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JOHN RICHARDSON'S MID EAST REPORT

From early April to early May of this year I was in the Middle East on behalf of ANERA. The main purpose of my trip was to evaluate ANERA's work in the area and to bring myself up-to-date on the deepening political crisis in the Middle East. My travels took me to Cairo. Beirut, Damascus, Amman, the West Bank, Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and Israel.

In the course of discussions with the UNRWA representative in the U.A.R., I learned that there are now approximately 5,000 Palestinians studying in Egyptian Universities. Of these, some 3,000 have scholarships from the Egyptian Government, approximately 700 are assisted by UNRWA, another 1,000 have scholarships from the Government. The Egyptian Government has permitted 200 secondary graduates each year from Gaza to enter Egyptian Universities. In the early spring of this year 1200 Palestinian students from Gaza were admitted into Egyptian Universities to compensate for the fact that none had been able to matriculate since the 1967 war. In the course of conversations with officials at the American University in Cairo, I was informed that ANERA's 1969 grant of \$5,000 to AUC had generated a total educational value to the students of over \$100,000.

In Beirut I met with representatives of UNRWA and Dr. and Mrs. Najib Abu-Haydar of the Friends of Jerusalem Society. The grave seriousness of UNRWA's continuing and increasing financial crisis was brought home to me quite clearly. On the ground in the Middle East the direct results of a shortage of funds are much more apparent than they are to someone viewing the situation from this side of the water. The Friends of Jerusalem Society



REFUGEE

AID.

INC.

These Palestinian boys are orphans living at the Mabarrat Um-El-Hussein orphanage in Amman, Jordan. During their stay at the orphanage, the boys are educated and taught useful skills. John P. Richardson, ANERA's Executive Director, visited the orphanage during his recent Middle Eastern trip.

is the organization which sells Christmas cards handled by ANERA and other groups. The Society has been concentrating their work with the resident Palestinians in the Occupied Territories rather than with the refugees as such. One of the most important projects they have been assisting is "cottage industries" in weaving and other craft skills which now employ more than 2,500 Palestinian women. I agreed that ANERA would be happy to consider projects recommended by them for assistance.

On the surface the atmosphere in Beirut is not unlike it was when I left two years ago, but the deterioration of the situation was reflected in many ways, and the gap between the glitter of life in

Beirut and political/military realities nearby was more apparent than ever.

On April 22nd I drove to Damascus, where I only stayed one day, dividing the time about equally between talking to UNRWA officials and getting re-acquainted with the city of Damascus and with friends there. I was pleasantly surprised to observe a general sense of stability and well-being in Damascus, with a great deal of new construction and some of the visible indicators that the economy is in good shape.

Unfortunately approximately 10,000 Palestinians in Syria are still living in tent camps as a result of the dislocation of the June 1967 war. It is hoped this deplorable situation will be remedied soon.

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I travelled from Damascus to Amman by taxi. Among a number of visits in Amman, some of the most interesting were sessions I had with Dr. Mahmud Hijazi, President of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. Dr. Hijazi is a very dedicated young doctor who is interested in making the Palestinian Red Crescent responsive to the medical needs of the entire Palestinian people, not simply refugees or commandos. The strides made by the PRC in the sixteen months of its existence are significant. The PRC serves an important social and psychological function as well as a medical one. The fact that the PRC is an exclusively Palestinian organization independent of governments and is dedicated to the welfare of the Palestinian people is one of the key ingredients in its success. I visited a number of PRC projects, including a convalescent home for amputees, a central pharmacy, and a health clinic at the Marka refugee camp. The PRC has established a committee in the United States under the supervision of Dr. Munir Katul in Oregon, who is coordinating fund-raising and pharmaceutical collection for transmission to the Middle East.

While in Amman, I also visited the University of Jordan and the Mubarrat Um El Hussein orphanage. The University received \$5,000 from ANERA for a revolving loan fund which has helped 114 students to date. Mubarrat Um El Hussein provides an education and vocational training for some 200 orphaned refugee boys. It is run by Miss Emily Bisharat. Miss Bisharat told me that no boy is allowed to leave the Orphanage until he is assured a job.

I was in Amman at a time of relative quiet, just after the massive demonstrations protesting the planned visit of Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, which resulted in the devastation of the USIS library facilities in Amman. The gutted building seemed somehow representative of the vanishing acceptability of United States policies in Jordan.

I crossed into the Occupied Territory at the Allenby Bridge. In the course of the ride down from Amman to the Jordan River I was shocked at the changes in the area in the two years since I last was there. The 10 kilometers east of the Jordan River are now a wasteland, since incessant Israeli bombardments have driven out the inhabitants and virtually stopped the difficult but regular farming that took place in the area. The town of Shuneh, which I remembered as a

bustling town of about 6,000, has been shelled into oblivion and is now only a bleak check-point for people going to the river. While on the West Bank and in Jerusalem I saw a great many projects and institutions being assisted by ANERA, and I felt proud that ANERA is assisting a brave people who are living an increasingly onerous life under military occupation. The only Palestinian institution of higher learning in the Occupied Territories is Birzeit College, with a capacity of 250 students and an English-language curriculum. Considering the increasingly stringent Israeli restrictions on Palestinian students going to other parts of the Arab World for study, many West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza young people are faced with the alternative of delaying their education (in the hope that the Occupied Territories will soon be reunited with the Arab World) or of taking the risk of going outside and not being permitted back. Neither alternative is very attractive. In addition, one of the greatest problems faced by younger students in Jerusalem is the institution of the Israeli curriculum in schools formerly under the Jordanian Ministry of Education. Since the Israelis treat Jordanian Jerusalem as an integral part of Israel, Israeli nationalist themes in the educational materials are unacceptable to the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. This has brought about an exodus of Palestinian students from the government schools, with the result that many of the private institutions are filled to overflowing because they are unwilling to turn away young people. While pressure is increasing, to date the private institutions have remained relatively free of harassment from the Israeli government.

Gaza was - predictably - a discouraging place to visit. Everything one reads about the harshness and uncertainty of life in Gaza is true. The Occupying troops are visible everywhere and do not hesitate to shoot at the slightest sign of trouble. The Israelis have made frequent use of destruction of homes of persons suspected of resistance activities, and some of the refugee camps have begun to resemble concentration camps with wide, cleared areas around them and the installation of high-powered electric street lights. Roads have been bulldozed straight through homes in some of these camps in order to ease access to potential trouble-makers. The resultant human suffering is great. In Gaza I visited - as elsewhere - with the UNRWA personnel, who were extremely helpful to me in arranging travel and visits.

One of the current realities I became ever more aware of in the course of my travels and discussions was that while the majority of the Palestinians are *literally* refugees, they are less willing to use the term to describe themselves because of the connotations of dependence which the term has acquired over the years. In the absence of, and certainly until, a just solution to the problem of the Palestine people is achieved, ANERA can play a vital role in helping train young men and women to lead productive lives.

U.S. SENATORS CALL FOR JUST SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Two Republican Senators have called for a just settlement for the Palestinian refugees during June in separate speeches on the Senate floor. Speaking on June 2nd Senator Henry Bellmon (Okla.) drew a parallel between the lack of debate over South East Asia a decade ago.

"I believe," he stated, "that it is fair to assume that the present mood of the Senate is such that if we could turn back the pages of time to 1964, or 1960, or even 1954, we would have chosen a vastly different course of action in South East Asia.

"In the light of this feeling," continued the Senator, "...I feel it is timely to call attention to certain aspects of the developing crisis in the Middle East, hoping that by doing so a more balanced debate on the situation there will result which could prevent the tardy second thoughts many now entertain about South East Asia."

The Senator then called on the U.S. to work for the implementation of the 1967 U.N. Security Council resolutions. In speaking of the need for compensation or repatriation of the refugees, Senator Bellmon said, "For over 20 years, the Palestinian Arab refugees have been confined to tents in squalid camps, waiting for justice, and it is in keeping with the United Nations resolutions on the matter that the refugees be offered the choice of repatriation or compensation. Since it is Israel that has realized the greatest advantage from the dispersal of the refugees, it is incumbent upon Israel and in fact it is their duty, to offer this choice of compensation or repatriation."

In a speech on June 16th, Senator Mark Hatfield (Oregon) warned the Senate, that "American national interest and concern in South East Asia and our preoccupation with the war there has resulted in the drastic lack of attention to (continued on page 4, col. 1)

U-THANT WARNS OF UNRWA FINANCIAL CRISIS

The following statement was made by United Nations Secretary-General U-Thant on May 1, 1970 – The 20th anniversary of the founding of UNRWA.

Twenty years ago today, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) assumed the main burden of providing for the essential needs of the Palestine refugees.

Unfortunately, the problem of the Palestine refugees remains unresolved. Indeed, with the passage of time the needs of the refugees have increased rather than decreased both because of the natural growth of population in the refugee community and the upheaval resulting from the renewal of hostilities in 1967.

The emphasis in UNRWA services has also changed, especially through the development of the UNRWA/UNESCO education system. This system now accounts for over 40 per cent of expenditure, more than any other service, including relief. UNRWA may well take satisfaction in the contribution it makes through education to preparing the future of Palestine refugee children and to the economic and social development of the Arab world. The financial burden resulting from these efforts, however, is heavy. The growing needs of education are the main factor in producing the serious financial crisis UNRWA now

UNRWA is financed entirely by voluntary contributions from Governments and private organizations. Income this year will fall short by between 4 and 5 million dollars of what is required to maintain the present programmes of services to refugees. Unless there is a generous and immediate response to the appeals for funds that have been made UNRWA will be obliged to curtail services during the next few months. This will entail further hardship for the refugees and will be a sad reflection on the international community. I most earnestly hope that Governments throughout the world will mark the occasion of UNRWA's Twentieth Anniversary by helping the Agency to surmount its financial crisis. I offer to the Commissioner-General and his staff my warmest congratulations on the manner in which they have carried out the mandate entrusted to them by the General Assembly during the past 20 years, in accordance with the highest traditions of the United Nations, May

they be enabled to continue their humanitarian work until a final settlement of the Palestine refugee problem is achieved in the context of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

IMPORTERS SOUGHT

ANERA has agreed to help the craftsmen of Beit Jala (located on the West Bank near Bethlehem) to find markets for their woodcarvings and carved wooden jewelry. All the carvings are in olive wood. The workmanship is very high quality and the price is competitive. If you are an importer of such items, or know of importers who would be interested, please contact John Richardson, Executive Director of ANERA, for samples of the work and details. Please note: ANERA is not marketing the carvings itself, and cannot accept orders.

BOOKS NEEDED

The Catholic Near East Welfare Association has a project called "Books, not Bullets." They will accept any books which are not obscene, out-of-date or in poor condition. They will be made available to everyone at the Pontifical Mission Libraries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Large quantities of books (one grocery carton or more) should be put into cardboard boxes, taped, and tied securely. Label the cartons: PONTIFICAL MISSION LIBRARY, P. O. BOX 19642, EAST JERUSALEM, ISRAEL. Then write to Mr. Al DiResta, McCullough Trucking Co., 1130 U.S. Highway #1, Elizabeth, New Jersey 07201 describing the number of boxes and their weight. He will arrange for shipment from your home at no cost to you.

Small shipments can be mailed in "jiffy" bags (available at stationery stores). The mailing cost is 19 cents for the first pound and 12 cents for each additional pound. Total weight may not exceed 11 pounds and the package may not be more than 30 inches in girth. Mail to the Pontifical Mission Library at the address above.

CLOTHING SHIPMENTS

Mr. George Oye, Director of the American Service Committee Material Aids Program, informs ANERA that most of the AFSC clothing shipments for this year will go to the Middle East and particularly to Gaza where the need is greatest. Last year 88 percent of the AFSC clothing shipments were directed to the Middle East. The AFSC will be

grateful for shipments of good warm clothing, especially for men and children. As before, the AFSC cannot accept earmarked shipments.

Shipments should be sent prepaid to: AFSC 23rd and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103.

AMARA

The American Arabic Association (AMARA) is a voluntary, nonsectarian organization of American citizens engaged in civic, cultural, and charitable activities geared to the objective of the improvement of relations between the United States and the Arabic-speaking countries of the Middle East. AMARA, a reorganization of the Syrian-Lebanese American Federation movement, was founded in 1960 by Frank Maria, Federation president (1949-51) and presiding officer of the first International Convention of Goodwill in the Middle East in 1950.

AMARA's most active Chapter has been the Boston, Massachusetts Chapter, most of whose founding members had been members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Syrian-Lebanese American Federation.

Over the years, the Boston Chapter of AMARA has sponsored a number of creative projects. They have raised funds for Palestinian refugee relief. Members have discussed the Middle East situation in lectures, on radio and television, and with study groups. They have contributed books to libraries through their program "Operation Bookshelf" in order to give the reading public a chance to read both sides of the Middle East problem. Additionally, the members of AMARA have written letters to the editor, sponsored arts and crafts exhibits, published a newsletter and established the Faris Malouf Memorial Scholarship at the American University of Beirut.

Currently, AMARA is selling an Arabic cookbook, the proceeds from which will go to the Arab Development Society in Jericho.

Boston AMARA's most ambitious project, "Project-Ryaiat-from-AMARA" (Loving Care) gets underway this month. This project, which originated with Professor Reja-e Busailah of Indiana University, a Palestinian refugee himself, and the Greater Kokomo Association of Churches, promotes a sponsorship program of Arab children in Jerusalem by individuals or organizations. The families of these children are in great need of economic assistance, many having lost their breadwinners in the June 1967 war, and the object of Project Ryaiat is to

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the conflict in the Middle East, a lack of attention which could easily lead to a major world conflict." The Senator asserted that it is in the national interest for the U.S. to play a more definitive role in the Middle East than heretofore.

Among the policies which Senator Hatfield recommended that the United States adopt were: a de-emphasis of the arms race and a new stress on technical and educational aid; greater U. S. support for UNRWA; encouragement of private organizations participating in development programs; admission by the U. S. and Israel of the injustice done to the Palestinians in 1948; and recognition of the Palestinians as a major party in the dispute who must be consulted.

In conclusion, the Senator stated, "...peace in the Middle East will not be secured by totally relying on a supposed military balance....True peace must go beyond the resolution of diplomatic intransigence and include the alleviation of human deprivation. Peace is more than the absence of conflict; it is the fulfillment of human needs."

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help these deprived children by providing financial aid and moral encouragement. A sponsorship donation of \$10 per month alleviates some of the economic burden and contributes to keeping the family together. The sponsor receives background information about the family and a picture of the child and, through correspondence, can be informed concerning the family's progress.

Boston AMARA's capable chairman for this person-to-person approach to humanitarian assistance is Miss Martha-Jane Ekstrand who spent 14 months in Jordan as part of an airline consultant team, and became acquainted personally with the Arab refugee problem. Miss Ekstrand has planned a creative project which will utilize several of AMARA's current programs (lectures, arts and crafts, "Operation Bookshelf." etc.) and will call upon the talents and experience of many of AMARA's members. AMARA will offer to Churches and other humanitarian organizations in the New England area an informative and challenging program which will include a

brief lecture on the "Challenge in the Holy Land," and exhibit of arts and crafts of the Arab world, a display of books and informative literature, and a presentation of the sponsorship program for children in Jerusalem.

A pamphlet discussing "Project-Ryaiat-from-AMARA" may be obtained by sending a self-addressed envelope to P.O. Box 18217, Boston, Massachusetts 02118.

AMARA's current officers include: Miss Kim Watson, President; Mr. Henry Shawah, Vice-president; Mrs. Michael Nackel, Secretary; and Mr. Armand Menconi, Treasurer; the standing committees are chaired as follows: Mrs. Armand Menconi, Education; Mr. & Mrs. George Mudarri, Hospitality; Dr. Elaine Hagopian, Membership; and Miss Ekstrand, Publicity.

ANERA SEATTLE

The Greater Seattle Chapter of ANERA reports a number of successful ventures in the past few months. On March 21st the group held a fund raising event called "An Evening in the Near East" at the University Unitarian Church in Seattle. The program included a dinner of Arabic food, entertainment, and a lecture by Dr. Mehmet Sherif of Seattle University. 225 people attended, and \$1,000 was raised for the Palestine Red Crescent Society of Amman, Jordan. ANERA-Seattle recently shipped 1,000 lbs. of medical supplies to the Society.

Finally, ANERA-Seattle has organized a correspondent's committee under the leadership of Miss Colleen Shanahan. The committee will concern itself with writing letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines which present only one side of the Middle East problem.

PLEASE ENROLL ME AS AN ANERA Supporting Member\$ 100.00 MEMBER IN THE FOLLOWING ANNUAL DUES CATEGORY: OR THE FOLLOWING LIFE MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY: Regular Member 10.00 Participating Member \$ 25.00 Patron \$ 5,000.00 Contributing Member \$ 50.00 Founding Member \$10,000.00 Amount of money enclosed \$ All contributions to ANERA are tax-deductible. City State Zip Make Checks payable to: American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. 900 Woodward Building, 733 15th St., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20005



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1970

The Palestine Refugee Problem

by John H. Davis

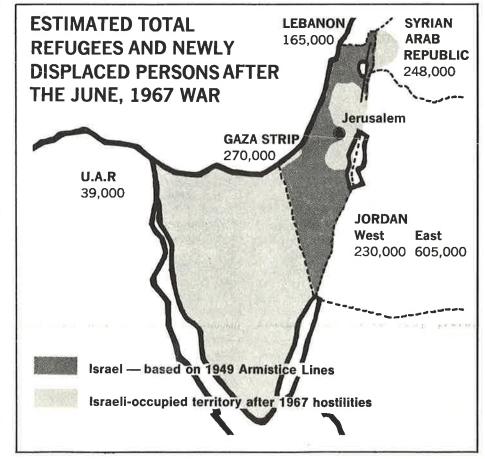
Editor's Note: ANERA Newsletter Supplement No. 2 begins a history of the Palestine Refugee Problem. The text is taken from the chapter by the same title in The Evasive Peace by Dr. John H. Davis. The book is published by John Murray Ltd. London, England. The history will be continued in the next ANERA Newsletter.

The Palestine Refugee Problem

A tragic by-product of the creation of the State of Israel has been the emergence of a Palestine refugee problem of sizeable proportion, for which no solution has been effected. In December 1949, the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East reported that an estimated 726,000 Palestinians, who had fled from their homes during the 1948 conflict, were now refugees because their return home was being blocked by Israel. Of these, 652,000 were in need.

The working definition of a refugee eligible for assistance used by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has, from the beginning, been a restricted one which excluded more than 200,000 needy persons from among the permanent residents of the Gaza Strip, the frontier villages of Jordan and certain Bedouin tribes: persons who had lost their means of livelihood, but not their actual homes. In general, the economic status of these people has been just as precarious as that of the refugees cared for by UNRWA.

By May 31, 1967, the number of refugees registered with UNRWA totalled 1,345,000, of whom 846,000 were full ration recipients. Of this total, 723,000 lived in Jordan, 317,000 in the Gaza



Strip, 161,000 in Lebanon and 144,000 in Syria. Fifty per cent of them were 17 years of age or younger, 70 per cent came from rural, and 30 per cent from urban backgrounds, and 93 per cent were of the Moslem faith, the remainder being mostly Christians. At that time an estimated 75 per cent of the male population were physically fit for strenuous work.

Palestine in 1948 had been among the most advanced areas of the Arab world,

particularly in terms of general economic growth, an emerging middle class, and literacy. As late as 1954, Don Peretz estimated that 350 of the approximately 400 Jewish settlements created after 1948 were on refugee property, and that two-thirds of the cultivated land acquired by Israel had been refugee-owned. Although the United Nations, with the almost unanimous support of its members, has annually reaffirmed that

the Palestine refugees should be repatriated or compensated for their losses, neither action has been taken, with the result that the number of refugees has grown through natural increase year by year.

The question of the cause of the Arab flight from Palestine at the time Israel was created has been much debated. often with more heat than light. The United Nations Palestine Commission informed the Security Council that, as early as January 1948, the British High Commissioner had reported a 'steady exodus' of Arab middle class families, who could afford to leave the country and who took with them their household possessions. By March 1948, according to Zionist sources, some 40,000 Arabs had left the Arab town of Jaffa and the mixed Arab-Jewish city of Haifa. In so doing, they were repeating a behaviour pattern pursued during the disordered years of the so-called 1936-1939 Arab rebellion when, it is calculated, a similar number temporarily left Palestine, the majority to return as soon as calm was restored. But in 1948, the more well-to-do were soon followed by the fellahin and villagers. The flight gathered strength, and after the massacres of Deir Yassin and Katamon, it became a stampede. By May 15, some 250,000 refugees had left Jewishoccupied territory.

Deir Yassin, an Arab village to the west of Jerusalem, was attacked on April 9, 1948 by the two Jewish terrorist groups, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang. According to the eye-witness account of the International Red Cross Representative, 254 men, women and children were slaughtered and many of their bodies stuffed into a well. Writing of the consequences of this act, the commander of the Irgun, Menachem Beigin, subsequently wrote that the Arabs throughout the country

'were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. Thus Kolonia village which had previously repulsed every attack of the Haganah, was evacuated overnight and fell without further fighting. Beit-Ikso was also evacuated. Those two villages overlooked the main road and their fall, together with the capture of Kastel by the Haganah, made it possible to keep open the route to Jerusalem.

In the rest of the country, too, the Arabs began to flee in terror even before they clashed with Jewish forces.'

Once the second phase of the war commenced on May 15, 1948, after Israel became a State, the Arab exodus gained momentum. Whenever the Israelis advanced into Arab areas, the population fled before them towards the Arab lines or frontiers. By the time the second truce began on July 12, only 170,000 Arabs remained in Israel.

The causes of the panic flight of nearly three-quarters of a million men, women and children from their homes have been obscured by veils of propaganda. It is only recently that careful sifting of the evidence has helped to clarify the picture. For long, a widely publicised view was that the refugees left voluntarily or because the Arab authorities themselves ordered them to leave, to clear the way of the advancing armies of the Arab States. As General Glubb has pointed out, voluntary emigrants do not leave their homes with only the clothes they stand up in, or in such hurry and confusion that husbands lose sight of wives and parents of their children. Nor does there appear to be one shred of evidence to substantiate the claim that the fleeing refugees were obeying Arab orders. An exhaustive examination of the minutes, resolutions and press releases of the Arab League, of the files of leading Arabic newspapers, of dayby-day monitorings of broadcasts from Arab capitals and secret Arab radio stations, failed to reveal a single reference, direct or indirect, to an order given to the Arabs of Palestine to leave. All the evidence is to the contrary; that the Arab authorities continuously exhorted the Palestinian Arabs not to leave the country. Thus, on March 7 and April 4, 1948, Damascus radio broadcast an Arab Higher Committee communique urging all government employees and police to remain at their posts. On May 4, in a message relayed by the Sharq el Adna radio station, King Abdullah of Transjordan appealed to all Arabs who had left Palestine to return there, while Beirut radio reported a general call-up of all Palestinian males between the ages of 18 and 58 for military service. On May 15, the Arab radio stations reiterated these appeals and called also on religious functionaries to carry on their duties. At this point, even the Haganah radio

repeated Arab announcements that visas were to be denied departing Arabs and levies made on refugees moving from district to district. What now seems clear, however, is that the Arab Governments, by inept and exaggerated publicising of Jewish atrocities in press and radio in an effort to justify to the world the impending arrival of their troops in Palestine to 'restore order', in fact unwittingly added to the panic and confusion in a population that had for years witnessed the spectacle of Jewish terrorists holding the armed might of the Mandatory Power to ransom and therefore had cause to fear the ruthless efficiency of their tactics.

Panic and bewilderment thus played decisive parts in the flight. But the extent to which the refugees were savagely driven out by the Israelis as part of a deliberate master-plan has been insufficiently recognized.

With hindsight, it seems improbable that it should have been otherwise. The partition boundaries approved by the United Nations in November 1947 had left the Jewish State with a total of 495,000 Arabs, including 90,000 Bedouin, as compared with 498,000 Jews. Through subsequent armed conquest and as a result of the Armistice conditions, Israel received a further 3,496 square kilometres, which contained an Arab and a Jewish population of 397,000 and 157,000 persons respectively - bringing the Arab numbers in the larger area to 892,000, in contrast to a total of 655,000 Jews. Had the Arabs remained in their homes, they would thus have outnumbered the Jews by a ratio of roughly four to three. Significantly, this would have placed the Arabs in a decisive majority position in a newly established Jewish State. For tactical reasons, the Zionists had accepted at the United Nations the huge Arab minority envisaged by the partition plan, just as they had accepted the equally distasteful internationalization of Jerusalem. But, in fact, the little State had overwhelming reasons, over and above ordinary considerations of Arab enmity, for wishing to get rid of its Arab minority. As we have seen, the whole Zionist concept, from the days of Herzl onwards, rested on the basis of a State existing in Palestine for the benefit of a Jewish population. How could the new State of Israel fulfil this role unless the Jewish population constituted a strong majority?

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