



NEWSLETTER

Number 9

AMERICAN NEAR EAST REFUGEE AID, INC. Oct. - Nov. 1970

THE CRISIS IN JORDAN

There was a new element in the recent tragic fighting in Jordan. This time the desperate Palestinians found themselves confronting fellow Arabs instead of Israelis. Initial reports from the area told of extremely serious casualty and physical damage levels. After order had been restored, observers (including Dr. Davis of ANERA) reported that while there had been significant loss of life and damage to property, particularly in the refugee camps, the casualties were, fortunately, less than originally predicted.

The response to appeals for aid to the stricken was inspiring. Many groups and organizations immediately set about collecting money and medical supplies for shipment to Jordan. Qualified Arabic-speaking doctors and nurses volunteered to leave for Jordan on short notice. Major voluntary organizations active in the Middle East awaited instructions and requests from their representatives in the Middle East. In this issue of the ANERA Newsletter we are highlighting the response of various organizations to the crisis; however, this listing is incomplete and does not tell the full story. It gives an indication of the significant outpouring of concern for people in need.

WORTHY OF NOTE

Two proposals noted elsewhere in this newsletter deserve further consideration from world leaders: UNRWA Commissioner General Michelmore's request that refugees now in East Jordan be permitted to return to empty camps in Occupied West Jordan, and Senator Kennedy's support for a proposed international relief organization which would become operative in time of need anywhere in the world.

UNRWA

Commissioner-General Michelmore of UNRWA cabled the following status report to the United Nations on October first. UNRWA was coordinating the relief activities of voluntary agencies in Beirut. Since the main UNRWA warehouse in Amman is intact, there are enough food supplies on hand to meet current needs, but they will have to be replenished for the winter. Damaged and missing trucks and autos will have to be repaired or replaced. The Jebel Hussein and New Amman refugee camps were badly damaged by shelling. The outskirts of these camps were demolished and 50% of the buildings destroyed or rendered unusable. All services were cut off for 10 days, and water is still off. Now services and communications are being restored in this area. UNRWA needs \$1,000,000 for repair of facilities, cars, and purchase of supplies. \$2,000,000 is needed for purchase of urgently-needed items such as tents in the Amman area alone. A complete assessment of the damage and an estimate of what is needed has yet to be made. No reports are available at this time from Irbid and Northern Jordan. In conclusion,

"The Commissioner-General believes it pertinent to call attention to the fact that in the Jericho area there are thousands of empty shelters, together with schools, health centers, food distribution centres, and other installations, which are unused. If Palestine refugees who moved to the East Bank in 1967 could return to their homes, as called for by the General Assembly and Security Council in numerous resolutions, the situation on the East Bank would be greatly eased and the humanitarian distress dramatically reduced."

ESSO MIDDLE EAST EMPLOYEES CONTRIBUTE TO ANERA



Mr. Charles M. Boyer of Esso, Middle East presenting checks from Esso staff members to Dr. John H. Davis at the Esso office in New York.

Mr. Charles M. Boyer, Manager of Esso, Middle East, recently presented Dr. John H. Davis, President of ANERA, with checks totalling \$692, donated by individual employees of Esso Middle East in support of ANERA's vocational training program. These contributions were made by staff members in Esso Middle East's New York and London offices. The funds will more than cover the cost of a one-year \$550 UNRWA vocational training scholarship which will make it possible for a young Palestinian to receive the training which will permit him to become self-supporting. This contribution is particularly timely in light of UNRWA's critical financial status which has forced cut-backs in the vocational training program. ANERA wishes to thank the employees of Esso Middle East for their generous expression of concern for the Palestine refugees.

AMER DIVISION

The AMER Division of ANERA was active in soliciting donations of drugs and arranging for drugs to be airlifted from Kennedy Airport in New York. The AMER Medical Committee, under the leadership of Dr. Gerald Dorman, secured sizeable donations of needed drugs from pharmaceutical companies including Eli Lilly, Wyeth, Ciba, Upjohn, Pfizer, and Park Davis. Among the drugs received were Linococin, keflin, coramine, and penicillin. All of these items had been specifically requested by UNRWA's medical director in Beirut. Miss Mary Anne Kolidas, Executive Secretary of the AMER Division, made arrangements through Middle East Airlines to have these drugs, and others collected by organizations outside of New York, airlifted. Free air transportation to Europe was provided by several airlines, including Alitalia, Air France, and KLM. The drugs were flown from Europe to Beirut courtesy of Middle East Airlines.

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

Mr. Joseph O. Thompson, director of the Lutheran World Federation/World Service program in Jordan - East Bank, cut short a furlough in the United States and returned to Beirut to channel relief supplies into Amman. Lutheran Churches in Scandinavia and Germany sent plane loads of tents, blankets, clothing, food, and towels. A shipment of 15,000 blankets was flown out of New York and will be distributed through UNRWA. Two Lutheran World Federation clinics in Amman were operational soon after the heaviest fighting ended. LWF's main warehouse in Amman, which held some 500 tons of clothing, food and blankets, had been completely emptied during the disorders, but a large store of medical goods was undisturbed. The Lutherans are now playing a leading role in the massive effort to rebuild refugee housing.

ARAB RELIEF COMMITTEE

The Arab Relief Committee of Atlanta, Georgia (*headed by Abdallah Najjar*) made individual donations totaling \$250 to the United Holy Land Fund and Palestinian Red Crescent Society. Medical field kits for use in combating epidemics were sent to the Ministry of Health in Amman through government auspices. These kits were valued at \$400.

ANERA'S RESPONSE

ANERA's response to the upheaval in Jordan centered on a commitment of \$50,000 for relief purposes and the dispatch of Dr. Davis and Dr. and Mrs. Hadi Salem to the Middle East to make an on-the-spot survey of relief needs (see recent *ANERA Newslite* report). A large direct-mail campaign and special corporate appeal for funds were also undertaken. To date the corporate campaign has produced \$10,000 and the direct-mail campaign \$14,000. Half of the appropriated \$50,000 was distributed as follows:

- \$10,000 - Palestine Red Crescent Society
- \$ 7,500 - Palestine Hospital
- \$ 5,000 - Friends of Jerusalem Society
- \$ 2,500 - UNRWA Vocational Training

We are now in the process of investigating the most effective channels for distributing additional funds.

During the crisis ANERA was receiving information from, and coordinating its efforts with, the State Department, interested people on Capitol Hill, UNRWA, and other voluntary organizations involved in the relief effort.

UNITED HOLY LAND FUND PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY

The Palestinian Red Crescent Association launched a fund-raising appeal and solicited donations of drugs through the medical committee of the United Holy Land Fund. These efforts were directed by Dr. Munir J. Katul, President of the Palestinian Red Crescent Association in Klamath Falls, Oregon, and Dr. Elie R. Khoury, Chairman of the United Holy Land Fund's Medical Committee in Detroit, Michigan. In response to this appeal the World Medical Relief Association in Detroit made a generous contribution of 117,000 pounds of antibiotics, dressings, field splints, intravenous solutions, and other drugs worth a total of \$5,000,000. This large shipment was flown out of New York courtesy of KLM Airlines.

Some 50,000 pounds of additional goods are now available for shipment, including a completely-equipped 100-bed hospital.

The Medical Committee of the United Holy Land Fund organized a team of nine

doctors who went to Amman and worked in field hospitals there from September 29 to October 11th.

CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE

On October 1st, a KLM plane containing \$200,000 worth of food, medicine, and bedding left New York for Beirut under the auspices of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. This cargo included tinned meats, blankets, a portable X-ray machine, water purification tablets, intravenous solution, tetanus vaccine, antibiotics, and other medicines. Msgr. John Nolan and Msgr. Edward G. Foster were in the Middle East to oversee trans-shipment of the goods from Beirut to Amman and their distribution. In addition to this plane load of supplies, Catholic Relief Services shipped 500 tons of U. S. Government-donated food worth \$35,000. This included high-protein soya oil and flour.

After completing distribution of relief goods, Msgr. Nolan went to Rome for an audience with Pope Paul VI, during which he reported on the situation in Jordan. He noted that the fighting had only left thousands of refugees homeless and had not settled anything. "All the while you've got to keep in mind the danger that violence will burst out again." Msgr. Nolan said that the only way of preventing this is to "remove the root cause - the plight of the Palestinians, a nation of one and a half million refugees who have been deprived of their homeland since 1948." Msgr. Nolan concluded that, "It's up to the nations of the world to insist, if the cause of the fighting is to be removed, that somehow justice be given these Palestinians."

AMERICAN AID FOR ARAB REFUGEES, INC.

In Brooklyn, New York, the American Aid for Arab Refugees, Inc., under the leadership of Mr. Robert W. Thabit, granted \$2,000 to the Palestine Red Crescent Society and four \$500 scholarships to students at various universities in the Middle East. This group also worked closely with ANERA's AMER Division in soliciting drugs and medical supplies.

U. S. OMEN – LOS ANGELES

Mr. Elie N. Khoury of Los Angeles reported on U. S. OMEN's activities in response to the crisis in Jordan. This organization shipped \$6,000 worth of antibiotics and penicillin and \$1,000 worth of vitamins to the Palestine Red Crescent Society. U. S. OMEN also made a \$3,000 contribution to the Friends of Jerusalem Society for relief work.

CARE

Mr. Louis Samira of CARE's New York office reported that CARE had purchased \$10,000 worth of food which was transported to Amman and distributed by the International Red Cross. From the Middle East CARE sent 150 tons of flour and a large quantity of tomato paste through the facilities of the ICRC. Fifty thousand blankets and 150,000 high-protein "space sticks" were pledged, if needed, by CARE in Washington.

U. S. OMEN – SAN FRANCISCO

Dr. A. A. Kirkish, D.D.S., President of U. S. OMEN – San Francisco, issued an annual report covering the period from June 1969, to June 1970, which outlined the many activities of this productive organization. During this past year contributions totalling \$559,394.98 were made to organizations aiding the refugees. Their donations included cash grants to Rawdat el Zuhur and the Four Homes of Mercy. Large shipments of medicine went to the Catholic Relief Society and the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Dental supplies, blankets, and Metrecal were also shipped to the Middle East. A clothing drive organized by Mr. and Mrs. Nash Khayat gathered 7,000 pounds of clothing for use by the refugees. Speakers at general meetings during the year included Dr. M. T. Mehdi, Dr. Elmer Berger, David Nes and Colin Edwards.



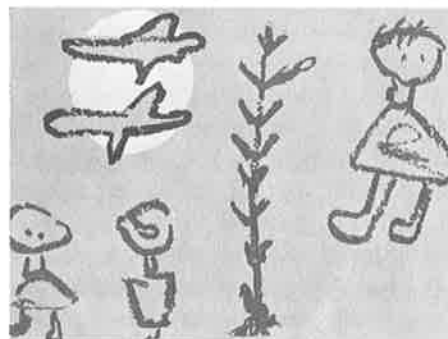
A young Palestinian artist. And his work

U. S. OMEN ANNUAL CONVENTION

U. S. OMEN will hold its annual convention November 13, 14 and 15 in Sacramento. The Sacramento Chapter of U. S. OMEN, headed by Mrs. Mary Bisharat, will host the three-day gathering. Highlights of the program are a cocktail party, business meetings, a banquet, and a poetry reading by Kamal Boullata, of Washington, D. C.

PALESTINIAN CHILDREN'S ART EXHIBIT

ANERA has available a traveling exhibit of drawings by Palestinian children. The exhibit was shown for the first time at the Third Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates in Evanston, Illinois, October 30, 31, and November 1. The project which led to the show began in 1968 when Mona Saudi, a Jordanian artist and writer, left her studies in Paris to return and help her people. She went into the emergency refugee camp at Baqaa armed with crayons and paper. There she discovered that the children had vivid impressions of what had happened during the June, 1967 war. These feelings were pent up inside the children and came out when they began to draw. The art work which resulted tells the story of the horrors of war and flight, as well as of more normal childish impressions. Miss Saudi and another Palestinian artist, Vladimir Tamari, organized these pictures into an exhibit which has been shown in Europe and Japan. Mr. Tamari recently sent a selection of the drawings to ANERA; and Kamal Boullata, a Palestinian artist living in Washington, undertook the organization of the exhibit. Anyone interested in displaying these remarkable drawings should contact John Richardson, ANERA Executive Director.



FRIENDS OF JERUSALEM

The ANERA office just received a report from Mrs. Nancy Abu Haydar of the Friends of Jerusalem Society in Beirut, one of the organizations which channelled assistance into Jordan. Mrs. Haydar wrote: "From our end here we felt that there was a great outpouring of spontaneous concern and desire to help, from all sides. The cables and calls we had from the U. S. and England were just an inkling of the type of inquiries coming in constantly to bigger and better known organizations. Since it was the one cheering element in that gloomy period, individuals and groups should know how appreciated their offers were. And they deserve recognition for their thoughts and action."

The Friends of Jerusalem Society provided one-and-a-half tons of powdered milk for the Palestine Red Crescent Society to distribute in the Irbid and Ramtha areas of Northern Jordan. The Layette Committee of the Society answered a request from UNRWA to supply 550 complete layettes for newborn babies. A Landrover equipped with an electric generator was donated for use with mobile clinics of the Red Crescent Society in Northern Jordan. \$2,630 was provided in cash to the Amman Friends of Jerusalem branch for use in hardship cases. A large quantity of blankets and waterproof sleeping bags have been ordered from England and will be distributed to the homeless.

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Mennonite Central Committee, along with the Baptist Mission and Near East Foundation, airlifted 11 tons of food and medicines to Amman. According to Mr. Vern Preheim, Director for Africa and the Middle East of the MCC, this shipment included sugar, tea, milk, tomato paste, canned beef, rice, and medicines. These supplies were used in the Irbid area. \$10,000 was made available for relief work, and other funds were used to purchase family kits and tents for distribution by UNRWA. From the M.C.C. warehouses in the Middle East the refugees received 75 tons of clothing, blankets and quilts. An additional 10,000 blankets, 20 tons of clothing, and 10 tons of soap were sent before the end of October. These goods will be distributed in cooperation with UNRWA.

NOTE: *The following three thoughtful comments on recent events in Jordan are reprinted for your interest.*

HATFIELD'S STATEMENT

On September 22, Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oregon) made the following remarks regarding events in Jordan:

"There has been a great deal of publicity given to potential unilateral military intervention of the United States into Jordan to either try to safely evacuate American citizens there or to support the government of King Hussein. The only type of intervention, I believe, in which our country should engage should be with food and medical supplies. . . . We have permitted over the past 22 years a vacuum to be created in the Middle East and are now suffering the consequences of neglecting the third force which we helped to create: the Palestinian refugees. . . . This is the time for more aggressive diplomatic action in the Middle East. The United States. . . has an opportunity to play a reconciling role in a situation which has been sadly neglected in the past."

ANERA — SEATTLE

Mrs. Mehmet Sherif, acting Chairman of ANERA-Seattle, reports that as a result of a direct mail campaign, two checks were sent to the Palestine Red Crescent Society and they have run a drive for medical supplies and warm clothing. Now they are awaiting word regarding transport of these items to Amman.

"REVISED U. S. MIDEAST PLAN URGED"

by John K. Cooley

(This is a condensation of an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of October 8, 1970)

Beirut, Lebanon — The United States must revise its Middle East peace proposals to provide for a "Palestinian Arab entity," says a leading American expert on the Middle East..

"The passing of Egyptian President Nasser and the indecisive outcome of the Jordan civil war," said John H. Davis in an interview here, "make it all the more imperative to include the Palestinians in any American plan for peace. Otherwise, it has very little chance for success."

King Hussein, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, and other Mideast leaders have suggested that a new Palestinian Arab State might be founded in present-day East Jordan and Israeli-occupied West Jordan.

The guerrilla movement rejects this. The guerrillas insist on creating a completely new Palestinian state with "one man, one vote" equality for Moslems, Jews, and Christians to replace Israel.

But some West Bank Palestinians have indicated they would settle for withdrawal of the Israelis to Israel's pre-1967 boundaries and a state of their own.

"It will be very difficult to get either Hussein or the new Egyptian leaders to back the Rogers plan as it is," Mr. Davis asserted, "But if the United States could declare in favor of a Palestinian entity, it

could make things much easier for moderate Arabs everywhere and take a long first step toward a more workable peace plan."

KENNEDY STATEMENT

The following is an excerpt from a statement made on Sept. 23, 1970, by Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

"I do not rise today to blame or condemn, or to offer any magic solution for meeting the problem of emergency needs in Jordan. But, as Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I do rise to express a deep personal concern over the plight of the people in Jordan. . . . Inevitably, the situation of civilians in Jordan is taking second place to the progress of battle—and to the interests of those who have much to lose, or to gain, by the outcome of the battle. But the people of Amman, the people of Irbid, and of the villages and towns scattered throughout the desert, also have interests. For many, apparently, it is merely survival."

The Senator went on to say that "the chaos in Jordan, the difficulties in landing aircraft at the airport in Amman, the problems in moving supplies into the city, and into the field," have all contributed to the delay in getting relief to the devastated area. This situation points up, "the need for new international humanitarian machinery. Hopefully, it will give new impetus for early consideration by the United Nations of pending proposals to establish a United Nations Emergency Relief Service."



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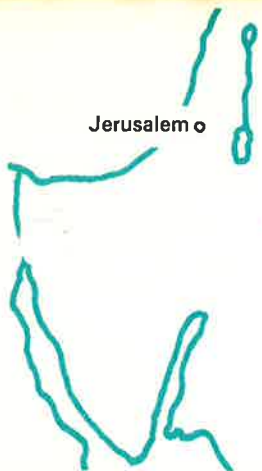
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NEWSLETTER

Supplement No. 2 - Part 3 AMERICAN NEAR EAST REFUGEE AID, INC.

1970

The Palestine Refugee Problem

by John H. Davis

Editor's Note: This is the third of four installments of "The Palestine Refugee Problem," (chapter 5 in The Evasive Peace by Dr. John H. Davis.)

But the problem of the initial refugees was only the beginning. Since 1948, an average of about 30,000 children from dependent refugee families have grown to maturity each year. This means that, during an interval of almost two decades, a total of over 500,000 young refugees have reached maturity. To understand their plight, one has merely to consider that in the Middle East, as in all developing areas of the world, well over 95 per cent of all youths learn work habits and skills by working beside their fathers. Because, in general, rural refugee fathers have been unemployed, their sons have had but limited opportunity, if any at all, to learn even the self-discipline of work or the skills of their fathers. Therefore, in competition with other young people, particularly the indigenous rural boys, who are migrating from farms to urban centres in vast numbers, the maturing refugee boy has been and is at a serious disadvantage. This is not, however, because he is being held as a hostage, or because he does not want to work, but because to a serious degree he, too, is unemployable in the existing labour market. The greater tragedy is that these young people, as well as their fathers, are not just unemployable in the countries where they reside, but in the world at large, and it is for this reason, like others, that they continue to be forced to live the life of dependent refugees.

Most particularly those refugee youths who have reached maturity during the

past decade will never be strong competitors for jobs as farmers because they did not grow up working on the land and did not otherwise receive agricultural training. (Since land was not available for them, little purpose would have been served by giving them such training.) Furthermore, the indigenous rural population in all Arab countries, and throughout the world, is producing far more strong candidates for agricultural work — candidates who have had farming experience — than available farm land can possibly accommodate. Even today, one frequently hears the argument that all able-bodied Palestine refugees might readily be employed on the soil in Syria and Iraq, if land development were accelerated in those countries. This is, of course, not true, and will not be true in the future; nor would it be true if one were able to set aside all political considerations, including the fact that the Arab Governments, starting from the premise that the refugees have a right to return to their homeland, do not give them priority over their own citizens for land and jobs. The point is that the indigenous sons of the rural sector of these countries are, and will continue to be, stronger candidates for employment in agriculture than the young refugees, who have not had the advantage of growing up working the land with their fathers.

Yet, even against this background, it can be stated categorically that the Palestine refugee problem has always been, and remains today, capable of gradual solution. The essential ingredients are the presence of jobs, mostly urban, and the provision of appropriate training

for the young people. These factors, together, hold the key to making the Palestine refugees both employable and employed.

It is in the field of education that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has made its most significant contribution towards solving the refugee problem. Set up by the United Nations General Assembly in 1949, UNRWA has, through the years, provided food, shelter, health and welfare services for a refugee community which now numbers well over a million persons. It has also provided education for a school population of more than a quarter of a million young people, including general education, vocational and teacher training, and university education. Virtually all of the more than 6,000 young men and women who have passed through its training centres have found employment. In addition, some 1,500 of the 5,000 refugee teachers employed in UNRWA schools are now annually being given in-service training for the purpose of improving teaching standards, up-grading student performance, and enabling UNRWA teachers to become accredited in the respective host countries — all of which contributes further towards making the refugees employable. Parenthetically one might add that these services provided by UNRWA have added materially to the stability of the region — a factor often overlooked in assessing the work of the Agency.

In carrying out its task, UNRWA has enjoyed good cooperation with other United Nations agencies, such as the World Health Organization and the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and has been assisted by the valiant efforts of the numerous voluntary agencies that work in the region, some of which carried, with United Nations financial assistance, the full burden of refugee relief during the months immediately following the 1948 conflict, before UNRWA came into being.

The refugee host countries of Jordan, the United Arab Republic, Syria and Lebanon have themselves been generous and hospitable to the refugees. In terms of direct assistance, they have spent more than \$100,000,000, mostly for education, health services, camp sites, housing and road improvement, and the maintenance of security in the refugee camps. In addition, the people of these countries have borne with courage the economic, social and other sacrifices and hardships resulting from the presence of large numbers of refugees within their borders. Contrary to much Western thinking, the Arab host Governments have also helped qualified young refugees to obtain employment, both within the host countries and elsewhere. The result is that today tens of thousands of young Palestinians — mostly men, but an ever-growing number of women — are employed outside the host countries, thousands even in Western countries, particularly in Europe. In 1963, Sweden accepted, at her expense, fifty selected graduates from UNRWA vocational training schools for a year's factory experience and advanced training in Sweden. This experiment proved so successful that in each subsequent year Sweden has taken a similar new group of UNRWA graduates for training. In addition, Sweden has financed, through UNRWA, the building and equipping of an advanced technical training institute in Lebanon, where selected individuals from amongst the young men who have had a year's experience abroad can have a further year's training to qualify them as vocational training instructors or industrial foremen. This work is now well established and has had the support of Arab Governments. Recently other countries, notably Federal Germany, Switzerland and France, have begun taking UNRWA graduates for employment or for advanced factory experience and training; all of which has taken place

without opposition from the Arab Governments. In general, the young men who go abroad to work, help to support their families at home.

For more than a decade UNRWA has also awarded from 600 to 800 university scholarships per year to outstanding refugee candidates — mostly for undergraduate studies in Arab countries. This means that each year some 200 young refugees sponsored by UNRWA graduate from universities. In addition, a significant number of refugees have found it possible to get advanced education under the sponsorship of Arab Governments or international voluntary organizations, or through grants from business firms, individuals or other members of their own family already gainfully employed.

In general, the Arab people and Governments have looked favourably on education for the refugees, as evidenced by their co-operation with UNRWA and their own investment of tens of millions of dollars for refugee education. Education for refugees is regarded by most Arabs as essential, regardless of the way in which Arab-Israeli conflict is ultimately resolved; they recognize that young people must be made employable, wherever they may live, even in the case of those who might at some future date be repatriated.

This belief in education is further evidenced by the fact that when UNRWA decided to support advanced secondary education, it was able to negotiate with the host Governments to provide the facilities and schooling, with UNRWA merely compensating them on a per student basis for the services rendered. When UNRWA, because of budgetary limitations, rigidly limited the number of secondary students it could support, the Governments proceeded to admit additional refugee students at their own expense. This happened to such an extent that in certain countries the total enrolment of secondary refugee students has become more than twice the number supported by UNRWA.¹

Considering that the number of young refugees who have reached maturity since 1948 is now in excess of half a million, whereas the number of persons who have received assistance towards vocational, teacher or university training is about 10,000, it is not difficult to see why the

number of refugees receiving assistance from UNRWA has grown steadily, year by year. Had the world community or, for that matter, the major powers, from 1950 onward launched a vital programme in support of education and general economic development, with appropriate emphasis on specialized training in the host countries, the refugee problem would by now be well on its way to solution. Had this been done, it is probable that UNRWA would not have found it necessary to enter the educational field as extensively as it has done, if at all. The strongest evidence in support of this conclusion is the Agency's success in securing the agreement of the host Governments to provide upper secondary education for the refugees, with UNRWA merely subsidizing part of the cost. With such an approach, had it worked, the education programme for refugees could have become merged with that of the host countries. This, combined with appropriate international assistance for development, would have done much to raise the level of economic progress throughout the Middle East, giving employment to both refugees and others. Despite UNRWA's failure, on several occasions, to settle refugees on land or through special works projects, there is solid reason to believe that emphasis on a broad education effort, coupled with a general development programme, would have succeeded.

In general, opposition to UNRWA's land settlement projects, which have been by far its largest undertaking arose because these projects involved the award of land to refugee settlers, in preference to the thousands of indigenous farmers' sons who were eager for land; a type of opposition one would expect to find in any developing area where arable land was scarce. Thus, the widespread Western belief that the Arab host Governments have opposed the settlement of the refugees as part of a policy of holding them as hostages in their struggle against Israel is mostly a myth. So, too, is the assumption that a solution to the refugee problem would have brought to an end Arab hostility toward Israel. As will be explained subsequently, the refugee problem is but a side aspect of a more complex and basic cause of conflict.

(Continued next issue)

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