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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM

BY

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Dedicated to Dr. Edwin Moll whose deep concern for the Arab refugees has brought comfort to many. His deep Christian love has brought many to a closer fellowship with Christ.

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Gift of the Author

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In the depths of my distress I cried:
Where is the merciful God?
Our children are orphaned and desolate,
Our homes are inhabited by the enemy,
The soil of the earth has been watered by
the blood of our youth.
Daily is the voice of the hungry and homeless
raised to Thee.
O Lord, why hast Thou so utterly forsaken us?
Is there no mercy with Thee?
Hast Thou love for the children of Israel
More than Thy love for Ishmael?
Thou hast abundantly blessed them,
But Thou hast cursed us.
O God, we cry to Thee for mercy.

Be comforted, my child,
I have heard thy cry and the voice of thy desolation.
I will heal thy wounds,
I will bless thee with a spiritual blessing,
I will give thee my peace and joy.
What more dost thou ask of me?
Let thy people seek my face and be comforted.
I will bless them with my everlasting love;
They shall abide with me, and I will be their salvation.
Dost thou, my child, love houses more than me?
Hast thou great love for kin and none for me?
Walk in my path and I will be thy light and strength.
I love thee, my child; fear not, neither be dismayed.

Jeannette Elissa

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem Stated

Palestine has come to be known as the Holy Land because it is honored by three main religions of the world: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Its unique religious and geographical importance has made it a battle field that has witnessed the rise and fall of many nations, and has reduced it to the dominion of successive rulers.

The most recent and timely of the wars waged in the Holy Land is the Zionist-Arab struggle for the possession of the land. Politics have played a dominant role in the shaping of events in the little strip of land, but have proved inadequate to solve the problems and events set in motion through their action. Though the conflict was essentially between two nations, yet the majority of the nations of the world have found themselves involved in the mesh of controversy that has been created.

The concern of this thesis is with the problem brought into being by the success of the Zionist movement in establishing a National Home for the Jewish people in the land of their forefathers. It may briefly be described in the words of S.D. Myers who wrote, "The Jewish National Home is quite novel and finds no counterpart in international law...(it) is being created in a territory largely occupied by another race."¹

The Zionist success in establishing Jewish refugees in a home

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1. T. Canaan, "The Palestine Refugee Cause," p. 6, quoted from The Annals, 1932, p. 11.

has resulted in a set of perplexing questions that are crying for immediate solution. Now, it is an acknowledged fact that "one of the thorniest political, social and moral problems confronting the world is that of the Arab refugees."¹ Although books, pamphlets, and other forms of propaganda have flooded the world's markets, little is actually known by the average citizen of the world of the facts involved in the situation.

"Two Semitic nations, handcuffed by an uneasy armistice," is Maynard William's description of the relationship between these two warring people. Why this state of uneasiness? What are the causes of the present political unrest? Who is to blame? Why cannot the Jews and the Arabs live together in peace? These are samples of the kind of questions often asked by the many who are puzzled by the present state of events.

B. Scope of the Survey

The situation has given rise to a multitude of areas of social-economic instability that are worthy of study and investigation. However, this thesis is interested in the ministry of the Churches and Christian Agencies among the Arab refugees. The program of the Churches' physical and spiritual services will be surveyed and evaluated for effectiveness in the light of the need in existence. The weaknesses will be pointed out as well as the strong points.

No attempt will be made to approach the problem from the religious significance often attached to it by Christians, nor will it

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1. "The Problem of the Arab Refugees," Information Service, June 21, 1952, p.1.

be discussed in its relationship to the doctrine of the remnant. The main reason for this, is the lack of conclusive evidence of proof. However, the prejudices of many Christian groups in this connection will be briefly evaluated in terms of their effect on the total program of the Church.

Furthermore, a brief history of the recent events will be presented for a better understanding of contemporaneous attitudes and political tensions. Also it will be necessary to investigate the United Nations work for a background of Church work.

C. Method of Procedure

Two procedures present themselves in this type of research. One would be a firsthand survey of the refugees in the camps and the towns, a study of the services rendered, personal interviews with workers on the field and directors of Boards and Agencies. A second approach would be through the reading of books, pamphlets, data, reports, and letters written by those who have had a personal encounter with the hunger, the sickness, and the hopelessness of the people. Because of the distance and the expense involved in the first type of study, the second will be employed.

In selecting those materials to be used, the aim will be to choose those that furnish a fair cross section of both sides of the political argument.

D. Source of Data

The main source of data will be books, pamphlets, lectures, letters, reports, and articles. Part of the information was gained from

personal acquaintance with the situation. The pamphlets and reports will be procured from Mission Boards who have their representatives and missionaries in direct contact with the refugees.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PROBLEM

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A. Introduction

In order to do justice to a study of the struggle between two nations, who represent two cultures, varying interests, differing religions, and opposing political objectives, it will be important to review the historic events that have resulted in the existing situation. This chapter proposes to present the relationship of the Arabs with the country, so as to give a background for the attitude held by them and for their insistence on their rights to return to the homes from which they have been exiled.

For the purpose of understanding the statement of Sakran who refers to Palestine as the "Much Promised Land,"¹ it will be necessary to explore the following periods of the history of the land: events before and during World War I, events from 1918 to 1939, and the events during World War II and to this time.

B. Broken Promises

1. How the Arab Came into the Land

After the death of the prophet of Islam, his followers were seized with great zeal to spread the new religion. They came charging out of Arabia to conquer a big portion of the civilized world. Under their military leader, Khalid Ibn El Walid, they marched from victory

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1. F.C. Sakran, Palestine Dilemma, p. 75.

to victory, subduing the unprepared and astonished world. After the decisive battle of the Yarmuk in 636 A.D., the Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Egypt. They ruled all the northern part of the continent of Africa and then entered Spain.¹

Following many years of Arab domination, the Seljuk Sultan Azziz, overran Palestine in 1071 A.D. Such terror and cruelty aroused the interest of Europe, who, armed and bearing the cross before them, set out to free the holy places from the hands of the Moslem Seljuks. Thus began the Crusades with the complete sanction of the Pope.²

Though the Crusaders had been briefly victorious, the Moslems soon recaptured the country and Saladin soon put a stop to the Christian effort to retain the Holy Land. The ensuing peace did not last long. In 1240 the country was the scene of new bloodshed as the Tartars swept across it. They destroyed and burned all that lay in their way. There followed a period of Egyptian rule under the Memlukes, previous Egyptian slaves. After three hundred years of Egyptian sovereignty, the Turks snatched the land away from them and ruled it until 1917, with one short interruption.³

The rule of Turkey may be characterized as "one of neglect, incompetence, and corruption. The Arab population had real grievances, and the arrogance of the Turks increased their unhappy position."⁴ New national movements began to sweep the land. Turkish disfavor and persecution caused these movements to become secret societies, working for

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1. Cf. Mrs. Steuart Erskine, Palestine of the Arabs, p. 17.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

freedom and emancipation.¹

2. British -Arab Agreements -- The Hussain-McMahon Correspondence

Into this scene which was seething with discontent, stepped England with terms for a secret alliance with the Arabs in October, 1914. Their terms in general were, "'the emancipation of the Arabs' and 'an Arab nation' in return for Arab support against Turkey." They chose well when they made their proposal to Al Sharif Hussain, the guardian of the Kaaba (the greatest Moslem shrine), a descendant of the line of the Prophet Mohammad. For a call to Jihad or holy war would call the whole Arab world to unity.³

Hussain sent his son to Faisal to sound out the Arab world. He met with secret societies such as Bakris, al-Fatat, and al-Ahd. They approved on the condition "that Britain should recognize an independent Arab kingdom comprising Arabia (except Aden), Palestine, Syria and Iraq."⁴

Sir Henry McMahon, who received the message and carried on the correspondence with Hussain, and who was British High Commissioner in Egypt, replied that Britain was not ready to commit herself concerning the boundaries of what comprised the Arab States. He wrote:

"With regard to the question of limits and boundaries, it would appear to be premature to consume our time in discussing details in the heat of war, and while in many portions of them the Turk is up to now in effective occupation."⁵

The Arabs were not satisfied with general, vague promises. Hussain was incensed at McMahon's evasiveness on so important an issue.

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1. Cf. *ibid.* loc. cit.
2. G.E. Kirk, *A Short History of the Middle East*, p. 125.
3. Cf. Sakran, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
4. Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.
5. Sakran, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

He wrote to McMahon that the Arab world refused to commit itself until more concrete terms could be reached. At this point McMahon and the British Government realized that they could no longer dodge the issue. It was a serious and dark period of the war and it was important to act and act fast. They accepted the boundaries as set forth by the Arabs with the following modifications:

"The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded.

"With the modifications, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits."¹

These districts were excluded because of French interest. The Arab world naturally assumed that the districts referred to, that is, the districts west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, applied to the portion now known as Lebanon. Palestine cannot, under any consideration, be described as lying west of these districts.

June 5, 1916, saw the beginning of Arab revolt against Turkey. Thousands of Arab youth who had been conscripted into the Turkish army began to desert and take up arms against their enemy. Previously "Turkish arms had triumphed over the British at both Gallipoli and Kut al-Amara. But now a new chapter opened, and the British defeats were soon avenged."² General Allenby acknowledged the important role played by the Arabs in allied victories. Then:

"...while the Arabs were fighting the common enemy side by side with British troops, and believing, as they had been led to believe, that they were fighting for freedom and independence, they received news of the Balfour Declaration which promised the Jews a national home in

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1. Ibid., loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 82.

Palestine, and the Anglo-French (Sykes-Picot) Treaty of 1916, which divided Arab lands into British and French spheres of influence."¹

2. The Balfour Declaration

The bombshell that fell in the midst of Arab lands to shatter its dreams and hopes, was the Balfour Declaration. This document, written in letter form to Baron de Rothschild, was issued on November 2, 1917, and adopted by the allies. It declared:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jew in any other country."²

The basis for this action was the fact that "recognition has thereby been given to the historic connection of Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their National home in that country."³

Many have speculated as to the reason for Britain's generous promise to the Jews. Lloyd George attempted to explain it in the following terms:

"The Balfour Declaration has been made at one of the darkest periods of the war. The French army had mutinied, the Italian army was on the verge of collapse, the U.S.A. had hardly started preparing in earnest, the Russians were just walking out. They (the British Government) came to the conclusion that it was vital that they should have the sympathies of the Jewish community."⁴

This can hardly be true. The matter had been before Parliament for decision for almost two years. A telegram sent by Sir Edward Grey to the Russian Foreign Secretary Sazonoff on March 13, 1916, later pub-

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1. Ibid., loc. cit.
2. Sophie A. Udine, The Palestine Year Book, Vol. I., pp. 153-154.
3. Ibid., p. 154.
4. Sakran, op. cit., p. 84.

lished by the Soviet Government, gives a further explanation:

"If the view is correct, it is clear that by utilizing the Zionist idea, important political results could be achieved. One of the results would be the conversion of the Jewish elements in the East, the U.S.A., and other places to the cause of the allies, elements whose attitude is at present rather antagonistic to the allies."¹

Grey never stated what important political results could be achieved by granting the Zionist demand for a National Home in Palestine. S. Landman, secretary of the Zionist Organization from 1917 to 1922, wrote that the Balfour Declaration was given "in return for Zionist assistance, through Justice Brandeis, in inducing the United States to come to the help of the Allies."²

Frank Gervasi declares that Britain had a humanitarian interest in the Jews. For centuries the Jews had wandered, unwanted and unloved by most nations. The Balfour Declaration, he insists, "was no mere outburst of the postwar idealism of the time but a frank, honest, considered effort to find a solution"³ for the Jewish problem.

The Zionist movement was no product of the First World War, nor was it created by the enthusiasm of Lord Balfour. The Zionists had been active for some time before the war. The Jews had begun to colonize in Palestine in the hope that they might some day create for themselves a National Home. Enthusiastic writers among their number aroused great interest in the movement. France was inspired to take up the cause, and the Alliance Israelite Universelle was established in Paris in 1860. Smolenskin, a Russian Jew, aroused a national spark in the hearts of the Jews of that land; Leo Pinsker's Auto-Emancipation advocated a National

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1. Ibid., p. 85.
2. Ibid., loc. cit.
3. Frank D. Gervasi, *To Whom Palestine?* pp. 183-184.

Home for the Jewish people without specifying a place. New societies such as 'Lovers of Zion' and 'Love of Zion' mushroomed. Baron de Rothschild took a great interest in the movement and was of considerable financial assistance to the colonists of Palestine. As the Zionist Organization grew and flourished, a Jewish National Fund was established to buy land for further colonization. In 1882 and 1883 several colonies were started. By 1914 there were a hundred thousand Jews in the country.¹

A new surge of anti-Semitism spread during that period and the number of homeless was fast swelling. To alleviate misery, England suggested a scheme whereby a territory of ten thousand square miles was to be used for housing schemes. This was refused because no land but Palestine would be considered for a National Home.²

C. IMMIGRATION AND CONSEQUENT TROUBLES

The earliest settlers in the Holy Land were poor students. They entered the land with no flourish and were soon on good terms with the inhabitants. The main support until 1908 was from money contributed by Rothschild. When the Jewish National Fund was established, the Jewish Colonization Association took over the support of the colonists.³

Until the Balfour Declaration was issued, the Arabs welcomed the new settlers. The attitude soon changed. The natives could see no justice in giving Palestine to a people whose connection with it had ceased two thousand years previously. They resented having their homes and their land disposed of without consultation and without their consent.

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1. Cf. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 56-58: Population in Israel is now 1,450,000. The total population increase has been 125%, N.Y. Times, April 19, 1953.
2. Cf. ibid., pp. 58-59.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 58.

They took a strong stand against the creation of a National Home in their own country for the Jews. They could see a future when they would be nothing but a tolerated minority.¹ Hourani described the change of relationship between England and the Arab well when he said, "The peace settlement changed such trust and cooperation as had existed between Great Britain and the Arabs before and even more during the war into the bitterness and suspicion of later years."² The new all-absorbing interest of Britain was to carry out the promise of the Balfour Declaration.

Palestine had been the home of the Arab inhabitants for thirteen hundred years. Their case did not rest on "flimsy legal pledges but upon the far more basic rights of every people to its own land."³ Britain tried to calm the fears of the Palestinians with the argument that Jewish immigration will prove valuable to the country and Jewish machines and implements would cause greater productivity. The Arabs argued that they had a right to live in their own land as they pleased without reference to any alien group.

It became the fashion to speak of Palestine as a derelict waste, thinly populated by migrant Bedouins, perhaps to enhance the benefits that the land would receive from such colonization. The land, however, had been cultivated; every dunum of it had been worked. The land was inhabited. The cultivation of the land, it is true, was not intensive; the implements were not modern; the people lacked the funds.⁴

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1. Cf. A.H. Hourani, *Great Britain and the Arab World*, pp. 18-23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
3. Salo W. Baron, "Prospects of Peace," *The Near East* (Lectures on the Harris Foundation 1942 Lectures), p. 108.
4. Cf. Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

1. Increased Immigration and Land Sale and the Riots of 1936 - 1939

When the British Mandate had been set up, the first High Commissioner appointed was a man of distinction in England, one who had been instrumental in obtaining the Zionist demand for a National Home, Sir Herbert Samuel. He was an ardent Zionist himself. This only added to the humiliation of the Arabs and their fury.

The Jewish community grew with the passing years. Into the little strip of land, which is little more than ten thousand square miles, new immigrants were flooding. Before World War I, the Jews numbered only eighty five thousand. By 1931 they had more than doubled themselves and had grown to number 175,000. This figure increased to six hundred thousand. "A country without a people for a people without a country"¹ was the slogan of the newcomers.

The Arab hatred for the Jew is a comparatively new thing, in spite of many assertions and legends to the contrary. This feeling had come about through the Arabs' mounting fear that the country was becoming economically overwhelmed by the new immigrants. The inhabitants of the land were beginning to feel strangers in their own homeland. The Zionists were frank in their avowal that they intended to make Palestine as 'Jewish as England is British.' No, the struggle was not the result of any religious fanaticism. Burrows expresses his opinion in the following manner:

"The antagonism between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine is not a matter of religious or racial prejudice. On that score the Arabs must be excused for assuming a somewhat self-righteous attitude toward us. The struggle is primarily economic and political, and, in the second place, cultural, not at all racial or religious."²

Zionists repeatedly protested that they had no quarrel with the

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1. Millar Burrows, Palestine is Our Business, pp. 22-23.
2. Ibid., p. 43.

Arabs. They were quite ready to extend the hand of brotherhood in a manner, the Arabs called condescending. Realizing that their prosperity and safety depended on the goodwill of the Arabs, they tried to cooperate with them, but friendship was no longer possible. The Arabs feared that cooperation would mean disaster and that in the end they would be "deprived of their livelihood and pass under the political domination of the Jews."¹

Immigration was highly accelerated between 1931 and 1936 and apprehension of the Arabs mounted. This was a period of prosperity for the country. Zionist organizations bought land and paid well for it. The question in the mind of the Arabs was: Will economic development mean disaster for the inhabitants? They knew that the Jews had overwhelmed larger nations.²

Organized disorder broke out in 1936 and continued until World War II broke out. The Arabs revolted against the Government. They "demanded the immediate cessation of Jewish immigration and land purchase," and took a firm stand on "the principle that immigration and land purchase should not take place without the consent of the original inhabitants of the country."³

The Royal Commission, which was sent in 1937 to investigate the situation, recommended the partition of the land into a Jewish and an Arab state, each in treaty relationship with Great Britain. Jerusalem, with territory forming a corridor to the sea, would remain under British power. Although the Arabs vehemently rejected the plan, the Jews were willing to accept it with few modifications.⁴

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1. Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929-1930, Cmd. 3530.
2. Cf. Hourani, op. cit., p. 23.
3. Ibid., loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 24.

The contention was with the British Government who had allowed immigration. A majority of the volunteers were peasants who lacked the art of fighting and had no skilled military leadership. Ammunition was of poor quality. The Government referred to them as 'outlaws.' The Arab volunteers responded by ordering a boycott against Jewish trade. They were best adapted for guerilla fighting and they fought well. Houses were constantly searched and the owners of any weapons were imprisoned.

2. The White Paper of 1939

The violence and rioting brought results in the shape of the White Paper of 1939 which strictly forbade Jewish immigration. The Zionists referred to it bitterly as "the final capitulation to Arab violence."¹ It stipulated that in the following five years seventy five thousand immigrants were to be permitted to enter the land, thus bringing the Jewish population to one third of the population of the country. At the end of that period immigration was to cease completely unless the Arabs would permit it.²

The news of the White Paper was a blow to Zionism. Vehemently and loudly they opposed it. What were they to do with the displaced Jews whose number was rapidly increasing under the Hitler regime? Many had succeeded in escaping from Germany to adjoining countries. They had substantial capital, but they needed a home. Such funds could finance great, imposing business in Palestine. Arabs cared nothing either for the Jews of Europe or for their capital. Arab sentiment is well stated by one of their spokesmen:

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1. Burrows, op. cit., p. 45.
2. Cf. Hourani, op. cit., p. 24.

"If the doctrine of self-determination of all peoples is to be taken seriously - and certainly world-wide democracy cannot fail to take it seriously - the Arabs in Palestine, as other native majorities, are entitled to steer their own historic course without reference to the alleged or real benefits accruing to them from outside domination or from the immigration of a pioneering and vigorous but alien group."¹

D. JEWISH TERRORISM

When World War II broke out Arab rioting ceased. However, it was not to be expected that they would take up arms against the Axis, "since many of them felt that Axis conquest would at least free them from Zionist incubus, and few had much reason to feel any loyalty to Britain. On the other hand, they gave little trouble, their attitude remaining essentially neutral."² The Jews sought permission to raise forces on a Jewish-national basis. The British Government feared such a move, but compromised by allowing Jewish sub-units. As a result the Jewish Brigade was created with distinctive Zionist colors.

The Land Transfer Regulations were issued in 1940, denying the Jews the right to acquire land in the larger part of Palestine. This was hailed with demonstrations of disfavor by the Abraham Stern Gang.

England was in a predicament again. Arab neutrality had to be maintained during the war. It was necessary to continue to hold to the White Paper to maintain this neutrality. On the other hand, the condition of the displaced Jews was becoming more and more wretched. Illegal immigration began to mount and was becoming a problem. Close watch was kept to see that no illegal immigrants crossed the borderland either by sea or

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1. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
2. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

by land. Many ships were carrying illegal immigrants, fugitives hoping to reach the National Home. When caught they were placed in concentration camps -- usually in Cyprus. Often the ships were requested to return to those countries from which they had come. One such ship was the 'Patria' which carried two thousand passengers. To make it impossible for the ship to be sent back, the Jews blew it up, causing two hundred sixty eight deaths. The survivors were carried aboard prison ships and taken to Cyprus. Many were then assisted to escape with the help of the underground fighters.¹

New underground forces were organized. The Revisionist Irgun Zva Leumi (National Military Organization), which had assisted British troops against the Iraqi campaign in 1941, now fought against the British Police Force. The Zionist underground army, the Haganah (self-defense), became a force of terror. This party traces its beginning to Russia when they banded together for self defense at the time of the pogrom.² Many members of the Haganah volunteered for service against the Axis in World War II. Now they demanded unlimited immigration. They also worked through the United States to get England to revoke the decision of the White Paper. At first they asked only "for a return to the policy followed prior to 1939, but later they specifically demanded the establishment of a Jewish state, or 'commonwealth.'" ³

The Zionist Organization headed by Ben Gurion and backed by the Zionists of the United States adopted the Biltmore Program in 1942 demanding the following:

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 204.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 203-204.
3. Sakran, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

- (1) The establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.
- (2) A Jewish army.
- (3) Unlimited immigration, placed under the control of the Jewish Agency, which should also have authority for the development of unoccupied and uncultivated lands."¹

One of the foremost leaders of the principal Jewish parties in Palestine, the Mapai labour party, explained to the Arabs in a book of essays, "We shall be ready not to be your foes, and even to support your aspirations for independence, provided you cease disturbing us and provided you recognize Palestine as a Jewish State."² The Arabs, however, were not inclined to accept these advances of friendship.

The Zionist campaign of sabotage, bombing, assassination, and kidnapping, was better organized than the guerillas of 1936 and resulted in heavy losses both for the British Government and for the country as well. Sakran wrote, "The seriousness of the campaign, even in its early stages, caused the British authorities to charge the terrorists with impeding the war effort and thereby aiding Hitler."³ Government buildings, trains, highway bridges, shops, and office buildings were repeatedly bombed so that lives were lost and normal activities were disrupted.

Zionists boasted of having seventy thousand trained and well-armed men in the Haganah, Irgun Zvai Leumi, and the Stern Gang. Newspaper headlines announced that Polish Jews were being trained in preparation for action. In 1944 Lord Moyne was assassinated, in July of 1946 the King David Hotel was bombed demolishing the offices of the Secretariat and killing one hundred employees. In May, 1947, the Acre prison was attacked to set some Jewish prisoners free. At this point, Zionist spokesmen

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1. Kirk, op. cit., p. 204.
2. Ibid., p. 204, quoted by J.L. Magnes, Foreign Affairs, 1934, p.240.
3. Sakran, op. cit., p. 159.

began to call for the termination of the British Mandate and the formation of an underground Jewish Government. Associated Press from New York, reported on May 13, 1946, that Louis Altman, head of the Revisionist Zionist Organization, had announced that the Zionists "intended to set up a provisional Jewish government in Palestine - with armed force if necessary," and that the first aim of this government would be to bring a million Jews to the country."¹

Zionism bases its rights to the country on historical fact of past association with the country, on the Balfour Declaration as promised by the British Government and endorsed by other powers, on the basis of great need, and above all on their achievement in the past two and a half decades. They had poured millions of dollars into the land; they had put their full energies into the building of hospitals, universities, libraries with the full confidence that the international pledge as set down in the Balfour Declaration will be carried out. Indeed, it must be evident that "it would be difficult to find parallels in history to such tenacious clinging to a promised land of the past and the future."²

From the point of view of need, declares Jacques Maritan, it would be easy for them to establish the magnitude of their need for a homeland. They have suffered much; they have lamented much for cruelties suffered at the hands of the western world. He writes, "If they so well understand weeping, it is because they have a sempiternal habit of sorrowing and because they are disarmed. Today, in any case, it may be said, that when it comes to persecutions, they are plentifully supplied."³

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1. Ibid., p. 160.

2. Baron, op. cit., p. 109.

3. Jacques Maritan, A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, p. 43.

Systematic search in Jewish communities exposed arms of various kinds in store. Schools and synagogues in Tel Aviv hid large caches of arms and munitions, plus British Army uniforms to be used for disguise purposes. Members of the Jewish Agency were sent to camp on charges of assisting terrorism. Through Zionist pressure they were shortly released. Terrorism increased and the Zionists threatened to carry their terroristic acts to Britain. British women and children were evacuated. Finally in September, 1947, Britain "dramatically told the United Nations Assembly that it was planning to terminate the Mandate and to evacuate its troops and civil servants from the Holy Land as soon as possible."¹

E. The United Nations Partition Plan

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly "voted by 33 to 13 to partition Palestine, forming separate Arab and Jewish sovereign states."² The Zionists were jubilant over the decision. To the Arabs, the news was a death knell. Six of their delegates walked out of the Assembly chamber in bitter indignation to show their disapproval of the procedure, unanimously challenging the impartiality of the United Nations' decision, charging coercion by the United States and Soviet Russia.

There were others who also charged the United Nations with injustice to the Arabs. Charles R. Watson, a special representative for mission boards of North Africa, sent a letter of protest to the New York Times. He said:

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1. Sakran, op. cit., p. 163.
2. "The Partition of Palestine," Information Service, December 13, 1947, Volume XXVI, No. 41.

"Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the United Nations can in the long future maintain its reputation for equitable and even-handed justice in defending the democratic principles of letting majorities rule and letting the majority in any nation decide upon its own preferred form of government, when one of its initial decisions contravenes both these principles."¹

A Special Committee was appointed to study the situation and to draw up recommendations for the procedure to be followed at the time of the termination of the British Mandate. Eleven recommendations were made (see Appendix A) and presented to the Assembly. A report signed by a majority of the members of the Committee advocating the partition of Palestine into an Arab state, a Jewish state, and the city of Jerusalem, accompanied the recommendations. They suggested a political independence modified by economic union. Their position was supported by the following view:

"the conflict between the two peoples is reconcilable, that the partition is the only hope of removing the issue from the arena of conflict, that 'opposition will be lessened by a solution which definitely fixes the extent of territory to be allotted to the Jews with its implicit limitation on immigration,' and that 'the sanction of the United Nations should allay Arab fears of further expansion of the Jewish state.'"²

The Arabs made three proposals to the United Nations which they felt should be studied before any steps were taken:

- (1) "before recommendations on solution of the Palestine question were made the International Court of Justice should be asked for an opinion on legal questions regarding the competence of the General Assembly to recommend or enforce any solution contrary to the wishes of the majority of Palestine's population;
- (2) that recommendations be made for international settlement of the problem of Jewish refugees, with stated principles and proposed machinery for United Nations Members' cooperation; and
- (3) that a provisional government of the people of Palestine be set up preparatory to establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly."³

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations accepted the recommenda-

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1. Ibid., p. 1, quoted from New York Times, December 5, 1947.
2. Ibid., p. 1.
3. Ibid. loc. cit.

tion of the Special Committee for the partition of Palestine, making no provision for enforcing the action. Great Britain refused to take the responsibility entailed in a plan not equally acceptable to the Jews and the Arabs alike. They announced May 15, 1948, as the official day on which they would relinquish the Mandate and evacuate the country.¹ Though they accepted the partition plan as set forth by the United Nations, they "saw a distinction between acceptance in the sense of not impeding execution of decision and accepting responsibility for its imposition,"² as Sir Alexander Cadogan said.

The United States had "decided to risk Arab anger, persuaded that appeasement through economic aid will abate it, and planning to give concrete aid to Arab development."³ Other voting delegates agreed to the plan probably believing that failure to reach any agreement on the question would lead to chaos. The vote showed exact isolation of the Moslem nations-- a new East-West division. The Arabs are agreed that many delegates had been persuaded by the United States to vote for partition. Throughout the conflict, the Arabs

"alleged the illegality and unworkability of the mandate in the absence of Arab consent, and in the face of the Covenant of the League of Nations, of repeated statements, both British and Zionist, that no Jewish state was contemplated. They urged that religious attachment or sentiment could give no foundation for a political claim."⁴

F. CIVIL WAR AND BLOODSHED

There was no rejoicing among the Palestinian Arabs. Indignantly one of the writers for 'The Muslim Sunrise' wrote, "Strange though it may

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1. Cf. Burrows, op. cit., p. 20.
2. "The Partition of Palestine," op. cit., p. 2.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 2.

seem to British and American eyes, these benighted Arabs see no reason why they should suffer for the bestial deeds inflicted on Jews by Hitler and his Germans."¹

The atmosphere in Jerusalem as described by Bilby shows the state of suspense that stifled the country:

"When I first reached Jerusalem in April 1948 the city was a mass of barbwires, tank traps, sandbags, and concrete pillboxes. At the time it was assuredly the most heavily fortified city in the world. The British command had pulled all its troops into security zones which served as buffers between Arab and Jewish quarters. Heavily armed sentries patrolled every entrance to these compounds and no one moved in or out without presenting credentials for careful authentication. The United Nations was making one of its periodic and hapless efforts to impose a truce in Jerusalem which had been the scene of skirmishing and sniping ever since the United Nations General Assembly voted to partition Palestine on November 29, 1947. There was an oppressive air of fear, mistrust, and intransigent hostility in the city. Tracer bullets whipped past church spires, people ducked instinctively at the sound of an explosion."²

On April 14, 1948, the British troops were evacuated enmasse, several days ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, "a determined little band of Jewish Agency leaders met in the cramped confines of a Tel Aviv museum on Rothschild Boulevard to proclaim a state within that half of Palestine allocated to the Jews by United Nations decision."³

While the Zionists were gathered to proclaim the State of Israel, neighboring Arab volunteers crossed the boarder to help wipe out the new state. But by the end of April the Zionists had achieved a complete military superiority over the Palestinian Liberation Army in the plain district of the country.

The Arabs were confident of victory and had neither organized

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1. "The Arab Refugees," The Muslim Sunrise, September-December, 1950, pp. 18-19.
2. Bilby, op. cit., p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 20.

themselves, nor set up their government. They could not and would not believe that so unjust a decision, as they believed the partition to be, could possibly go into effect. The Liberation Army unwisely attacked the Zionist troops rather than following the guerilla tactics for which they were best fitted. As a result they were heavily defeated.¹

Mass massacre of villagers by the Jewish soldiers spread panic among the inhabitants and as the people fled, one town after another was abandoned and quickly lost to the Zionist troops. In like manner Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias and Acre were taken over by the Jews.²

Jews from fifty different countries found their way into Palestine. From the hills of Galilee to the desert of the Negeb, they swept over the land, dispossessing the original inhabitants, to accommodate Zionist refugees. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were

"never conceived to cover the contingency of a mass exodus from Europe by millions of despairing refugees, and contemplated only the creation of a Jewish Home where Jewish culture and institutions could live secure in a land whose people had been for hundreds of years Arab by speech, race, and tradition."³

Zionist immigrants flooded the new state, which had become larger through Zionist army victories than the portion allocated them by the United Nations partition plan, converting Arab homes into havens for the newly arrived citizens. A village such as Sassa, evacuated by its two thousand inhabitants who hoped to return to make their abode in their former homes after the heat of the war had spent itself, found themselves forever banished. By November, 1949, Sassa was inhabited by one hundred and twenty American born Jews. "Sassa, which had existed unchanged for

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1. Cf. Kirk, op. cit., pp. 222-225.

2. Cf. ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 225, quoted from 'Times' leading article, December 11, 1946.

over a thousand years, was on the altar - an offering, like the lambs of Abraham, for the betterment of the people of Israel,"¹ writes an enthusiastic author.

British officials had considered the Arabs the better fighters, man for man, than the Jews. Bilby insists that this is the worst error of the British in their evaluation of the relative fighting power of the two people. He declares that they did not take into account the man from the ghetto, who "equipped with a weapon and serving his own government for the first time, fighting with his back to sea, became brave and ruthless when necessary, and surprisingly adaptable to military discipline."²

Many villages had been turned into heaps of rubble. The picture had changed from that of a year before. Now:

"Israel ruled three quarters of Palestine, and scores of Arab villages deemed uninhabitable had been razed as insurance against their owners' return. Eight hundred thousand Arabs had fled their homes during a year of war, and the Jewish state had hung out an 'unwanted' sign. The Arabs of Palestine languished in perpetual exile, and men from Bulgaria, China, Yemen had moved in like the Americans at Sassa."³

G. SUMMARY

A brief survey of the problem, its history, and its consequences, shows that matters are far from well in Palestine. It was discovered that the problem is not caused by religious fanaticism, but rather is the result of political, economic and social causes. Political intrigue, unavoidable historical circumstances accelerated by anti-Semitism in Europe have created a situation that has puzzled the British Government and the United Nations.

When Britain found herself unable to keep peace in Palestine

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1. Bilby., op. cit., p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., p. 3.

or satisfy the Arabs and the Jews in relation to promises made to them during World War I, she turned over the troublesome, thorny question to the United Nations for settlement. The United Nations' decision, it was discovered, was that the country be partitioned into an Arab state and a Jewish state, leaving Jerusalem an international city. The results were different. Israel now rules three quarters of the country. Jewish refugees have found a new home, while almost a million of the former inhabitants have been exiled. A new critical situation has resulted, fraught with sinister potentialities.

CHAPTER II.

DETERMINING FACTORS IN THE
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A. Introduction.

A few years have passed since the State of Israel was proclaimed. Thousands of Arabs have become fugitives. The causes of the strife have been viewed in the past chapter. The Arabs are intense and passionate by nature, and it is not likely that they would tamely submit to political upheavals that have torn their lives. It is, therefore, imperative to view the emotional, psychological situation that has resulted. This chapter will, therefore, survey the social, economic, political conditions of the refugees, and then examine the psychological response to the crisis.

This study intends to investigate the existing conditions of the refugees, both official and economic. Whatever the response to the present may be, that response will be the determining factor that will shape the future of that part of the world.

B. Why the Arab Refugee?

There is a heated controversy between the Zionists and the Arabs concerning the reason for the mass evacuation of the Arabs. The Jews argue that the people were misled by their own leaders into abandoning their homes for the purpose of leaving a clear field for the Liberation Army to massacre the Jews. Another argument they give is that hundreds of villagers went out to welcome the invading troops with song and dance. "But," says Yaacov Shimoni, "History has played a trick on the Arabs."¹ They had expected

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1. Yaacov Shimoni, Lecture on "Israel and the Arab World," November 18, 1952.

to return to witness a victory, but now they had become homeless wanderers. The Arabs, on the other hand, persist in proclaiming that Jewish terrorism and wholesale destruction of life caused villagers to flee in panic. They point to Dair Yasin as the living proof of Zionist strategy.

The inhabitants of the village of Dair Yasin had resisted every effort of the Arab troops to use their village as a base for operation against the surrounding Jewish settlements:

"Despite the further fact that Dair Yasin was declared an 'open' village and that the Jews had promised to respect its nonbelligerent status, Jewish forces rounded up the Arab inhabitants, massacred the men, bayoneted the women, slaughtered the children before the very eyes of their mothers and then killed the mothers. Jewish soldiers then dumped one hundred and forty bodies into a cistern to hide their savage, sadistic crimes. In all about two hundred and fifty were murdered brutally. Jewish Zionists allowed a few to survive. These were a group of women and girls who were stripped of their clothes, loaded into trucks and paraded on exhibition in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem and photographed."¹

Reports show that this is no isolated case. These inhuman crimes were duplicated over and over again. A band of Zionist soldiers attacked the village of Beit El-Khour, herded the young men into a building, saturated it with gasoline, then set fire to it. A few were spared this fate to witness the cremation and then were released to spread the news of this terrible savagery in the hope that it would spread fear among neighboring towns and villages. In El-Zaytoun the peasants were forced into the mosque and then it was blown up. Often not satisfied with ordinary murder, the bloodthirsty troops would disfigure the bodies of women and girls in the most shameless manner.²

Channing B. Richardson, instructor of Government at Columbia University, evaluating the incident of Dair Yasin, wrote, "This massacre

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1. Institute of Arab-Amer. Affairs, "Arab Refugees of the Holy Land--Man-Made Catastrophe," p.6.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 8.

probably did more than any other single act to create the fear which started the flood of refugees."¹

Following these incidents, the Arabs began to forsake their homes and villages in great numbers, fleeing to neighboring Arab states, or crowding into Arab-held territory in Palestine. Overnight, it seemed, people were reduced to utter poverty. Today, "one sees them in Syria, Iraq, and up and down the length of the Persian Gulf, sad, lonely for the lovely hills of Judea. They are a new race of wanderers from the Holy Land."²

When the Arabs first made their exodus, the neighboring Arab states took on themselves the burden of feeding and clothing this hungry, homeless multitude. The number kept increasing as the days sped by, so that by mid-August, 1948, it was costing them five million dollars a month to feed and shelter thirty thousand refugees. The burden was too heavy for them to bear alone. When they sought help from the International Refugee Organization, their plea was rejected on the ground that the International Refugee Organization constitution forbade aid to any but World War II victims and because of limited funds. "IRO nevertheless found means in February, 1949, to enable it to spend up to \$4,000,000 to pay for immigration costs of Jewish refugees to the Holy Land,"³ proclaimed one indignant writer.

C. Condition of the Refugees

The refugee problem is not one of hundreds but of thousands scattered over five countries and ten thousand miles. "The shelterless,

1. C.B. Richardson, "The Refugee Problem," International Tensions, p. 483.
2. James Bell, "Strangled City," Time, April 28, 1952.
3. I.A.A.C., op.cit., p. 15.

the destitute, the hungry, the sick, the bewildered seemed to be everywhere," when members of the American Friends Service Committee arrived on the scene. "Many lived in caves, in the sand dunes and hills."¹ Mosques, churches, homes were filled to overflowing. Some had burrowed homes in the old Roman amphitheatre in Amman where two thousand years ago gladiators dueled. Many now sleep in the corridors through which the wild beasts in former days entered the arena.²

In one instance eleven persons shared one blanket. Conditions were not merely unsanitary in many cases, but so crowded that twenty nine persons had to share one room for lack of shelter.³

Nature itself seems to be taking part against the unfortunate, destitute people. In February, 1950, the worst storm in fifty years hit the country, blowing down one thousand tents in the Gaza strip alone.⁴ The previous winter a severe snow storm covered Jericho with four inches of snow, the like of which had not been seen for two hundred and sixty four years. Maynard Williams on visiting the Holy Land exclaimed that if Christ were to stand on the Mount of Temptation today looking toward Jericho, "Satan could show Him only human misery and suffering."⁵

Malnutrition and starvation have become widespread. Tuberculosis and malaria, dysentery and typhoid have had their toll among the homeless.

Night blindness, it is reported, is becoming quite prevalent among children. The cause is traced back to the low vitamin in-take of the mothers.⁶

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1. American Friends Service Committee, Quaker Work Among the Arab Refugees, p. 7.
2. Cf. Maynard O. Williams, "Home to the Holy Land," National Geographic Magazine, December, 1950, p. 713.
3. Cf. I.A.A.C., op. cit., p. 17.
4. Cf. A.F.S.C., op. cit., p. 17.
5. Williams, op. cit., p. 711.
6. International Christian Committee, "Report of the I.C.C. Samaria Relief Team, July, 1952, p. 1.

Milton S. Eisenhower, President of Kansas State College and brother of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, has been a staunch friend of the Arab refugees. As head of the United States Delegation to the annual conference which the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization held in Beirut, he visited the camps and saw the misery that prevails there. Later he said:

"I have seen the sea of suffering humanity that numbers between 500,000 and 650,000 people.¹ These people are in rags sleeping in bitter, near-freezing weather, living on a roll of bread a day. They are emaciated and suffering from terrible diseases because of the lack of necessary articles to keep them alive."²

Reports from American sources in Jerusalem declared that during the first months of exile, thirty to forty refugees were daily dying in that city. Even now there are "swarms of children with match-stick arms and legs and protruding bellies produced by progressive starvation, and of babies dying because there is no milk."³

1. Count Bernadotte's Plea for the refugee

The United Nations' Mediator for Palestine "fearing complete collapse and knowing that this would jeopardize the precarious stability that had been achieved, appealed to the international community for help."⁴ He pleaded with the very nations that had voted for partition to give food and clothing and provide shelter for the helpless Arabs. Arab funds had been strained to the limit and he realized that they could not carry the burden singlehandedly much longer. Neither the United Nations nor the other nations would respond at first. Then Count Bernadotte called on the Society

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1. The latest figures quoted show the number of refugees to be 860,000.
2. Richardson, op. cit., p. 484.
3. I.A.A.A., op. cit., p. 23.
4. U.N., "Assistance to Palestine Refugees," Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/1905), p. 2.

of Friends to step into the breach. This society, along with other Christian missions and agencies and the Red Cross were to be the first to help.

The enormity of the tragedy was finally brought home to the United Nations when the British delegate to the Security Council offered four thousand dollars in army tents, and medical supplies to be used for Arab refugee relief under the auspices of the United Nations. By October, 1948, both England and the United States felt that immediate action was imperative and they introduced a resolution before the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris to the effect that aid be given the Arabs.¹

Action soon followed. The United Nations contributed sixty thousand blankets, and the International Refugee Organization followed suit contributing a like number. On November 27, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution "establishing the United Nations Relief for Palestine with Stanton Griffis as the director,"² authorizing an expenditure of 29,500,000 dollars for the refugees who had been reduced to poverty by the conflict in Palestine. The Agency began its work January, 1949, and was scheduled to operate for nine months.

Finally, in response to telegrams sent by Count Bernadotte to United Nations member states, twenty nations pledged themselves to help the Palestine refugees with supplies or cash: Australia, Burma, Ethiopia, France, India, Ireland, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, South Africa, Switzerland, The United Kingdom and Venezuela.³

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1. Cf. I.A.A.A., op. cit., pp. 12-23.
2. Ibid., p. 28.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 20.

2. Official Refugees

According to United Nations Relief and Works Agency's (U.N.R.W.A.) definition of the term, a refugee is a "person normally resident in Palestine who has lost his home and his livelihood as a result of the hostilities, and who is in need."¹ The last report of the Director of U.N.R.W.A. gave the official number of refugees as 875,998 distributed in the following countries:²

Lebanon.....	106,753
Syria.....	80,499
Jordan.....	465,450
Gaza.....	199,789
Israel.....	<u>23,507</u>

Total 875,998

The refugees in the Egypt camp have since been moved to Gaza.

Contributions for the relief work comes from various governments. (See Appendix IV). Often the pledges are not paid regularly and thus, it was found, long-range planning becomes impossible.³

Clothing comes from donations made by voluntary agencies, usually church groups. Blankets and tents are in great demand but are very difficult to obtain because of the large demand for military purposes. From May 1, 1950, to June 21, 1952, two hundred and thirty-five thousand blankets had been distributed among the refugees, averaging one blanket to every four people. Inadequate as that is, it is certain that many would "otherwise be sleeping on the bare earth or the stone floors of barracks and mosques."⁴ The average distribution of garments for the same period is less than one garment per person.

1. "The Problem of the Arab Refugees," op. cit., p. 1.

2. U.N., op. cit., p. d.

3. Cf. ibid., p. 6.

4. "The Problem of the Arab Refugees," op. cit., p. 2.

Thirty two per cent of the refugees are housed in camps, tents, huts, and barracks, while sixty eight per cent live in towns and villages, in the churches, the mosques, school buildings, or any other public building. Many have crowded together with friends in their homes. The camps may consist of old army tents -- each the home of an average family of five. A great many of the tents have been seriously damaged from heavy rain and storms, yet it has been impossible to replace them. Other camps are constituted of disused barracks that have been turned into housing projects with blankets, which should cover some of the members of the families, or sacking dividing the bleak buildings into small cubicles for the use of different families. The barracks are leaky and draughty, and afford little or no privacy.¹

The standard monthly ration for each refugee consist of the following calories:²

Flour.....	10,000
Sugar.....	600
Rice.....	500
Pulses.....	600
Margarine.....	150
Vegetables.....	
Oil.....	250

While this ration is considerably below the average for healthy people, it has kept many thousands from starving. The monthly ration is void of fresh vegetables and meat which are very necessary items of food. Izzat Tannous reports that the cost per person is about two dollars per month, and a ration "on which an animal can hardly live."³

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1. Cf. U.N., "From Camps to Homes," Report of Progress and Aims of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Pal. Refugees in the N.E.
2. U.N., "Assistance to Palestine Refugees," p. 4.
3. Izzat Tannous, Warning from Palestine Refugees, p. 6.

The first and foremost task of the Friends Service Committee was to meet the health needs of the people and prevent epidemics, a great task indeed under the conditions that prevailed. They have contributed in a magnificent manner toward preserving lives and installing effective sanitary measures.

"The fact that no disease acquired epidemic proportion during the UNRPR operation testified to the hardiness of the people and the vigilance of the medical team. Every refugee was vaccinated and inoculated; every hut, shack, tent, house and cave dwelling and every public building was sprayed with DDT. Mosquito and fly control were energetically pursued. A Scandinavian BCG anti-tuberculosis team arrived in Gaza in September, 1949 and tuberculin-tested all refugee children under the age of 18 and vaccinated negative reactors."¹

3. Economic Refugees

The economic refugees are those who have not lost their homes, but yet lost their means of livelihood and all else they possessed. Because they have not lost their homes, they do not fall within the category of 'refugee' as defined by the United Nations, and are not entitled to receive rations or aid from U.N.R.W.A. The economic refugees may be divided into two groups: those who are impoverished as a result of the influx of the homeless refugees into their towns and villages, and those who are agriculturists in villages that have completely been denuded of their acreage in the Arab-Zionist strife.²

A nutritional survey carried on by U.N.R.W.A. had proved that in Jordan as well as in Gaza the official refugees "seemed better off from a nutritional point of view than the local inhabitants."³ The hungry villagers are often seen in camps begging for food from the refugee whose

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1. A.F.S.C., op. cit., p. 16.

2. Cf. I.C.C. Report, op. cit., Appendix (2a).

3. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 5.

condition, most certainly, cannot be envied or termed normal.

In the Gaza area, which is only twenty five miles by five, ninety thousand persons have crowded together. Of this number sixty thousand are economic refugees, that is two thirds of the whole community are poverty-stricken inhabitants with no source of income or means of sustenance. A survey made by the International Christian Committee (I.C.C.) ascertained that in one village in the Samaria district seventy five per cent of the children were badly undernourished. They observed

"famine,...enlarged livers and dipigmented hair associated with persistent diarrhoea, stunted growth and apathy among the children...visited the houses of these people and searched them with no opposition whatsoever from the indifferent depressed occupants. There was virtually no food in the house except a few green leaves that had been collected on the day of...investigation and a small amount of the coarse husk and millings from serghum which is usually not considered as suitable for human food. An abnormally high number of deaths appear to have occurred recently in these villages and it is probable that there will be many more. This problem appears....to be urgent. In comparison with these villagers the refugees are rather well off, because at least they receive the basic ration."¹

Jordan holds another sixty seven thousand economic refugees whose tillable land was sliced off and added to Israel. These and other economic refugees have lost their jobs because the refugees are willing to offer their labor at much lower salary rate than the inhabitants. The economic refugees have their rent to pay, fuel and food to buy. They have experienced great hunger and want and have been compelled to sell their doors and window frames to earn a few pennies. Beautifully embroidered peasant dresses have been sacrificed for food.²

These wretched creatures are completely dependent on voluntary

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1. I.C.C., op. cit., Appendix (2a).
2. Cf. J.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.,"

charity. Various groups have been deeply moved by the plight of these hapless people and have rallied to their rescue.

D. Political Ferment

"The Arab refugee problem, like all others, has become dominated by political considerations,"¹ which concern not only the people of the two nations fighting a cold war in the confines of that tiny land, but have world-wide significance. Palestine "lies at the crossroads of the world."² Its strategic geographic setting may be a blessing or a curse to the whole Near East. All depends on the outcome of the present political ferment. History is in the making. The ingredients are being slowly assembled together. There are three major areas of concern in the situation: hatred of the Zionists, hatred of the West, and the menace of Communism.

1. Hatred of the Zionists

The Arab is intense in his loyalties and hatreds, and he has turned the full force of his antipathy on the Jews who have dispossessed him. The Arab states have collectively held an extended boycott against Israel. Israel cannot but feel the impact of the hostility of all her neighbors who are grimly determined to hold no friendly intercourse with her. Iraqi oil no longer runs through the old pipe line to Haifa and all Israel's supply must be imported from Venezuela.³ Egypt has forbidden Israel the use of the Suez Canal. No Israel bound ships of any nationality may run through that water either. Israel with all her machinery and scientific research cannot produce the necessary food supplies to feed her increasing population.

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1. Richardson, op. cit., p. 485.
2. E.T. Bachmann, *Epic of Faith*, p. 80.
3. Cf. Shimoni, op. cit.

On the other hand, the Arabs fear Israel, with fatalistic fear. And this fear increases the measure of hatred for Israel, whom they believe will not be long content with a portion of Palestine but will seek to expand her boundaries and swallow up not only the rest of Palestine but adjoining Arab countries as well. World Jewry has poured money into the treasury of Israel and will be willing to finance another war.

After his visit to the Holy Land, Stewart W. Herman wrote that he "came away with the heavy feeling that both Jordan and Israel were merely biding their time - the former to remove the stigma of defeat and push the Jews into the sea, the latter to extend its 'Lebensraum' to accommodate the steady inflow of Jews from other countries."¹

The refugees are a considerable source of political controversy between the two nations. While, as the Arabs choose to believe, "Tel Aviv has chosen the blackmail technique of refusing to permit the return of Arab refugees unless the Arab States consent to sign treaties granting Zionist demands,"² Israel claims that the Arabs "use the refugee problem as a political weapon against Israel and as a bargaining weapon against the West."³

2. Hatred of the West

Five years have elapsed since the partition of the country, yet the refugee has no prospect of returning to his home, or being integrated in other Arab lands. The United Nations adopted a resolution on December 11, 1948, to the effect that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the

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1. Stewart W. Herman, "In Reply to An Arab Sheik," Christian Century, June 6, 1951, p. 680.
2. I.A.A.A., op. cit., p. 12.
3. Richardson, op. cit., p. 489.

earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return."¹ But no compensation and no repatriation have been put into effect since the resolution and the refugee has lost all faith in the integrity of the United Nations.

The political picture in the Near East is a veritable volcano that may erupt any time, not only to burn but to demolish that which lies within its reach. The above is not the only cause for Arab aversion for the West. The greatest hatred is manifested against the United States and the United Nations. The dislike for the United States (U.S.) has three causes: the U.S. favored the partition of Palestine and urged other United Nations delegates to follow suit; the U.S. not only recognized the statehood of Israel, but also aided Israelis with arms and ammunitions, refusing similar aid to the Arabs on the ground that it is illegal; the U.S., according to Arab leaders, has shown unusual tolerance to the illegal acts of the Zionists. In that connection, Izzat Tannous, a refugee himself, wrote:

"The occupation by Israel of the Demilitarized Zone of EL-Houle, a few months ago, and the execution there of its military plans, by force of arms remain unheeded....! Whole Arab willages in that area were razed to the ground, its inhabitants captured and exiled, their occupations interrupted and their properties looted and destroyed....! In sheer submission to Jewish potentates, the USA, not only abstains from inflicting punishment, or even lodging any protest, against this Twentieth-Century Vandalism, but goes on to aid it and promote it....! While this is being done, the one million Arab Refugees, the lawful inhabitants of Palestine, continue to be steadily murdered in caves and camps, and in dreary deserts, but cold, hunger and disease under the 'aegis' of the notorious UNRWA....! Little wonder is it, then that the Refugees are nurturing a deep-seated hatred towards the USA and its Pro-Jewish President (he speaks here of Truman) who is always tipping the scales in favour of Israel....!"²

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1. Sakran, op. cit., p. 7.
2. Tannous, Warning from Arab Refugees, p. 2.

The strong feeling against the West will be best understood when quoted in the exact words of the people who have suffered and hated. In reply to the question 'Why am I a refugee?' Izzat Tannous replies:

"...because the Western Powers joined hands with the powers of evil to oust us out of our country and throw us away from our homes.
 "I am a refugee...because I have had faith in so called Democracies... who have failed us and betrayed a whole nation...
 "I am a refugee...because I am the victim of the United Nations...Power Politics...and vested interests."¹

Added to all this, is the deep rooted dislike for U.N.R.W.A. and its officials. Charges of inefficiency, of waste, of genuine lack of interest, have been brought up against them. An impartial observer made the following report concerning U.N.R.W.A. officials: "They have no sincere interest in the Arabs or their cause. The refugees are little more to them than ration card numbers and statistics. To some of them, working here is a job, to some an adventure. All of them drink too much and talk too much."²

3. The Menace of Communism

Olaf Caroe, a student of the political situation of the Near East believes "that the political cauldron has been more deeply stirred by the egress of Arab refugees than by the war itself."³ It is equally true to say that the refugees are the source of the growing Communist menace. The deep feeling of injustice dealt by the West, the bitterness and hopelessness is making the Arab desperate. "This sense of injustice, frustration and disappointment," writes the Director of U.N.R.W.A., "has made the refugee irritable and unstable...This then is tempting soil for exploitation by those with other motives than the welfare of the refugee."⁴ He believes,

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1. American Friends of the Middle East, "World Truth: Facts and Figures," July 3, 1952.
2. Lorraine L. Erickson, Letter, January 12, 1952.
3. "The Problem of the Arab Refugees," op. cit., p. 4. quoted from Olaf Caroe, Wells of Power, p. 149.
4. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 5.

however, that there are enduring religious and communal ties that will not succumb to Communism.

Stewart Alsop and Albion Ross hold a different opinion. They believe that the danger is real and only speedy action will avert the danger. Alsop, in an article entitled 'Going, Going....,' predicts that "the Middle East is likely to go the way of China in the fairly near future."¹ In another article he wrote:

"The reporter in these parts is impelled to put these words in capital letters, the poor substitute for a shout on the printed page - We MUST BUY TIME. If we do not, the whole Middle East will go the way of China, and then there will be no way to avert the final, awful penalty of a third World War. For the Arab States, like China before its capture, are a sort of inflammable mush, politically, economically and militarily. Otherwise, the mushy vacuum will sooner or later be filled, as in the case of China."²

Albion Ross, reporter for the New York Times, declares that the Communists are fighting the return of the Arab refugees to their homes in Israel. Communist Agents are secretly working in the camps and urging refugees not to accept rehabilitation in Arab countries or accept reconciliation with the Zionists. They proclaim:

"It is our duty to oppose reconciliation between the Arab states and Israel...This reconciliation will secretly be at our expense...(It) is nothing but an imperialist plot intended to establish us in Arab countries and use us in erecting war establishments and then to destroy us by using us as cannon fodder."

One writer, attempting to show the emotional quality that may lead the refugee to form new political ties, said:

"Most American school boys are familiar with the slogan, 'Remember the Alamo.' Spanish war veterans still fill with emotion when they hear, 'Remember the Maine.' All Americans have not forgotten the cry that

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1. Stewart Alsop, "Going, Going....," N.Y. Herald Tribune, December 14, 1951.
2. Alsop, "We Must Buy Time," N.Y. Herald Tribune, December 5, 1951.
3. Albion Ross, "Reds Fight Return of Arab Refugees," The N.Y. Times, July 8, 1951.

rallied our country in the darkest months of its recent history, 'Remember Pearl Harbor! The Arabs are now crying, 'Remember Dair Yasin!'"¹

E. SUMMARY

This chapter surveyed the political and moral upheaval of the land of Palestine. Never before in the history of that land have the people stood on such a dangerous precipice, waiting for the hand that will either push them into the abyss or guide them into economic, social and moral stability.

It was discovered that the refugees, disillusioned, embittered, and demoralized by long suffering and starvation, are becoming easy preys to Communists propagandists. The political ferment aggravated by the growing hatred for the Jews and for the Western Powers, may cause the Arabs to fall into the open jaw of Communism.

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1. I.A.A.A., op. cit., p. 31.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH AID SUPPLEMENTING
THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF PROGRAM

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A. Introduction.

The Palestine refugee problem continues to be an international burden that appears to have no immediate solution. It is such that it can only be met and dealt with at an international level. Two major groups or agencies have been challenged to meet the need and ameliorate the misery: the United Nations, and Churches and Christian agencies. The United Nations views the situation as one fraught with dynamite that may have drastic results in the political and economic realms, producing elements that may disturb world peace. The Churches have responded to the spiritual, social need of the people who are undergoing great misery.

The purpose of this chapter is to study the program of the Churches in the light of their purpose as set forth in the following statement:

"When it is remembered that this Christian appeal is made for helpless and despairing men, women and children, 90 per cent of whom are not of the Christian faith, the significance of the Appeal is surely redoubled. Christian charity may achieve in the Near East what politicians and internationalists so far have failed to accomplish, namely, the engendering of a spirit of understanding, goodwill, and unprejudiced fact-facing in this historic cockpit where for centuries the rise and fall of nations has victimized innocent and fugitive millions."¹

The work of the Churches will be presented along with the program of the United Nations for they are essentially complementary in nature. The supplementary value of the work carried on by Christian agencies will also be presented.

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1. Arab Refugee Appeal, "We Sat Down and Wept."

B. The United Nations Relief and Works Program

The United Nations Relief for Palestine (U.N.R.P.) took up its duties on January 1, 1949. Because it was scheduled to run only for nine months, it was decided to use the staff of agencies already in operation among the refugees. The American Friends Service Committee was put in charge of the Gaza strip, The International Committee of the Red Cross was to distribute supplies in the northern section of Palestine, and the League of Red Cross Societies was given charge of administering relief to refugees in Arab lands other than Palestine.¹

The chief aim of U.N.R.P. was that "of coordination rather than that of operation of the relief organizations."² With United Nations funds and supplementary rations issued by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the organizations were enabled to feed a larger group of the displaced.

At the end of the nine months the United Nations realized that U.N.R.P. must be extended. No political agreements had been reached by the Arabs and the Zionists and the refugees were still homeless and hungry. After three extensions of the U.N.R.P., it was realized that the elimination of the refugee problem would necessitate a program not of relief only, but of rehabilitation and works as well. In order to reintegrate thousands of destitute people into the Arab states, there must be a new scheme for training and fitting them into the economies of these countries. For this purpose a new organization was set up to replace U.N.R.P. called the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine.²

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1. Cf. A.F.S.C., op. cit., p. 5.

2. Richardson, op. cit., p. 486.

After three and a half years of operation, it is evident that the objectives of the Economic Survey Mission have not been realized. Such a plan is expensive. The United Nations budget has no steady and insured income. The lack of ready money makes forward planning impractical and the result is higher prices for the same commodities because of the present world shortage. Prices have risen in some cases from thirty to forty five per cent in six months. The need for restraint has caused a constraint between the various governments and the Agency.¹

Another factor causing the failure of the Economic Survey Mission's objectives is the disapproval of the refugees of all attempts to resettle them. "Any effort to 'resettle' was seen by the refugees as an act of approval of the flight from Palestine and its causes."² Their acceptance of employment, they fear, will be mistakenly considered by the United Nations to mean their final renunciation of their rights to return to their homeland.³

1. United Nations Relief Work

The average standard daily ration is 1,600 calories per person. It is by no means a balanced ration, for it is 2,500 calories below the standard for physically active men. The Director of U.N.R.W.A. reports:

"Were it not for the natural hardiness of these people and the efforts of the United Nations health services, serious epidemics could not long have been avoided. But conditions of health and morale have remained generally higher than might have been expected in view of the heavy factors working against them."⁴

The Agency must rely on voluntary contributions of clothes. A few weaving schemes in Jordan and Gaza produced one million metres, a third

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1. Cf. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 6.
2. Richardson, op. cit., p. 487.
3. Cf. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 4.

of which was used for the making of garments under the direction of the Agency.¹

2. Rehabilitation

As previously mentioned, U.N.R.W.A. was established because of the United Nations growing conviction that relief alone will not eliminate the refugee question. Rehabilitation and works projects became the new emphases.

On December 11, 1948, the United Nations resolved that refugees wishing to return to their homes should be permitted to do so. Another bill was passed on December 14, 1950, decreeing the compensation to the refugees for loss of property.² Though neither materialized, the refugees have doggedly continued to hope and hold to the promises. They have opposed every housing scheme that provided homes outside the area of Palestine.

In the Gaza area large-scale housing has been planned of blocks of eight one family rooms to be built out of material that is locally available. Though U.N.R.W.A. does not consider them up to standard for reintegration purposes, they are a vast improvement over present conditions.³

In Damascus and other parts of Syria experimental houses have been devised for villagers and for city dwellers. The village houses are so designed that unskilled laborers can erect them out of local material.⁴ To all this, however, the refugee says:

"We shall never accept resettlement, even on a temporary basis. We protest the program of UNRWAPRNE which is designed to establish the 'status quo' as a 'fait accompli' - and thus give our home to the Israeli and

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1. Cf. "From Camps to Homes;" U.N., "Assistance To Pal. Ref.," p. 4.
2. Cf. Tannous, "Statement Made Before the Ad Hoc Committee," January 19, 1952, p. 6; Tannous, Warning from Arab Refugees, p. 6;
3. Cf. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 10.
4. Cf. U.N., "From Camps to Homes."

prevent our return home. We protest the 'works program' and the policy of 'integration' for the same reasons. We insist that 'development' programs begin after we return home and we want no 'indemnification' until we return home. Moslems have nothing in common with atheistic Communism, but one of our proverbs says that the enemy of my enemy may become my friend."¹

The Jordanian Government in cooperation with U.N.R.W.A. has undertaken a housing project. While the Government provided the land and arranged for construction, the United Nations financed the building. In the Jordan Valley another project is under way which will house ten thousand in about one thousand units. The Jordanian Government and the Arab Development Society have joined hands and donated the money for the whole expense.²

3. Employment

When the General Assembly at its fifth session came to the conclusion that

"the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement, is essential for the time when international assistance is no longer available and for the realization of conditions of peace and stability in the area,"³

they recognized the fact that such an objective cannot be achieved without employment which will ultimately lead to the independence of these people. A committee was appointed to survey the economic situation. Limited funds, plus the existing state of poverty, plus a scarcity of rainfall, have all combined to make this an expensive program.⁴

Among the earliest plans to be put into effect were weaving projects started in Gaza and later in Jordan. Two thousand five hundred were employed in this scheme. It was made possible for weaving concerns to

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1. "The Problem of the Arab Refugees," op. cit., p. 3., quoted from report by Eugene E. Barnett, 1951.
2. Cf. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 9.
4. Cf. ibid., p. 10.

get back into operation by means of loans.¹

Under the Works Program of U.N.R.P. road-building and afforestation accounted for forty three per cent of the total budget. Irrigation, municipal improvement, one school building made up the rest. The United Nations was both the employer and the buyer for the goods produced.²

The village of Battir provides an example of wholehearted cooperation when the people have no fear of losing their rights to their homes. When the road from Battir to Jerusalem was annexed by Israel, this village lost its market. A new road was planned by the Works Program and all the inhabitants went enthusiastically to work. Two hundred fifty men and women worked without pay on five different holidays so the work would continue uninterrupted. When blasting powder ran out and it appeared that operations would cease, the refugees themselves bought the powder and presented it as a donation to the Agency.³

When the Works Program proved ineffective, it was terminated in June, 1951. It cost much without actually producing the results hoped for by the Economic Survey Mission. Many had been employed, but only for short periods.⁴

Under the new integration schemes, the purpose was to transform the small works into self-supporting ventures through loans, tools, and equipment made available by the Agency. Only those businesses were financed which were considered economically sound. No interest is charged; however, U.N.R.W.A. reserves for itself the right to inspect the various concerns

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1. Cf. A.F.S.C., op. cit., p. 22.
2. Cf. U.N., "Assistance to Pal. Ref.," p. 11.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 8.
4. Cf. ibid., pp. 11-12.

when necessary. This approach was successful and continues to be so. By the end of June, 1951, one hundred families had been taken off the ration lists, and it was anticipated that eight hundred more would follow in a few months.¹

In addition to the above mentioned ventures, a placement service was set up to help skilled laborers and professionals find employment in neighboring countries. To encourage economic development, Development Bank of Jordan was established, granting loans for agricultural and industrial enterprises.²

4. Education

It is estimated that more than fifty per cent of the refugees are children and youth of school age. In the crowded Gaza strip there are approximately sixty five thousand children of school age who have not the means of obtaining a thorough grade school and high school education. Out of forty thousand in the Rafah vicinity, only seven students were attending classes. Most of the tiny villages had no schools under the British Mandate. Classes often meet in dark, bomb-damaged buildings.³

By March, 1949, schools of a sort had been organized for sixteen thousand children. With the aid of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, emergency educational facilities were set up. Because of the lack of funds for the purchase of classroom equipment and furniture, students sit on stones, mats, stones, or straw. Four hundred refugees have volunteered their services.⁴

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, p.11.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

3. Cf. A.F.S.C., op. cit., p. 18; U.N., "From Camps to Homes."

4. Cf. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

Now with the help of Near Eastern governments, using whatever schools already existed in the areas, the educational system has been enlarged to train forty two per cent of the children. A large number is denied this privilege, crude and limited as it is. Most of the teachers are not trained for the job. And, according to Tannous, the Agency spends \$400,000 dollars on education, which is only half of one per cent of the budget which, he believes, is "extremely insignificant compared with 16% which many Arab countries spend on education."¹

C. Aid from Christian Churches

Church groups in operation in the Near East were quick to rally to the aid of the refugees as the number of the homeless steadily swelled. Even when the United Nations had finally

"...set up a relief organization, it continued to rely on the aid of the Christian voluntary agencies (C.V.As.), in many cases subsidising their medical, educational and welfare activities, so as to enable them to serve much larger numbers. It also looked to them to supplement the task of the U.N. organization in fields of service in which the latter did not operate, e.g. in meeting the needs of 'economic' refugees (i.e. persons who, though destitute, did not actually leave their homes), and in supplying clothes for all classes of refugees."²

The work of the Churches among the refugees has been heroic and magnificent even though funds were inadequate for the great task before them. Too often the home churches were not sufficiently interested in the plight of the Arabs to augment the existing program. And though there was "a sound of weeping in Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, in Hebron and in Jericho; and east of the Jordan in Amman and Zerka; in Damascus; and also in Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon; and especially in Gaza,"³ the Christian Churches had to "approach

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1. Tannous, U.N. Dept. of Pub. Information: Press Release PM/2391, October 30, 1952.
2. N.E.C.C. for Refugee Work, "A Programme of Inter-Church aid and Service to Pal. Ref. in the Near East, 1952," p. 1.
3. N.C.C.C., "Tattered Tents and Bitter Bread of Pal. Ref."

this hungry refugee giant with empty hands."¹

A new awakening of interest has been manifested in the past brief period following the Beirut Conference held in May, 1951, under the joint auspices of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. Herman Stewart, after his return from the Conference, wrote, "The so-called Christian world would indeed be traitor to its pretensions if our courage and our resources suddenly ran dry after we had relocated our fellow Christians and tidied up old Europe."² His plea and those of others like him resulted in this recent awakening of Christendom to the plight of the displaced.

Following the Beirut Conference, a Committee on Refugees of the Near East was organized with S.A. Morrison as secretary. Through this organization seventeen mission boards and Christian agencies have channeled their contributions. The policy of the committee is to use the existing institutions belonging to the various member mission boards. The main aim is to serve both Moslems and Christians alike without any bias. Their ministry has been carried on in seven different fields where refugees are distributed: West Jordan, East Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gaza, Egypt, and Israel. A variety of services are included in the program: medical, educational, social, and spiritual. Encouraged by the interest and concern manifested during the Conference, the committee set up a program amounting to two hundred thousand dollars. The actual amount is hard to estimate because much more is being done by the ongoing, regular work of the various missions than the figures show. For example, in many mission schools half of the

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1. Herman, op. cit., p. 681.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

students are often refugees.¹

The Greek Orthodox Church, which claims the largest membership, has suffered serious losses through the recent struggles. Its meagre finances have restricted its program and caused loss of membership. However, in recent months, diverse groups and agencies have contributed to its work so that the Church has been able to maintain soup kitchens, schools, an Invalid Home and a clinic.²

By far the biggest and best organized program is that of the Lutheran World Federation (L.W.F.). Dr. Edwin Moll's deep concern led him to stay within the walls of the old city through the entire war, the only European to do so. Lorraine Erickson writes that "he is the most loved and respected foreigner in the country."³ His deep devotion for his Master and his great love for the Arabs in their misery, have prepared many hearts for the message of peace and love. Estimates show that L.W.F. has done far more for the refugee than any other private agency. Yet Edwin Moll writes:

"What we are doing is only a little compared with the vast and agonizing need...Here and now we have not only an opportunity but also an incapable duty to walk in Christ's footsteps and to witness for Him by continuing deeds of mercy and gifts of love."⁴

1. Medical Work

The medical program of the United Nations falls short of meeting the health needs of the refugees. Seventy five doctors serve 850,000 people averaging one doctor for every eleven thousand persons. Approximately two

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1. Cf. N.E.C.C.C., "A Programme of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Palestine Refugees in the Near East, 1952,"
2. Cf. *ibid.*; Morton Smith, "Report on a Visit to Jerusalem," pp. 1-4.
3. Lorraine L. Erickson, letter
4. L.W.R., "When."

hundred people are treated in a few hours. Expensive medicines are rarely used,¹ and it is only as Churches contribute drugs and supplies to U.N.R.W.A. and supplement the health program with their own medical schemes that the refugee can hope for adequate health measures.

a. Lutheran Medical Program

In 1948, a nine week sanitation program in Ramallah planned by Lutheran staff helped avert a serious epidemic. A similar scheme was put into operation in the Jericho camp where eight hundred to one thousand refugees were arriving daily.²

When the property of the German Lutheran Church came under the dominion of L.W.F., the International Red Cross relinquished the Kaiserin Victoria Hospital to the care of the Federation. Under the administration of the International Red Cross the hospital was operating in its full capacity. Inadequate finances seemed to call for a drastic reduction in operation. However, through U.N.R.W.A. financial grants it was made possible to continue with a minimum cut. The reaction of the Arabs on hearing the joyful news may be summarized in the words of thanks of one editor, David Elissa. Speaking to Edwin Moll he said:

"Tell the Lutherans of America how grateful we are that Lutherans are operating the Augusta Victoria Hospital. Tell them we Arabs we will never forget how they have come to our help in our darkest days. May you always stay with us and continue your splendid work. God will bless and reward."³

Midwives, nurses, and technical assistants are being trained in that hospital. In addition to the hospital, L.W.F. has several polyclinics in Jerusalem, Bethany, Beit Jala, Hebron, and Taybeh plus a first-

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1. Cf. Tannous, U.N. Release PM/2391, October, 1952.
2. Cf. Moll, "Agreement Reached to Continue LWF Hospital on Mt. of Olives," February 8, 1952.
3. Moll, "Lutheran Aid to Arab Refugees Wins Praise of Moslem Leaders," November 11, 1948.

aid center in Beit Sahur, all under the direction of Tewfic Canaan, a medical doctor. Upward of five hundred patients are treated weekly in the clinics. The Federation report shows that in the first eight months of operation, 11,543 patients received medical care and 15,269 prescriptions were filled. Lutheran polyclinics are the only clinics "in the whole country which are able to give patients not only stock medicines, but active tonics, vitamins and necessary baby foods"¹free.

Moreover, Lutheran World Relief (L.W.R.) has shipped drugs and medical equipment to schools, orphanages, and other institutions. The beneficiaries are not only institutions under the supervision of the Commission on Younger Churches Orphaned Missions of the National Lutheran Council. Other institutions have received aid from L.W.R. such as the Arab National Hospital at Beit Jala, the Protestant Arab Hospital in Nablus, and the Greek Orthodox Invalid Home.²

Seventy five per cent of the patients are Moslem. Edwin Moll looks upon this fact as a challenge and an opportunity. "This shows how essential these polyclinics are in our missionary work," he wrote at one time, "where Christianity is witnessed by deeds and not by words only."³

b. Berachan Sanatorium

Berachan Sanatorium is a sixty five room edifice under the direction of T.A. Lambie, T.B. specialist and former African medical missionary. The site was purchased in 1947, when Lambie felt the need for such a hospital

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1. L.W.R., Report, January 16, 1950.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

3. Moll, "Lutheran Aid to Arab Refugees Wins Praise of Moslem Leaders," November 11, 1948.

in the Near East. The building provides a two-fold ministry to the nearby camp: ministry of the body, and ministry to the need of the soul. The sanatorium has been in full operation since the latter part of 1952, a very timely project for the growing need. Never before in the history of the country has T.B. been so widespread, and never before was there as great a need. A polyclinic under the supervision of a trained nurse gives treatment to patients who daily come from the camp.¹

The spiritual ministry of the institution is carried on by two evangelists, an American and an Arab. Bible study classes have been started by the American missionaries for young people.²

c. Orthodox Medical Work

The medical program of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem has never been extensive. In Jerusalem, the Orthodox Invalid's Home Society had maintained a home for invalids unable to care for themselves. Doctors of the Orthodox faith have given devoted service to this work. When the society could carry the load no longer, grants came for the continuation of the work from U.N.R.W.A., the Red Cross, the Anglican Diocese, the Jordanese Government, and the Lutheran Federation. American Friends of the Orthodox Patriarchate have shown marked interest in the progress of that Church and have given material aid and moral support. This support has enabled the society to continue operation of a maternity home near Bethlehem.³

The Orthodox Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick in Jerusalem has also been assisted to carry on its program of providing free medicine for an average of forty chronic cases, and one hundred transients

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1. Cf. T.A. Lambie, "Further Short Report on Berachan San," December 29, 1952.
2. Cf. Irma Lambie, personal letter, January 2, 1953.
3. Cf. "The Orthodox Invalid's Home Society," March 17, 1952; M. Smith, "Report on a Visit to Jerusalem," p. 4.

per month. The most serious cases are sent to various mission hospitals.¹

d. Near East Christian Council Medical Program

The work of the Near East Christian Council Committee (N.E.C.C.C.) is not easily distinguishable from that of the missions that make up its membership. For the sake of expediency both will be surveyed together.

Infant welfare centers have been subsidized by funds from the Anglican Diocese. L.W.F. and grants from Bishop in Jerusalem's Fund help support a Home for the Aged Invalids at Bethlehem founded by a Greek Orthodox lady. Some mission hospitals have made their contribution by reserving a certain number of beds for patients sent by U.N.R.W.A. Kennedy Memorial Hospital at Tripoli, run by the American Presbyterian Mission, has reserved fifty-five beds for which they charge one dollar a day when the actual cost is one dollar fifty. The Hamilton Memorial T.B. Sanatorium has made a great contribution toward medical service. One-third of the beds in the Victoria Hospital of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society are assigned for refugees.²

The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) hospital in Gaza has been in constant use since the American Friends Service Committee took up the work among the refugees. It rendered service to thousands of refugees, including a large group of those wounded in the fighting. It still handles the major surgical cases, trains nurses, laboratory assistants, and technicians. Though U.N.R.W.A. has assigned regular monthly donations to the institution, it is still under the responsible administration of C.M.S. staff. The C.M.S. hospital in Es Salt was turned over completely to

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1. Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 4.

2. Cf. N.E.C.C.C., op. cit., pp. 9, 16.

U.N.R.W.A. to staff and to operate. Purnell Hospital, of the Jerusalem and East Mission, has been rented to U.N.R.W.A. at the reduced rental of 1,400 dollars a year.¹

The International Christian Committee Relief Team (I.C.C.), also works under the auspices of N.E.C.C.C. A recent survey conducted by members of the team revealed the existence of six to seven thousand tubercular cases in the Samaria area alone. They recognize the urgent need for sanatoriums to care for emergency cases. When their full equipment arrives, they plan to send out medical mobile units to frontier villages of the district of Samaria. Tent Sanatoriums will be used until funds become available to rent a building to house the patients. At present they are working under great handicaps, mostly financial. Their present monthly allowance is seventy-five dollars. They are completely dependent on voluntary donations.²

2. Relief Work

The Christian agencies have endeavored to work mainly with the economic refugees who receive no rations from U.N.R.W.A.

a. Lutheran Relief

Lutheran World Aid (L.W.A.) has done a valiant piece of work in fighting against the misery, the hunger, and the despondency of the refugees. Edwin Moll looks upon the relief work as a direct means of evangelism. He wrote, "Our relief goods have been like plows turning up the soil of men's souls to receive the seed of the Gospel."³

In the first year of ministry among the exiled people, L.W.F. sent out three hundred bales of used clothing to be distributed in the

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 11, 14, 18.

2. Cf. I.C.C., Report, *op. cit.*, p. 3, Appendix (2b).

3. L.W.R., "Resource Material," p. 2.

camps, forty tons of wheat, ten thousand dollars' worth of blankets, besides large quantities of drugs and medicines. Rations were also distributed among economic refugees in Jerusalem, and to one hundred and twenty-five nuns in a Russian Orthodox home, food and clothing were issued.¹

An appeal written to the Lutheran world read as follows:

"In proportion as we receive we can relieve; in proportion as you give, we can save lives. In the constant grave peril, before which almost all of Protestantism has fled, the Lutheran Church is standing fast and firm. Her record in this regard is unique. Our services are crowded, even though worshippers often must traverse danger areas to reach the church. The singing of hymns, the prayers, the sermon, and the celebration of the Sacraments are punctuated with the whine of bullets and the detonation of mortar shells. In Jerusalem, as in Bethlehem, Beit Jala and Beit Sahour, there are Sunday Schools, weekday meetings of auxiliary meetings, etc...

"Lutheran World Action must not fail, dare not fail. God depends on YOU. If you fail, God fails."²

Three thousand hungry people are daily fed in the Lutheran soup kitchens in Jerusalem. The majority of the people again are Moslem. In Beit Sahur two hundred refugee children and two hundred fifty school children are given one meal a day. With the meal, each child receives a bread ration of one hundred and seventy grams (six ounces). Many of the children get no food during the day other than the hot meal served by L.W.R. One can only imagine what would have happened, had they not eaten that daily life-saving meal.³ In the early months when no agencies appeared to sense the need, Edwin Moll declared:

"The result, unless relief comes, will be--must be--great misery, suffering and loss of life. Unless America sends bread and clothing, she will have to send shovels and picks to dig graves for these who will die of hunger and starvation."⁴

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1. Cf. Moll, "Crisis in Palestine Challenges IWA," November 17, 1948; Modem, "IWR Sends Aid to Pal.," News Bureau, October 29, 1948.
2. Moll, "Crisis in Palestine...."
3. Cf. L.W.R., "Summary of 1950 Relief Activity," pp. 1-2.
4. Moll, "Lutheran Aid to Arab Ref. Wins Praise of Moslem Leaders," November 11, 1948.

N.E.C.C.C. estimates the value of clothing distributed annually by the Lutheran Federation to reach the figure of \$318,554, while the beneficiaries exceed two hundred thousand. They also report that the ten Lutheran milk centers in various towns and villages serve approximately twelve thousand people.¹

b. Mennonite Central Committee

After the Mennonite Central Committee established its headquarters in Jericho, it set up recreational centers, initiated vocational projects, and started its work of clothes distribution. Bales of clothing dispensed through this agency have been estimated at sixty thousand dollars per annum. Every bundle goes with the slogan "In the Name of Christ." However, they were absolutely forbidden to issue any gospels with the clothing.²

One of the special tasks of the M.C.C. is that of preparing layettes for new born refugee babies. The material is given by U.N.R.W.A.. The layettes have been found to provide incentive drawing expectant mothers to the clinics. When they arrive they are given a check-up. Other projects include shoemaking, English classes, sewing courses. In addition, bi-weekly services are held for Christians.³

M.C.C. has been generous in lending workers to other organizations. One nurse assists T.A. Lambie at Berachan Sanatorium; another was lent to work in a hospital in Nablus.⁴

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1. Cf. N.E.C.C.C., op. cit., pp. 7-8.

2. Cf. J.N. Byler, Letter, October 21, 1952; E. Lehman, Letter to Byler, October 16, 1952.

3. Cf. Lehman to Byler, Letter, October 16, 1952.

4. Cf. ibid. loc. cit.

c. Near East Christian Council

Working through the Near East Christian Council Committee are the ten mission boards affiliated with the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.: American Board, Church of God, Evangelical and Reformed, Friends, Methodist, Presbyterian U.S.A., Reformed Church of America, United Presbyterian, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association.

Hundreds of bales of clothing, blankets, and bedding were issued under the direction of this committee, mostly in West Jordan where large numbers of refugees have congregated. Because of the larger proportion of economic refugees in that section, the greater amount of food, flour, milk, and food stuffs has been issued among them. The Lutheran Federation, either directly or through U.N.R.W.A., gives out beans, oats, milk powder, rice, dried eggs at an annual value of \$103,428.¹ (See Appendix IV)

The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem receives an amount of twenty thousand dollars yearly from the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which he dispenses according to needs. Milk centers, soup kitchens for supplementary feeding utilize a portion of that sum. The rest goes to the Arabic Anglican community, the Orthodox Churches for education, relief, and to the Syrian Orthodox community. Another sum of twenty-five thousand dollars was received in 1951 from contributions sent from England, which was used to supplement the above program, and to house and accommodate refugees in the Christchurch Hostel in Jerusalem and Bethany.²

Gaza was in the past "for a variety of reasons, the Cinderella

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1. Cf., N.E.C.C.C., op. cit., p. 8.

2. Cf. ibid., pp. 7-8.

of Christian relief work, but the balance is now being rectified."¹ Now Gaza area is in desperate need. Though rations are given out by the Egyptian government to economic refugees, with supplementary help from C.V.As. and Egyptian Churches, the need continues to be acute and health is fast failing.

3. Educational Program

The United Nations educational program is not adequate or intensive enough to meet the need of the school age children. Tannous declares that it "includes only the first primary class. So primitive is the education rendered by the Agency, and yet only one-half to two-thirds of the children receive that privilege." He continues to say, "If we continue at this rate, we shall have a sickly, uneducated group which will be a menace to all its surroundings."²

a. Laubach Literacy Campaign

Again it is hard to study the educational program of the Churches apart from its cooperation with U.N.R.W.A. and vice versa. A literacy campaign based on the Laubach method was launched by Helaneh Mikhail, a Moslem convert to Christianity and staff member under the United Presbyterian Board. The response was so encouraging that she was engaged by U.N.R.W.A. to demonstrate a similar campaign in other refugee camps. Over eight thousand in the Gaza district had learned to read in the period between February and October of 1950. Local government officials and U.N.R.W.A. personnel were very enthusiastic and responded wholeheartedly to her efforts.³

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1. Ibid., p. 18.

2. Tannous, U.N. Release PM/2391, October, 1952, p. 6.

3. Cf. Laubach Literacy Campaign Committee Report to the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, February 20, 1951, p. 1.

One man of sixty-two was reading from a newspaper by the end of the first month. Another, of a similar age, was judged to have attained the equivalent of second primary class by the end of the same length of time. A monthly magazine is being printed for the newly literate by the Society Gammia-el-Mahabba called "Risalat-el-Mahabba," which means the "Epistle of Love." Several mission boards contribute to this worthy cause.

Helaneh Mikhail was first invited to do this work by the Campaign Committee and the Quakers. The refugees could not afford to buy their own books. With five hundred dollars supplied by the Area Inspector of the A.F.S.C., five hundred sets of books were purchased, constituting Primer and Readers, one, two, three, and four. With these books Helaneh Mikhail hoped to reach twenty-five thousand people, in which case it would cost two piasters, approximately six cents, to teach an illiterate to read.²

About four hundred teachers volunteered their services. The headmaster of one school encouraged his teachers and students to utilize their holiday season to teach. The result was encouraging. Since then, the United Nations has undertaken the financing of the campaign and has adopted the method entirely in its educational program. Helaneh said in connection with this work, "Relief work will not last forever; rations will cease, but this good thing which brings them into a new world will remain theirs to bring them comfort, progress and freedom."³

b. Lutheran Schools

The former Tabitha Kumi School of Jerusalem has been transferred

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, loc. cit.
3. H. Mikhail, "Report of the Launching of the Laubach Campaign in the Gaza Strip," December 12, 1950.

to Beit Jala, where at the present, one hundred and ten girls are being educated under the care of Sister Bertha Harz. Relief goods are used to clothe and feed these girls.¹

The Lutherans also have an orphanage for boys in Bethlehem, another for girls in Beit Sahur, one in Jerusalem, and a fourth in Jenin. A Home for the Blind and a Trade School on the Mount of Olives comprise the remainder of their educational program, which costs L.W.F. \$47,572 per annum.²

c. Schools Affiliated with N.E.C.C.

The N.E.C.C. Committee is utilizing the existing educational institutional facilities of member mission boards. Scholarships have been made available through them to one hundred teen age boys in the Presbyterian Boys' School in Sidon.³

One of the most valuable phases of the work of C.V.As. is the teacher training program which they have instituted. By agreement with U.N.E.S.C.O., they are responsible for three teacher training centers which operate during the summer holidays: one in Lebanon, one in Beirut, one in Ramallah, while a fourth is running a double course in Gaza and Khan Younis.⁴

Another valuable service rendered by the C.V.As. joint work is a program for training of social workers. It was discovered that many of the welfare workers employed by U.N.R.W.A. are not trained for the task. The Mennonite Central Committee has undertaken the responsibility of training them and also training others for the purpose of expanding the C.V.As. program.⁵

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1. Cf. Melikian, letter, pp. 1-2.
2. Cf. N.E.C.C.C., op. cit., p.
3. Cf. Blake, "One Great Hour of Sharing."
4. Cf. ibid., p. 4.
5. Cf. op. cit.

D. Summary

It was discovered that when the Arabs were expelled from their homes, the world was apparently blind to their condition. As they crowded into the neighboring Arab States, Arab governments took over their support as best they could. Churches and Christian Agencies rallied to the aid of the refugees, appealing to the United Nations to meet the need.

Following the pleas of Count Bernadotte and the other concerned groups, The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution to set up a program of relief. U.N.R.P. coordinated the program of the American Friends Service Committee, The International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies. It was revealed in this chapter, that the United Nations, realizing that a program of relief alone cannot eliminate the refugee problem, established U.N.R.W.A. to help reintegrate refugees into the economic life of the Near East through a program of rehabilitation and employment. The study revealed the fact that the new Agency was not completely successful in its efforts to carry out the recommendations of the Economic Survey Mission.

A study of the program of the various Churches working among the refugees, revealed that a valuable service is being rendered by them in the fields of education, relief, and medicine. It was further implicated that the Churches' relief program among the economic refugees has been instrumental in saving lives and generating hope in the hearts of many.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT THE CHURCHES SHOULD DO

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A. Introduction

The recent warfare in the Holy Land has created a situation that is fraught with possibilities as well as disturbing elements, factors that should present a challenge to the Christian Churches. Though economically, socially, and spiritually, conditions are at low ebb, the Churches at present have a golden opportunity to present the Christian message in word and deed as never before.

In the light of the aim of the Churches as presented in chapter three, namely, the ministry to the needs of men, women, and children, who are in despair, in the hope of engendering goodwill and peace where politics have failed, the ministry of the Churches will be evaluated for effectiveness. Having already presented what the Churches have accomplished, this chapter will seek to point out neglected areas in the program of the Churches, together with certain inadequacies and weaknesses, and to suggest the areas that should inspire greater dedication and prompt speedier action by all Churches on the field whether indigenous or missionary.

B. Elements Basic to the Future of the Land

Before attempting to evaluate the work of the Churches among the refugees, it will be well to enumerate the elements that are danger points, fast hurling the country and the people into a political disorder and chaos.

1. A Growing Problem

It is important to be constantly aware of the fact that this is a growing, not a diminishing one. It is not a mere problem of hundreds,

but of thousands, not an isolated situation, but one with far-reaching effects. Two factors contribute continual increase of the number of refugees: many families that have accepted the invitations of friends to share their homes, have become aware that no solution is in sight, and are now joining refugee camps; the birth rate has been accelerated in recent months. Gerraud describes the present increase in population in the following terms:

"The refugee population is not merely a question of arithmetic. This mass of human beings follows one of the most constant rules of humanity: the birthrate grows in reverse proportion to the standard of living. The average birthrate among the 850,000 Arab refugees is 48 per thousand, i.e. more than the birthrate in Palestine under the British Mandate and about twice as much as the normal birthrate of the western countries."¹

2. Growing Problem of Integration

Twenty to thirty thousand young men yearly reach the age when they should become self supporting, yet more than one-third of this group has had neither training in technical skills nor the education to help them maintain themselves or their families. As the number of unskilled youth increases, the problem of integration becomes more pressing. The Near East is not industrialized; therefore, it is in no position to absorb large numbers of unemployed, unskilled people.

There is also the added fact of the tension that has been mounting between the refugees and the governments of the neighboring Arab States. The Lebanese Government will not allow the refugees to find employment because of the large number of unemployed among its own citizens.²

Added to this is Lebanon's unwillingness to change its economy. As things stand, the country has a slight majority of Christian citizens

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1. R. Gerraud, "The Arab Refugee Problem is Growing not Diminishing."
2. Cf. Blake, op. cit., p. 2.

and wants no change in the scale. A greater proportion of the Palestine refugees are Moslems. Accepting new citizens will mean accepting the Moslems, with the result that their economy and the balance between Christian and Moslem is upset.

3. Growing Power of Communism

As the refugees grow more desperate, Communism gains ground. The menace waxes stronger as the United Nations and the United States lose their popularity. One proverb which echoes in every camp and is repeated by young and old is the well known saying, "The enemy of my enemy may become my friend." These are no mere empty words, as recent events have shown. In the past months the four top leaders of the underground Communist party in Jordan were caught. They had evidently crossed and recrossed the border into Israel, before they were finally arrested. It was discovered that a close contact exists between the Israeli Communist party and the Arab party and that much of the literature being distributed among the refugees comes from Israel.¹

The implication inherent in the close contact with Jewish Communists is terrifying. For, when the Arab forgets his grudge against the Jew through the influence of certain political sympathies, the power of that idea must be stronger than his hatred. The Arab refugee may be forced into an action that will cost him dearly in order to bring suffering on those who have brought about his own dislodging and misery, though he may die in the process.

4. Growing Tension Between Israel and the Arabs

This has been discussed more fully in the second chapter of this

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1. Cf. Erickson, op. cit., p. 3.

thesis.¹ However, it is essential to keep this fact in mind because it is the basic reason for the refugees' unwillingness to accept repatriation in any country other than their own, and for the repeated Zionist insistence that Israel has no room for the exiled Arab. This tension mounts as the boycott continues. Israel continues to adopt the policy of refusing to reimburse the Arabs for lost property until the Arab States repeal their general boycott. So long as this situation continues, the refugees will remain destitute wanderers among the nations.

5. Continuing need for Relief, Rehabilitation, and Education

Last, but certainly not least among the growing needs of the refugee, is his need for shelter, for food, for a normal life. Drugs, tents, blankets, clothing, and lack of sanitation, are a constant source of distress to those who work, but find not the means with which to administer their acts of mercy.

These, in brief, are the urgent problems that must be attended to before it is too late, before the current becomes too strong and too swift to be turned into calmer streams. Evaluating the work of the Churches in its relation to this political problem, one may raise the following questions: Where can the Churches begin? What can they do in the face of political, social, economic giants that unmercifully refuse to be tamed? What have the Churches succeeded to do? Where have they failed their mission? Great international powers have sought to find a solution to Palestine's puzzle and have failed. However, the Churches must remember that it is not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of God that great things are accomplished.

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1. Cf. ante., pp. 34-35.

C. What the Churches Can Do

The political puzzle need not be pieced together before the Churches launch into the whirlpool to save drowning men and women. While the Churches cannot be expected to solve all problems, their genuine spiritual ministry may produce greater results than any political agency. Their foundation is based on firmer rock; it is rooted in the Lord of the Universe Himself. In this land where "there are no leaders, no men with messages,"¹ indigenous Christian leadership too is lacking. The untiring love and compassion of Christians cannot but bear fruit.

1. Overcome Their Prejudices

A majority of Christians look upon the question of Palestine with a certain religious bias. The return of the Jews to Palestine, they believe, is the fulfilment of God's promise to Israel through His prophets of old. They dare not work against God's plan by aiding the Arabs whom God has expelled from the country to provide a haven for the Jews. The editor of 'The Methodist Challenge' shows his strong reaction to this attitude. He wrote:

"When some of my brethren get shouting happy over this kind of thing being the will and purpose of God and make Him a happy party to such robbery and plunder, I confess that my heart fails me. I can not go with them. If this be the restoration of the Israel of God, I have not only misread the Scriptures but I do not understand the moral attitude of Jehovah.

"More than that, the State of Israel is governed by, controlled by and made up of those, a majority of whom are not remotely Israelites. Certainly, they are not Christian Israelites. Thousands of Christian Arabs have been dispossessed, driven out and banished from their homes and the land of their nativity. The so-called Israelites who have displaced them are not only not Christians, but students of the situation

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1. James Bell, "Strangled City," Time, April 28, 1952.

declare that the majority of them are at heart Communists and only await the opportune hour to join themselves to Russia."¹

This is no time for Christian Churches to adhere to prejudices. It is the time for action, not a time for taking issues with opposite views, when people are dying of hunger. The Christian world must realize that the situation in the Near East "is not only critical, but potentially explosive...(that) revolutionary forces of dissent are emerging which threaten to submerge in chaos and anarchy the laready unsatisfactory state of political and economic instability."²

Those who look upon the Zionists as the remnant returning to Zion, rejoice to see God's work. In their rejoicing they forget the price paid by the Arabs. The Moslem must not be approached by a Christian who is rejoicing in his loss. He will not respond to the message that reports God as the author of his misery. This may be the return of the remnant. The point to be stressed here is this: Christians dare not rejoice in the suffering of people.

At present two attitudes predominate among the Christians. While some "only remember the injustices inflicted on the Jews by anti-Semitic policies in Europe, or interpret the Zionist movement in terms of Biblical prophecy, others have their eyes open only to the wrongs done to the Arabs by the Western Powers, the United States or the establishment of the State of Israel."³ The present task of the Churches is to understand both views, endeavor to bridge the barrier between the two people. Prejudices have not as yet healed the wounds.

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1. Editor, "The Arab Refugees," The Methodist Challenge, September, 1952, p. 12.
2. Blake, op. cit., p. 2.
3. Ibid., p. 2.

Authorities have acknowledged the fact that "the main hindrances to peace in the Near East at present are psychological rather than political¹ or economic."

2. Strengthen Their Spiritual Ministry

Before the Beirut Conference met, its members made an intensive study of the situation existing among the refugees. One member was approached by the sheikh of one of the camps who said to him:

"We do not appeal to your duty toward us, but to your duty to your God... If you go away and nothing happens, we shall know that you came to see us out of simple curiosity. If something happens, we shall know that you believe in God."²

Indeed, the work of the Christian Church is under scrutiny. The measure of the fulfilment of the Christian mission will determine the program's success or failure.

Fayez Sayegh, describing the present state of turmoil in the Near East, proclaims:

"The struggle is a struggle for the Arab soul itself; it has existential, spiritual, cultural as well as political implications and repercussions. Its outcome, far more than political in nature and import will exert its influence far beyond the present or the immediate future."³

Sayegh's view is the view of an Arab Christian who sees the groping and search of the Arab world. He believes that the search is manifested on different levels: a search for ideological persuasions; political freedom; of values, cultural, moral, and spiritual. The seeking is manifested on the personal and the national levels. There is a seeking for leadership, for purpose, for a goal. He asserts that the political

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1. Ibid., loc. cit.
2. Herman, op. cit., p. 680.
3. Fayez Sayegh, "The Search in Our Souls," Muslim World, October, 1952. p. 249.

answer to the question "Whither the Arab world?" may determine the destiny of the whole Near East Arab world, spiritually, economically, politically, and socially. A spiritual stagnation prevails over the whole Arab world at the present time.¹

This need not call for despondency. For, "the mere fact of the search is hopeful and promising...The moment is pregnant with promise and prospects."² The picture of the seeming aimless groping is not the total picture. The Churches may have a big share in the shaping of events in the Near East, if they so choose.

The question may well be asked: Who will do the job? It is quite evident that the Greek Orthodox Church cannot carry on the spiritual ministry alone. Through the past centuries this Church had experienced a decline in vitality, in dynamic, in membership. "With their evangelical efforts minimized, the work of these churches often was reduced to a bitter struggle for survival."³ The Eastern Church does not have the dynamic message needed for this time of turmoil and it does not have the leadership.

Two alternatives are opened. They are mutually exclusive at first view. Yet both are necessary and essential for the spiritual awakening of the whole Near East. The first must necessarily be the reawakening of the Eastern Church and its membership from the present lethargy. In fact

"If the Christian-Arab communities recapture the positive essence of Christianity, its joyfulness and confidence and humility and suffering, and manifest their Christianity as a living faith of love and testimony and forgiveness, rather than emphasizing the hopelessly-negative and essentially unChristian defensive, the 'minority' attitude which at present

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 249-252.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

3. Wilton Wynn, "Joining Hands with Arab Refugees," *The Christian Century*, July 4, 1951, p. 792.

characterizes their domestic position - a sad mixture of feelings of superiority and fear,"¹

its message may bring life eternal to the seeking hearts. The Church then can bring hope and peace to the bitter, angry refugees.

The second alternative, a necessary one also, must be the strengthening of the spiritual message of the Western Churches. The Protestant Churches at work in Moslem lands, find themselves confronted with a choice, that of choosing between Christian truth and Christian love. The struggle arises out of timidity. It is no easy task to face a Moslem with the truth of the Christian gospel. Kenneth Cragg, a missionary in the Near East, declares that the duty of the missionary is to proclaim the truth even though

"...to speak the truth in love is an exacting vocation. (For) We have to hold properly together that love of our neighbor which involves genuine respect of all that he is in his personality and heritage, and that assurance of the finality and uniqueness of the trust of Christ which is the compulsion to mission. The first calls us to enter sympathetically into the values in non-Christian faith and in these terms to foster forbearance. The second lays upon us the loyal presentation of a truth which is necessarily critical, since its salvation is also judgment."²

The Western Churches dare not follow in the footsteps of the Orthodox Church and allow their evangelical message to be muffled by a fear of the Moslem majority. Who is to give the answer that directs the destiny of nations? Will the Church accept its high calling and mission regardless of the difficulties, or will the Christians give up in dismay and abandon the field to the Communists? If the Churches are to succeed where politics have failed, they must present a dynamic message. Ethics are not enough. The Arab soul has been bared. It now unashamedly proclaims its crying need.

The continued political unrest and ferment sufficiently prove that

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1. Sayegh, op. cit., p. 256.
2. Claude C. Pickens, First Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East, January 29-30, 1953, quoted from Kenneth Cragg letter.

material aid alone is not the answer. Though the United States contributed the largest share of the financial support of the United Nations relief work among the refugees, it has not gained in popularity. The bitterness of the refugees and their dislike for the United Nations and all it represents is sufficient proof that financial aid is no guarantee for loyalty. The East knows the West mainly through its big industry, its machinery, its material goods. At present, the West is hoping to combat Communism in Palestine with material betterment for the refugee, the very means by which Communism is proclaimed to win its following. Kenneth Cragg soberly writes:

"The trouble is that we all tend to emphasize the materialistic side of things far more than the other aspects of life. With all the food shortage and material hardships in the East, I still believe that what the people really want and are after is an 'idea,' a 'faith,' which could grip them. Starving bellies are dangerous, but starving minds and souls are far worse."¹

Though spiritual lethargy characterizes the condition of the Holy Land at present, it is not wholly due to the failure of the Christian Churches. Certain Churches have a strong evangelistic program. However, it is often limited because of the Moslem's unresponsive attitude. The Moslem soul is hard soil that is not receptive to the gospel. Much tending and tilling in patient love, will bring results. The soil is parched for the living water, though the Arab world itself is unaware of the condition.

The weakness is apparent. Yet this weakness is not wholly the result of unwillingness on the part of the Churches to proclaim the gospel, but rather the result of years of striving with little or no visible fruit.

3. Aid the Eastern Church

The followers of the Greek Orthodox Church, form the largest

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1. Ibid.

body of Christians. This Church represents the "Christian tradition, maintained there from the time of Christ himself."¹ It is this dwelling in the dream of the past that has chained the Eastern Church. Before the Greek Orthodox Church can become an instrument for the winning of souls, it must "recapture the positive essence of Christianity,"² and manifest its living faith and testimony of love and joy.

a. Financial Strait

One of the chief burdens of the Eastern Church which saps its energy and hampers its growth, is its financial problem. Much of its property is in ruins. Much of it is in the hands of the Zionists. The Church can give very limited aid to many of its destitute members for it has no assured financial income. Its one hundred schools, inferior and poorly equipped as they are, have had to be reduced to thirty-three.³

b. Roman Catholic Competition

This Church is now facing serious competition with Roman Catholicism, and losing. Many Orthodox refugees are being aided by Rome and repay in the only way that is open to them, namely, joining the Catholic Church. A representative from the American Friends of the Orthodox Patriarchate wrote after his tour of the Holy Land, "Every village I visited, even in the most out of the way parts of Transjordan, contained a Roman Catholic church and school, and always one or the other - and usually both - brand new."⁴

Russia is willing to supply the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch of Moscow has repeatedly invited the Patriarch of Jerusalem to apply to him

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1. A.F. O. P., "The Holy Sepulchre."

2. Sayegh, op. cit., loc. cit.

3. Cf. A.F.O.P., op. cit.

4. Morton Smith, op. cit., p. 3.

for funds to meet their financial needs.

c. Untrained Clergy

Another of the marked weaknesses of the Orthodox Church is its untrained clergy. Unenlightened leadership is worse than none. The Communist propaganda is most likely to be directed toward the peasants "and the priest is the village leader by whom it should be opposed."¹ However, these leaders are not trained for the role of guiding the people. The Church cannot hope to retain its membership unless it provides them with clergy that is educated, that can be respected.²

Edwin Moll, of the Lutheran Federation, and Bishop Stewart, of the Anglican Church, have become aware of the tragedy. They have pledged a joint support of a theological training school of fifty students for a period of five years to the extent of fifteen thousand dollars a year.³

D. SUMMARY

This chapter briefly reviewed the factors that may cause ultimate national disaster in the realm of the social and the spiritual. The problem is a growing one, integration is becoming increasingly difficult as the number of unskilled increases, Communism is fast gaining followers, and the tension between the Israelis and the Arabs is mounting. It was discovered that the need continues to be pressing.

It was further implied that these factors constitute a challenge to the Churches, to be conquered through a triple fold effort of overcoming prejudices, strengthening of the spiritual ministry, and finally aiding the Greek Orthodox Church.

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1. Ibid., p. 2.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 3.

3. Cf. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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Through the recent years one big item in world news has been the political turmoil and struggle in the land of Palestine. The purpose of this thesis was to review the historic background of the knotty problem and study the condition of the Arab refugees who have become destitute through the partition of Palestine. The main point of interest was the study of the role of the Church in this connection.

It was discovered that the Arabs have entered into the land of Palestine initially for a religious purpose, that of spreading the religion of Islam. Though the Arabs have stayed in the country since the battle of the Yarmuk in 636, which opened the whole Near East to the Arab military leaders, they have been subjected to successive foreign sovereigns. A nationalistic spirit began to spread among the Arabs during the reign of Turkey, mainly during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. When these movements were outlawed, secret societies became underground organizations, existing for the purpose of freeing the country of Turkish rule.

The study revealed that during the First World War England invited the Arab world to her support in return for political independence. Though England was reluctant at first to set the boundaries of those lands to be included in the emancipated Arab kingdom, Hussain's insistence obtained the promise, with slight modifications. The promise, though it excluded certain areas, did not exclude the land of Palestine. The Arabs thence abandoned Turkey's ranks to take up arms for the Allies.

It was at that time, the study revealed, that the Balfour Declara-

tion was published which was later to be the source of political upheaval in the land. The declaration spelled disaster to the Arabs who were zealously fighting to expell the Turk from their land. The British continually tried to allay the fears of the Arabs with the argument that Jewish migration into the land would not harm the Arab cause or impair Arab independence. The National Home for the Jews, they declared, would add to the prosperity of the country rather than impeding the national cause.

Jewish migration into the land of promise brought a stream of foreign citizens into the country. The Arabs, who had not favored or approved the Balfour Declaration, began to look with suspicion on the new Palestinians who were coming in droves of thousands. They began to fear that their early fears had been justified. The Zionists were willing to pay high prices for the land they bought. Though they did bring a new tide of prosperity to the land, the Arabs continued to see the situation as harboring national disaster, causing them to be reduced to the status of foreigners in their own land.

Their strategy was to force the cessation of Jewish immigration by organized rioting and nation-wide strike. They believe, as facts revealed, in their indisputed right to determine their destiny and future. There followed then a period of fighting intended to bring a speedy decision on the part of the British Government. The White Paper of 1939 was finally issued. It decreed that Jewish migration be continued for a brief period of time until the total became one third of the total population of the country.

The Zionist disapproval to the White Paper was strong, as their interests were closely linked with immigration. It was discovered that

anti-Semitism had added to the number of homeless, displaced Jews, who needed a national home, a haven. They too felt they had a right to the country because of their historical relation with the land. Their expenditure of funds in the buildings of new institutions, hospitals and libraries, could not they felt, be waved aside. The result was the campaign of terrorism and sabotage which completely baffled the British Government resulting in the termination of the Mandate and the decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine in the hope that partition would result in peace.

It was revealed that partition was not the answer. The decision of the United Nations was heatedly rejected by the Arabs who refused to believe that such an action could go into effect. The unprepared, unorganized Arab military power was badly defeated and lost the larger proportion of the country to the Israeli troops. The result of the recent partition and civil war, is the vast number of destitute, displaced Palestinians.

It was discovered that the present conditions, far from being merely an economic problem, have vast implications that may have far reaching effects in determining the future of the land, the whole Near East area, and probably more drastic yet, world wide significance. As the tension is accelerated between the Arab world and the west, on the one hand, and between Israel and the Arab world, Communism has been gaining ground, and increasing its following. The general attitude displayed by the refugee is alarming. His tendency to espouse foreign political ideas against his religious and cultural interests, presents a problem that cannot be ignored.

The United Nations, after repeated pleas from Count Folke

Bernadotte, missionary groups, and the Arab States, finally did set up a program of relief for Palestine refugees, utilizing the program of the agencies that had responded to the need and attempted to minimize the suffering. American Friends Service Committee, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies were given the funds to administer this program of feeding.

It was further discovered, that the program of relief was found to be lacking. Relief alone was discovered to be insufficient for solving the problem of a political, economic, social situation. A new agency was set up, U.N.R.W.A., whose aim was to integrate the refugee into the economies of Arab nations. Though the objectives of the Economic Survey Commission were worthy objectives, the U.N. has not as yet been able to effect the desired results. The Arabs have shown an unwillingness to accept rehabilitation in any country but their own and have loudly proclaimed their right to return to their homeland. They claim their right to return because of the U. N. decisions of Dec. 11, 1948, and Dec. 14, 1950, resolving that all refugees wishing to return to their country, should be allowed to do so, and those not wishing to return to be compensated.

Furthermore, it was ascertained that the conditions continue to be unstable. Health conditions, educational opportunities, food and rations, employment and housing, are greatly inadequate at the present time. The Churches' program among the refugees has attempted to supplement the lack evident in the program of the U. N. The Christian missionary effort has splendidly portrayed the spirit of Christ to the Moslem who judges the Christian by deeds rather than by words. The concern of the Christian missionaries, who have sincerely

sought to give aid to Moslem as well as Christian because of deep sympathy for his suffering, has brought appreciation and gratitude from many.

The study disclosed that a program of education, health, and relief is carried on by the various Churches, mainly among the economic refugees. Their status is considered still more acute than that of the official refugee who, because of property loss, is entitled to aid from U. N. R. W. A. The program is mainly carried on by the Lutheran World Federation whose relief, medical, and educational work is estimated to be more than that of the combined work of other Churches.

It was revealed in this thesis that the work of the Churches, splendid as it is, is yet lacking for it has not succeeded in giving the answer to the spiritual seeking of the Arab world. It was moreover discovered that, in order to achieve their purpose of bringing peace and goodwill where international politics have failed, the Churches must seek to bring an understanding of the problem to the Christian world, overcoming present prejudices that too often prevail, and must enlist more generous giving for relief of the suffering that exists at present. The Greek Orthodox Church, whose spiritual lethargy and stagnation result from its loss of the dynamic of the evangelistic message, needs to be revived spiritually and aided financially in order to decrease its loss of membership and prevent its falling prey to the wily efforts of Communism.

The challenge to the Churches has never been greater, their opportunity for Christian work and spiritual ministry never more pronounced than it is at present. This is the Churches' golden oppor-

tunity to bring the Gospel of peace and salvation to people who have never previously showed such acute hunger and thirst for it. The Churches now have in their hands the power to shape the future of the Holy Land and the whole Near East if they choose to live up to their objective and their high calling to spiritual ministry.

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APPENDIX

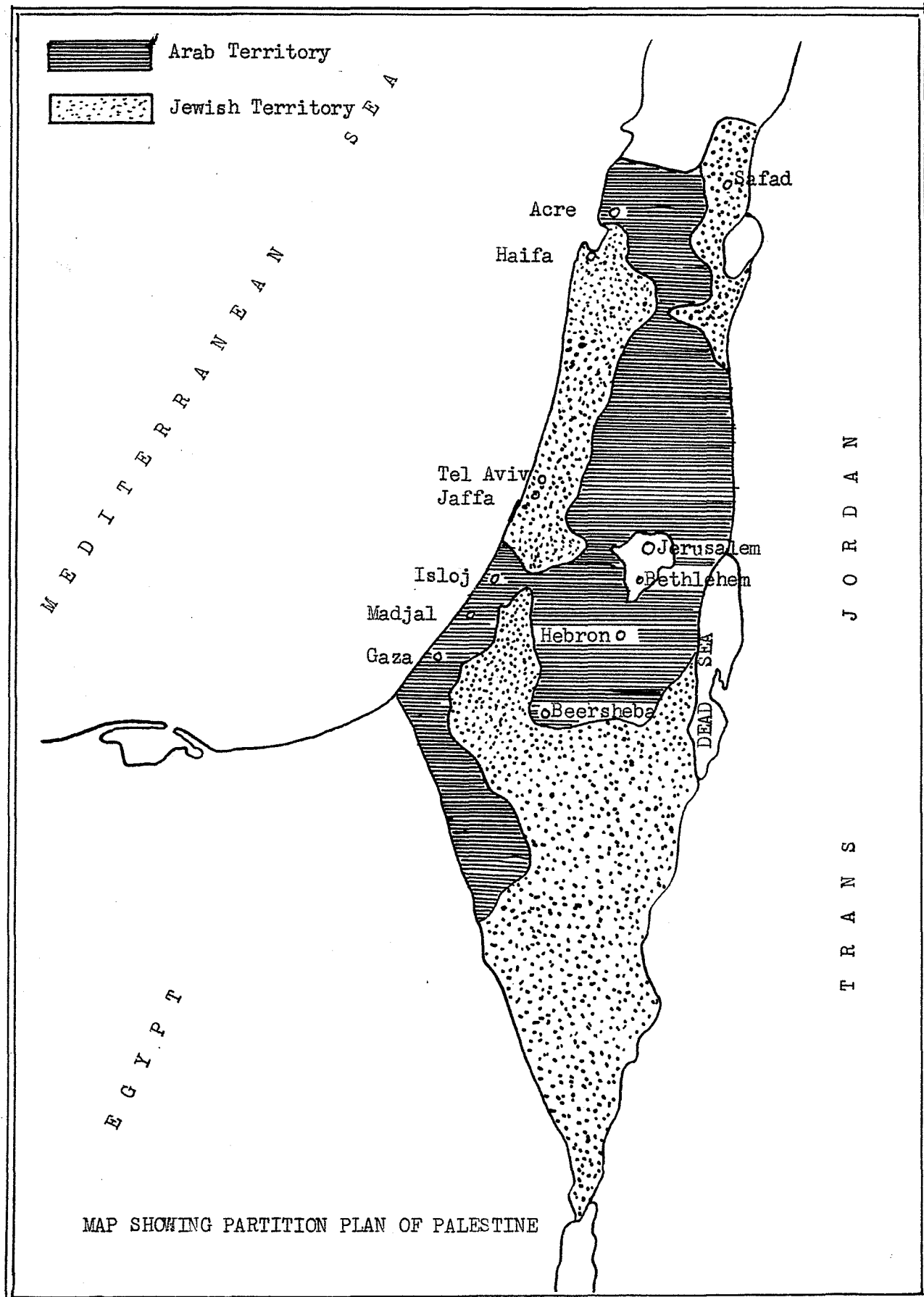
APPENDIX I.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 1, 1947

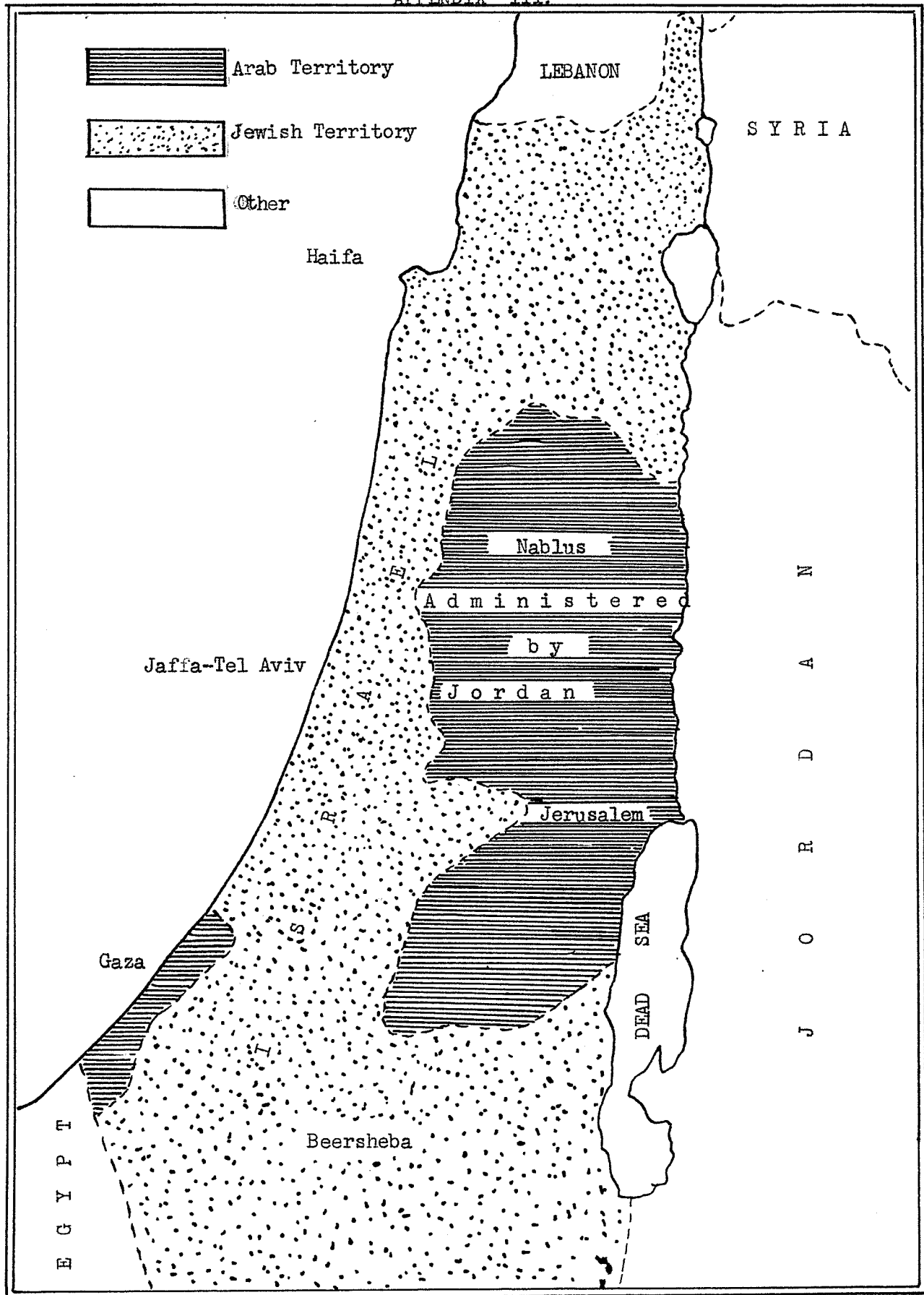
- (1) termination of the mandate, and
- (2) independence, both at the earliest practicable date;
- (3) a transitional period as short as might be consistent with the achievement of conditions essential to independence;
- (4) responsibility to the United Nations of the transitional authority;
- (5) specific stipulations regarding preservation of the sacred character of the holy places and existing rights therein;
- (6) immediate initiation and execution by the General Assembly of an international arrangement for alleviation of the plight of distressed European Jews, thereby relieving pressure in the Palestine situation;
- (7) as a prior condition to independence, the constitution or fundamental law and the political structure of the new state or states to be basically democratic, that is, representative, in character, including specific guarantees of essential human rights and fundamental freedoms, safeguards to protect the rights and interests of minorities - linguistic, religious and ethnic, and equally in political, civic and religious matters;
- (8) also as a prior condition, the incorporation in such constitution of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter;
- (9) preservation of the economic unity of Palestine;
- (10) renunciation by the states concerned of any rights to renew former privileges and immunities enjoyed under the Ottoman Empire;
- (11) cooperation by the people of Palestine.¹

1. "The Partition of Palestine," op. cit., p. 1.

APPENDIX II.

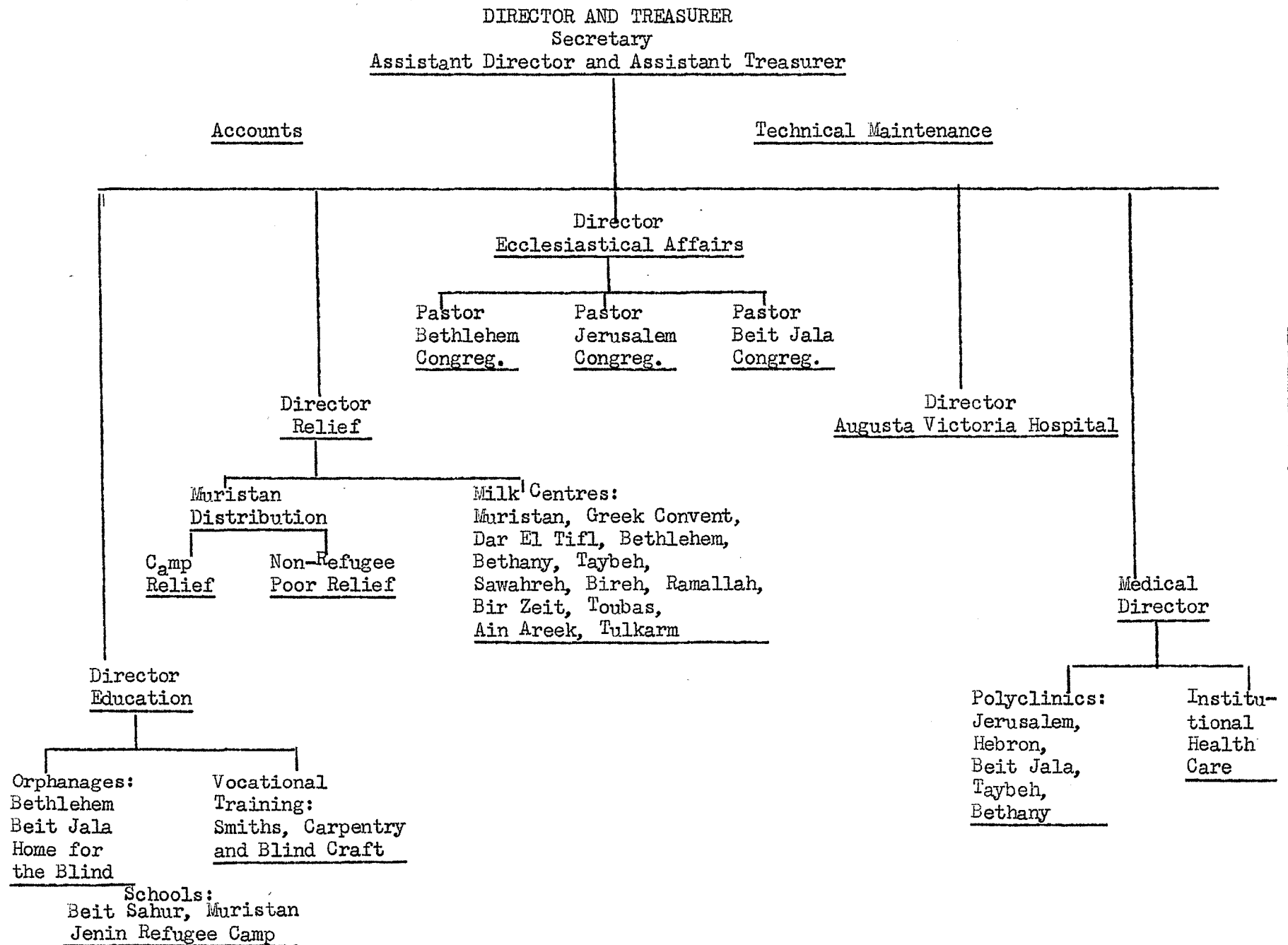


APPENDIX III.



MAP SHOWING PRESENT DIVISION OF PALESTINE

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (NEAR EAST BRANCH) ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



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APPENDIX V.
MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF ARAB REFUGEES

