Free copy

The Nakba

Exhibition Catalogue for the exhibition of that name

Flight and Expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948

النكبة

طرد الفلسطينيين وهجرتهم ١٩٤٨

"... such a painful journey into the past is the only way forward if we want to create a better future for us all, Palestinians and Israelis alike."
Ilan Pappe, Israeli historian

Contents and concept of the exhibition:
Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
www.lib-hilfe.de

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// Editorial

Supporters and Table of Contents

We support the intention of the Nakba Exhibition and consider it a convincing means to make the public aware of the Palestinian view of the causes of the conflict in the Near East, which is largely unknown in Germany. Without an understanding of the justified desires of both sides, there can be no peace.

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// Why did we create this exhibition on the Nakba?

Since early 1996, our association has been supporting social, humanitarian, recreational, and educational projects in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. These benefit mainly children, young people, and women. With our work, we want to help ameliorate the most pressing needs of the refugees on site. In addition, we consider it our responsibility to evoke understanding among the public in Germany for the desires and justified expectations of these people, for their hope for a self-determined and just future. But understanding requires first of all knowledge, in this case knowledge about the Nakba, the "catastrophe," as the Palestinians call their flight and expulsion in 1948.

In Israel, the events around 1948 associated with the proclamation of the Israeli state are celebrated as a rebirth after two thousand years of exile and centuries of persecution. The majority of Palestinians, however, were made into a people of refugees by those events, who see themselves robbed of their homeland and their property, without any prospect of national self-determination, not to mention compensation, much less a return.

The German guilt arising from the murder of millions of Jews under the National Socialist Regime has led to German society, politicians, and the mass media predominantly internalizing the Israeli understanding of this period. This has hindered their perception of the sufferings of the Palestinian people. Raising the matter of their flight and expulsion, and especially of their demands to return and be compensated, is still largely seen as taboo. But we are convinced that, without the knowledge and appropriate recognition of this side of the conflict, there will be no chance of reconciliation, justice and peace in the Near East. We hope to make a contribution to this with our exhibition.

Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
A charitable association for aiding
Palestinian refugee children in Lebanon
www.lib-hilfe.de

in cooperation with the Lebanese-Palestinian
aid organization The National Institution of Social Care
and Vocational Training (NISCVT) Bait Atfal Assumoud

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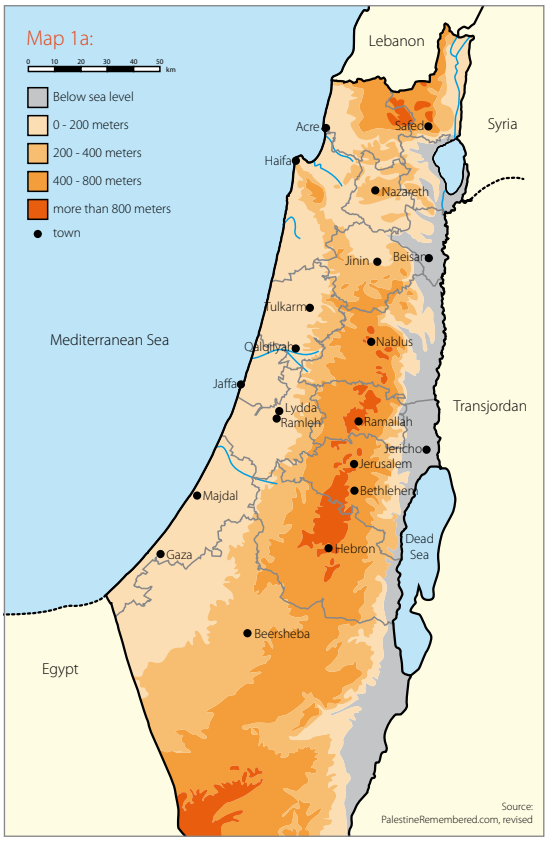
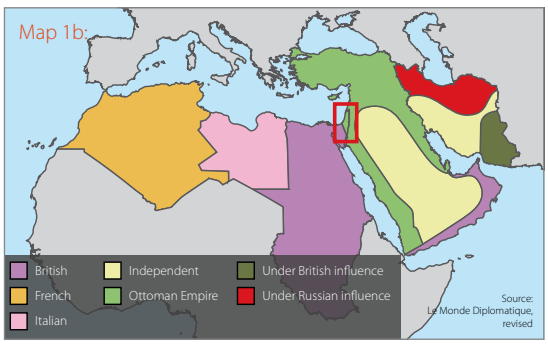
FLÜCHTLINGS KINDER im Libanon e.V.

From the first Jewish immigrants until the Balfour Declaration of 1917

Map 1a:
Topographical map of Palestine



Map 1b:
North Africa, Near and Middle East in 1914



// Zionism is born

The roots of the Palestine problem date back to the late nineteenth century, when Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. It was at that time that Jewish nationalism, called Zionism, developed in Europe. The father of political Zionism was the Austro-Hungarian Jew Theodor Herzl. *At the first Zionist Congress in 1897 in Basel, not only was the idea of Zionism established on a broad basis, but institutions were also created that were intended to promote and organize the emigration of Jews to Palestine.*

Zionism was in part a response to European antisemitism (such as the Dreyfus affair) and to pogroms, mainly in Czarist Russia. The immigration of Jews to Palestine was given a systematic organizational framework from early on. The most important institution was the Jewish National Fund, founded in 1901, which was responsible for recruiting Jews throughout the world, for purchasing land in Palestine, mostly from big Arab landowners, and for allocating land to the immigrants. The Jewish Agency, founded in 1929, became the political representative of the Zionists.
At first, the idea of Zionism only found acceptance among a minority of Jews. For example, the largely assimilated, mostly bourgeois Jews of Western Europe regarded it as a danger to their own assimilation, since the Zionists accepted only Palestine as a home for the Jews. The impoverished and disadvantaged Jews of Eastern Europe, on the other hand, believed in the victory of the progressive values of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, and fraternity, which would liberate them as well. For devout orthodox Jews, Zionism was blasphemy anyway, since the return to the Promised Land must not occur until the coming of the promised Messiah at the "end of time." Even among those Eastern European Jews who wished to emigrate, only about 60,000 went to Palestine between 1892 and 1920, while two million emigrated to the United States and Canada during the same period.

Herzl noted in his diary on 3 September 1897:
"If I wanted to sum up the Basel Congress in one word – which I wouldn't do in this way publicly – it would be: In Basel, I founded the Jewish state. If I stated that publicly, people would laugh in response. Perhaps in five years, certainly in fifty, everyone will recognize this."

// Palestine before and during the period of the British Mandate

Fig. 1 - Fig. 3:
(from left to right)
Jaffa;
Bethlehem, pilgrims at Christmas;
village school in Zakariya

// Jewish immigration to Palestine begins

The immigration of Jews to Palestine took place in several waves of immigration, known as "aliyahs," at first mainly from Eastern Europe. *In 1882, at the time of the First Aliyah, Palestine had about 450,000 inhabitants, of whom a good five percent were Jews.* The Jews of the Second Aliyah, from 1904 to 1914, in particular (among them David Ben- Gurion and Golda Meir) shaped further developments in Palestine, and played a major role in the later founding of the state.

These Jews were Socialists as they had been influenced by the revolutionary upheavals in Russia, and were anything but religious. Their way of life in the newly established *kibbuzim* was extremely disconcerting for the native population, and their political objective, namely the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, increasingly threatening.

Year	Arabs/Palestinians		Jews		Total population
	Number	%	Number	%	Number
1882	426,000 (a)	94.7	24,000 (a)	5.3	450,000 (a)
1918	600,000 (a)	91.5	56,000 (a)	8.5	656,000 (a)
	689,000 (b)	92.1	59,000 (b)	7.9	748,000 (b)
1922	668,000 (c)	88.8	84,000 (c)	11.2	752,000 (c)
1931	859,000 (c)	83.2	175,000 (c)	16.8	1,033,000 (c)
1935	953,000 (a)	72.9	355,000 (a)	27.1	1,308,000 (a)
1945	1,256,000 (a)	69.4	554,000 (a)	30.6	1,810,000 (a)
	1,317,000 (b)	70.4	554,000 (b)	29.6	1,871,000 (b)
late 1946	1,238,000 (d)	67.1	608,000 (d)	32.9	1,846,000 (d)
1948	156,000 (a)	19.4	650,000 (a)	80.6	806,000 (a)

These figures refer only to the territory of Israel within the borders of the armistice lines of 1949, while the previous figures apply to the entire British Mandate territory of Palestine between the Mediterranean and the valley of the Jordan River.

Table 1:
Population growth in Palestine until the foundation of the State of Israel

Map 2:
Palestine 1878, first Jewish settlement (Petach Tikva)

(a) Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich Opladen, 1993, p.164

(b) Justin McCarthy, ***The Population of Palestine***, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990

(c) British census

(d) United Nations General Assembly, A/364, UNSCOP Report to the General Assembly, 3 September 1947

// The Balfour Declaration of 1917

The Zionists achieved a first successful step towards their own state with the Balfour Declaration in 1917. The British had put an end to the four hundred years' domination of the Near East by the Ottomans in the course of the First World War. The British foreign minister of the time, Balfour, in a letter to the organized Zionists in Britain, stated the willingness of the British government to support them in establishing a national home in Palestine. *At that time, more than 600,000 Arabs and a good 55,000 Jews were living in Palestine, so more than 90% were Arabs.*

The British were motivated by several considerations to take this step. Besides general sympathies for the Zionist cause, London was hoping to gain the consent of the governments of France and the USA to a post-war order in the Near East that would give Britain control of Palestine. In addition, Balfour and Prime Minister Lloyd George expected that U.S. Zionists would then push Washington to enter the war against the Central Powers. Furthermore, they wanted to show their gratitude to the chemist Chaim Weizmann, president of the Zionist Federation in Britain, who had helped secure British munitions production in the First World War by his invention. [1] The Balfour Declaration was legally, politically, and morally dubious, because it meant "one nation solemnly promising to a second nation the country of the third." [2]

The Balfour Declaration, 2 Nov. 1917

"Dear Lord Rothschild,
I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by the Cabinet.

'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 this 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 Jews in any other country.'

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

Signed by the British Foreign Minister at the time,
Arthur James Balfour

[1] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 29 f.
[2] Salman H. Abu Sitta, ***Atlas of Palestine*** 1948, Palestine Land Society, London, 2004, p. 1 (quoting Arthur Koestler, ***Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917-1949***)

From the end of World War I to the year 1947
The period of the British Mandate

Map 3:

Palestine 1920, Zionist settlements at the beginning of the British Mandate

Table 2:

Immigration to Palestine according to British data [3]

Year	Total number of immigrants	Jewish Immigrants
1920 (Sept. - Dec.)	5,716	5,514
1921	9,339	9,149
1922	8,128	7,844
1923	7,991	7,421
1924	13,553	12,856
1925	34,641	33,801
1926	13,910	13,081
1927	3,595	2,713
1928	3,086	2,178
1929	6,566	5,249
1930	6,433	4,944
1931	5,533	4,075
1932	11,289	9,553
1933	31,977	30,327
1934	44,143	42,359
1935	64,147	61,854
1936	31,671	29,727
1937	12,475	10,536
1938	15,263	12,868
1939	18,433	16,405
1940	5,611	4,547
1941	4,270	3,647
1942	3,052	2,194
1943	9,867	8,507
1944	16,476	14,464
1945 (Jan. - Nov.)	13,984	12,032

// Zionist Jewish immigration under the British Mandate

After the end of the First World War, *Britain became the Mandatory power for Palestine in 1922*. The text of the Mandate assured the Zionists of the right to a national home in the Mandate territory west of the Jordan, and supported further Jewish immigration.
A series of statutory regulations introduced from 1920 on by the first British High Commissioner for Palestine, Herbert Samuel, promoted the *development of a separate economic and social infrastructure for the Jewish community*. [1]

Nothing was said in the text of the Mandate about the national rights of the largely Arab inhabitants. Following the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent assumption of the Mandate, there was a substantial increase in Jewish immigration to Palestine. From 1924 on, this was further reinforced by the introduction of a restrictive quota for immigration into the United States. The Third Aliyah (1919-23) brought mainly Jews from Russia, and the Fourth Aliyah (1924-31) Jews from Poland to Palestine. Many were fleeing from persecution and pogroms in their native countries. Financial support for the immigrants by Zionist supporters, mainly in America, Europe, and South Africa, made it possible to buy up land and set up an infrastructure, industry, and a banking system in Palestine without significant participation by the indigenous population.

The British Mandate – excerpts from the text of the Mandate adopted on 24 July 1922 by the Council of the League of Nations:

Preamble:
"[T]he Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917 (Balfour Declaration) [...] in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

Article 2:
"The Mandatory shall [...] secure the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Article 6:
"The Administration of Palestine [...] shall facilitate Jewish immigration [...]."

By the sale of land to the Zionist organizations, thousands of Palestinian peasant farmers who had previously farmed the land lost their livelihood, although a few big Arab landowners, often living outside Palestine, profited. The consequences of the immigration were becoming increasingly obvious to the native population. For example, the Jewish settlement of Tel Aviv, founded right next to the Arab port city of Jaffa, *grew from 3,600 inhabitants in 1921 to 40,000 in 1925.* [2] *And the project behind this, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, also became apparent.*

While the Jewish immigrants were highly organized and motivated in every respect, including militarily, the peasant structure of the indigenous Arab society, a low level of education among large sections of the population, and the particular interests of the influential feudal families prevented an equivalent political and economic development in it.

// The Fifth Aliyah

The fifth wave of immigration in the 1930s was entirely determined by National Socialism and its expansion by force in Europe. The threat to their existence to which Jews were exposed at that time gave Zionism a huge impetus.

Immigration to Palestine meant for the Jews their salvation from Fascism's machinery of annihilation. For the native Arab Palestinian population, it meant the threat of an end to their prospects of national self-determination.

Fig. 4-5:
(left to right)

Jerusalem 1933, Arab protests against increasing Jewish immigration;

Jaffa 1936, destruction of Palestinian houses by the Mandatory power as a collective punishment

// 1936-1939, Palestinian Arab resistance

It was not until the 1930s that an effective Palestinian nationalism began to develop in view of massive Jewish immigration. In 1936, a general strike lasting six months was called, accompanied by demonstrations, notes of protest, and armed conflicts throughout the country. The Peel Commission's partition plan (Map 4) of 1937 caused the uprising to escalate further, until in *1939 it was crushed finally and bloodily by the British Mandatory power, partly with the aid of the Zionists*. Thousands of Palestinians were killed or arrested, including the entire leadership, some of whom were executed or driven into exile.

This loss of leadership had serious consequences for later political developments at the time of the U.N. partition resolution and the founding of the State of Israel. [4]

Map 4:

The Peel Commission's partition plan, 1937

// End of the British Mandate

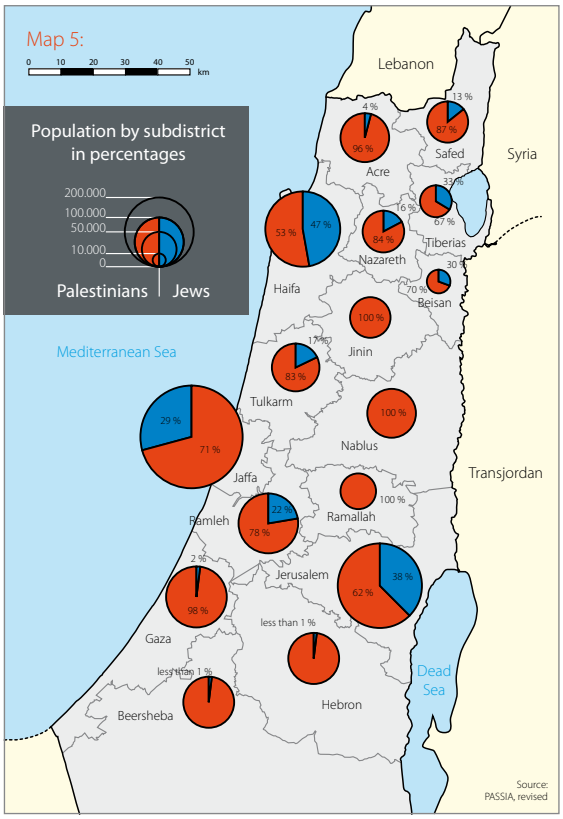
In view of the threat of war in Europe, after the crushing of the Palestinian Arab revolt, the policy of the British Mandatory power began to favor the Arabs more. The British White Paper of May 1939 rejected the founding of a Jewish state in Palestine, and imposed limits on immigration. Despite the White Paper, most of the Zionist parties decided to fight with Britain against Hitler. Only when Adolf Hitler's defeat became obvious did all the Zionist combat units combine into the Jewish Resistance, and take up the battle against the Mandatory power. *Weakened politically and economically, and unable to solve the Palestine problem, in early 1947 the British government gave up, and placed the problem of Palestine before the United Nations.*

[1] Salman Abu Sitta, ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, Palestine Land Society, London, 2004, p. 2
[2] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 74
[3] Walter Hollstein, ***Kein Frieden um Israel***, Progress Dritte Welt Verlag, Bonn, 1977, p. 106
[4] Helga Baumgarten, ***Palästina: Befreiung in den Staat***, Edition Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1991, p. 36

The United Nations partition plan of 29 Nov. 1947 – Resolution 181 (II)

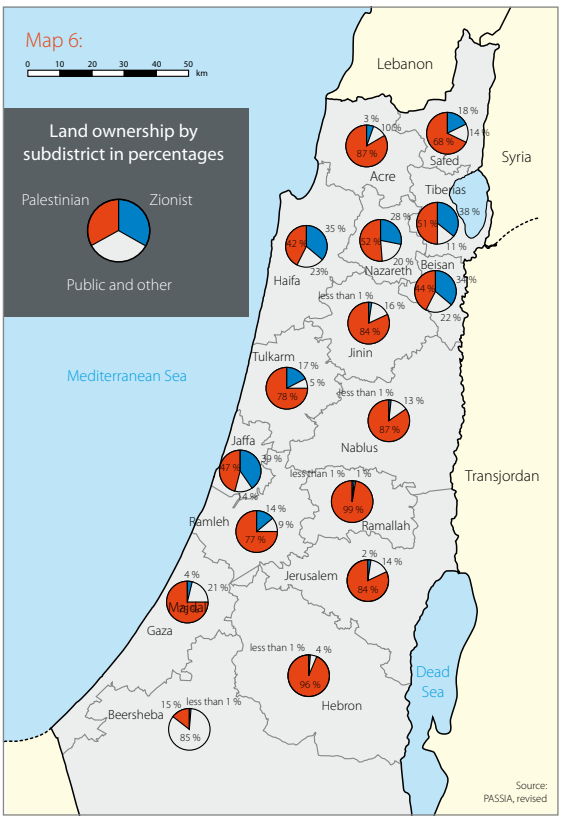
Map 5:

Population distribution in Palestine, 1946



Map 6:

Land ownership in Palestine, 1945



// Preliminary discussions at the United Nations

Initially, the General Assembly of the United Nations sent an investigating commission *(United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, UNSCOP)* to Palestine. The majority of the committee voted for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state, with the city of Jerusalem being under international administration. The minority plan proposed a federal state consisting of a Jewish and an Arab state, and Jerusalem as their common capital. The suggestion of conducting a referendum in Palestine was rejected by the UN.

During the preliminary debates, the question of whether the United Nations was entitled to decide about the situation in Palestine at all was also discussed. Of the total of 54 delegates, 21 voted in the affirmative, 20 in the negative, and 13 abstained. Despite this narrow relative majority, the partition plan was prepared and adopted, without consulting the Palestinian population. The problems involved in the partition of Palestine by the United Nations go even further. According to its Charter, the General Assembly of the United Nations can only make recommendations. It is not authorized to pass binding laws or create new states. Article 1 (2) of the U.N. Charter also calls on the members of the United Nations "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." Thus the partition resolution violates fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter. [1]

At that time, there were about 1,900,000 living in Palestine: *about two-thirds of them were Muslim, Christian and Druze Palestinians, and barely a third were Jews*, who had mainly immigrated to Palestine during the previous fifty years (Map 5). About 6% of the 27,000 square kilometers of Palestinian territory had been acquired by Zionist organizations (Map 6). Despite this, the future *"Jewish state" was supposed to comprise 56.47% of the total area, and the "Arab state" only 42.88%, and the international zone of Jerusalem 0.65%* (Map 7).

According to the UNSCOP report of 3 September 1947, there were 498,000 Jews and 427,000 Arabs living in the area intended for the "Jewish state," in the area intended for the "Arab state," there were 795,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews; and in Jerusalem 105,000 Arabs and 100,000 Jews. Almost all the citrus-fruit plantations on the coast, half of which were in Arab hands, and half in Jewish hands, were supposed to go to the "Jewish state," as was a large part of Arab cereal farming and industrial plants. [2] The city of Jaffa, with the largest port in Palestine, was left without any hinterland, and the "Arab state" without any outlet on the Red Sea or connection to Syria.

// Adoption of the U.N. partition plan, Resolution 181 (II)

On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to adopt the majority's plan and to divide the British Mandate territory of *Palestine into a "Jewish state," an "Arab state," and the City of Jerusalem as a "corpus separatum," placed under U.N. administration. All three components were to be joined in an economic union. The Arab port city of Jaffa was to belong to the "Arab state" as an enclave.* The plan did not provide for ethnically or religiously homogeneous states, but rather regulated the rights of the respective minority.

Of 56 U.N. Member States present, 33 voted in favor of the Resolution.

While the Zionist side welcomed the U.N. partition resolution, despite some reservations, it was rejected by the Arab side.

An exchange of populations was not intended, much less an ethnic purge of the respective state. On the contrary, all Arab inhabitants of the "Jewish state" were to be able to decide freely whether they wished to move to the "Arab state" or remain in the "Jewish state." The same applied vice-versa to Jewish inhabitants of the "Arab state."

Vote on Resolution 181 (II) in the General Assembly of the United Nations

In favour (33):
Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Belarusian Soviet Republic, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Republic, South African Union, USSR, USA, Uruguay, Venezuela

Opposed (13):
Afghanistan, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen

Abstentions (10):
Ethiopia, Argentina, Chile, China, Columbia, El Salvador, Honduras, Yugoslavia, Mexico, United Kingdom

Absent (1): Thailand

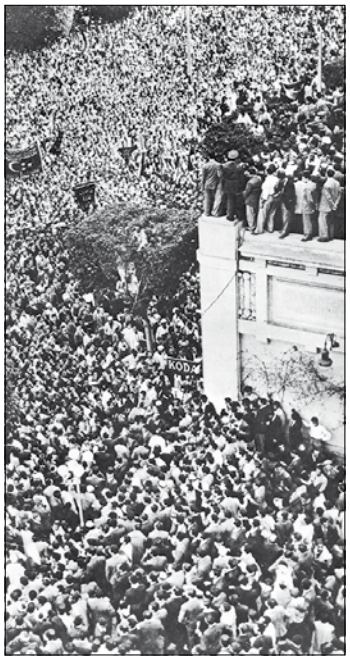


Fig. 6:
December 1947, Cairo, demonstration against the partition resolution

Map 7:
U.N. partition plan, 1947

Fig. 7:
ca. 1946, "The only solution," poster of the Zionist Irgun militia, headed by Menachem Begin

// Quotes

Andrey Gromyko,
as representative of the USSR, in May 1947 before the United Nations:

"The fact that no western European State has been able to ensure the defence of the elementary rights of the Jewish people, and to safeguard it against the violence of the fascist executioners, explains the aspirations of the Jews to establish their own state. It would be unjust not to take this into consideration and to deny the right of the Jewish people to realize this aspiration." [1]

Walid Khalidi,
Palestinian historian:

"The Palestinians failed to see why they should be made to pay for the Holocaust (the ultimate crime against humanity, committed in Europe by Europeans) […] They failed to see why it was not fair for the Jews to be a minority in a unitary Palestinian state, while it was fair for almost half of the Palestinian population – the indigenous majority on its own ancestral soil – to be converted overnight into a minority under alien rule in the envisaged Jewish state according to partition." [3]

Prof. Norman Paech,
German specialist in international law:

"Thus the European states tried to get rid of a joint problem, which they could not deny having created, but which they were not able to solve, at the expense of an entirely uninvolved people." [1]

[1] Norman Paech, "Das Palästina-Problem vor den Vereinten Nationen," EMS, ***Informationsbrief Nahost*** 6/1998, p. 10-16
[2] Hollstein, ***Kein Frieden um Israel***, Progress Dritte Welt Verlag, Bonn, 1977, p. 128 ff.
[3] Walid Khalidi, ***Before Their Diaspora***, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C., 1984, p. 305 f.

// Until 1948

From the U.N. partition plan on 29 Nov. 1947
until the proclamation of the State of Israel on 14 May1948

Fig. 8:
May 1948, Jaffa, destroyed Arab quarter Manshiya

// Armed struggle begins

Immediately after the adoption of the U.N. partition resolution, the armed conflicts in Palestine began, in the course of which almost *half of the total of 750,000-800,000 Palestinian refugees already had to leave their homes*. [1] In addition to military actions by the clearly superior Zionist militias, *acts of terrorism, and initially economic measures*, by the Zionists led to the flight and expulsion of the native Arab Palestinian population. By blockading the supply routes and conquering surrounding villages, the most important Arab towns intended for the "Jewish state" were cut off from supplies of raw materials and starved out.

While the basic willingness of some of the Arab and Jewish inhabitants of Palestine to live together in peace was shown by the conclusion of hundreds of non-aggression pacts between Palestinian villages and neighbouring Jewish settlements, and even between towns such as Jaffa and Tel Aviv, this had no influence on further developments.

Fig. 9:
14 May 1948, Tel Aviv, Parade of the Irgun militia shortly before the proclamation of the state

Quote from the war diaries of David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, of 15 Jan. 1948:

"The strategic objective [of the Jewish forces] was to destroy the urban communities, which were the most organized and politically conscious sections of the Palestinian people. This was not done by house-to-house fighting inside the cities and towns, but by the conquest and destruction of the rural areas surrounding most of the towns. This technique led to the collapse and surrender of Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Safed, Acre, Beit-Shean, Lydda, Ramleh, Majdal, and Beersheba. Deprived of transportation, food, and raw materials, the urban communities underwent a process of disintegration, chaos, and hunger, which forced them to surrender."

// Role of the British Mandatory power and the United Nations

According to the partition plan, it was the responsibility of the British Mandatory power and of the United Nations to ensure an orderly transition from Palestine's status under the Mandate to a Jewish and an Arab state. In fact, the British Mandatory power limited itself mainly to securing the withdrawal of its troops and Mandate officials. Occasionally, it even supported the Zionist militias and hindered the work of the U.N. commission established for the implementation of the partition plan. [2]

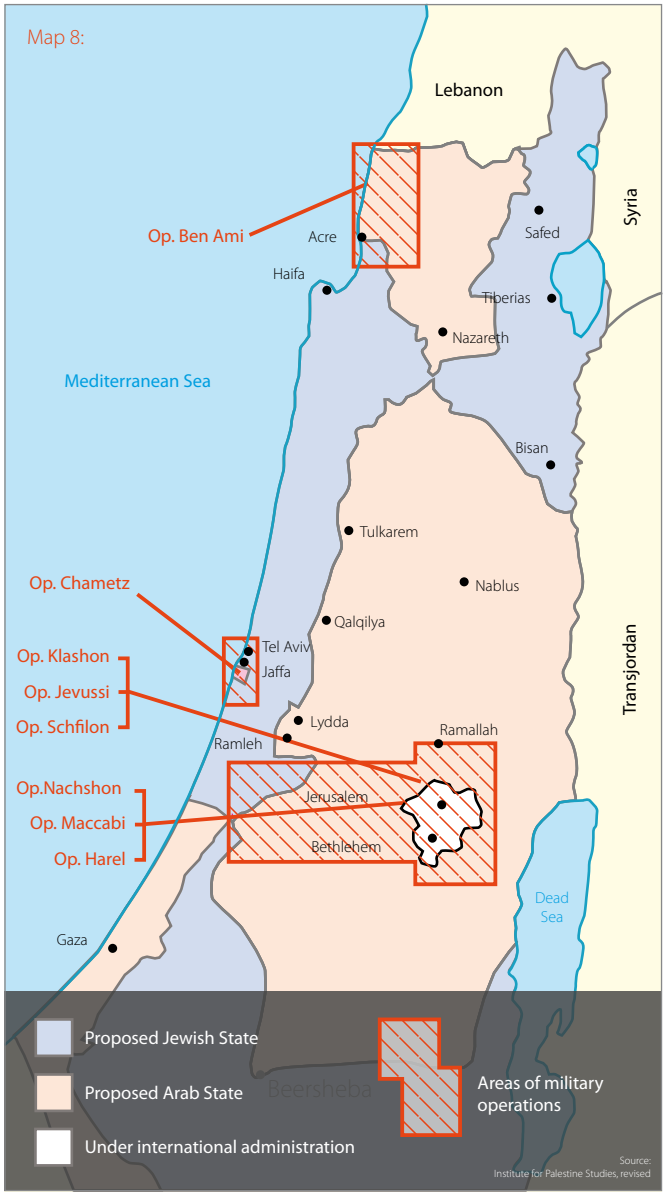
// Military actions

The *numerical superiority of the Jewish Zionist militias* was supplemented by their high motivation. In addition, there was their *excellent level of military training*, which many combatants had acquired as soldiers in World War II and as members of the Zionist police force trained by the British during the Mandate.

Fighting on the Zionist side during this phase were the 30,000-strong Hagana, and the Revisionist militias Lehi and Etzel (or Irgun), which had already distinguished themselves by terrorist attacks against the British Mandatory power before and during World War II. The commander-in-chief of Etzel was the later Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. In addition to these, there were 20,000 Zionist auxiliary forces who lived in the various settlements. [3] On the Arab side, there were two to three thousand guerrillas [4] under Palestinian leadership, and 2,500 to at most 4,000 [5] mainly Syrian and Iraqi volunteers of the Arab Liberation Army under the leadership of the Arab League. Road blockades and bloody raids on Palestinian villages or Jewish settlements were the main aspect at first. Within a mere six weeks, up to 10 January 1948, the violent conflicts cost the lives of 1,974 people on both sides; [6] up to 31 Dec. 1947, 205 of these were Jews. [7]

A substantial intensification of the Zionist military strategy occurred starting in April 1948, when the Zionists implemented their military Plan D (Dalet).
From April on, massacres of the Palestinian population also increased, spreading great fear and increasing the mass flight considerably. An example of this was the massacre in Deir Yassin on 9 April 1948.

Before this, efforts were made at the United Nations, especially on the part of the USA, to repeal the partition resolution in view of the violence in Palestine, and establish instead an international trusteeship for all Palestine. Thus the founding of a "Jewish state" was in danger of being postponed indefinitely.



Map 8:
December 1947 to 15 May 1948, Zionist military offensives outside the territory proposed for the Jewish State

Plan D was drawn up in autumn 1947, revised after U.N. Resolution 181 (II), and completed in March 1948.
Plan D called for, among other things:

» "...the expulsion over the borders of the local Arab population in the event of opposition to our attacks, and the defense of continuous Jewish settlement in Arab areas, including the 'temporary' capture of Arab bases on the other side of the border." [8]

» "...bombarding villages and population centers; setting fire to homes, [...]; and, finally, planting mines among the rubble to prevent any of the expelled inhabitants from returning." [9]

Massacre of Deir Yassin on 9 April 1948

The inhabitants of the village of Deir Yassin, lying to the west of Jerusalem, had already concluded a friendship pact with the neighboring Jewish settlement Givat Shaul in 1942. They had not participated in any attacks on Jewish settlements. The terrorist militias Etzel [Irgun] and Lehi attacked the village together on the morning of 9 April 1948. Because some of the inhabitants resisted, they were only able to conquer the eastern part of the village. Therefore a Palmach unit of the Hagana came to the assistance of the two militias, and conquered the entire village. After it withdrew, the Etzel and Lehi men fell upon the villagers and killed men, women, and children indiscriminately. 254 people were reported to be victims of the massacre. [10]
"On the 9th of April, our men together with a LEHI unit captured the village of Deir Yassin. [...] Our men were compelled to fight every house; to overcome the enemy they used large numbers of hand-grenades. And the civilians who had disregarded our warnings suffered inevitable casualties."
Menachim Begin, commander-in-chief of the Etzel militia, Tel Aviv 1952 [11]

[1] Friedrich Schreiber, p. 152, Simha Flapan, p. 86, ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, p. 57, ***The Palestine Question in Maps, 1878-2002***, PASSIA, Jerusalem, 2002, p. 24
[2] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006 p. 125
[3] Ilan Pappe, ibid., p. 44
[4] Friedrich Schreiber, p. 142: 2,000; ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, p. 56: 2,500; Simha Flapan, p. 184: < 3,000
[5] Friedrich Schreiber, p. 142: 2,500; Ilan Pappe, p. 74: 1,000-3,000, Walid Khalidi, p. 309: 3,000; ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, p. 56: 3,155; Simha Flapan, p. 131: < 4,000
[6] Walid Khalidi, ***Before Their Diaspora***, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C., 1984, p. 309
[7] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 140
[8] Simha Flapan, ***The Birth of Israel***, Pantheon Books, New York, 1987, p. 42
[9] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006 p. xii
[10] Numbers of victims: Friedrich Schreiber, p. 156: 254; Benny Morris, interview in the Israeli newspaper ***Ha'aretz*** of 9 Jan. 2004: 100-110; Ilan Pappe, p. 91 : 170 or 93
[11] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich Opladen, 1993. p.156 f.

Consequences of the conflicts before the founding of the State of Israel

// Palestinian refugees

Fig. 10-11:
(left to right)

1948, Galilee, in flight;

May 1948, Jaffa, flight by sea

Fig. 12:
(right)

May 1948, Jaffa, flight by sea

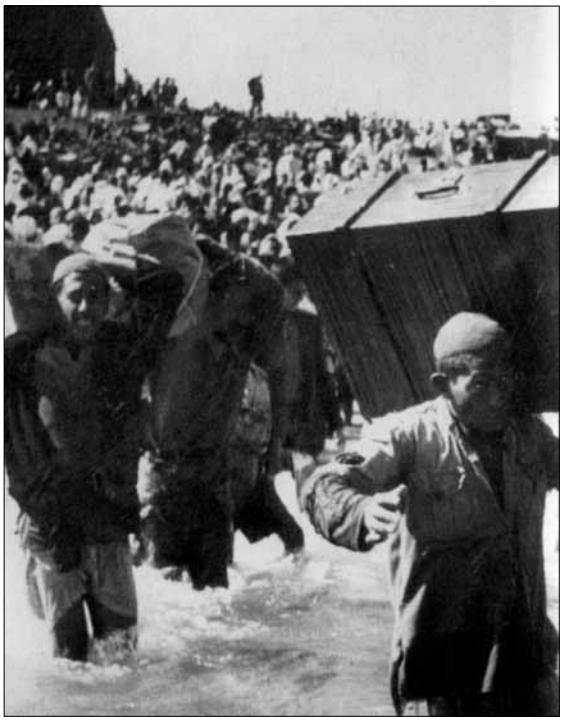


Fig. 13:

May 1948, Jaffa, flight by sea

Table 3:

Reasons for flight of the approx. 370,000 Palestinians who fled by 1 June 1948, according to estimates by the intelligence service of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) [1]

Reasons for flight ▶	Percentage
Jewish attacks on Arab centers of settlement (villages, towns, and cities)	55 %
Terrorist acts by Etzel and LEHI	15 %
Psychological warfare	2 %
Expulsion by Israeli troops	2 %
General feeling of anxiety	10 %
Call by Arab authorities	5 %
Motive not given	11 %
Total	100 %

// Conquest of territory and expulsions

By the implementation of Plan D in several offensives, the Zionist militias succeeded in conquering more than 200 towns and villages and expelling their inhabitants before the State of Israel was even proclaimed on 15 May 1948, and thus before a single Arab army had set foot on Palestinian soil. These included all the larger predominantly Arab towns: Tiberias on 19 April, Haifa on 23 April, Jaffa on 11 May, and on 12 May, Safed and Beisan. [2] *In addition, on the Galilee coast and in a corridor towards Jerusalem, territory which the United Nations had allocated to the "Arab state," had been conquered. 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinians had fled or been driven out.*

On the Israeli side, it is often claimed that the Palestinian population fled of their own will or due to calls by Arab leaders. For the period of combat until the proclamation of the State of Israel, including the first two weeks of war, the Israeli army itself gives figures that confirm they were forced to flee. (Table 3) An evaluation of radio recordings from that time refutes the second claim as well. [3]

In the eyes of the Palestinians, Plan D is the proof that, in the aftermath of U.N. Resolution 181 (II), the political and military leadership of the Zionists was working to expand the territory of the "Jewish state" and implement its ethnic purging. Israeli historians such as Simha Flapan, Benny Morris and Ilan Pappe document the expulsion, citing numerous sources. [4] According to Ilan Pappe, an advisory group of leading Zionist representatives, headed by the subsequent Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, planned and implemented the ethnic purge.

David Ben-Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel, on 12 June 1938, to the executive board of the Jewish Agency:
"I am for compulsory transfer; I do not see anything immoral in it." [5]

on 3 Dec. 1947 to leading members of Mapai (Israeli Labor Party):
"There are 40% non-Jews in the areas allocated to the Jewish state. This composition is not a solid basis for a Jewish state. And we have to face this new reality with all its severity and distinctness. Such a demographic balance questions our ability to maintain Jewish sovereignty […] Only a state with at least 80% Jews is a viable and stable state." [6]

Benny Morris, Israeli historian, and now himself a supporter of the expulsion, answers a question by the reporter Ari Shavit in an interview appearing on 9 Jan. 2004 in the Israeli newspaper Ha´aretz:

Ari Shavit:
"Are you saying that Ben-Gurion erred in expelling too few Arabs? I find it hard to believe what I am hearing."

Morris:
"If the end of the story turns out to be a gloomy one for the Jews, it will be because Ben-Gurion did not complete the transfer in 1948. Because he left a large and volatile demographic reserve in the West Bank and Gaza and within Israel itself." [7]

// Ruins of Palestinian villages that were depopulated by the time Israel was founded in May 1948

Fig. 14:
al-Bassa | Akko | 3.422 | 14.5.48
Intended for the Arab State

Fig. 15:
Barqa | Gaza | 1.032 | 13.5.48
Intended for the Arab State

Fig. 16:
Lifta | Jerusalem | 2.958 | 1.1.48
Intended for the Arab State

Place name | District | Number of Arab inhabitants, 1948 | Date of depopulation [8]

[1] Simha Flapan, ***The Birth of Israel***, Pantheon Books, New York, 1987, p. 89
[2] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich Opladen, 1993, p. 155
[3] Friedrich Schreiber (op. cit.), p. 154 f.
[4] Ilan Pappe, Benny Morris, Simha Flapan, various publications
[5] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006 p. xi
[6] Ilan Pappe, ibid., p. 48
[7] Interview in the Israeli newspaper ***Ha'aretz*** of 9 Jan. 2004
[8] Salman H. Abu Sitta, ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, Palestine Land Society, London, 2004, p. 74 ff.

The Israeli-Arab War of May 1948 to July 1949

On 14 May 1948, the last British High Commissioner left Palestine, and David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the independence of the State of Israel. On 15 May 1948, the Arab states declared war on Israel.

Fig. 17:
July 1948, inhabitants of Ramleh surrendering

Fig. 18:
October 1948, soldiers of the Israeli army conquering Sa'sa'

The verbal radicalness of the Arab states was in sharp contrast to their military strength and actual willingness to act jointly against the newly-founded State of Israel. *It was not until the end of April 1948, in other words two weeks before the outbreak of the Israeli-Arab War, that the Arab League adopted a common military strategy for their own armies.*

The only effective and well-trained Arab army was the Jordanian Legion, led by British officers.

The newly-founded Israeli army (Israel Defence Forces, IDF) was clearly superior in respect to numbers, training and motivation of the soldiers. (Table 4) The Israeli Prime Minister at the time, *David Ben-Gurion, gives a figure of 30,574 troops at the start of the war.* [1]

This happened under the impression of the conquest by the Zionists of areas in the part of the Mandate territory intended for the "Arab state," and in view of the flight of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians.

Not until October 1947, in other words shortly before the partition resolution, did the Arab League agree to take "military measures" in case of the partition of Palestine. For this purpose, it created a Military Committee, which was supposed to draw up a joint strategy. [2] Only in early 1948 did the League agree to the establishment of the Arab Liberation Army, consisting of volunteers, [3] while the Zionists had already called up all 17 to 25 year-olds for registration and inspection for the Hagana militia one day after the partition resolution was adopted in November 1947.

In advance, with the consent of the Jordanian King Abdallah, these officers had demarcated the respective spheres of interest in secret negotiations with the Zionist Hagana: Abdallah was only interested in the West Bank of the Jordan and East Jerusalem. The Jordanian Legion defended both areas successfully. Abdallah was not interested in the fate of the rest of Palestine.

This number grew constantly due to the influx of further Jewish refugees and volunteers from Europe. In December 1948, the IDF reached a personnel strength of 96,441. [4] The initial insufficiency of the Israeli army's equipment was made good shortly after the proclamation of the state and during the first armistice by extensive imports of arms from the Eastern bloc.

Table 4:
Estimates of troop strengths for 15 May 1948 [5]

	Jon & David Kimche (Israeli source)	John Bagot Glubb (British source)	Walid Khalidi (Palestinian source)
Palestinians (M)	-	-	2,563
Arab Liberation Army (M)	2,000	-	3,830
Egypt (A)	10,000	10,000	2,800
Transjordan (A)	4,500	4,500	4,500
Iraq (A)	3,000	3,000	4,000
Syria (A)	3,000	3,000	1,876
Lebanon (A)	1,000	1,000	700
Arab troops, total	**23,500**	**21,500**	**20,269**
Israeli troops, total	**25,000**	**65,000**	**27,000**
			(R) +90,000

(M) militia, (A) regular army, (R) reservists and irregular troops

// Offensives and armistices

The period up until the first armistice on 11 June 1948 was the most critical one for the IDF.
Upon the breach of the first cease-fire on 8 July, the IDF took the initiative once and for all. [6] *Operation Dani*, in which in mid-July the two Palestinian towns lying west of Jerusalem in the territory of the Arab State, *Lydda and Ramleh, were conquered and 50,000-70,000 inhabitants driven out, should be emphasized.* [7] This operation was carried out by Yitzhak Rabin on the explicit instructions of Ben-Gurion. Afterwards, the towns were plundered by soldiers and civilians (see quote).

The Arab troops were able to conquer fourteen Jewish settlements, [8] but they never crossed the border to the part of Palestine intended for the Jewish state. However, the IDF was able to conquer another ninety Palestinian towns and villages, of which some lay in the part of Palestine intended for the Arab state. More than 90,000 people were expelled. [9]

1800 truckloads of stolen property were removed from Lydda by the IDF. [10] Other gains in territory deep inside the area for the Arab state were made in Galilee and west of Hebron. The second cease-fire began on 18 July and ended on 15 October. However, the expulsions and destructions of Palestinian villages always continued during the cease-fire. From October on, the conquest of the entire Negev followed, where only one percent of the population were Jews, and of the rest of Galilee, and parts of Gaza and the West Bank.

Ben-Gurion on 16 June 1948:
"There is a moral defect in our ranks that I never suspected existed: I refer to a mass looting, in which all sections of the population participated." [11]

Map 9:
Cease-fire lines 1948-49

Fig. 19-20:
(left to right)
Ruins of the Palestinian village Sarafand in the Haifa district;
Ruins of the Palestinian village al-Mansura in the Akka district

Israel agreed on final armistices with its enemies in the course of 1949: with Egypt (24 Jan. 49), with Lebanon (23 March 49), with Jordan (3 April 49), and with Syria (20 July 49).

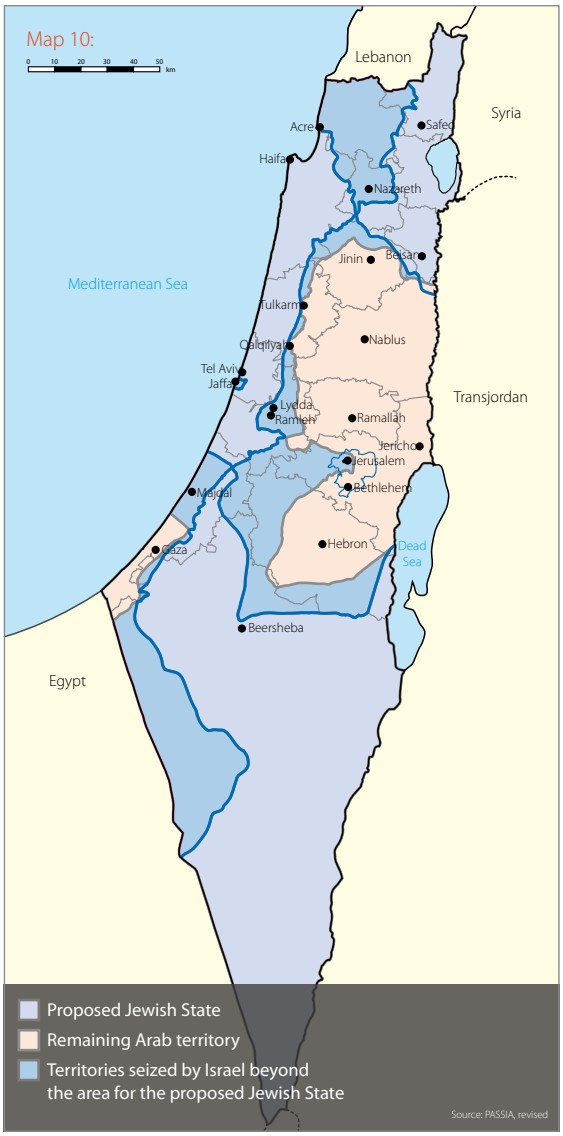
While 78% of the British Mandate territory of Palestine became the territory of the State of Israel, the rest of the Gaza Strip fell under Egyptian administration, and the West Bank was annexed by the Kingdom of Jordan.

THE FOUNDING OF AN ARAB-PALESTINIAN STATE, AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE PARTITION RESOLUTION 181 (II), DID NOT OCCUR.

[1] Simha Flapan, ***The Birth of Israel***, Pantheon Books, New York, 1987, p. 193
[2] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 139
[3] Simha Flapan, op. cit., p. 131
[4] Simha Flapan, ibid., p. 197
[5] Table 4: Simha Flapan, ibid., p. 196
[6] Simha Flapan, ibid., p. 198
[7] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006, p. 166 ff.
[8] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, op. cit., p. 148
[9] Salman H. Abu Sitta, ***Atlas of Palestine 1948***, Palestine Land Society, London, 2004, p. 59
[10] Salman H. Abu Sitta, ibid., p. 89
[11] Simha Flapan, op. cit., p. 100

Consequences of the Israeli-Arab War

Map 10:
U.N. partition and cease-fire lines



// The consequences of the war

Instead of the 56% provided for in the partition plan, at the end of the war, Israel had brought 78% of the British Mandate territory under its control. From hundreds of towns and villages, [1] 750,000 Palestinian inhabitants had been expelled, [2] a good 150,000 remaining on Israeli territory. Thus more than 80% of the native Palestinian population lost their homeland in what is now Israeli territory. The refugees' land, buildings, businesses, plantations, and bank accounts were expropriated without compensation. [3]

In order to "legalize" these expropriations, one day after the adoption of the refugee-return Resolution 194 (III) (see Panel 9) the Israeli Cabinet passed the Emergency Regulation Relative to Property of Absentees.
This permitted all property of the absent refugees to be confiscated, even in case of a change of location by the refugees within the territory of Israel. [4]

"Any property of an absentee is hereby vested in the custodian [...] and any right possessed by the absentee in his property shall automatically devolve on the custodian with effect from such vesting."
"Absentees are persons [...] who have left the town or village in which they customarily resided in Eretz Israel (i.e. Palestine)."
(Emergency Regulation Relative to Property of Absentees, 12 Dec. 1948)

This was intended to make the return of the Palestinian refugees impossible, and cement their expulsion ("transfer"), as had been proposed for years by leading representatives of political Zionism (see also quote from Ben-Gurion on Panel 5). The admonitions of representatives of a humanist, cultural Zionism, such as Martin Buber, Hannah Arendt and Judah Magnes, against the partition of Palestine and for living together with the Arab population on an equal footing, were drowned out.

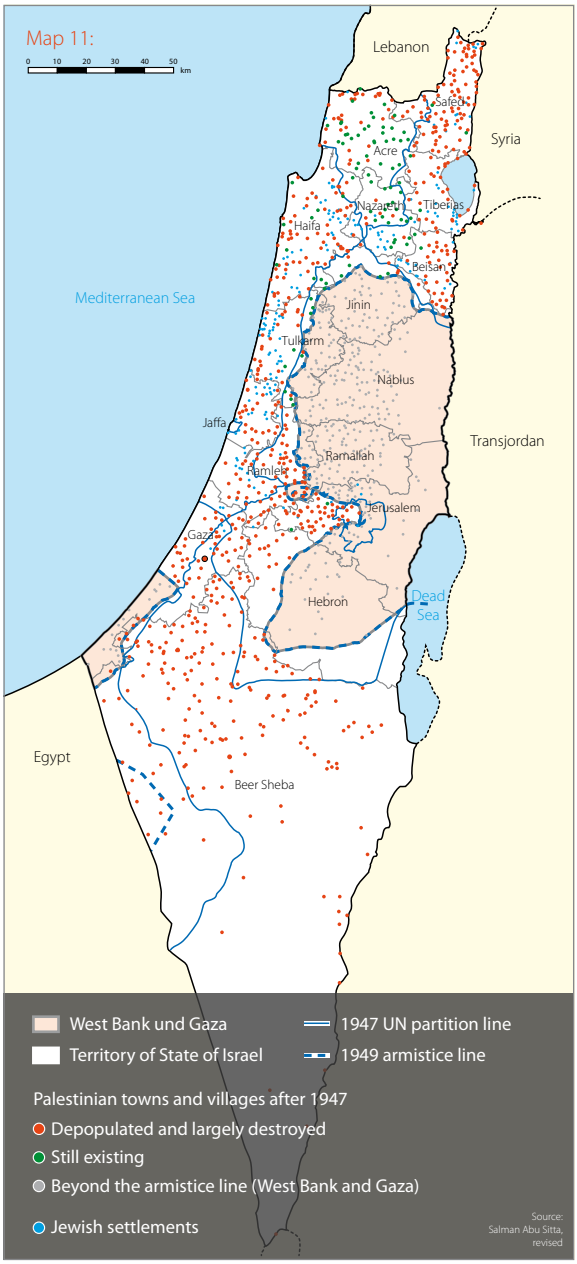
Theodor Herzl, 1895:
"We shall endeavour to expel the poor population across the border unnoticed, procuring employment for it in the transit countries, but denying it any employment in our own country." [5]

Martin Buber in 1919 called for:
"measures which are necessary to create and to maintain an enduring and solid agreement with the Arabs in all fields of public life, an encompassing brotherly solidarity." [7]

Yossef Weitz (head of the settlement section of the Jewish National Fund, and of the Transfer Committee especially established in 1948), 1940:
"Transfer does not serve only one aim – to reduce the Arab population – it also serves a second purpose by no means less important, which is: to evict [people from] land now cultivated by Arabs and to free it for Jewish settlement. […] The only solution is to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries. Not a single village or a single tribe must be let off." [6]

Hannah Arendt, in 1945, complains bitterly of the adoption of Ben-Gurion's programe by the Zionist Organization of America:
"This is a turning point in Zionist history; for it means that the Revisionist program, so long bitterly repudiated, has proved finally victorious […] It is a deadly blow to those Jewish parties in Palestine itself that have tirelessly preached the necessity of an understanding between the Arab and the Jewish peoples." [8]

// Al-Manshiya, conquered on 11 May 1948, formerly a quarter of Jaffa, now of Tel Aviv



Map 11:

Palestine after the Nakba

Fig. 21-23:
(from top to bottom)

Al-Manshiya, before the Nakba, after the Nakba, and today

Note the minaret of the Hassan Beik mosque, the only remaining building of the quarter!

// Action by Zochrot in Al-Ras Al-Ahmar

Fig. 24-25:

Zochrot members installing life-sized photos of Palestinian refugees from al-Ras al-Ahmar in northern Galilee, who live in Lebanon today. (see Panel 11 on Zochrot)

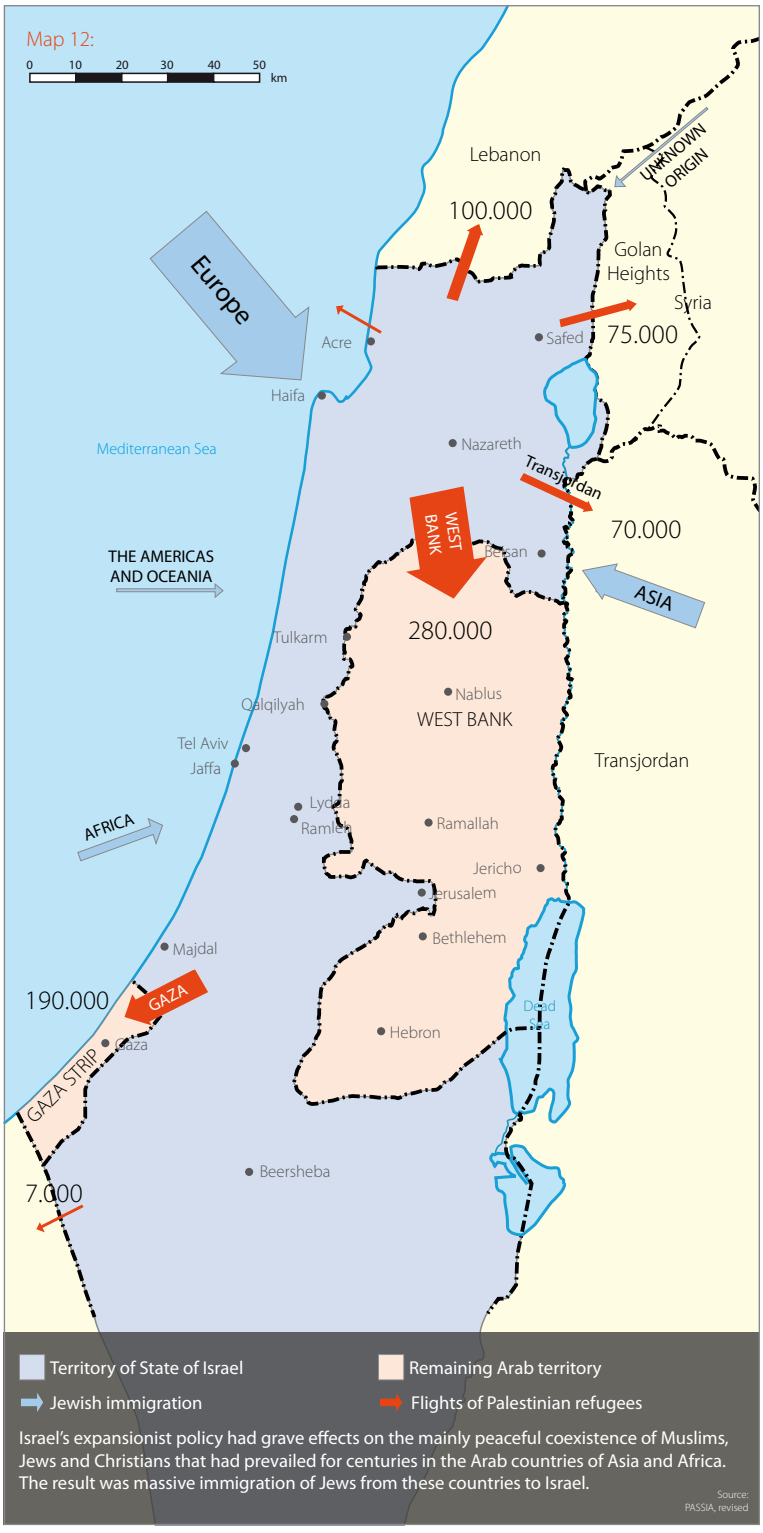
Al-Ras al-Ahmar was intended for the Arab state according to the U.N. partition plan, and was conquered by the Israeli army on 30 Oct. 1948.

[1] Figures for villages: Flapan, p. 96: 350; Schreiber, p. 155: 365; Pappe, p. xiii: 531 villages & 11 urban quarters; ***Atlas of Palestine***, p. 65: 530; ***All That Remains***, p. XX: 418
[2] Figures for refugees: Hollstein, p. 145: 710,000-940,000; Pappe, p. xiii: 800,000; ***Atlas of Palestine***, p. 65: 805,000; Schreiber, p. 152: 500,000-750,000; Flapan, p. 83: 600,000-700,000; ***All That Remains***, p. 582: 714,000-744,000; Official UNRWA figures for June 1950: 960,021
[3] Flapan, p. 107 f., Hollstein, p. 136 ff., Ilan Pappe, p. 214 ff., Salman Abu Sitta, p. 12 f.
[4] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 159
[5] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006 p. 250, quoting from Theodor Herzl, ***Briefe und Tagebücher, Zionistisches Tagebuch***
[6] Ilan Pappe, ibid., p. 62, quoting from Yossef Weitz, ***My Diary***
[7] Hans Kohn, ***Zion and the Jewish National Idea***, 1958, quoted in: Michael Selzer, ***Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of the Jewish Normalcy***, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1970, p. 175ff
[8] Hannah Arendt, ***Zionism Reconsidered***, 1945, quoted in: Michael Selzer, op. cit., p. 213ff.

// Resolution 194 (III)

Resolution 194 (III) of the United Nations of 11 Dec. 1948 (right-of-return resolution)

Map 12:
Population movements 1948-1951



// The Right-of-Return Resolution

While the Israeli-Arab War was still going on, under the impression of the huge flows of refugees, *on 11 Dec. 1948 Resolution 194 (III), known as the "Right-of-Return Resolution," was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations*. It was based on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the U.N. General Assembly. A good six months later, *Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War* reaffirmed the contents of the resolution.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 Dec. 1948

Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 13(2): Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 17(2): No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War of 12 Aug. 1949

Article 49:

Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive.

Nevertheless, the Occupying Power may undertake total or partial evacuation of a given area if the security of the population or imperative military reasons so demand. [...] Persons thus evacuated shall be transferred back to their homes as soon as hostilities in the area in question have ceased.

RESOLUTION 194 (III) RECOGNIZED IN ARTICLE 11 THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND AND/OR TO COMPENSATION. ITS IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN PREVENTED TO THIS DAY.

// UNO-Resolution 194(III)

The Resolution also instituted in Article 2 a conciliation commission, the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP), which was responsible for implementing the right of return. It prepared an extensive catalogue of *the abandoned real estate of the refugees and its value.*
But the Commission did not meet its actual responsibility, to ensure the protection of the refugees, to safeguard their rights, and to solve the refugee problem.

The extensive study, completed in 1964, on the basis of registers and maps of the British Mandatory power, among other things, covers a good 4,000 square kilometers of private refugee land, which together with the buildings at that time had a value of far more than US$ 800,000,000. [1] Without a budget or staff, the UNCCP limits itself nowadays to a one-line annual report to the General Assembly.
The relevance of the right-of-return Resolution 194 (III) is often rejected with the argument that it is not a Security Council resolution, and therefore has no binding, but merely a recommendatory character. While this is true, it applies to the same extent to the generally accepted Partition Resolution 181 (II) as well.
The State of Israel was admitted to the United Nations on 11 May 1949, with reference to the two Resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III).

U.N. Resolution 194 (III)

"The General Assembly […]
11. Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

Fig. 26:
Title deed and front-door key of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

// Palestinian refugees, the UNHCR, and the Convention on Refugees

The majority of Palestinian refugees to this day enjoy neither the protection of the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations (UNHCR) nor of the Geneva Convention on Refugees. The statutes of both institutions exclude all refugees who were already obtaining at that time from another organ of the United Nations protection (UNCCP) or assistance (UNRWA, see Panel 10).

These were the UNCCP, created by Resolution 194 (III), which was responsible for the protection of the refugees, and the UNRWA, created for their aid. While UNRWA continues to be active to this day, the UNCCP has had to abandon its task of ensuring the protection of the refugees since the mid-1950s, for lack of support from the United Nations. Although Article 1D of the Convention on Refugees explicitly requires that if a criterion (protection or assistance) no longer applies, the refugees concerned are again covered by the Convention and become the responsibility of the High Commissioner for Refugees, this has not happened.

Article 1D of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951:

"This Convention shall not apply to persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees protection or assistance.

When such protection or assistance has ceased for any reason, without the position of such persons being definitively settled in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, these persons shall ipso facto be entitled to the benefits of this Convention."

THUS THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES LACK AN INTERNATIONALLY ACKNOWLEDGED REPRESENTATIVE WHO COULD PROVIDE FOR THEIR PROTECTION AND FOR A SOLUTION OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM.

[1] Michael R. Fischbach, Ph.D, "The Usefulness of the UNCCP Archives for Palestinian Refugee Compensation/ Restitution Claims," presentation at the Conference on Palestinian Refugee Research, Ottawa, Canada, June 2003

Situation of the Palestinian refugees today

Map 13:

UNRWA mission area, with refugee camps

// Founding of UNRWA

In December 1949, UNRWA was established as a humanitarian aid organization by the General Assembly of the United Nations for the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees. When it began its work in May 1950, it registered 914,221 refugees. *Today, it supports almost five million refugees in the Near East.* The task of UNRWA is to meet the basic needs of the refugees. That comprises the supply of education and healthcare, social services and emergency aid, and the accommodation and infrastructure in the refugee camps.

The areas where UNRWA works are Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. The aid organization's permanent under-funding leads to severe limitations of its services for the refugees. The situation has been made worse for these people for decades by constantly repeated military conflicts both in the occupied territories, in Lebanon and today in Syria.

UNRWA maintains a total of 58 refugee camps in Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (see table). The percentage of refugees living in refugee camps varies from 18% in Jordan to 53% in Lebanon. UNRWA maintains 700 schools and 137 health facilities. Its regular UN-approved budget amounted to about one billion U.S. dollars in 2010, of which a good half was spent on education programs, and a fifth on healthcare. [1]

Table 5:

Refugees registered with UNRWA in January 2011

	West Bank	Gaza	Lebanon	Jordan	Syria	Total
Registered refugees	848,494	1,167,361	455,373	1,999,466	495,970	4,966,664
Number of camps	19	8	12	10	9	58
Refugees in camps	206,123	518,147	227,718	350,899	149,822	1,452,709
Percentage	26.5	46.8	53.5	17.7	31.7	30.5
"Hardship cases"	36,867	104,581	54,267	55,466	37,224	288,405
Percentage	4.3	9.0	11.9	2.8	7.5	5.8
Percentage of population	32.6*	84.5*	11.5*	34.8*	2.7*	*Dec. 2002

// Lebanon

The politically unstable and economically weak state of Lebanon has only granted citizenship to a small part of the Palestinian refugees. The majority of the refugees, who presently number 450,000 (11% of the Lebanese population), are denied civil, social, and political rights.

The refugees may neither acquire nor devise realty outside the refugee camps. Furthermore, they may only work in a few occupations outside the camps without a work permit, and practically not at all in learned professions. They only find jobs as unskilled laborers in the building industry, or as seasonal agricultural laborers. Their unemployment rate is estimated at 60%. This is why UNRWA finds the highest rate of "hardship cases," that is families with no income, in Lebanon. The percentage of people living in the twelve refugee camps is also the highest here, at more than 50%. The refugees are excluded from the country's educational, medical, and social-welfare systems. Overfilled UNRWA schools with many drop-outs, a high rate of illness with numerous untreated chronic diseases, and great poverty are the result.

The refugees are largely dependent on aid from UNRWA and the private aid organizations which support it, and lack any perspective. Therefore the demand for the right to return is particularly deep-rooted in Lebanon.

In this way, Lebanon counters international efforts to settle the Palestinian refugees permanently in the Arab host countries. The background to this is the political system based on religious denominations in Lebanon, which was restored with difficulty after the civil war there. Sunnites, Shi'ites, Druzes, and Maronite and other Christian groups are represented in the political system according to their assumed proportion of the population. The inclusion of 11% of Sunni Palestinian refugees would disrupt this unstable balance.

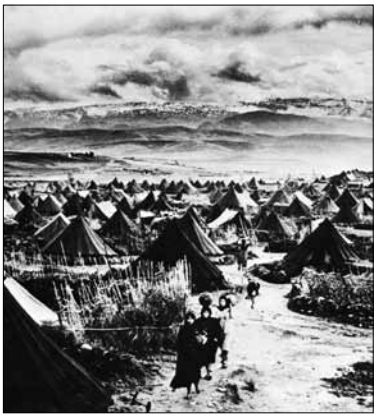


Fig. 27-28:
(left to right)

Refugee camp Nahr al-Bared in northern Lebanon, 1951;

Refugee camp Bourj al-Shemali in southern Lebanon today

Fig. 29-30:
(left to right)

UNRWA school in Lebanon; 40,000 pupils attend the almost 90 UNRWA schools;

Pupils of an UNRWA vocational training center for almost 700 trainees in Lebanon

Fig. 31-32:
(left to right)

May 2000, encounter between Palestinian refugees from the West Bank and Lebanon on the Israeli-Lebanese border fence, shortly after the withdrawal of the Israeli army from southern Lebanon;

15 May, Nakba remembrance day

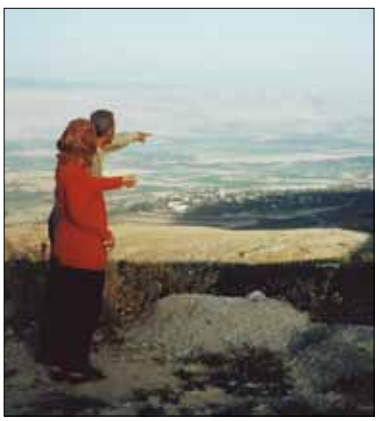


Fig. 33-34:
(left to right)

Refugee camp Shatila in Beirut, refugees fetching drinking water;

The social worker Abu Wassim of the aid organization Bait Atfal Assumoud in Lebanon points to his place of birth, beyond the Israeli-Lebanese frontier

[1] www.un.org/unrwa/english.html

Situation of the Palestinian refugees today

// Jordan

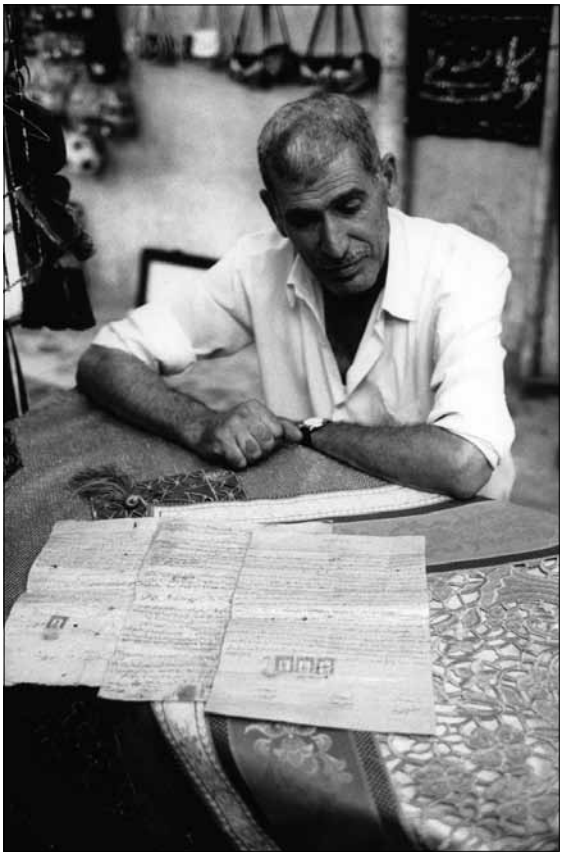
About 70% of Jordanians are of Palestinian origin. The Palestinian refugees of 1948 registered with UNRWA comprise more than 30% of the population. They have been Jordanian citizens since 1954. They have the right to vote and to be elected to office, and can serve as public officials. They are not subject to any restrictions on work, and have access to public services.

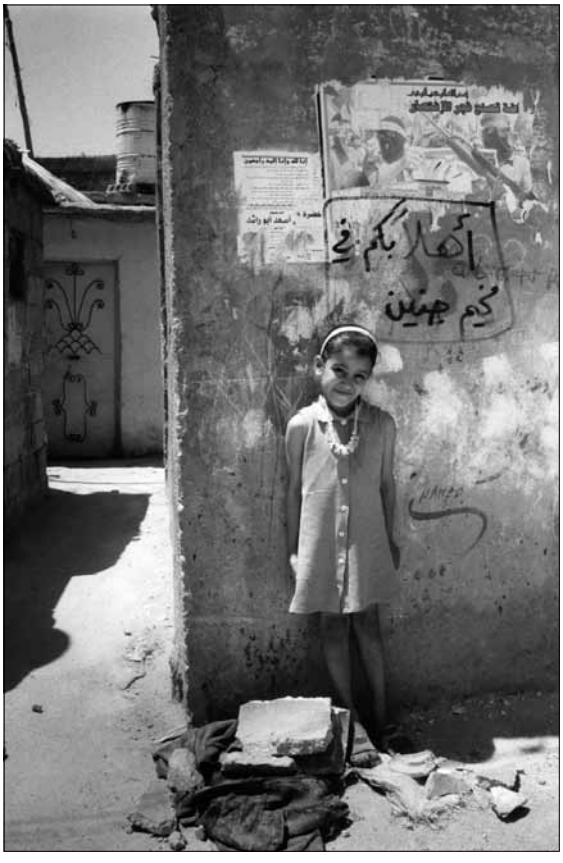
Fig. 35-36:
Palestinian refugees in Camp Hittin, named after their hometown of Hittin, in the north of today's Israel (see also Fig. 41)

// Syria

Less than 3% of the population of Syria are Palestinian refugees. They live in Syria with refugee status, so that their freedom of movement abroad is limited. They enjoy civil rights such as access to the labor market, to schools and social services, and can purchase real estate, like Syrian citizens. Their political rights are even more restricted than those of the general Syrian population.

Fig. 37-38:
(left to right)
Amer in the souk of Amman; folded up in his breast pocket over his heart, Amer always carries the title deeds to his property in Jaffa, for sixty years now. In the souk in Amman, he sells sequined pictures of his homeland, to which he is not allowed to return: "Soldiers who come from Russia and Ethiopia turn me back at the frontier to Palestine." For lack of the reality, symbols become fetishes.
Refugee camp in Damascus – in memory of Mount Carmel in their homeland Palestine, the parents named their daughter "Carmel."





// West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem

More than two million refugees from Israeli territory, of whom one million in the Gaza Strip alone, have been living in the occupied territories, together with the local Palestinian population, *under Israeli occupation for more than forty years*. Humiliations at Israeli checkpoints, curfews, expropriation of land for Israeli settlements and roads, demolition of homes, and arbitrary arrests characterize the everyday life of these people. The "separation wall," which is supposed to protect Israel from terrorist attacks, cuts deep into Palestinian territory, and isolates numerous localities. Gaza is, in effect, a giant prison, whose land, sea, and air borders are controlled by Israel.

Fig. 39-40:
(left to right)

Har Homa, East Jerusalem, one of 138 Israeli settlements in violation of international law;

Selling drinking water in Gaza

// Israel

In 1949, after the end of the first Israeli-Arab War, of the roughly 150,000 Palestinians who had remained in their homeland, *about 30-40,000 were internal refugees* ("present absentees"). Since 1952, they are no longer the responsibility of UNRWA. Today, they are Israeli nationals, and have grown in numbers to 150,000 to 200,000 (not counting Bedouins). The Israeli government does not allow internal refugees to return to their original, destroyed home villages, either. In 2003, the Israeli Supreme Court prohibited the return of the former inhabitants of Ikrit and Kafr Bir'im in Northern Galilee.

Fig. 41:

Hittin today; many refugees from here now live in the refugee camp of the same name in Jordan
(see also Fig. 35-36)

ذاكرات
זוכרות
Zochrot

// Zochrot ("remembering"):

The organization Zochrot was founded in Israel in 2002. Its members are convinced that the central wound of the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Nakba, must not be left a taboo, but brought into the public discourse. Zochrot's initial activities were trips to Palestinian towns and villages that were destroyed in 1948, the erection of information signboards at those places, and spreading awareness of their existence. By now, hundreds of people take part in such regular tours. For each tour, a brochure is published, containing information about the village, oral reports, photographs, maps, archive documents, and personal thoughts.
Zochrot's logotype, the keyhole, symbolizes the counterpart of the well-guarded door-key of the expelled Palestinians (see Panel 9).

Fig. 42-43:
(left to right)

Al-Ras al-Ahmar (Israel), 2007, action by Zochrot:
Photo of a refugee who died in Lebanon, placed in the graveyard of his destroyed home village;

Ikrit (Israel), July 2005, Meeting of internal refugees, expelled in November 1948, next to the church of their destroyed home village

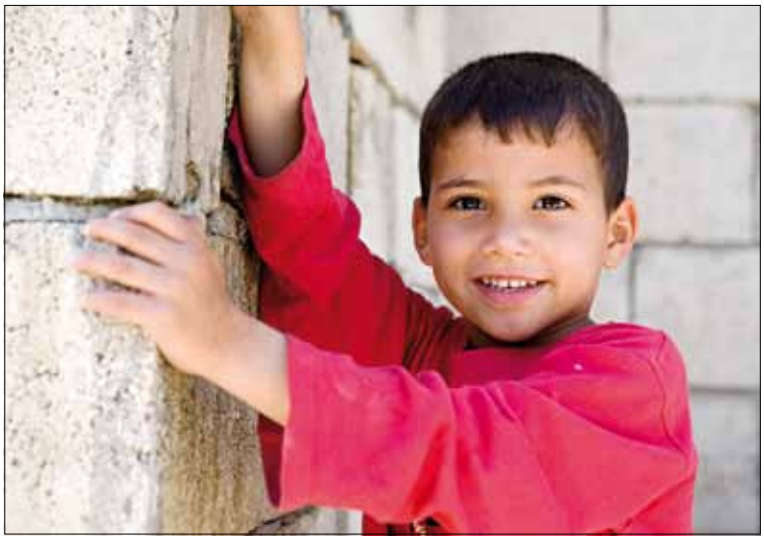


Fig. 44:
Mohammad Farhat

// *Mohammad*

lives in the refugee camp Rashidiye in southern Lebanon. His grandparents come from Sa'sa' and Al-Bassa.

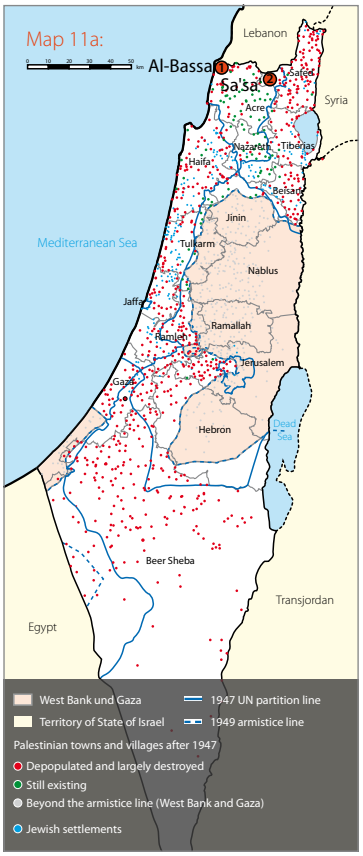
My name is Mohammad Farhat; at five, I am the youngest child in our family, and go to the kindergarten run by the aid organization Bait Atfal Assumoud. My mother's family comes from Sa'sa' (Safed district) and my father's from Al-Bassa (Akka district). Both places are in the far north of Palestine, near the border with Lebanon.

My grandfather Awwad Abu Shbab was born in 1928 in Sa'sa', and my grandmother Zahra in 1930. He worked there as a simple agricultural laborer in the olive plantations. In January 1948, peculiar people came to the village. They set off explosives between the houses, killing many people and destroying many houses. The people of Sa'sa' fled into the olive groves. A few days later, they returned to the village.

Months later, Israeli soldiers conquered the village and shot at the houses. My grandparents were terrified, and, together with other families, they took refuge across the nearby border with Lebanon. They took the door-key of their house, two cows, and a donkey with them. In Rmaish, not far from the border, they had to sell the animals. Then the family walked on to Bourj al-Shemali near Tyros in southern Lebanon. UNRWA finally gave my grandparents a small house nearby in Al-Rashidiye, where we live now. My grandparents still have the key. My grandfather cries sometimes, because he does not believe he will ever see his homeland Palestine again.

My father is seriously mentally ill, and cannot work. So my parents and we six children receive food parcels from UNRWA. Four of us children have sponsors abroad, mine live in France. My mother hopes for a good education, our own homes, and peace for us children. In the summer of 2000, after the withdrawal of the Israeli army from southern Lebanon, she went to the Lebanese-Israeli border fence, and saw Palestine, her parents' homeland, for the first time. Since then, she is very unhappy. I like to play outdoors, and watch cartoon films. I don't have any toys, and would like to have a scooter, like my cousin.

Fig. 45-46:
(left to right)
Mohammad with his cousin's scooter;
Mohammad with his grandparents



Map 11a:

see also Map 11, Palestine after the Nakba, Page 17 (Panel 8)

❶ Al-Bassa lay in northwestern Palestine, and was part of Lebanon until World War I. During the Mandate period, the village grew to more than 700 houses. In 1944-45, it had almost 3,000 inhabitants, some Christian and some Muslim. They lived from farming, as craftsmen, by making soap, or as employees of the nearby British military base. Al-Bassa was the second-largest town in the Akka district. As early as 1922, a town council was founded, which regulated public affairs. The town had three schools (one public primary school for boys since 1882, a public primary school for girls, and a private secondary school), two churches, two mosques, and two sports clubs. [1]

According to the U.N. partition plan of Resolution 181 (II), Al-Bassa belonged to that part of the British Mandate territory intended for the Arab state, and is now part of Israel. On 14 May 1948, the day of the proclamation of the State of Israel, the town was conquered by Zionist militias as part of Operation Ben-Ami, a part of Plan Dalet. During the conquest of western Galilee, from 13 to 22 May 1948, the Haganah for the first time systematically conquered whole groups of villages, drove out the inhabitants, and often razed the villages to the ground. [2] Almost all the inhabitants of Al-Bassa were expelled to Lebanon. A few houses, and remnants of a Christian church and of a Muslim shrine are still standing.[3]

❷ Sa'sa' is a centuries-old village on a crag in the heart of northern Galilee. The Muslim population lived from farming, growing cereals, grapes, olive, fig, and apple trees, and keeping goats and bees. The village had a market square with shops, a mosque, and two primary schools, one each for boys and girls. [4]

According to the U.N. partition plan, Sa'sa' belonged to that part of the British Mandate territory intended for the Arab state, and is now part of Israel. On 15 February 1948, a Palmach unit of the Haganah attacked it and blew up several houses over the heads of the inhabitants. Eleven people, five of them children, were killed. [5] The village, with more than 1,100 inhabitants, was ultimately conquered by the Israeli army on 30 October 1948 as part of Operation Hiram, after aerial bombardment, and most of its inhabitants were driven away to Lebanon. The Israeli historian Benny Morris names Sa'sa' as one of the places where the Israeli army committed massacres. He confirms the order of expulsion from the commander on the northern front, Moshe Carmel, of 31 Oct. 1948 to the soldiers in Galilee, shortly after he had visited Ben-Gurion. [6] The houses in Sa'sa' were largely destroyed. A few are now inhabited by Jewish immigrants. The Israeli settlement of the same name was erected on the land of Sa'sa'.

Fig. 47-49:
(left to right)

Al-Bassa today: church; Muslim shrine;

1948, new Jewish immigrants arrive in Sa'sa'

Fig. 50:

Mohammad Farhat in the refugee camp Al-Rashidiye in southern Lebanon

[1] Walid Khalidi, ***All That Remains***, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C., 1992, p. 6 ff.
[2] Benny Morris, ***The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited***, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 163 ff.
[3] Walid Khalidi, op. cit., 1992, p. 6 ff.
[4] Walid Khalidi, ibid., p. 495
[5] ***New York Times***, 16 Feb. 1948
[6] www.geocities.com/CapeCanaveral/hangar/2848/transprt.htm
[7] Ha'aretz, interview by Ari Shavit with Benny Morris of 9 Jan. 2004 on his book published in 2004, ***The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited***

Refugees tell their personal stories

Map 11b:
see also Map 11, Palestine after the Nakba, Page 17 (Panel 8)

// Khaled and May

Khaled lives with his wife May in Germany today. Their parents come from Atlit.

Atlit lies on a sandstone hill 12.5 km south of Haifa. In the past, the inhabitants' fields were located to the east of the place, and to the southwest, the salterns, where sea-salt has been gathered for centuries. [1] Another important workplace was a quarry, from which hewn blocks of stone were quarried for buildings in Haifa, Akka, and Beirut even in the Ottoman era. The ruins of a Crusader castle from the twelfth century dominate the view of the town. The first Zionist settlement was founded in 1903. During the Mandate period, the town was a unique example of a rare Arab-Jewish cooperation. Jews and Palestinians worked together in the salterns.

On 15 May 1948, the day on which the State of Israel was founded, almost all the Palestinian inhabitants had fled. The Arab houses of Atlit are almost completely destroyed. There is still a railway station, and remnants of a Muslim cemetery and shrine.

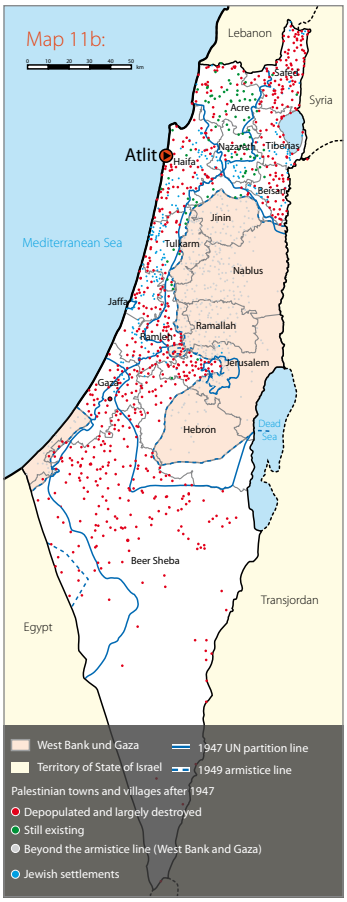
May tells her story:

My mother, Rukaia Yassin, was nine years old when our family fled from Atlit in 1948. My grandparents, Mahmoud Yassin and Dibe Mahfous, were born in Atlit. My grandfather worked in the Atlit quarry, and sold sand and stones. My grandparents also owned cattle and sheep, and grew fodder for their livestock. Almost all the inhabitants of Atlit fled after hearing of the massacre in the village of Deir Yassin in early April 1948 (see Panel 4). Only my grandparents stayed behind with their family, because Jewish residents of Atlit, with whom my grandfather worked in the quarry, had promised them protection. Only in late May 1948 did my grandparents, with their eight children, also leave Atlit and follow the other refugees to Tulkarem. From there, UNRWA sent them on to Irbed in Jordan. From Irbed, they were sent via Darra on the Jordanian-Syrian border to Latakia on the Mediterranean coast of Syria. Today, most of the people from Atlit live there, and I was born there. We are part of Syrian society, but do not have Syrian citizenship, but a refugee identity card instead. Our family is scattered over many countries.

Khaled tells his story:

My family also comes from Atlit. My mother's brother, Mohammad Awwad, was the mayor of Atlit during the Mandate period. As a fisherman, who supplied the British base with the best fish, he was well-respected there. My family, like most of the inhabitants, fled shortly before the proclamation of the State of Israel, and followed the same route as the family of my wife May.

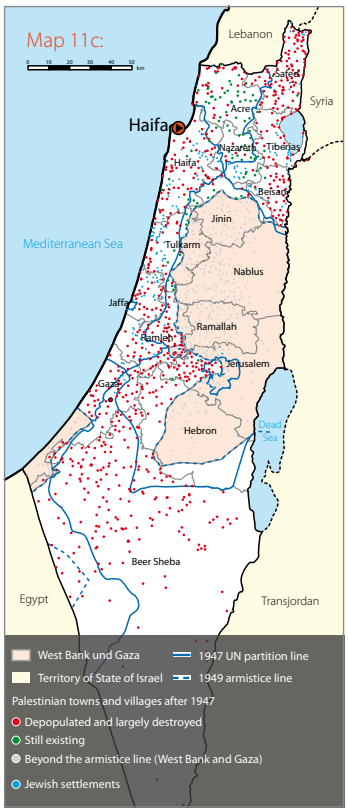
Fig. 51-53:
(left to right)
Khaled with his mother Hind Awwad;
Khaled with his son Josef;
Atlit today – ruins of a Palestinian house



Atlit: In 1903, Baron Edmond de Rothschild purchased land there, and set up the first Zionist settlement. In 1922, the Jewish Colonization Association was granted the concession for salt production by the British Mandatory power (High Commissioner Herbert Samuel), and the Palestine Salt Company was founded. [2] In 1931, the place had almost a thousand inhabitants, of whom half were Arabs and half were Jews. [3] The building of a second settlement, Neve Yam, in 1939, and a Haganah training camp established in the 1940s caused the number of Palestinian inhabitants to drop to 150 (90 Muslims, 60 Christians) in 1944-45. In 1939, the Mandatory power established a prison camp for illegal Jewish immigrants in Atlit. [4] During the 1948-49 war, Israel began to intern Palestinian prisoners in a labor camp there. In a report by the International Committee of the Red Cross of 6 Feb. 1949 on a visit to the camp, 1,640 detainees are reported. [5]

// Sileen Akkawi lives in the former Gaza Hospital in Beirut. Her grandfather comes from Haifa.

My grandmother is a Shi'ite Lebanese from southern Lebanon. Because her husband was a Palestinian refugee, neither I nor my brothers and sisters are entitled to Lebanese citizenship, and we are registered as Palestinian refugees. My grandfather fled with his parents by ship from Haifa to Saida. There he met my grandmother. Her Lebanese family was very opposed to her marriage with a Sunni Palestinian, but she married him anyway – for love! I am one year and ten months old. My grandmother always takes care of me. We live with our large family in the former Gaza Hospital, which was plundered during the Lebanese civil war, and is now housing for Palestinian refugees. The building is located right next to the Shatila refugee camp. There are often power outages, and there is only one shower and one toilet for five families on each floor. But our flat is nicely furnished. My aunt Amina, who is another daughter of my grandmother, works in Shatila as a dental assistant in the dental practice of the aid organization Bait Atfal Assumoud. She is very glad about this, because she is not allowed to practise her profession outside of the refugee camp. My grandmother's wish for us, her grandchildren, is that we might be able to return to Palestine and live there in peace and freedom. Here in Lebanon, life is very difficult, because as Palestinians we have no civil rights.



Map 11c:

see also Map 11, Palestine after the Nakba, Page 17 (Panel 8)

Fig. 54-55:
(left to right)

Former Gaza Hospital, now refugee accommodation near Shatila;

Sileen's aunt Amina works as a dental assistant in the refugee camp

Fig. 56:

Sileen with her grandmother

Haifa belongs to the part of the British Mandate territory of Palestine intended for the Jewish state, according to the partition plan of U.N. Resolution 181 (II). The city was conquered by Zionist militias on 23 April 1948, even before the State of Israel was founded. The expulsion was completed by the time of its founding, that is, even before the first Israeli-Arab war. Of the 61,000 Palestinian inhabitants, only about 3,500 stayed behind. Most fled on ships to Lebanon.

The flight, particularly of Haifa's well-to-do residents, began in January 1948 already, after terrorist actions by the Jewish Irgun militia (see also Fig. 7 and Fig. 9). [6] "Heavy shelling, sniper fire, rivers of ignited oil and fuel sent down the mountain-side, and detonated barrels of explosives" [7] were part of this terrorism. Operation Bi'ur Hametz, which finally sealed the fate of the city, began on 21 April. "The Hebrew term stands for total cleansing and refers to the Jewish religious practice of eliminating all traces of bread or flour from people's homes on the eve of the Passover, since these are forbidden during the days of the feast." [8] The British forces still stationed locally let the Jewish militias have their way throughout. The British commander, Stockwell, even advised the inhabitants to leave the city shortly before the attack. Mordechai Maklef, the commander of the 2,000-man-strong Jewish unit responsible, the Carmeli Brigade, ordered his men in the attack on Haifa: "Kill any Arab you encounter; torch all inflammable objects and force doors open with explosives." [9] The attack, accompanied by shelling, ended for the 50,000 remaining defenceless inhabitants in panic and chaos. Most of them escaped in a disorganized flight with ships and boats in the harbor; they were driven into the sea, so to speak.

[1] www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org
[2] www.salt.co.il
[3] Walid Khalidi, ***All That Remains***, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C., 1992, p. 146 et seq.
[4] www.motl.org
[5] Letter from Salman Abu Sitta to Zochrot of 19 May 2002 (www.zochrot.org)
[6] Friedrich Schreiber, Michael Wolffsohn, ***Nahost – Geschichte und Struktur des Konflikts***, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1993, p. 156
[7] Ilan Pappe, ***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***, Oneworld Publications Limited, Oxford, 2006, p. 93
[8] Ilan Pappe, ibid., p. 94
[9] Ilan Pappe, ibid., p. 95, quoted from the Hagana Archives, 69/72, 22 March 1948

// The Nakba in Art

Ismael Shammout, born 1930 in Ramleh, died 2006 in Amman, Jordan

Fig. 57-58: (left to right)
Palestinian refugees, 1998;
Birth of a Palestinian child, 1977

Shammout was expelled with his family from Ramleh on 12 July 1948. They fled via Ramallah to Gaza. After studying art in Cairo, Shammout became famous as the Palestinian painter who, together with his wife, Tamam Al-Akhal, devoted himself to the topic of flight and expulsion in numerous works. He spent his life in Lebanon, Kuwait, Germany, and finally Jordan.
"July 1948. The next day, we were trucked from the village of Na'lin to Ramallah. They left us in a girls' school in the south of the town. We crowded into the school rooms, were given bread, and drank until our thirst was quenched.
The condition of my little brother Tawfiq worsened as a result of the thirst, heat, and the sunstroke that he had suffered on the day of our expulsion (he was two years old). He died after a few days. My father, his two brothers, and other relatives decided to leave for Khan Yunis in Gaza. We thought it would be easy to get there, and only take a few hours. In fact, it was a dangerous and strenuous journey, since we had to pass roads controlled by the Zionists.
After about two weeks, we arrived in Khan Yunis. We were among the first refugees in the first camp set up in Khan Yunis. The camp lay in white-golden sand whose colors changed in the sunlight and moonlight. But the beauty of these sand hills did not last long. They were flattened by men and machines to make room for thousands of refugees."

Burhan Karkutli, born 1932 in Damascus, Syria, died 2003 in Bonn, Germany

Karkutli called himself a Palestinian, and considered political painting his life's work. He did not restrict himself to Palestinian topics, but rather dealt with the liberation of humankind from all forms of oppression. This included the struggle for human rights, social justice, democracy, and independence in the Arab world.
This approach of political liberation is also what makes Karkutli important to the Palestinians.
"As an artist, I take aesthetic pleasure in political expression. It is beautiful for me, like flowers, like a beautiful woman, like a beautiful sky. To express oneself politically is delightful, because the subject of political painting is humanity's dream of a new and better life. To express the beauty of that life is the purpose and goal of political painting."

Emily Jacir, born in 1970 in Bethlehem

Fig. 59:
Refugee tent with embroidered village names

Emily Jacir was awarded the Golden Lion for the best work of an artist under the age of forty at the Biennale in Venice. This Palestinian artist, who lives in New York City and Ramallah, confronts the viewer in her works with the vital political and human problems of her homeland. For her work "Memorial to 418 Palestinian Villages Which Were Destroyed, Depopulated and Occupied by Israel in 1948," she opened her studio in New York to passers-by, and had them embroider the names of Palestinian villages onto a refugee tent.

// In Literature

Ghassan Kanafani,
writer and journalist, born 1936 in Akka, was assassinated in 1972 in Beirut with a bomb

"Rass El-Naqoura loomed on the horizon, wrapped in a blue haze, and the vehicle suddenly stopped. The women emerged from amid the luggage, stepped down and went over to an orange vendor sitting by the wayside. As the women walked back with the oranges, the sound of their sobs reached us. Only then did oranges seem to me something dear, that each of these big, clean fruits was something to be cherished [...] ▶

▶ In Rass El-Naqoura our vehicle stood beside many similar vehicles. The men began to hand in their weapons to the policemen who were there for that purpose. Then it was our turn. I saw pistols and machine guns thrown onto a big table, saw the long line of big vehicles coming into Lebanon, leaving the winding roads of the land of oranges far behind, and then I too cried bitterly. Your mother was still silently gazing at the oranges, and all the orange trees your father had left behind to the Jews glowed in his eyes [...] As if all those clean trees which he had bought one by one were mirrored in his face. And in his eyes tears, which he could not help hiding in front of the officer at the police station, were shining.
When in the afternoon we reached Sidon we had become refugees."
Excerpt from Ghassan Kanafani *Land of Sad Oranges* (Translated by Mona Anis and Hala Halim)

Mahmoud Darwish, poet and journalist, born 1942 in Al-Birwa in Galilee, worked and lived in Cairo, Beirut and Paris, and since 1996 in the West Bank; died August 2008

We journey towards a home not of our flesh.
Its chestnut trees are not of our bones.

Its rocks are not like goats in the mountain hymn.
The pebbles` eyes are not like lilies.

We journey towards a home that does not halo our heads with a special sun.

Glory is ours: a throne carried on feet torn by roads
that led to every home but our own!

The soul must recognize itself in its very soul, or die here…

نسير إلى بلد ليس من لحمنا . ليس من عظمنا شجر الكستنا

وليست حجارته ماعزا في نشيد الجبال وليست عيون الحصى سوسنا

نسير إلى بلد لا يعلّق شمسا خصوصية فوقنا

لنا المجد : عرش على أرجل قطّعتها الدروب التي أوصلتنا الى كلّ بيت سوى بيتنا!

على الروح أن تجد الروح في روحنا، أو تموت هنا..

// In the everyday life of the refugees

Their longing for their lost homeland is reflected in the loving cultivation of Palestinian traditions
(Projects of the Palestinian-Lebanese aid organization Bait Atfal Assumoud in Lebanon)

Fig. 60-61:
Palestinian traditional garb

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Ingrid Rumpf, chairwoman of Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.

THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS PROVIDED MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS:
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Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, Jerusalem (PASSIA)
www.palestineremembered.com (PR)
Zochrot, Tel Aviv-Jaffa (Z)

SOURCES OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS USED:

Title panel: UNRWA
Panel 1: Fig. 1 & 2: IPS, Before Their Diaspora; Fig. 3: IPS, All That Remains
Panel 2: Fig. 4 & 5: IPS, Before Their Diaspora
Panel 3: Fig. 6 & 7: IPS, Before Their Diaspora
Panel 4: Fig. 8: IPS, Before Their Diaspora; Fig. 9: Ilan Pappe, The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, 2006
Panel 5: Fig. 10 & 12: Ilan Pappe, The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, 2006, Fig. 11 & 13: UNRWA; Fig. 14-16: IPS, All That Remains
Panel 6: Fig. 17: PR, Prince; Fig. 18: Z; Fig. 19: PR, Uri Zackhem; Fig. 20: Z, Gilad Libermann
Panel 8: Fig. 21: Z, Kurt Bremer; Fig. 22: Z, Rudy Visenstein; Fig. 23: Z, Suzana Loutrbach; Fig. 24 & 25: Z, Thierry Bresillon
Panel 9: Fig. 26: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
Panel 10: Fig. 27: UNRWA; Fig. 28-30: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.; Fig. 31: NISCVT; Fig. 32 & 33: Sabine Matthes; Fig. 34: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
Panel 11: Fig. 35 & 36 EMS, Steffen Grashoff; Fig. 37 & 38: Sabine Matthes; Fig. 39: A; Fig. 40: Martina Waiblinger; Fig. 41: PR, Uri Zackhem; Fig. 42: Z, Thierry Bresillon; Fig. 43: PR
Panel 12: Fig. 44 & 45: Franziska Kraufmann; Fig. 46: NISCVT; Fig. 47 & 48: PR, Makbula Nassar; Fig. 49: PR, Prince; Fig. 50: Franziska Kraufmann; Fig. 51 & 52: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.; Fig. 53: PR, Uri Zackhem; Fig. 54 & 55: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.; Fig. 56: Katharina Kraufmann
Panel 13: Fig. 57: Ismael Shammout; Fig. 58: Burhan Karkutli; Fig. 59-61: Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
Projects: Fig. 62-67 Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
Zochrot: Fig. 68: R. R. Beiler: Fig. 69: Z

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Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.
A charitable association for aiding
Palestinian refugee children in Lebanon
www.lib-hilfe.de

in cooperation with the Lebanese-Palestinian aid organization
The National Institution of Social Care and Vocational Training (NISCVT)
Bait Atfal Assumoud

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Fig. 62 - Fig. 64:
(left to right)

Dental clinic in Shatila;

The child-care worker Muna Kabbuli, trained with the support of the Rosa Wainer Bursary, working in the kindergarten in Shatila;

Coaching courses in Ein al-Helweh

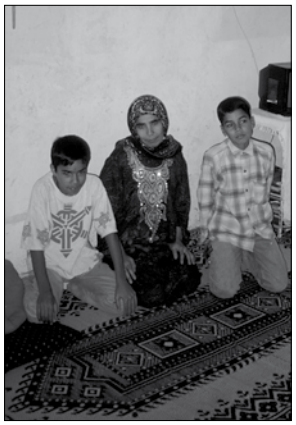

Fig. 65 - Fig. 67:

Sponsor family in Bourj al-Barajneh;

Excursion during the holiday work camp;

Young Palestinians learning to work aluminium in courses

// Projects of Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.

ECHT GUT!
WINNER OF THE 2007 "VOLUNTARY WORK IN BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG" PRIZE

Our association, in collaboration with NISCVT, supports projects that particularly benefit children, teenagers, and women from especially needy families:

- Building, furnishing, and maintaining social centers and kindergartens
- Educational projects such as coaching for primary-school pupils, development and vocational-training courses, training of young girls (Rosa Wainer Bursary), and further-education workshops for the child-care and social workers of NISCVT in Lebanon
- Medical projects such as maintaining dental practices, fund for medical emergencies
- Embroidery project for Palestinian refugee women
- Sponsorships
  for children from mostly fatherless families
  for attending kindergarten (three years)
  for the salary of NISCVT social workers
- Holiday activities for Palestinian children and young people from Lebanon
- Emergency projects

FLÜCHTLINGS KINDER im Libanon e.V.

// Zochrot

We would like to thank Zochrot for their contribution to this exhibition. They provided information and photographs for the information panels and the catalogue.

Zochrot ("remembering" in Hebrew) is an NGO working since 2002 in Israel to promote acknowledgement of the Nakba. Zochrot is the only Israeli non-profit organization devoted to the commemoration of the Nakba, first and foremost among the Jewish majority in Israel.

Zochrot's mission is to initiate, support and sustain public discourse, in Israel, on the Nakba and its ongoing effects, particularly the situation of the Palestinian refugees. We believe acknowledgment of the past is the first step towards taking responsibility for its consequences, and thus hope to contribute to a realistic resolution of the conflict, which will include a just solution to the situation of Palestinian refugees.

Fig. 68-69:
(left to right)

Palestinian citizens of Israel and Israeli activists on Zochrot's tour to the village of Al-Ruways, which was destroyed by Israeli military forces during the Nakba, March 2013

Zochrot's tour to the North of Israel

Alliance of LIBERALS and DEMOCRATS for Europe

Contents and concept of the exhibition:
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