calm; but wherever I went there was evidence of disquiet and fury beneath the surface, which only needed such an instance as the Al-Aqsa Mosque incendiary incident to erupt with demonstrations of public resentment against what is a very tough occupation indeed. Nevertheless civilian morale is high; and of all the places visited Nablus stands out still as the centre of the most resilient and open resistance, of which details will follow.

The Israeli military occupation has been described by their apologists in the West as "an invisible occupation". It is certainly invisible, but not in the sense that the apologists mean; it is most apparently "invisible" in the sense that there is nobody, not a person or authority, to whom the Arab population can appeal for justice. If, say, a member of a family is taken for questioning—and any interrogation of suspected persons is often a lengthy and horrible process—or if a member is detained, the family is helpless and unable effectively to make protest. As one man in Nablus put it to me: "At least under the British—and indeed under the Turks—if a relation was taken for questioning or detention, we knew there was an official to whom we might appeal and from whom we would obtain a rational answer—but under the Israelis there is nobody. People are taken off in the middle of the night and we hear nothing more about them, despite repeated enquiries." I was informed of a number of occasions when Israeli soldiers had entered houses in broad daylight, beaten up the occupants and looted anything found lying about that took their fancy. The man who reported this said he knew of three instances of this which had occurred in Nablus during March 1969; there have doubtless been others, too.

It is extremely important to emphasize that the military authorities still control overall the Arab areas of 1948-Israel as well as those occupied since June 1967, despite the much-publicized report that administration of the 1948 areas has been passed to a civilian

authority. All that occurred in early 1967—certainly in the “Triangle” (Nazareth area)—was that the administration of laws affecting Arabs became enforceable by the police instead of by military personnel. However the Military Governor remained and the Arabs thus under their jurisdiction received orders signed by the Military Governor. I was shown permits issued to an Arab from Haifa dating from 1965 to 1969, all signed by the same Military Commander—David Eliezer; his identical signature was on documents for the whole of the period. Such permits relate to the authorization of movements by Arabs from one district to another; and to travel without a permit is an offence which may involve a heavy fine or imprisonment.

Parts of the British Defence (Emergency) Regulations 1945 are still very much in force; and though Dov Joseph during the Mandate once described these regulations as “legalized terrorism”, the Israeli Minister of Justice, through the Military Governors, still enforces them upon Arabs throughout the Arab areas of former Palestine. Under these regulations, any Arab attempting to form or establish a political party, or express openly political concepts, could be arrested for an offence and be tried by three Military Judges. That this applies now throughout Israel and the areas occupied in 1967, affecting Arabs (possibly over a million and nearly 40 per cent of the area’s population) is of itself an indictment of a State which claims to be an enlightened democracy; that so large a minority is dominated by Zionist doctrines and policies which Muslim and Christian Arabs find repugnant and unacceptable, must occasion great suffering.

Following the recent incendiary incident at the Jerusalem Mosque the Arab Muslim world is more than ever disturbed; for although under the British Mandate the High Muslim Council supervised Muslim affairs, by a law promulgated in 1961 Israel abolished the Council and substituted the appointment of a Committee of nine members authorized to exercise control of Muslim affairs (three at least of whose members had to be non-Muslims), which would appoint judges to the Muslim Religious Courts. Since Islam is unable to recognize appointments made by a body containing non-Muslims, the authority of the judges appointed by the Israeli Committee is brought into question before the Religious Courts, with resultant confusion and chaos among parties involved in Court proceedings. As Arab nationalism is, from the Israeli viewpoint, closely linked with Islam, the Israeli attitude to Muslim affairs is

unsympathetic if not hostile. Conversely, Israel regards the Druse as a separate people and seeks to ally this small Muslim community with the State and Judaism, as separate and independent of the Muslim religious faith. The Druse accordingly receive greater consideration from the Israeli Government and treatment which is not extended to Arab Muslims; for instance the Druse are accepted for enlistment into the Israeli Army, as in the days of the Mandate they were permitted to serve with the Haganah.

Palestine under the Mandate was primarily an agricultural economy which during the Second World War developed certain limited industries and skills. Today Israel similarly depends economically on the agricultural produce grown and exported; though much greater emphasis is placed on industrial and technological production for home consumption, as well as for export, than formerly. This is mainly to conserve foreign currency, particularly as industry depends on imported raw materials, and, relative to Western industrial production costs, Israel's small units of production are barely viable economically, whilst the Arab boycott restricts local development into Middle East markets. Since the establishment of the State in 1948 tens of thousands of dunums of Arab land which have been expropriated and placed with Jewish cultivators make agricultural output still of first importance in Israel's economy. However, of the Arabs remaining in 1963, there also remained 104 villages and 173,000 Arabs working on the land, 55 per cent of whom possessed their own land. With the tens of millions of pounds devoted to the Jewish cultivators working on the best of the Arab land (only 6 per cent of which had actually been purchased by Zionist funds), aided by grants for irrigation and mechanized equipment, the yield per dunum between the Jewish and Arab sectors in 1962/3 was calculated to represent a difference of 387 per cent greater yield per dunum to Jewish cultivators. This variation of course arises from the difference in the nature of the land and the use of irrigation; this is illustrated by a percentage comparison of the irrigated land under cultivation in 1963/4 in the figures below:—

Jewish land	1,518,000 dunums	43.9 % of total under cultivation
Arab land	32,000 dunums	3.8 % of total under cultivation

This eloquently speaks of the injustice Arab land workers suffer in the distribution of Israel's natural resources, as disclosed by the Israel Government Yearbooks. Yet in 1917 the Arabs of Palestine

were 92 per cent of the total population and owned 97 per cent of the land, of which by 1948, through Zionist purchase, Jewish ownership had acquired 5.8 per cent of the total, the remainder being all Arab ownership.

UNIONS AND LABOUR

Before June 1967 there existed some 14 Arab Trade Unions recognized by Jordan. Since the occupation, the Histadruth is said not to have interfered directly with their activities; yet since police are apt to appear at Union Headquarters and take possession of documents it is clear that indirectly their activities are under official observation; and the Histadruth doubtless is well informed of the position in each union.

The Arab Catering Union—a union of employees in restaurants and cafes—had since February 1969 been in negotiation with Arab employers for an increase in wages, owing to the vast increase in the cost of living since the Israeli occupation. Into these discussions the Histadruth attempted to intervene, claiming to represent the employees as their sole legal representative. The Arab hotel employers declined to discuss matters with the Histadruth, stating that they recognized the Arab Union as representing the employees interests. However Jewish Union officials continued to pressure the Arab workers to join the Histadruth by letters to the *Jerusalem Post* claiming to represent the Arab workers, and by inviting the workers to a meeting at Orient House, where a speaker described the Histadruth as the only legal representative of the employees. They alleged that the hotel owners were attempting to reach agreement with a body pretending to have authority, since the Arab Unions and their representatives were “frozen” and not recognized by Israel. On 16 May a circular was published by the Histadruth and distributed to Hotels and posted in notices in the streets (see Appendix “A”) setting out claims and statements affecting the issue; but in the meantime agreement had been reached and signed between the Arab Union and the Hotel Owners awarding an increase of 30 per cent to the workers. The Histadruth Central Committee in Tel-Aviv have been desperately anxious (1) to get Arab workers to join the Histadruth and (2) to end the authority and responsibility exercised by Arab Unions. In both respects they have so far achieved little progress.

EDUCATION

Developments in the field of Arab education since the establishment of the State of Israel continue to be in dispute between Arab educationalists and the Israeli Ministry of Education; and, whilst the number of Arab pupils studying in Arab elementary schools has increased, compared with the figures in Jewish schools the increase is inconsiderable. This is partly due to the shortage of teachers since most of the best teachers left the country, and replacement by untrained teachers until 1962, when an Arab Teachers Training College was opened in Jaffa, retarded progress in Arab education. All this is reflected in the failure ratio of Arab pupils who sit for the secondary certificate examination, which exceeds 85 per cent. The following is the percentage of passes for the years 1957/62 compared with the total population of both sections of the community, with the number of student passes.

School Year	Population		Number passed		Percentage of Arabs passes of those who sat the exam.
	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	
1957/58	1,762,741	213,213	2,698	60	8.6
1958/59	1,810,148	221,524	2,264	28	6.7
1959/60	1,858,841	229,844	2,685	53	9.5
1960/61	1,911,189	239,169	3,464	94	13.1
1961/62	1,932,357	247,134	4,356	75	10.3

These results have an obviously tragic effect on Arab society, and bring unemployment and despair, so that the Arab population are almost all labourers or small tradesmen. The Israeli Government cannot disown its responsibility for so deplorable a situation in Arab education.

In Ramallah this year I was given an account of a visit by two Canadian Senators to the UNWRA Training School in Tيره, indicative of the belief that Arabs are a second-class people with second-class minds. This is a school which is not controlled or financially aided by the Israel Government, and to obviate official Israeli embarrassment the Principal normally insists on prospective visitors arranging an appointment. On this occasion however, the visitors (one an international businesswoman) arrived with an Israeli official, who had previously briefed the visitors on the

school's activities. Whilst waiting to inspect the school, a remark was passed: "Why waste money on a training school like this? The Arabs cannot absorb learning as fast or as deeply as Israelis: what is the point of it?" The Principal replied "Please come and pressed. In the course of the inspection the Principal related the see"; which accordingly they did, and were most favourably im- occasion of an earlier visit from a professor of sociology at the Hebrew University, who had also remarked "Why should money be wasted on this school?" apparently in the belief that Arabs are inherently less able to comprehend effectively, almost implying a "racial" difference between groups. Confident of her ground, the Principal had asked the professor for facts and evidence supporting the suggestion of Arab inferiority, but his response was lost in an apologetic mumble. The Israeli official accompanying the Canadians murmured: "Perhaps the man was weak on that subject"; to which the Principal asked: "Are you inferring that a professor of sociology doesn't know his job?"

DETENTION AND ILL-TREATMENT OF SUSPECTS

The reports of detention, ill-treatment and torture were common talk almost everywhere I visited; some points are enumerated in appendix "B" relating to detention centres which, because they are under military control and not under the Israeli Prison authorities, the Red Cross and Amnesty International are precluded from inspecting in the manner normally permitted to graded prisons. I was informed of a Swiss Red Cross official who resigned on 16 April 1969 because of the absence of official Israeli co-operation particularly in respect of one of the detention centres. There have been reports in the press recently of the evidence given by Arabs before the United Nations Commissions assembled at various Arab capitals, most of which have been ridiculed by Israel as "thousand and one night stories", but the allegations bear examination, if only on account of the restriction placed upon the Red Cross to inspect the detention centres.

NABLUS

This town appears to be the centre of the West Bank resistance and many demonstrations have occurred there; however, I was told by a doctor that now the "era of demonstration is over" as they

have ceased to serve their purpose. Until recently, Nablus—as indeed other West Bank towns—has been cautious, if not suspicious, of the fedayeen and their operations; certainly if after an Israeli soldier had been killed civilian houses were destroyed, or residents given long sentences in prison when not expelled. Nevertheless, at a time when the extensive demolition of houses was undertaken by the Military authorities in Nablus “education committees” were formed secretly to instruct householders how to deal with incidents of this kind. The policy as described by a doctor was to ensure that nobody leaves; “If your house is destroyed, go to a neighbour’s house, and if that too is destroyed, go to the hills or caves. Don’t leave.” “Nowadays nobody leaves.”

The mayor, Hamdi Kanaan, who during the turbulent February/March period of this year found himself unable (perhaps unwilling) to curb the growth of uncompromising public resistance in the town, resigned and appears not to have been replaced; this is symptomatic of the breakdown of communications between the occupied and the military authorities in Nablus; nor was this breakdown regarded by the Arabs as any loss. At the same time an underground movement of social consolidation was being organized; although my informant gave no details of the aims and objectives of the movement, it is significant of the atmosphere prevailing in the town.

As an example of the methods of Israeli treatment of suspects held for questioning, the case of the partial sabotage at the Natanya waterworks in April this year was related to me. Natanya is situated on the coast in the Jewish area of the Partition Plan. The suspect was said to have used an Opel make car. A Nabulsi engineer, owner of an Opel car, was taken for questioning and first offered a cup of coffee; initially a fairly amicable atmosphere was maintained and he was able to provide a satisfactory alibi regarding himself. However he was then informed, “We need an alibi for your car, in addition to your own movements.” Whilst he was attempting to satisfy his interrogators on this score, another Israeli official entered, carrying a pair of pliers, a screwdriver and a hammer, and in full view of the suspect placed them on a desk near him; despite the clear psychological implication of this the engineer was able to clear his car and was released.

Another instance reported was that of a young man Ahmad Qanazi, aged about 22, said to have been called by the police to

stop, but being drunk he continued to lumber away and was wounded when the police fired. The date was 6 May, and from the seven bullets found in his body it seems that he was shot after he had fallen to the ground, and that the shots were intended to kill. There was widespread Arab distrust and resentment in Nablus following this incident.

In Nablus after 9 p.m. everywhere is closed; there is total quiet with no vehicles in the streets, and the odd pedestrian or driver then about is apt to find himself held by Israeli patrols, possibly arrested and invariably insulted. Hence Nabulsi remain indoors.

Nablus prison, built to accommodate 300, is today said to hold 500 prisoners. The National Hospital in Nablus reports a serious shortage of medicaments so that lives are lost for the lack of drugs and surgical equipment. The hospital is particularly short of antibiotics, saline infusions and catgut for operations, but the Israeli authorities reply when application is made for supplies, "You spend too much." However they do not trouble to check the accounts of the hospital.

The Nabulsi feel, as do all West Bank Arabs, that Israel does not wish for a settlement, but simply desires annexation as more Arabs leave or are expelled; many doubt whether any eventual peaceful solution is possible. Therefore they sympathize with the actions of the resistance groups, and tend to identify their own aims with the efforts of those groups, refusing to co-operate with the controlling authorities.

JERUSALEM

The destruction of houses is continuing in the Old City, and according to Mayor Kollek plans exist to build housing units for 1,000 Jewish settlers within the Walled City. Also in the Old City there is a specially designed Egged bus (built to pass through the narrow streets, and to pass under buildings which bridge the roadway between the Jaffa Gate and the Wailing Wall) which now runs every twenty minutes through the Armenian Quarter. Whether or not this service is done with the collaboration of the Armenian Patriarch, it is seen by the Arabs as a deliberate provocation and challenge, and is of course resented. On most days the buses lack sufficient passengers for such a regularly routed service; therefore

it is clearly a facility focussing tourist interest and appeal on the Wailing Wall; but indirectly it is another step to consolidate Zionist hold on Jerusalem, both the Old and New Cities.

In East Jerusalem on 15 May 1969 an Arab strike closed all the shops from 8.30 a.m.; police vehicles forced owners of shops outside the Walls to re-open and took the names of those who were tardy of opening. Within the Old City 95 per cent remained closed all day; however by 9.30 a.m. those outside had re-opened, for they remembered an earlier strike when 15 shops had lost their entire stocks, which were removed as punishment. With police and television cameras present to film proceedings, interviewers asked, "What time do you usually open your shop?" The owner, with an eye on the police in the background, replied "9.00 to 9.30 a.m." Similarly he replied "None" to the question whether police pressure had not compelled opening on that day. The *Jerusalem Post* reported from Gaza that five shops were fined £Isr.500 to 1,000 for remaining closed on that day. So it seems that strike-breaking has become a regular feature of Israel occupation.

The application of the Israel Administrative Law has not been cancelled but merely deferred and the time limit for registration carried forward to a later date. Income Tax and Business Taxes continue to be levied upon everyone in East Jerusalem, and three hotels (St George, National Palace and Pilgrims) were threatened with distraint measures on 15 April this year. It is alleged that letters addressed to East Jerusalem Tourist Agencies are intercepted and the senders informed that the East Jerusalem Agency has ceased to function; but they are given a West Jerusalem address through which tours and accommodation arrangements may be made. This is further confirmation of the changes in Agency arrangements, adversely affecting East Jerusalem businesses, since June 1967.

CAR REGISTRATIONS

West Bank car owners, except those living in East Jerusalem, are compelled to show on their vehicles an additional registration plate (approximately four inches square) bearing on it a Hebrew letter, to signify from which town they are registered and live; this is part of the security system to control travel between the different military areas, where permits are required for Arabs to visit relatives, or to conduct normal business. It is however resented by Arabs as an odious piece of legislation, comparable with the German Nazi Law which required a yellow star to be worn by Jews.

ARAB HOUSES DEMOLISHED

The following is a list of the towns and villages with the numbers of Arab dwellings destroyed since June 1967 in the occupied areas :—

Jerusalem	180	Samaria (incl. Qalqilya)	2,635
Latrun	1,830	Gaza Strip	280
Hebron	378	Beit Lahim	44
Ramallah	33		

as recorded up to 30 April 1969. Also destroyed since the occupation are two Syrian Arab villages near Hammeh, named Feeq and Kufr Hareb.

ISRAELI CASUALTY REPORTS

Hitherto the figures issued as official casualties by the Israeli Ministry of Information have been blindly accepted; but in the week ending 11 May this year letters appeared in the Israeli *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Haaretz* questioning the official statistics. E.g. there is a clash; two casualties are reported; but three months later a report is issued of the death of a man from wounds sustained in that clash. However on referring to the original report, none were reported seriously wounded. Such differences, when they become known, cause doubt in the minds of the Israeli public. A similar instance related to an air attack in which Syrians claimed to have destroyed three planes, and in which Israel stated none were lost. Five hours after the engagement two Israeli airmen appeared on stretchers dead, near the Yajour kibbutz. The official reasons given for their deaths was that on a training flight they had hit an electric power cable. Again, when Egypt reported destruction of 60 per cent of the "Bar-Lev" line along the Suez Canal, which was promptly denied by Israel, it was only after three days that reporters were permitted in the area, to check earlier reports. Such discrepancies have a profound psychological significance for readers of later reports.

RELIGIOUS COURTS

The Israeli Government are pressing the Jerusalem Sharia Court, the Waqf and the Qadi himself to come under the control

of the Minister of Religious Affairs, and have extended the authority of the Jaffa Qadi to include Jerusalem, as the latter declines to recognize Israeli control, and Israel refuses to accept judgments of the Jerusalem Qadi. Similarly, the Greek Orthodox Court is not recognized, and the Israeli Supreme Court overrules judgements given by the Greek Court.

Many people expressed to me their belief that there is a concerted and well-planned Israeli policy of putting out of action or destroying all possible leaders of the Arab community. This policy was directed against intellectuals, students and teachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, local notables, those with experience in administration and civil service, etc.

It is, of course, natural that people in the above categories should be predominant in the resistance movement and therefore be proportionately more numerous among those imprisoned, banished or otherwise punished by occupation authorities. But I was assured by quite independent witnesses that people in the above categories were picked on and harassed by the occupation authorities *even if not active*. The conclusion of my informant was of a systematic policy of breaking the back of any possible future leadership, much as was e.g. the German policy in Poland after 1939.

An Example. It may be instructive to relate in some detail what may be a typical instance of Israeli harassment of Palestinians in the occupied areas. The case is that of Mr. Na'im Ashab, one of the leaders of the Jordanian Communist Party. I was able to collect most of the facts regarding his imprisonment while I was in the occupied areas. My own findings were later confirmed and to some extent supplemented by a letter date 5 June 1969 written in Arabic by Mr Ashab to his Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer and smuggled out of the notorious Damon gaol. This letter was published in the Beirut daily *Al-Yawm* of 7 August 1969. The facts briefly are as follows : Mr. Ashab was first arrested on 7 January 1968 in a Jerusalem street. He was assaulted in public by the Israeli Security members, who arrested him; he bled as a result. He was put in a small dark cell in Damon gaol. He was not and has never been charged. He was released on 6 May 1968 and put under house arrest on condition that his presence at the house was checked twice a day, that he did not leave his house from sunset to sunrise and did not leave Jerusalem. This continued for six months during which both Mr Ashab and his wife were subjected to many oppressive and discriminatory acts : he was refused permission to

visit his sister and his wife waited for a year and in vain for permission to visit her aged and ill father on the East Bank. Mr Ashab was arrested a second time on 30 October 1968, and was in detention up to the time of writing.

In his letter of 5 June, 1969 he speaks of widespread torture and intimidation practiced on Arab political prisoners in the Damon Jail whose treatment is harsher than that of ordinary criminals.

APPENDIX "A"

THE HISTADRUTH
JERUSALEM LABOUR COUNCIL EAST JERUSALEM
16 MAY 1969
CIRCULAR TO ALL EMPLOYEES AND HOTEL
LABOURERS IN EAST JERUSALEM

Dear Brother,

Hotel Employees wages

The General Union of Labourers in East Jerusalem (The Histadruth) which comprises the majority of employees and labourers in East Jerusalem including a big number of hotel workers, has conducted difficult and exhausting negotiations with hotel owners for the purpose of raising the wages of employees and labourers and to insure better working conditions than before.

Under pressure from the Histadruth, hotel owners have agreed to raise the wages to a percentage not adequate to our demands. When the hotel owners discovered that the Histadruth is not prepared to agree with them in the monopoly of employees and workers, they decided to dissociate themselves from their responsibilities and pretended that they have reached agreement, with whoever they agreed with, to raise the wages to a certain percentage.

We wish you to know that the increase suggested by the Hotel owners is only a small part of the increase you deserve. If you extend your hand to an irresponsible organization whose representa-

tives never cared for your welfare for the last two years and even in the future when they will be unable to defend your rights, your future will remain monopolized in the hands of businessmen.

The Histadruth with its resources and organization is the only organization capable of increasing your wages and defending your rights as a labourer and a human being.

We are confident that all workers whether registered or not will unite as one in refusing the attempt of hotel owners to deceive them, and would not agree to any arrangement not sanctioned by the Histadruth.

Be certain that the Histadruth will not agree to the action of bosses, and if the hotels do not agree to its demands, then we will take immediate necessary measures to insure that the right wages which you are entitled to are paid to you. Do not be deceived by assurances and promises which aims at the weakening of your strength and legal demands as a consequence of your membership in the Histadruth which supports and defends you.

If you have not already enrolled in the Histadruth do this now so that you will participate in successful accomplishments.

The Histadruth is your bastion.

APPENDIX "B"

From the testimonies of prisoners, and from reports filtering out, it would appear that some of the methods of torture employed at detention centres are as follows. The prisoners are left in the sun for a period of several hours, and then taken in and given an ice-cold shower. A very bright and hot electric light (possibly 1000 or 1500W) is shone in a prisoner's face, and on his chest, while ice is held against the back of his head, his neck and shoulders. A prisoner is given a hot-pepper enema. A prisoner is stood on a chair, handcuffed to the ceiling, for a long period; then suddenly the chair is kicked away, resulting in the dislocation of his shoulders. A prisoner is beaten on the head for a long period with a plastic truncheon (of the same type as those used for breaking up demonstrations). All these details have been communicated to the Red Cross; but since detention centres are not graded as prisons, the Red Cross is unable to confirm or deny.

WAKE UP

DO YOU KNOW

about the plight of the 1½ million Palestinians in Exile—
their homeland plundered and usurped by racists and
theocrats bent on expanding a “pure Jewish State?”

OR

the facts about the torture and brutality inflicted upon
political prisoners in Israel?

OR

that Arabs are held in prison without charge?

OR

that the great annual Moslem pilgrimage to Jerusalem has
been stopped?

AND

that nine million Arab Christians are denied access to
Jerusalem?

OR

about the terrible consequences to the Arabs of the proposed
“Registration Laws” in Jerusalem?

DO YOU KNOW

that Arab land and property is seized without compensa-
tion?

OR

that homes have been bulldozed with their occupants inside?

HAVE YOU LEARNT

about the contempt under Zionism for Christian and Moslem
holy places, and the profanity and sacrilege now common in
Jerusalem?

AND DO YOU CARE ?

THEN JOIN THE JERUSALEM COMMITTEE



