



# Nakba- Nonsense

The booklet that fights for the truth

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**אסתר צו**  
המהפכה הציונית השנייה •



**The** modest and light booklet you are holding in your hands now is not just a bunch of pages full of worn out political texts. This booklet contains ammunition – ammunition in the fight against the ignorance and lies which threaten to inundate us like a tsunami.

In an article published in May 2011 in the New York Times, the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, wrote: "In November 1947, the General Assembly made its recommendation and answered in the affirmative. Shortly thereafter, Zionist forces expelled Palestinian Arabs to ensure a decisive Jewish majority in the future state of Israel, and Arab armies intervened."

Mr. Abbas' statement in this article is the culmination of a huge campaign of lies which seeks to rewrite, distort and falsify history. The truth, as anyone can find out if they only take the trouble to open and read the history books, and as was well known by everyone at the time, was that immediately after the General Assembly's decision on the partition plan, the Arabs in the land of

Israel initiated a campaign of murder and mayhem in an attempt to destroy the Jewish community in Israel, and this within only three years after the Holocaust. Upon the Israeli declaration of independence in May 1948, the Arab armies of the neighboring countries joined the fray in an attempt to bring about that same purpose: the liquidation of the Jewish community in Israel.

Only in a post-modernist world where historical and intellectual discourse has been corrupted thus becoming superficial, shallow and trendy, could the leader of a people allow himself to write such unfounded fables. Mahmoud Abbas did this because he knows that after so many years of propaganda, deceit and misrepresentation, the extreme left has succeeded in taking over the historical discourse on the Middle East conflict in the media and in academic circles. Once they achieved that, historical facts became irrelevant and the false Arab narrative gained traction through the power of Arab propaganda and the enormous resources that have been invested in its dissemination. And don't make a mistake. Nobody claims that the Arabs of the Land of Israel did not experience a catastrophe at the end of the 1940s. Yes, they did experience a catastrophe, a Nakba, as they call it. There is no point in obfuscating this fact. So how come we dare to call the Nakba a lie? Why do we call it 'rubbish'?

Because the historical discourse on issues of the War of Independence, the Israeli-Arab conflict and the

Nakba has become so false and distorted that there is no other way to describe it than by calling it by name: Rubbish - a collection of tall tales and myths. Because the concept of "the Nakba" does not seek to express a personal catastrophe, it seeks to establish a false political myth, a myth which is an unprecedented and unabashed misrepresentation that aims at rewriting history.

According to this fictive version of history, the aggressor is represented as the victim, and the side that defended against massacre is accused of having committed war crimes. In the name of the Nakba it is considered fair to falsify facts, to concoct fictive fables, to elaborate lies and to invent blood libels that accuse Israel of having committed the most heinous crime – the crime of ethnic cleansing.

The myth of the Nakba is a bluff. It's an enormous lie which is meant to undermine the international recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure and defensible borders. It is meant to criminalize Israel and to frame Israel of having perpetrated a crime which it did not commit. It's an attempt to shirk the responsibility of the Arabs for the results of their own aggression and to whitewash the crimes of the Palestinian national movement with the aim of justifying its struggle to destroy Israel.

That is the reason that we decided to write this booklet – to expose the deception, to present to anyone who still wants to know the truth what really happened between

the years 1947 and 1949 – to reveal the true facts and the historical truths which have been forgotten and which were deliberately distorted.

The facts cited in the following 80 pages are the most basic facts with which anyone who is interested in the Arab-Israeli conflict should be acquainted.

It is not necessary to have a degree from Oxford University to know which side initiated the war and attempted to destroy its neighbors, and which side sacrificed life and limb to defend itself against the local Arabs and the seven armies which came to their aid, and in the process paid a huge price in terms of lives lost – one percent of the Jewish community were killed in Israel's War of Independence.

You don't need an I.Q. of 170 to solve the equation according to which for every two Arabs who became refugees as a result of the aggression initiated by their own people, there were three innocent Jewish refugees who were expelled from Arab countries.

You don't need to be an expert on the Middle East, or a linguist or an anthropologist to know that a large part of the hundreds of thousands of the "Palestinian refugees" came here in the wake of the prosperity which the Zionist movement brought to the region. These were migrant workers who had arrived here in the 1920's, the 1930's and the 1940's. Some came before that. It's enough to read the names that appear on their identity cards. Where did

the family of the man called El Masri who is building a new city near Ramallah come from? El Masri means "the Egyptian" and this family originated from Egypt. And the large clan named Haurani originally came from the Syrian region of Hauran, and became one of the most well-known and established of the Palestinian clans.

There is no recourse other than rolling up one's sleeves and exposing the lies in order to reveal the truth. This booklet is intended to sort out the basic facts and to reveal as complete a picture as possible. As we have said, the conventional discourse about the Nakba and the Jewish people's War of Independence is a total fiction, and this fiction is about to be exposed for what it actually is.





# **1. They Attacked.**

## **Responsibility for the Creation of the Refugee Problem**

”This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be remembered like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades”. This statement was made by Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, at a press conference in Cairo on May 15, 1948 - the day that Israel proclaimed its independence.

The War of Independence erupted the day after the UN Resolution of November 29th, 1947 according to which two states were to be established in the Land of Israel - a Jewish state and an Arab state. The Arab Higher Committee, the central political organ of the Arab community of Mandate Palestine, announced its opposition to the partition plan even before the UN General Assembly had made its decision.

The war was initiated the following morning. Five Jews were murdered in the bombing of Egged bus No. 2094.

Azzam Pasha, quoted above, was not the only murderous psychopath among the Arab leaders of 1947. "Palestine will be consumed by fire and blood if the Jews get any part of it", promised Jamal Al Hussein, a member of the Higher Arab Committee. Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud's men promised the Arab Committee that: "Once we get the green light from the British, we can easily throw out the Jews". The notorious Fawzi Kaukji, Commander of the Islamic Liberation Army, vowed to throw all the Jews into the sea, and Abd-el Kadr Al Hussein, the leader of the Arab armed gangs, unequivocally clarified: "The Palestinian problem will only be resolved by means of the sword, and all the Jews must leave Palestine".

We note that this happened in the years immediately following the Holocaust. Six million Jews had been murdered. Many Jews were still interned in displaced persons camps all over Europe. The Jewish people had been persecuted, murdered, shattered. We note that a compromise proposal had been issued - partition of the land west of the Jordan between Jews and Arabs. We recall that the Jews accepted the proposal. But the Arab response said, in essence: "You can expect a second Holocaust in Palestine", only two years after the previous one had ended. It is impossible to imagine a greater moral crime or historical injustice than this. It is hard to imagine a more vicious and cruel reaction than this, promising the Jews a second Holocaust.

For the Jews, a nation steeped in persecutions, suffering and victimization, there was no reason to cast doubt on the sincerity of the intentions expressed by Husseini and his cohorts. At every opportunity, the Arabs had proved their proficiency in murdering Jews. Jewish blood dripped from Arab swords and daggers.

On August 24, 1929, dozens of Arabs burst into the home of the pharmacist Gershon Ben Zion in Hebron. The fact that Ben Zion had been providing medical services and free medicines to hundreds of Arabs for years was not considered relevant. Ben Zion was murdered but not before the rioters ripped his eyes out of their sockets. The rioters did not have mercy on his family either. They tortured and murdered his daughter and his wife. The blood flowed in the alleyways of Hebron. A multitude of Arabs went on a homicidal rampage, attacking the homes of the peaceful Jewish residents of Hebron, robbing them, raping the women and murdering them with unimaginable cruelty. Sixty-seven Jews were massacred in Hebron in the riots of 1929. The British watched what was happening but did not lift a finger to help the victims. Only afterwards did they evacuate the hundreds of remaining Jewish inhabitants of the city; the most ancient Jewish community in the land of Israel had been banished from their homes.

The massacres spread to other places in the country. In Jerusalem, nineteen Jews were murdered; in Safed -

eighteen; in Haifa - seven; in Tel Aviv - three. In Motza, on the main road to Jerusalem, the rioters murdered the parents, two daughters and a son of the Maklef family. Three of the family's children survived the massacre. One of them - Mordechai - the baby who had been overlooked by the murderers, lived to become the third Chief of Staff of the IDF.

When the slaughters ended, 113 corpses were counted. The sights were unbearable: bodies had been ripped apart, children burned alive, babies heads had been bashed into walls, women had been raped and their stomachs slit. Hundreds of the victims' limbs had been ripped from their bodies. Gruesome photos of these atrocities can be found on internet sites commemorating these victims. They remain as a hideous testimony of what the Arabs meant when they promised to slaughter the Jews.

The Arab riots of 1936-1939 were characterized by similar atrocities and ended with 400 Jewish casualties. Among the targets of Arab attacks were orphanages and baby homes. The murderous rampage only ended when the Arab population was starving.

These are only some of the most prominent examples among hundreds of cases of the slaughter of Jews by Arabs.

Let's return to the UN resolution on partition. Despite the Arabs' opposition and their threats, and despite the

blood-stained memories of past events, the leadership of the Jewish community agreed, as always, to the compromise proposed by the UN's General Assembly. The Zionist Movement adopted the partition resolution, and in doing so actually agreed to forfeit all the areas on the eastern side of the Jordan River and half of the land to the west of the Jordan - the major part of the land which had been promised to the Jewish people in the 1917 Balfour Declaration. But despite the proposed compromise, the Arabs were intransigent. They wanted more. They wanted everything. Their response to the Jewish offer of compromise was tendered in blood and fire. Death reigned supreme. In their cruelty, their stupidity and their endless arrogance, the Palestinians brought their own ruin upon themselves. In July 1949, twenty months after the war had erupted and fourteen months after Azzam Pasha's promise of a "momentous massacre to be remembered for generations," the War of Independence ended in an Israeli victory and Arab defeat. The Arabs, who had sought to slaughter the

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Jews and drive them into the sea, were left with the Nakba.

And thus, instead of an Arab state that would have encompassed 45 percent of the land to the west of the Jordan River (12,000 sq. kilometers versus 14,000 kilometers for the Jews), the Arabs of the Land of Israel were left with no political assets at all. The State of Israel had expanded its territory from the 55% it had been offered in the partition plan to 78% of the land on the west of the Jordan. The Kingdom of Jordan occupied Judea, Samaria and East Jerusalem, and Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip.

Hundreds of thousands of Arab residents of the Land of Israel became refugees in the Arab countries. The Arabs claim that the number of refugees who fled the war reaches 900,000 - as usual, this number reflects Middle-Eastern imagination and greed. The real number is somewhere between 560,000 to 600,000 refugees. The Arabs further claim that all the refugees were forcibly evicted. As usual, this is a pack of lies. These topics will be further addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

The main thesis of the myth of the Nakba seeks to tell the following story: the Jewish colonialists who began to invade Palestine at the end of the 19th century perpetrated a deliberate ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian indigenous peasantry who had been living on their land for centuries; their policy was deliberately designed to cleanse the

area of the Jewish State of its Arab population, and in the course of the War of Independence they carried out the planned deportation of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The lies in this single statement, which in several Israeli university faculties has become axiomatic, clearly echoes the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. But at this point we shall focus on only a single essential aspect, one that is significant from both the aspects of morality and international law. Where does the responsibility lie for the consequences of the war, the events leading up to which we have described above?

There are two customary approaches for determining on whom the onus rests for the consequences of a war.

The first is a cynical, instrumental approach: the responsibility for the consequences of a war rests with the loser. This was the customary approach throughout the course of history.

The alternative is the moral approach, which is currently adopted by international law: the responsibility for the consequences of a war, the bloodshed, the colossal loss of human lives, the ruin and destruction of entire regions, rests with the aggressor, the party that initiated the eruption of the war, the party that turned its back on diplomatic efforts to broker a compromise and chose murder, killings and violence, the party that sought to keep everything for itself and for this purpose took action

to trample and crush the rights of the opposite party. This is a non-relativistic, exclusive morality that considers any other morality to be distorted. It is the morality of rapists.

Oh, we forgot. Actually there is also a third approach, the most popular approach. This is the ancient approach, which claims that under any circumstances, anywhere, the Jews are guilty. Always.

The 1929 massacre? The responsibility lies with the Beitar youths who displayed the Israeli flag at a demonstration near the Wailing Wall.

The 1936-39 Arab Revolt? The increase in Jewish immigration from Europe.

The First Intifada? An Israeli who ran over Palestinians.

The Second Intifada? Sharon went up to the Temple Mount.

The events of 1996? Netanyahu and the opening of the tunnels under the Wailing Wall.

Hundreds of suicide attacks? The barriers, the settlements, the Occupation.

Kristallnacht? The attempt made by a young Jew to murder the secretary of the German embassy in France.

The Nakba? The Zionist colonialists, obviously. Those who, according to the post-Zionist narrative, "invaded the country from Poland, exploited the Arab peasants, and afterwards drove out 900,000 peace-loving Palestinians"



Have we mentioned the morality of rapists?

Now what would those righteous proponents of this approach have had to say if it had been the Jews who had massacred Palestinians because they had waved a flag or had opened a tunnel? They likely would not have been so sympathetic to the sensitivities of the slaughterers and murderers.

The lie of the "Nakba" is the story according to which the Zionist colonialists invaded the land of Israel and stole it from its Palestinian inhabitants in a cruel campaign of ethnic cleansing - carrying out deportations, massacres and rapes. The

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lie of the "Nakba" is the cheap pseudo-psychological explanation according to which the Jews were victims (or not) of the Holocaust in Europe and then responded by perpetrating a Holocaust on the Palestinians. In this narrative, the so-called victim became a victimizer.

Regrettably, there is not a single Palestinian child born in the past 63 years who has not been brought up on this myth. There is no Arab child who was not nurtured on this lie from his mother's breasts. This was the ultimate excuse for their predicament. No need to face the facts, no need for self-criticism, no need to take responsibility.

It is enough that this lie is large enough to contain all the frustrations of the Arab world.

This industry of lies, the basis of the campaign to delegitimize Israel, is a billion-dollar industry, a lie that poisons the minds of many Europeans, Americans and even Israelis. The consciousness of the world is enslaved by the agents of this despicable industry of lies, those who call themselves "human rights activists" and "intellectuals".

And it is up to us to fight against this lie and to defeat it. It is up to us to make sure that everyone in the world comes to know the truth.

### **And what is the truth?**

The watershed date is November 29, 1947. On that day, the UN General Assembly decided on the partition of the Land of Israel into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The Arab state did not only comprise Judea, Samaria and Gaza, but also the western and central Galilee, the eastern part of the Negev including Beersheba, the western part of the Negev, Ashkelon and Ashdod, Lod and Ramle, and Jaffa.

The Jewish community celebrated joyously in the streets that night, celebrating the establishment of that poor man's lamb of a state with its impossible borderlines, and regarded the resolution as the realization of the dream of generations of Jews. The following day the Arabs attacked

the Jewish community with a single purpose: to kill and to destroy, to prevent the implementation of the UN's resolution.

The second date needed to evaluate the historical truth is May 15, 1948. On that day the British Mandate came to its end. The day before, David Ben Gurion had proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel and held out his hand in peace to the Arabs of both the Land of Israel and of the Arab countries. The Palestinians could have done the same - they could have declared their statehood and they could have shaken the hand that had been held out to them. But they chose to do otherwise. On the day the State of Israel was established, Arab armies from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia invaded it in an attempt to drown it in blood and to forcibly prevent its establishment. Only three years after the Holocaust, the 600,000 Jewish inhabitants of the new country were faced with the immediate and clear danger of annihilation.

War is cruel. In war, people get killed, they get wounded, and they get displaced from their homes. Six thousand Jews - one percent of the Jewish community (in proportion to the current population of the State of Israel that would be equal to 70,000 casualties) - were killed in this terrible war.

Anyone who initiates a war with such vicious and cruel aggression, with the deliberate intention of killing off

men, women and children - among them survivors who had come from the inferno of the Nazi concentration camps - bears the full and exclusive responsibility for its terrible consequences. We must not be confused, we must not waver. The truth is that the Palestinians and the Arab countries bear 100% of the responsibility for all the consequences of that war. There is no other truth.

Catastrophe? Nakba? It is all their fault. It was a home-made Nakba, and no other "narratives" or other postmodern gibberish (for scholarships, awards or tenure) can undermine this truth. The results of the war were terrible. There certainly were refugees. A Palestinian catastrophe indeed took place. But it was not what they want us to believe it was. The Nakba story is a laundered story, full of lies and fabrications. We shall begin to deal with it in the following chapter.

## 2. They Deserted

### Haifa as an Example

There will always be those who will say: The responsibility for initiating the war indeed lies with the Arabs, but the responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem does not exclusively rest with those who initiated the war but also with "the perpetrators of the systematic expulsion", "the ethnic cleansing of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians." This leads us to another lie: the issue of the deliberate expulsion.

Over the past two decades, a group of Israeli historians who call themselves "the New Historians" have been very active. These "historians", such as Ilan Pappé, Avi Shlaim, Simcha Flapan, and (until he retracted) Benny Morris, have been actively disseminating the libel according to which the Jewish fighting forces between the years 1947-1949 (initially the underground organizations and later the IDF) perpetrated a series of brutal massacres which served the deliberate Jewish policy of expulsion and ethnic cleansing.

In the 1990s, Teddy Katz, a graduate student from Haifa University, wrote an MA thesis entitled "The Tantura Massacre." Katz determined that the soldiers of the Alexandroni Brigade had perpetrated a massacre on approximately 200 unarmed men who had resided in the village of Tantura. Veterans of the brigade sued Katz for having published a libel, and in a compromise agreement it was determined that Katz would retract his accusation and would publish an apology in the press. Katz signed the agreement and the press release, but soon went back on his word and submitted a petition to the Supreme Court that was eventually rejected. It was discovered that Katz had distorted and completely modified witness accounts he had collected from the villagers. The archives which had documented the battle, the comparison of the alleged numbers of casualties with the number of residents of the village and a book which had been written by one of the villagers all proved that Katz's thesis had been false. Apparently, until Katz had appeared, not even the residents of the village had claimed that a massacre had taken place there. Haifa University had no other choice but to disqualify the thesis.

None other than Prof. Ilan Pappé came to the aid of Katz. Pappé, who had helped in the preparation of the thesis, accused the University of curtailing Katz's academic freedom for political purposes. Pappé had identified an opportunity to hit two birds with one stone: both to

accuse Israel of having perpetrated a massacre and also to place upon himself and his student the garb of courageous scholars who were paying a heavy price for championing the truth.

Pappé and Katz had good reasons for asserting the Tantura blood libel. Anyone who tries to determine that Israel perpetrated ethnic cleansing during the War of Independence must prove his assertion with evidence. But Pappé and his ilk, who burrowed and dug and turned over every stone seeking evidence of massacres perpetrated against the Arabs were unable to find anything more than a few isolated incidents which were uncharacteristic exceptions to the rule. When one compares these events to the massacres that the Arabs perpetrated against Jews and to the things that have happened in all other wars, one finds that throughout history no other army or nation has ever conducted any war while maintaining such unblemished, impeccable moral standards in battle.

The dishonest campaign of lies which the "New Historians" have conducted led Prof. Efraim Karsh to research the work of these historians. In an exemplary book

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called 'Fabricating Israeli History', Professor Karsh proved that the "New Historians" have systematically falsified archival materials in order to reinvent Israeli history, altering it to suit their own purposes. First, they designate as their goal the defamation of Zionism and the State of Israel and then they deviously adjust the existing data accordingly.

The claim that the Zionist leadership had implemented a systematic policy to expel the Arab population is based, according to the "New Historians," on the Haganah's Plan D. This plan had been formulated in March 1948; until that time the Jewish forces had focused on defending existing communities. This plan was drafted as many communities found themselves in danger and the leadership of the time came to the conclusion that the Jewish Yishuv, or pre-State Jewish community, would not be able to survive the Arab attacks. The legitimacy that had been attained in the November 29th resolution was undermined and the U.S. had proposed the establishment of a temporary trusteeship regime.

In the international arena there was a sense that the moment the Arab armies joined the battlefield the Jewish community would be doomed. The Arab threats to carry out mass carnage seemed imminent and inevitable. At this juncture the Jewish leadership had no choice but to move from a defensive to an offensive strategy.

Plan D posited two major objectives: transitioning



from an underground structure to a military structure of brigades and commands, and gaining control of the regions of the country that had been designated for the Jewish state by the UN, as well as regions outside the designated areas in which there were Jewish settlements. This takeover was to be achieved by gaining control of dominant topographic areas, clearing out residents of hostile or potentially hostile Arab villages and detonating their houses, consolidating the hold on the demographically-mixed cities, gaining control of British military bases and major transportation routes while occupying enemy areas.

In accordance with this plan, the Haganah initiated operations Nachshon, Harel, Yevusi, Yiftach, Maccabi, Barak and Kilshon. In April-May 1948 the plan proved overwhelmingly successful. The Jewish forces were more organized and efficient and achieved superiority in almost every confrontation. The plan changed the course of the war, shook off the threat to strangle the Jewish Yishuv, and created an almost complete Jewish territorial continuity which was capable of being defended against the imminent onslaught of the Arab armies. By the end of the war, about a hundred Arab villages were occupied and 250,000-300,000 Arabs from the mixed cities and the villages had left their homes.

On April 9, 1948, fighting broke out at the Arab village of Deir Yassin and Arabs spread the story that Etzel and Lechi

forces, both Zionist para-military groups, had massacred about 250 of the inhabitants of the village and embellished it with false accounts of rape and the desecration of dead bodies. Currently, there is a consensus that Arab accusations of rape and the dismemberment of bodies were false. Estimates concerning the number of Arab casualties range from 94 to 120, including the results of a study conducted at Birzeit University, a Palestinian establishment, which arrived at similar estimates. In an interview with the BBC, refugees from the village admitted that most of the allegations of a massacre had been false. Similarly, a refugee from Deir Yassin admitted in an interview for a book that most of the casualties had been combatants or women and children who had assisted the combatants, and that the only case of an actual massacre was the killing of six combatants who had been imprisoned in a village quarry.

The Arabs had spread the libel of a vast massacre in order to intensify hatred against the Jews within their forces and to push the Arab armies to join the war. In practice, the rumors had the opposite effect, and after the conquest of Deir Yassin many villages were occupied without any battle because their inhabitants had fled. This was the reason that the Etzel and Lechi refrained from denying the massacre at the time. The polemics on the issue only developed after the war.

One of Karsh's most important studies focused on the issue of the expulsion of Arabs and Palestinians. Karsh

was familiar with the complete data of Plan D as well as other studies on the subject. He based his research on thousands of documents from Israeli, British and American archives which were only opened in the 1990s. Those collections also contained Arab documents. Karsh examined the question as to whether the newly opened archives provided evidence that the expulsion had been planned in advance or whether they refuted the allegations of a deliberate policy designed to expel Arab population. His findings are strategically significant for the Zionist cause and the campaign to expose the truth of the lie of the Nakba.

One of the most prominent stories concerns the case of Haifa. In 1948 the second-largest Arab community in the country resided in Haifa; the largest Arab community resided in Jaffa. Haifa was the home of the Arab elite and leadership classes of the northern part of the country and before the war erupted counted 62,500 Arab inhabitants. At the end of the war no more than a few thousand remained. No less than a tenth of the Arab refugees who had left the country in the years 1947-1949 originated from Haifa.

One of Karsh's most interesting findings is that although the fighting in Haifa reached its peak on April 21-22, 1948, the mass desertion of Arabs from the city had already begun in October 1947, a month prior to the UN Resolution of November 29th that had prompted the

start of the war. A British intelligence brief dated October 23, 1947 reveals that the city's most prominent families realized that the confrontation was imminent and began to evacuate their families to the Arab countries. On November 21, a week before the UN vote, there were already reports about a wave of evacuations, and two weeks after the war began there were reports of a mass evacuation of 15,000-20,000 of the city's Arabs. The evacuation created mass hysteria among the remaining inhabitants. Business owners sold their property and moved their enterprises to Syria, Egypt and Lebanon. At the same time, the city was filled by a stream of volunteer combatants from Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. The Arab leadership of Haifa was slack and passive and it quickly lost control of both the local armed gangs and the fighters who had come from outside the country.

The desertion of a third of the city's Arabs before the fighting had even begun led the Haifa Arab National Committee to ask Arab governments to arrange appropriate shelter for refugees from the city.

In March, the city's Arab Committee had already called for an orderly evacuation of the women and children. An Egyptian ship was leased to assist in the evacuation. When the Haganah arrived in the city on April 21, 1948 only about half of the city's inhabitants remained. On April 22, as Haganah forces approached the city's marketplace, thousands fled in a mass panic.

At this stage we get a glimpse of the astonishing picture of what actually transpired throughout the entire war. We see the truth of the big Nakba lie. The leadership of those Arabs who had remained in the city urgently appealed to Haifa's British military commander, Major General Stockwell, and requested him to arrange an immediate truce with the Jewish forces. The Haganah submitted its terms for the truce and the Arab Committee requested 24 hours before responding. When they returned to the negotiations, the Arab Committee announced that they were not in control of the military elements and guerrilla forces in the city and that, even if they did have control over them, they would not be in a position to sign the truce. They therefore requested the British Commander to provide assistance for an orderly evacuation of the city's population. Their statement astounded their interlocutors. The mayor of the city, Shabtai Levy, who had for years maintained personal friendships with some of the Arab notables, begged them to reconsider saying that they were "committing a cruel crime against their own people".

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Yaacov Salomon, the Haganah liaison in the negotiations

gave his word on behalf of the regional commander that the Arabs who remained in the city would be allowed to live in peace and would enjoy equal rights, saying that the leadership of the Jewish community was interested in continuing to maintain harmonious relations in the city.

The British Major-General Stockwell told the Arabs in an agitated tone: "You have made a foolish decision. Think it over, as you'll regret it afterward. You must accept the conditions of the Jews. They are fair enough. ... After all, it was you who began the fighting, and the Jews have won."

The following day, the Arabs again met with Stockwell to discuss the practicalities of the upcoming evacuation. They requested eighty trucks a day and assistance for food and other provisions; only a few of the city's thousands of Arab inhabitants were interested in staying behind.

Even after the Arabs' announcement, the Haganah forces informed Arab residents in a variety of ways, including radio and leaflet distribution, that they had no intention of harming them. During Passover, the Haganah even instructed bakeries to bake bread for the Arabs who remained in the city. The British Police Commander noted in a letter that "Every *effort* is being made by the *Jews to persuade the Arab* populace to *stay* and carry on with their normal lives." Similar reports appear in the documents of the American and British consulates, as well as in the archives of the Haganah.

The British continued to beseech the Arab leadership to reconsider its decision, but the response was always given: "We will not sign ... All is already lost, and it does not matter if everyone is killed so long as we do not sign the document". The Arabs have since argued that the terms they were offered were humiliating, but the real reason can be found in the documents of the time.

Karsh has revealed that many Arabs were warned that if they returned to their homes they would be denounced as traitors who deserved to die. The Arab Emergency Committee, which consisted of prominent Arab leaders, warned a large group of Arabs from Wadi Nisnas who were about to return to their homes that the Jews would not spare anyone and that

even women and children would be murdered. To this was added a promise to the remaining Arab residents that the evacuation to a safe haven would be orderly.

As Karsh writes, the significance of all of this cannot be overstated. The fact of the matter is that the massive evacuation of the Arabs of Haifa was carried out and managed by the official local representatives of the Higher

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**The Higher Arab Committee preferred to have all residents of Haifa and all the other Arabs in the country leave their homes and become refugees rather than recognize the legitimacy of a sovereign Jewish state**

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Arab Committee. "The only question is whether those representatives did what they did on their own, or under specific instructions from above," notes Karsh.

Throughout the negotiations between the Arab Committee and the Haganah, the former sought to receive authorization from the Higher Arab Committee and the Arab League to sign the compromise agreement. Again and again, the Committee received negative answers and was instructed to evacuate immediately. When they protested the decision, they were told that Arab forces were expected to invade within days and that consequently a vast number of casualties were foreseen. Further, they were told that they would be held responsible for any deaths among the Arabs who remain in the city. In addition, members of Haifa's Arab Committee testified that they had been warned by the Higher Arab Committee that if they signed the agreement they would be subject to the death penalty at the hands of their own people, with the reference being mainly to the Mufti Al Husseini and his men.

On April 25, 1948, the American consulate reported that local leaders taking orders from the Mufti were urging the residents to evacuate. Sir Alan Cunningham, the British High Commissioner of Palestine, said: "British authorities in Haifa have formed the impression that total evacuation is being urged on the Haifa Arabs from higher Arab quarters and that the townsfolk themselves are



against it". A British intelligence brief which summarized the week's events stated that if not for the incitement and the scaremongering of the leadership of the Arabs of Haifa, there would have been a good chance that most of the residents would have remained in the city.

The reason the city's Arabs complied with the order to refrain from signing the truce and not to enable the majority of the Arabs in the city to remain in or return to their homes was clear: according to the partition plan, Haifa was supposed to be part of the Jewish state. The Jews had announced and had all the while acted in accordance with the assumption that within the territory of the Jewish state there would be an Arab population that would enjoy full and equal rights. If the Arabs of Haifa had signed an agreement with the Jews that would have enabled them to stay, it would have amounted to an Arab acquiescence to Jewish statehood in a part of Palestine. The Higher Arab Committee preferred to have all the residents of Haifa, as well as all the other Arabs in the country leave their homes and become refugees, rather than recognize the legitimacy of a sovereign Jewish state.

The Arabs of Haifa lost their homes and their property and became displaced persons, but the Higher Arab Committee, the Mufti Al Hussein and leaders of the Arab countries had ensured the abiding hatred and the continuing battle against Israel. This was the real purpose of the Nakba lie.

Even Professor Benny Morris, who is considered to be the most respected and serious of the New Historians, has admitted in his book "1948" that in the course of the war of 1948 there never was a transfer in the sense of an overarching or official Zionist policy of ethnic cleansing, although expulsions did occur ... Morris describes the events in Haifa where, after the Arabs had been defeated, the Mayor begged the city's Arabs to remain there and live as free and equal citizens. But, he writes, their representatives "announced that they couldn't sign the truce ... and said that the Arab residents wanted to leave Haifa."

"By contrast", writes Morris on the Zionist policy to accept a significant Arab minority in its midst "expulsionist thinking and, where it became possible, behavior, characterized the mainstream of the Palestinian national movement since its inception. Such sentiments," he continues, "translated into action in 1948. When the opportunity arose, Palestinian militiamen who fought alongside the Arab Legion consistently expelled Jewish inhabitants and razed conquered sites, as happened in the 'Etzion Bloc' and the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. Subsequently, the Arab armies behaved in similar fashion. All the Jewish settlements conquered by the invading Jordanian, Syrian and Egyptian armies...were razed after their inhabitants had fled or been incarcerated or expelled."

Ilan Pappé, the author of the blood libel "The Ethnic

Cleansing of Palestine,” describes the consent of the Zionist Movement to the partition plan, the Arab opposition and the murderous attack they initiated, thusly: When a movement such as Zionism determines very explicitly that it wants a state for only one ethnic group in a place where there are two ethnic groups, and in certain stages of history, and especially in 1948, it decides to use force in order to clear out the territory from the other ethnic group, the term commonly used in international law to describe such a policy is 'ethnic cleansing'. Have we mentioned this liar with a diploma (paraphrase).

Have we mentioned this liar with a diploma?

Prof. Efraim Karsh has proved and Prof. Morris also determines that in the War of Independence the Jews did not execute a policy of planned expulsion and that the responsibility for the consequences of the war and for the refugee problem lies with the Arab leadership. The archives and the documents prove without any doubt that all the steps taken by the leadership of the Yishuv at the end of the Mandate were based on the assumption that, in the Jewish State that was about to arise, Arabs would remain in its territory and would enjoy full and equal rights.

### **3. From Ancient Times?**

#### **How long did the Arab refugees actually live in the Land of Israel?**

The UN's working definition of refugee is as follows: a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country"

This is a clear definition. A refugee is someone who has lost or cannot return to his place of habitual residence. The term does not refer to just any person who happened to be in a war zone by chance and became displaced, nor does it include newcomers.

In only one case has the UN definition of a refugee been altered - the Palestinian case.

Here, the UN altered its original definition. As if by

magic, the organization stretched its own definitions and came up with a new interpretation - a very elastic one at that - for the Palestinians, thus determining that refugees are also "*... persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948, who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict.*" Just like that! The terms "permanent" or "habitual" have disappeared and under this new definition, any fresh migrant to the country could be regarded as if he and his family had been living in the country for generations. Another alteration customized for the Palestinians determined that, in contrast to the universal definition, the descendants of the original Palestinian refugees would also be considered to be refugees.

The alteration of the UN's definition was accepted following massive pressure exerted by the Arab countries after the War of Independence. The fact that there was a universal definition of the term "refugee" for all persons in this position, and that a different definition was uniquely customized to comply with the demands of the Arab states raises several questions:

Why was the definition altered?

Why was it so important for the Arab countries to change the definition and why did they exert so much pressure on the United Nations to incorporate this change into their operating protocols?

The answers to these questions expose the big bluff in one of the major deceptions in the discourse on the Arab-Israeli conflict in general and on the refugee problem in particular. The reason the Arab League exerted all its influence to change the definition of the term "refugee" to include Arabs who had lived in Israel for only two years rather than 'habitually' or 'permanently,' was that a large portion of the Arabs in the land of Israel had been Arab migrants who had arrived in the country in the wake of Zionism and the economic prosperity that the Jews and the British had brought to the country. In contrast to the commonly accepted and manifestly false myth, those Arabs were not a native, indigenous population which had lived in the country since ancient times, but were rather comprised of large groups of migrants who had flowed into the country from Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, Yemen, Sudan, and other such countries.

After their defeat in 1948, the Arabs realized that a not insignificant portion of the displaced persons did not meet the accepted criteria for being counted among the refugees and that it would thus be left to the Arab countries to solve their humanitarian problems. Such problems cost money, and furthermore, if these people were not actually refugees then Israel could not be held eternally responsible for them. So by exerting their pressure in the UN, the Arab countries succeeded in establishing a hypocritical and manipulative definition. Following this decision, the

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was established as a customized relief agency for the Arab refugees. It continues to sustain all those so-called refugees, their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, a pattern that is unlikely to be broken in the near future. Of course, there is also the problem of the chicken and the egg. Because the employees of UNRWA make their living by virtue of being the employees of this organization, they therefore have a vested interest in perpetuating the organization and the conditions of the population to which it caters.

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**in contrast to the universal definition, the descendants of the original Palestinian refugees would also be considered to be refugees**

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The significance of this issue in the Zionist struggle against the industry of lies and fraud cannot be overstated. This change of the UN's definition for the special case of the Arab refugees of Israel's War of Independence is actually an acknowledgement by both the Arabs and the UN, that a major portion of the Arab population that claimed it had been living in Israel for hundreds or thousands of years was actually comprised of newly-arrived migrants who did not fulfill the universal criteria for being accorded refugee status.

Thus, the question is raised as to how many of those

so-called Palestinian refugees had truly been living in the country for generations and were therefore entitled to be considered refugees, and how many of them were actually newcomers, ineligible to be recognized as genuine refugees, who had arrived in the country during the 1920's, the 1930's and the 1940's?

To these, it is necessary to add all those who "hitched a free ride" and had the audacity to claim they were refugees when they had in fact never lived in the land west of the Jordan. Those who did not fulfill the criteria of even this new hypocritical definition often arrived at the UN camps and registered as refugees just to be able to benefit from the allowances, food stamps, medicines and others of the massive subsidies that the world has showered on the Arab "refugees" since 1949.

Get it? Great scam, this refugee status. No need to work!

In June 2000, the UNRWA claimed that the number of refugees and their descendants in the refugee camps reached 3,750,000. Although UNRWA added a caveat that these numbers were somewhat inflated, the PLO claims that the number is about five million, while Israel estimates the number of refugees and their family members to be two million people.

On the basis of British, Israeli and Arab documents, Prof. Karsh has examined this myth, yet another that underlies the Nakba propaganda. What is the actual number of



refugees (after the hypocritical modification of the definition)? At the end of the war, the Israeli government estimated the number of refugees at 550,000-600,000. The British Foreign Office accepted this estimate, but within a year of the end of the war no less than 920,000 Arabs had registered to receive benefits from the Agency.

Karsh presents the various estimates that were bandied about by the Arab leaders and representatives of the aid agencies which ranged between half a million to a million. The reasons for the confusion were diverse: refugees had moved from one camp to another and each time they re-registered and inflated the lists, Arabs who weren't refugees wanted to receive the benefits and presented themselves as refugees, etc.

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**under this new definition, any fresh migrant to the country could be regarded as if he and his family had been living in the country for generations**

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Prof. Karsh set aside all the reports and conducted a simple check. At the beginning of the War of Independence, the Arab population in Israel/Palestine numbered about 1,250,000-1,300,000.

At the end of the war, there were 550,000-600,000 people living in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and 160,000 Arabs continued to live within the area of the State of

Israel or came back to it. A simple calculation reveals that however you turn around the numbers, and even if you inflate the numbers, there couldn't have been more than 540,000-590,000 refugees. Karsh cross-checked the data with the census that had been conducted in 1945 and found that at the end of the war, the areas of the State of Israel should have contained 696,000-726,000 Arabs. If we deduct the 160,000 Arabs who in fact remained in Israel at the end of the war from this number you get a similar result of 536,000-566,000 refugees.

Karsh conducted his own investigation according to the population censuses of the villages and the cities and came up with an estimate of 583,000-609,000 refugees.

It turns out that long before the blood libels about the Jenin massacre the Arabs had been used to counting rather haphazardly.

The real number of refugees in 1948 was somewhere between 535,000 and 610,000 refugees.

So, to get back to our subject, how many of those "refugees" do have a legitimate claim to that status?

There is a lot of evidence which indicates that a large portion of the Arabs who left the area of the Jewish State in the course of the War of Independence were actually newcomer migrants who had entered the country a short time prior to the war and had settled there. It is not so easy to determine whether these comprised 15% of those who

are currently designated "Palestinian refugees" or closer to 40% of them.

To examine this question let's go back to the reality on the ground in the Land of Israel to gain a better understanding of the original numbers. For this purpose there are plenty of testimonies by various diplomats, journalists and writers who had visited the country in the 19th century. It seems that the most persuasive evidence was provided by no other than Mark Twain, a.k.a. Samuel Clemens, who toured the country in 1867 and wrote about his impressions in his book *Innocents Abroad*. Here is what Twain had to say about conditions in the Holy Land: "Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes.

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**Mark Twain, who toured the country in 1867 wrote about his impressions: "Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes. Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies..."**

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Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies... Nazareth is forlorn; about that ford of Jordan where the hosts of Israel entered the Promised Land with songs of rejoicing, one finds only a squalid camp of fantastic Bedouins of the desert; Jericho the accursed, lies a moldering ruin, to-day, even as Joshua's miracle left it more than three thousand years

ago; Bethlehem and Bethany, in their poverty and their humiliation, have nothing about them now to remind one that they once knew the high honor of the Saviour's presence; ... Renowned Jerusalem itself, the stateliest name in history, has lost all its ancient grandeur, and is become a pauper village; the riches of Solomon are no longer there to compel the admiration of visiting Oriental queens; the wonderful temple which was the pride and the glory of Israel, is gone ... The noted Sea of Galilee, where Roman fleets once rode at anchor and the disciples of the Saviour sailed in their ships, was long ago deserted by the devotees of war and commerce, and its borders are a silent wilderness; Capernaum is a shapeless ruin; Magdala is the home of beggared Arabs ...”

”Squalor and poverty are the *pride of Tiberias*.” ... There was hardly a *tree* or a shrub anywhere... Even the olive and the cactus, those fast friends of a worthless soil, had almost deserted the country.” ...”Rags, wretchedness, poverty and dirt, those signs and symbols that indicate the presence of Moslem rule more surely than *the crescent-flag* itself, abound. ... *Jerusalem* is mournful, and dreary, and *lifeless*. I would not desire to live here.”

This is how Twain concludes his visit to the Holy Land, just before the Zionist movement redeemed it from its desolation: ”Palestine is *desolate* and unlovely. And why should it be otherwise? Can the curse of a Deity beautify a land? Palestine is no more of this work-day world.... It is

sacred to *poetry* and *tradition* - it is dream-land.”

Here are some more descriptions, only a few among hundreds of similar examples:

In 1785, about a hundred years before Twain’s travels, *Constantin François de Volney* visited the Holy Land. In his book *Travels Through Syria and Egypt* he writes that “we with difficulty recognize Jerusalem... To judge from the respect the inhabitants profess for the sacred places it contains, we should be ready to imagine there is not in the world a more devout people; but this has not prevented them from acquiring, and well deserving, the reputation of the vilest people in Syria, without excepting those even of Damascus. Their number is supposed to amount to twelve or fourteen thousand... The second place deserving notice, is ... Bethlehem. They reckon about six hundred men in this village capable of bearing arms upon occasion... The third and last place of note is ... Hebron... Hebron is the most powerful village in all this quarter, and is able to arm eight or nine hundred men...”

Alexander Keith, in 1843: “In his day [Volney's] the land had not fully reached its last degree of desolation and depopulation.”

J.S. Buckingham, on Jaffa in 1816: [Jaffa] “has all the appearances of a poor village and every part of it that we saw was of corresponding madness.”

The same author on Ramle in 1816: [Ramle] “where,

as throughout the greater part of Palestine, the ruined portion seemed more extensive than that which was inhabited.”

Wrote the French poet, Alphonse de Lamartine in 1846: "Outside of the gates of Jerusalem, we saw, indeed, no living object, heard no living sound. We found the same void, the same silence as we should have found before the entombed gates of Pompeii or Herculaneum...complete, eternal silence reigns in the towns, the highways, in the country.”

In his 1857 correspondence with Lord Clarendon in the British Foreign Office, James Finn, the British Consul in Palestine, bore witness that: "The country is in a considerable degree empty of inhabitants and therefore its greatest need is that of a body of population..."

The dismal circumstances of the country were rooted in the anarchic conditions that prevailed under Ottoman rule. Under the feudal system, most of the wheat yield went to the government in payment of the obligatory tithe and to the effendi, or Ottoman-era nobility, in payment of interest on loans. Sanitary conditions in the villages were horrible and peasants had no access to medical services, circumstances that lead to a high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy. Gangs of Bedouin robbers terrorized the farmers and villagers, wreaking havoc and devastation. The inhabitants were dirt poor and many chose to migrate

elsewhere. There emerged a vicious cycle whereby some Bedouin nomads periodically adopted a sedentary life style and settled in the villages but would eventually despair and leave because of the dire conditions.

The condition of the Jewish and Christian minorities were even worse. Beyond the regular difficulties they faced, they were also obliged to pay special dhimmi taxes and were persecuted for religious reasons. This was the background upon which Zionism emerged to redeem the Jewish people and its historical homeland.

Beyond textual testimonies there is also scientific evidence that attests to this sad state of affairs. A giant map on a scale of 1 to 63,000 that was prepared by a British survey mission during the years 1871-1878 proves that prior to the first Aliyah the country was meager and empty. In this detailed map, a centimeter represents approximately 630 meters. With its colored markings, the map shows the populated areas and the precise size of the extant communities thus enabling us to arrive at a precise estimate of the size of the population

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**The credible historical findings that enable us to understand the demographic realities in Israel at the end of the 19th century show the essential truth - Israel at the time was arid, desolate and nearly devoid of people**

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in each town and village.

An examination of the map shows that Mark Twain's descriptions of the region were completely accurate. The largest villages comprised an area of 100 to 150 square meters and consisted of barely two rows of houses. The map shows Acre only partially populated. Haifa looks like a rectangle measuring 7 x 3 mm. - no larger than 430 x 190 meters at the time. The area of Tiberias was 600 x 300 meters and Jaffa was just a little town measuring 540 x 240 meters. Daliat et Carmel, Yahud, Usfiyeh and other villages look like tiny dots on the map.

The credible historical findings that enable us to understand the demographic realities in Israel at the end of the 19th century show the essential truth - Israel at the time was arid, desolate and nearly devoid of people.

Prof. Moshe Maoz has estimated that as a result of the actions of the Ottoman authorities and inferior sanitary conditions, the local population gradually declined and did not exceed a hundred thousand people for centuries.

According to British records, in 1928 there were about 150,000 Jews versus more than 700,000 Arabs. Later, Winston Churchill specified that in 1936 the number of Jews had risen to about 380,000 (thanks to the large influx enabled by Churchill's White Paper) while the number of Arabs rose to more than a million. In 1947, Arabs in the Land of Israel already numbered about 1,300,000.



It's doubtful whether any serious person (other than PLO propagandists and "New Historians") would refuse to recognize the plain fact that such a high growth rate is impossible without massive waves of immigration from adjacent countries.

Realistic as we are and knowing as we do that all these testimonies, maps and demographic findings will never convince those who don't want to be convinced, we have no other choice but to present the testimony of Tewfik Bey el Hourani, governor of the Syrian province Houran. In an August 1934 interview with the Syrian newspaper 'La Syrie,' he said plainly that "In recent months somewhere between 30,000 to 36,000 Syrian Houranis entered Palestine and settled there." Winston Churchill also noticed the phenomenon and said in 1939 that, "So far from being persecuted, the Arabs have crowded into the country and multiplied until their population has increased more than even all world Jewry could lift up the Jewish population."

Elsewhere, Churchill remarked that "the Arab population has grown at the largest rate especially in those places where Jews have bought land."

Fearing Arab violence, the British authorities counted every Jewish immigrant and limited the numbers of Jews allowed in and even refused entrance to Jews who were seeking refuge from Nazi persecution, condemning them

to die at the hands of the Nazis. In contrast, Arab migrants were allowed in unhindered. The tales told by Palestinians as if they are the descendants of the Jebusites and the Gergashites and the Philistines would be laughable if the situation weren't so sad.

Any examination of many of the surnames of Palestinian Arabs tells the truth. These names include such common names as El Masri - the Egyptian, El Haurani - from the Syrian province Hauran, El Iraqi - from Iraq, El Tzaurani - from Tyre, El-Sidawi - from Sidon, El Tarabulsi - from Tripoli, Al Mugrabi - the Moroccan, al-Yamani - the Yemenite, the list could go on and on.

All the evidence indicates the simple truth: the Land of Israel at the end of the 19th century was almost empty. It was not by chance that the slogan "A land without a people for a people without a land" came to be used. And it was not by chance that the leaders of the Arab countries insisted that the UN's definition of refugee should be changed to include all the Arabs who had entered the country only a short time prior to the War of Independence.

It is impossible to know how many of the 560,000-600,000 Arab refugees are truly entitled to be considered refugees and how many of those who claim to be refugees were unjustified in claiming and receiving this status. But what is clear is that Arab propaganda has deceived the world with respect to the number of people who currently

claim to be the descendants of refugees from the land of Israel and the number of Arabs who were entitled to be considered refugees at the end of the war. In short, as we have said: Nakba = Fiddlesticks!

We end with another quote from Winston Churchill who summarized the entire story in his sarcastic yet poetic manner: "Left to themselves, the Arabs of Palestine would not in a thousand years have taken effective steps towards the irrigation and electrification of Palestine..... letting the waters of the Jordan continue to flow unbridled and unharnessed into the Dead Sea."

# 4. They Expelled

## The Expulsion of Jews from Arab Countries

\*This chapter is based upon the essential article by Ben Dror Yemini, “The Jewish Nakba,” published in Ma’ariv on May 16, 2009, as well as Adi Schwartz’s important essay, “The Destruction of the Communities in Arab States: The Hidden Catastrophe” in volume 43 of the journal, “Techelet.”

Sometimes, the truth has no PR. With all the propaganda of the “Nakba” being pumped into us, basic facts such as the expulsion of Jews from Arab states have been abandoned and forgotten. In quantitative terms, the Jews who lived in Arab countries were not just viciously persecuted, tormented by pogroms and banished from their homes; they also left behind possessions - several times more than the amount left by the Arabs in Israel. Their suffering was not forgotten, but was deliberately concealed with the clear intention to tip the moral scale in favor of the Arabs.

There is no reason to pit a Palestinian narrative against a Zionist one. The truth is that narratives need to be avoided altogether, along with the word “narrative” itself, which has become a whitewashed generic term for Middle Eastern imagination, at best, and for an outright lie, most of the time. The Jews in Arab states went through hell; they were forcibly separated from their property, murdered by capricious mobs and in effect, expelled from their homes. So how is it that we never hear about it?

First of all, because someone wanted to silence it, to hide the catastrophe of the Jews from Arab states and sweep it under the rug. The drama of their lives was muted. Pogroms accompanied by acts of rape, slaughter, robbery and pillaging of hundreds of thousands of Jews do not “sell,” and certainly, do not leave a mark on the Israeli public and its collective memory. As Adi Schwartz pointed out in his article in the journal, “Techelet,” in the last decade, Israel’s five universities produced only one doctoral thesis on the destruction of the Jewish communities in Arab countries. In contrast, over the same

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**in the last decade, Israel's universities produced only one doctoral thesis on the destruction of the Jewish communities in Arab countries. over the same period, thousands of articles were written on the Arab “Nakba.”**

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period, thousands of articles and research papers were written by professors in Israeli academic institutions on the Arab “Nakba.”

That fact - only one doctoral thesis – should arouse incredulity.

While our “humanities” professors and elites join forces with the enemy’s claims and explain with furrowed faces full of gravity and forced compassion that Israel must correct the historical injustice caused to the Palestinians in 1948, a similar, if not worse, catastrophe - the catastrophe of the Jews in Arab countries - does not warrant even the smallest reference. Perhaps this is because it does not come with honors, awards and academic positions; perhaps because the parallel story ruins Palestinian “righteousness.”

Unfortunately, even official Israeli spokespeople do not mention the fact that masses of Jews became victims of persecution and methodical harassment throughout the Middle East. This disregard stems primarily from ignorance, but also from the apologetic atmosphere that is ingrained in and has taken hold of Israeli foreign policy and “hasbara.” It sometimes seems as if official spokespeople are neutral in the conflict.

Some will say that Israel does not raise these claims in principle because we are not a nation of complainers. In the twentieth century, population exchanges occurred

all over the world. Tens of millions of people suffered this harsh experience as a result of wars and conflicts, yet only the Palestinians are busy pitying themselves and placing blame instead of taking responsibility for their crimes and the consequences. The Jews of Arab countries were expelled from their homes, but returned to their homeland and started new lives. The Arab refugees who live in Arab states, are continuously being used by their leaders as a cynical tool in the struggle against the Jewish state.

In reality, the facts are clear: the Arabs are responsible for the consequences of their aggression and the creation of the problem of the Arab refugees, as well as for the much larger catastrophe they caused for the hundreds of thousands of Jews in Arab countries. The acts of slaughter and expulsion were conducted against the Jews in Arab countries without their involvement in any war, and without them having declared war on countries in which they lived for so long. They were loyal citizens and fell victim to religious, racist and murderous hatred.

## **The Lie**

According to the accepted false historical narrative, the Jews of Arab countries lived in peace in their surroundings and enjoyed the protection of the authorities. According to this same distorted story, it was only because of the actions of the Zionist movement and the harm done to

the Arabs in Israel that the Jews begin to suffer at the hands of Muslims. But the truth is completely different. While there were periods during which the Jews lived in relative peace and quiet under Muslim rule and even integrated into society and flourished, these instances were the exception, not the rule. Throughout history, the lot of the Jews in Arab countries was that of daily humiliation, pogroms, deportation, revocation of rights and methodical discrimination.

In Islamic countries, Jews were given the right to live under protection as “dhimmi.” Under the ordinance of Khalif Omar, the Jews lived with an inferior status. But often, while under Muslim rule, they were not even afforded the inferior status of those limited rights. The renowned expert in Middle Eastern affairs Bernard Lewis explains that unlike European anti-Semitism, “The Muslim attitude toward non-Muslims is one not of hate or fear or envy, but simply of contempt... The conventional epithets are apes for Jews, and pigs for Christians.”

It is worth noting that even in the modern era, there were times that the Jews in Arab countries thrived, like in Egypt and Iraq in the 1920s and 1930s and in Algeria in the 19th and 20th centuries. During these periods, these countries shared one common denominator: colonial rule. In most cases, the Jews’ situation was dire prior to the European invasion and worsened again with the end of the colonial period.



The racist harassment and persecution of the Jews in Arab countries can be divided into two time periods: The period of early history and that of the years surrounding the founding of the State of Israel. We ask in advance for your patience with the length and detail of the following section and we emphasize that although the list of pogroms, acts of murder and harassments is long, it is partial and incomplete.

In contrast to the recycled claim that the Jews of Arab countries were “Jewish Arabs,” reality does not recognize such a creature. The Jews in these states defined themselves as Jews of the East and emphasized the national, religious and cultural divide between themselves and the Arabs who lived beside them. The Jews of the East never identified themselves as Arab except in two cases – Communists in Iraq whose fate was the gallows or a frustrated exile to Israel ridden by imagined nostalgia (see for example, Sami Michael), and of course, the Bedouin Jewish tribes in the Arabian Peninsula whom Mohammed destroyed in a series of battles and persecutions. In

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**In 1676, the Imam al-Mahdi decided upon the Mawza exile and drove the Jews into one of the most arid districts in emen. According to varying estimates, 60-75 percent of Yemenite Jews died due to the exile**

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the Hijaz, for example, the region of origin of the royal Hashemite dynasty, there lived three Jewish tribes: Banu Qaynuqa, Nadir and Banu Qurayzah. In the course of Islam's takeover of Mecca and Medina, Mohammed's army slaughtered the tribes, decimated their leaders, pillaged their property and took their wives and daughters captive. If you happen to hear the slogan, "Khaybar, Khaybar, ya yahud, jaish Mohammed sa-yaud" (Remember Khaybar, Khaybar, Jews, Mohammed's army will yet return) at a Palestinian or Israeli Arab demonstration, you should know that this is a vulgar nationalist cry referring to the Battle of Khaybar, in which Mohammed, by means of lie and deceit, annihilated the proud Jewish tribe that lived there.

In **Spain** as well, in a time and place that earned the title 'The Golden Age', at the glorious peak of Jewish integration into the culture and the fabric of life in the state under Islamic rule, the Jews' lives were not always happy and content. The Golden Age included a series of harassments for the Jews. In 1011, in Muslim Cordoba, a massacre was orchestrated in which, according to various estimates, hundreds to thousands of Jews were murdered. In 1066, in Granada, Yosef Hanagid was executed, along with 4,000-6,000 Jews. One of the worst periods for the Jews began in 1148 with the rise of the Almohad dynasty (al Muwahhidūn) which ruled Spain and North Africa in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Today, **Morocco** is thought of as a place that was safe for Jews; there are those who remember fondly the history of the Jews in that country. Yet an examination of the facts teaches us that Morocco was a Muslim country where Jews suffered an extremely harsh series of massacres. In the eighth century, entire communities were wiped out by King Idris I. In Fez in 1033, 6,000 Jews were murdered by a Muslim mob. The rise of the Almohad dynasty caused a wave of mass murders. According to testimony from those times, several large massacres of Jews in Fez and Marrakesh were carried out. In 1465, there was another mass slaughter in Fez, one that spread to other cities in Morocco. In Tetouan, pogroms were conducted in 1790 and 1792. There, pillaging was rampant, women were raped and children murdered. Between 1864 and 1880, a series of pogroms were carried out against the Jews in Marrakesh and hundreds were massacred. In 1903, there was a pogrom in two cities, Taza and Settat, in which over 40 Jews were killed. In 1907, in Casablanca, approximately 30 Jews were murdered and many women were raped. In 1912, another massacre took place in Fez; 60 Jews were murdered and 10,000 were left homeless.

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**In March of 1950,  
Iraq permitted the  
Jews to leave on  
condition that they  
relinquish their  
citizenship and leave  
behind all their  
possessions**

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In **Algeria**, a series of massacres were recorded in the beginning of the 19th century (1805, 1815 and 1830). The Jews' situation improved with the beginning of the French occupation in 1830, but this did not prevent the anti-Jewish outbreaks at the end of the 19th century. The situation worsened under the Vichy Regime, the Nazi-inspired French puppet government. It is worth noting that in 1934, long before France fell to German troops, Nazi influences had infiltrated Algeria, and helped inspire for the pogrom in Constantine which took the lives of 25 Jews.

The Jews of **Libya** experienced many riots. In 1785, for example, hundreds of Jews were massacred by Ali Burza Pasha. Almost two hundred years later, Nazi influences exacerbated Jewish persecution. The Italian government, allied with the Germans, allowed Jewish blood to be spilled and their property to be pillaged; thousands were sent to concentration camps. 500 Libyan Jews were murdered in the Holocaust.

In **Iraq**, the 2,500 years of Jewish community were unable to withstand a blood-thirsty mob when it spilled onto the streets. The Basra massacre of 1776 remained a bleeding and reverberating memory in the ancient community. In 1917, with the start of the British occupation, the status of the Jews in Iraq improved, but then rapidly deteriorated when the Iraqi nation gained independence in 1932.

**Syria** was the first Arab state to import Christian anti-Semitism and in 1840, the first blood libel in an Arab

country took place in Syria. The vicious blood libel caused the kidnapping of tens of Jewish children, their torture - which sometimes resulted in death - as well as pogroms against the Jews. Additional pogroms took place in Aleppo in 1850 and 1875, in Damascus in 1848 and 1890 and in Beirut in 1862 and 1874. In Dir al Kamar another blood libel spread which caused a pogrom in 1847. That year there was also a pogrom against the Jews in Jerusalem, as a result of the blood libels in Syria.

The lives of the Jews of **Yemen** were marked by persecution, torture and forced poverty. In 1676, the Imam al-Mahdi decided upon the Mawza exile and drove the Jews into one of the most arid districts in Yemen. According to varying

estimates, 60-75 percent of Yemenite Jews died due to the exile. Various decrees were imposed on the Jews; one of the harshest was the "Orphans' Edict," whereupon conversion to Islam was forced upon Jewish orphans.

In **Shiite Iran**, in 1839, in the city of Mashhad, a pogrom was conducted in which a mob murdered 40 people after being incited to attack the Jews. The remaining Jews of

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**On the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, 900,000 Jews lived in Arab and Islamic states and the numbers indicate that 99% of them left within an unprecedented short time**

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Mashhad were forced to convert, giving rise to the term, “the Marranos of Mashhad.” In 1910, a blood libel spread in Shiraz which resulted in the slaughter of 30 Jews.

In **Egypt** as well, the Jews endured an inferior status for hundreds of years despite being one of the most ancient populations in the land of the Nile. Jews have lived in Egypt from the time of the First Temple. On Elephantine Island, Jewish mercenaries erected a replica of the Temple and it is hypothesized that Alexandria was the birthplace of the first blood libel in the ancient world. (See Josephus’ “Against Apion.”) Following the blood libel in Damascus, similar libels were published in Egypt, leading to a series of attacks by incited mobs in Cairo in 1844, 1890 and 1901-1902 and in Alexandria, in 1870, 1882 and 1901-1907. Similar pogroms took place in Port Said and Damanhur.

Notice that all these pogroms, riots, acts of Islamic harassment, pillage, rape and murder took place before Theodor Herzl’s grandfather was born and obviously, long before the establishment of the State of Israel. There is not enough room here to contain the long list of abuses and acts of discrimination against the Jews of Arab states, a list which includes the prohibition against living in houses taller than those of Muslims or building houses of worship taller than mosques, burial prohibitions, the obligation of Jews to hang a bell around their necks and to remove their shoes outside the Jewish quarter and the prohibition against wearing a miter or riding a horse.

We now advance to the second part of the equation. On the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, 900,000 Jews lived in Arab and Islamic states and the numbers indicate that 99% of them left within an unprecedented short time. Even the Jewish communities in Germany and Russia which experienced extreme anti-Semitism and were severely persecuted did not leave their places of residence so absolutely. In order to understand how this happened, we will start with the declarations of Arab leaders immediately prior to the establishment of the state.

Egypt's ambassador to the UN, Mohamed Hussein Heykal, clarified what the consequences of the Partition Plan would be for the Jews in Arab lands: "This solution (partition decision) will endanger the lives of a million Jews living in Muslim countries... the United Nations... may be responsible for drastic events and for the massacre of many Jews." The secretary-general of the Arab League, Abd al-Azzam Pasha, announced on May 15, 1948, "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades." The Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini added: "I declare a Holy War, my Muslim brothers! Murder the Jews! Murder them all!"

It is hard to contain the overflowing humanism and love of all people (indiscriminate of their race, gender or religion) that the Arab leaders displayed. Their

verbal threats quickly turned real. With government encouragement, an anti-Jewish wave swept over the Arab states.

In Baghdad, **Iraq**, a pogrom which came to be known as “Farhud” took place, in which 179 Jews were murdered and over 2,000 were injured. The victims were buried in a mass grave. Following the declaration of the State of Israel, the Iraqi regime systematically persecuted the Jews via job dismissals and show trials. In March of 1950, Iraq permitted the Jews to leave on condition that they relinquish their citizenship and leave behind all their possessions. One year later, the government confiscated the possessions of the remaining Jews. By the end of 1951, 90 percent of Iraqi Jews had left the country, leaving behind a vast amount of assets.

The Jews of **Syria** suffered a similar fate. In 1945, a pogrom was conducted in Aleppo and 75 Jews were murdered. The riots started again in 1947. Hundreds of houses, shops, schools and synagogues were demolished. In 1948, 13 Jews were killed, eight of whom were children. At the start of 1949, Jewish property was confiscated and Jewish bank accounts were frozen. By the end of 1949, most Syrian Jews had become refugees.

In 1947, in the city of Aden in **Yemen**, a city under British rule, riots took place which came to be called the “Holocaust of the Jews of Aden.” These included three



days of murder and hate; 97 Jews were killed and 120 were injured. 106 of the 170 Jewish-owned shops were completely decimated. Hundreds of houses and all of the buildings in the community were set ablaze. The Bedouin police force was sent to protect the Jews, but joined the rioters instead. The Yemenite Jews were left with no choice but to flee for their lives.

In **Egypt**, many riots against Jews occurred at the end of World War II. On the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration in 1945, ten Jews were murdered and hundreds were injured. Torah scrolls were burnt. The prime minister, Fahmi al-Nukrashi declared, “All the

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**In contrast to the 560,000 Arab refugees from the War of Independence, between 800,000 and 900,000 Jews fled Arab countries**

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Jews are both Communists and Zionists.” Shortly after his declaration, on May 30, 1948, the Egyptian government decided to confiscate the property of anyone whose actions endangered the security of the state. Therefore, many Jewish assets were confiscated. The acts of slaughter continued throughout the summer. By September of that year, another 53 Jews had been killed. A journalist from Germany’s National Zeitung newspaper reported that Cairo “had been completely abandoned to the brutality of the mobs, which rage in the streets screaming ‘Jew,’ ‘Jew.’”

Anyone who appears European is attacked. The worst scenes are in the Jewish Quarter where the mob raided house after house... and massacred hundreds of Jews.” By 1950, approximately 20,000 Jews had left Egypt.

In **Libya**, pogroms against Jews began at the end of World War II. In Tripoli, 133 Jews were killed. In June 1948, additional riots left 14 Jews dead. In the 1950s, the Libyan government began a series of economic restrictions culminating in the expropriation of Jewish property. By the end of 1952, only 4,000 Jews remained in Libya, down from 35,000 in 1948.

In June 1948, pogroms against Jews restarted in **Morocco**. A massacre in the cities Oujda and Jerada killed 42 Jews. Additional riots against Moroccan Jews were conducted in 1954, in which six Jews were burned at the stake. Attacks against the Jews of Casablanca, Mazagan and Safi took place throughout 1955. Of the quarter of a million Jews that resided in Morocco in 1947, only a few thousand remained.

We can therefore conclude that the claim that the lives of Jews in Arab countries were a “bed of roses” is true, but solely in reference to the roses’ thorny stems. In fact, it is a history of persecution with periodic remissions. Those scholars and romantics who speak of “Jewish Arabs” are not interested in considering the facts.

## **The Numbers**

However, let us return to our day and the numbers. In contrast to the 560,000 Arab refugees from the War of Independence, most of who left without having seen a single Israeli soldier, between 800,000 and 900,000 Jews fled Arab countries. To restate those numbers, for every displaced Arab, one and half Jews were forcibly evicted from their homes.

While the Arabs in Israel participated in the military conflict in which they sought to eliminate the Jewish presence in Israel, the Arabs in Arab countries repeatedly massacred Jews without any provocation or military excuse, but simply because they were Jewish. Thanks only to the establishment of the State of Israel, these Jews had somewhere to flee. They went back to the Homeland for which they had prayed for thousands of years.

The Jewish expulsion was no less cruel, if not, much more cruel, than that of the Palestinians. The Jews in Arab countries paid a heavy price without having taken a stand in the conflict. Innocent victims who experienced a massive catastrophe came to the infant country and despite the hardship, the ethnic discrimination and the numerous mistakes made by the brand new state, were able to rehabilitate and reinvent themselves within a few decades. The Palestinian refugees paid the price for their leaders' declarations of war and destruction, yet despite the passage of 60 years, they are still stewing in

their own juices and wallowing in self-pity. Why? Political motives. So long as the goal of their rehabilitation is not met, the purpose of preserving their refugee status is the elimination of the Jewish State by the right of return.

The Jewish property that was expropriated or left behind in Arab countries is worth considerably more than the Arab property left behind in Israel. Economist Sidney Zabudoff, estimates that the value of the Arab property is 3.9 billion dollars, compared with the value of the Jewish property which calculated to be 6 billion dollars (according to 2007 values). The Palestinians and their leadership dragged the Arab countries into war and paid the price, but, at the same time, the governments of those same states and their residents caused the Jews who lived there to pay a much higher price, both in property and in blood. If the Arabs want to start a discussion on the subject of compensation, no problem; by all means, they should start writing the checks.

## **5. They aligned with the Nazis**

### **The Palestinian national movement's Nazi link and its accountability for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews**

In the previous chapters, we demonstrated that the Arabs are responsible for the consequences of their aggression and for the creation of the Arab refugee problem, as well as for the much larger catastrophe that befell the hundreds of thousands of Jews in Arab countries. In the following pages we will present facts which the Palestinians and Arabs would be happy to erase from history books, a not-so-distant past which they insist on forgetting and obscuring: the Nazi history of the Palestinian national movement.

The Arab nationalist leader Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini was friendly with the leaders of the Nazi party and

established a youth movement among Israel's Arabs called the "Nazi Scouts," a group whose symbol was a swastika. Al-Husseini was the inciter and main initiator of the Great Arab Revolt in 1936-1939 and fled Palestine in 1937. After participating in riots against Jews in Iraq in 1941, he relocated to Nazi Germany, where he lived until 1944.

He settled in Berlin and in November of 1941 he met with Hitler and tried to persuade him to annihilate the Jews living in Israel and the entire Middle East. Over 50 years ago, some of the Mufti's memoirs were uncovered: "One of our conditions for military cooperation between the Arabs and Germany was a free hand to eradicate the Jews in Israel and other Arab countries. In an official letter I sent to Adolf Hitler, I demanded an explicit declaration from Germany and Italy that they recognize the right of Arab states to solve the problem of the Jewish minority in a manner that fits with their racial and national aspirations and in accordance with the scientific methods that Germany and Italy employed toward their Jews. The Germans' answer was: 'The Jews are yours.'" He succeeded in receiving Hitler's assurance that, "Germany's only remaining objective will be to destroy the Jewish element living in the Arab region under British protection."

While al-Husseini toured Auschwitz together with the infamous Adolf Eichmann, he promised Eichmann that the Arabs in Israel would willingly enlist for a similar

operation to annihilate the Jews in Israel. On German radio he cried: "Kill the Jews, wherever you find them, for the sake of God, history and religion."

In 1942, the Germans established, at the behest of the Mufti, a special SS squad called, "Einsatzgruppe Egypt" in order to carry out the concentration of the Jews of Israel into camps and to coordinate their eventual annihilation. The Einsatzgruppe, headed by Walther Rauff, numbered 45 fighters and was attached to Ernst Rommel's North African army. Had Rommel won the battle of El Alamein, Rauff would have overseen and carried out the Final Solution for the Jews in Israel.

Later, al-Husseini founded a Muslim SS Division in Bosnia for the Nazis, the 13th Mountain Division, which included over 20,000 troops who took part in the Nazi war effort. Al-Husseini's role as a Muslim cleric played a decisive part in their enlistment as Bosnian-Muslim clergymen had voiced their religious opposition to enlisting with and working alongside the Germans. This division primarily operated in combat against Tito's Partisan forces.

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Subsequently, al-Husseini planned and advanced "Operation Atlas" which aimed to poison the water sources in central Israel - a plan which could have led to the death of 250,000 people. German and Arab paratroopers parachuted into the Jericho area carrying 10 containers of arsenic poison, each of which contained enough arsenic to kill 25,000 people. The mission failed during the operation stage thanks to the British undercover police's arrest of some of the operation's participants.

Al-Husseini is directly responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews. He put intense pressure on the Germans and Hungarians to devote many resources, at critical stages of the war, to the total elimination of Hungarian Jewry. Al-Husseini led a successful campaign and in May 1944, the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz began. Al-Husseini even began to pressure the Italian and Bulgarian governments to revoke permits allowing Jews to immigrate to Palestine, while simultaneously urging them to deport Jews to Poland, a move that would mean certain delivery into Nazi hands. When he discovered that the Hungarian government was to allow 900 Jewish children to escape the Nazis and flee to Israel, he demanded that it retract its decision, emphasizing the importance of the Arabs to the Nazi war effort. His succeeded in his efforts and the children were sent to death camps in Poland.

Al-Husseini was not the only prominent Israeli Arabs



who cooperated with the Nazis. Rasem Khalidi, Jamal Husseini, Wasef Kamal and others acted similarly. Documents from the German Supreme Command in Flensburg revealed that the Great Arab Revolt initiated by al-Husseini in 1936-1939 was driven by funds provided by Nazi Germany. Al-Husseini headed the Arab Higher Committee at the time of the revolt and was the chief Arab spokesperson facing the Peel Commission. During the revolt, approximately 400 Jews, 200 Britons and 5,000 Arabs were killed. Although Arab losses were ten or more times greater, the revolt was an Arab success that accomplished its goals. The British response to the rampage of terror and murder led by the Mufti was the adoption of the MacDonald White Paper, which was in effect a complete repeal of commitments Britain had made to the Zionist movement and the Jewish nation in the Balfour Declaration.

The decision to adopt the White Paper was defined by Winston Churchill as a second Munich, another surrender in the face of threats, terror and blackmail, a hopeless attempt to appease the aggressor. "The Jews have made the desert bloom; they have started a score of thriving industries. They have founded a great city on the barren shore. They have harnessed the Jordan and spread its electricity throughout the land. So far from being persecuted, the Arabs have crowded into the country and multiplied till their population has increased more than

even all world Jewry could lift up the Jewish population. Now we are asked to decree that this all stop and all this is to come to an end. We are now asked to submit - and this is what rankles most with me - to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and ceaselessly inflamed by Nazi and Fascist propaganda."

The MacDonald White Paper, nicknamed "The Black Paper," was adopted by the British in 1939 and limited the rate of Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 immigrants over five years. All immigration over this limit was contingent upon Arab approval. The purchase of land by Jews was prohibited in 95% of the areas in Israel.

The effects of the White Paper were devastating to Zionism, but even more so, to European Jews. In effect, the closure of the gates of Israel in the year of the outbreak of the Second World War sealed the fates of hundreds of thousands of European Jews who could have escaped the Nazis. At the end of the 1930s, almost all of the world's countries tightened their immigration policies. The Land of Israel, which was supposed to be a place of shelter for the Jewish nation, was almost completely sealed in the most fateful hour.

"Not only did the White Paper of 1939 grant the Arabs authority to permanently prevent a Jewish majority in Palestine," writes historian Martin Gilbert, "It also cut off the persecuted Jews from Central and Eastern Europe from one of the main places of shelter that remained open to them."

This was a direct result of the Great Arab Revolt and a tremendous success for the Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini, Adolf Hitler's partner and ally.

May 15 is the day the Arabs commemorate "Nakba Day." May 15, 1944 is the day that the deportation of half a million Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz began. This is the legacy of al-Husseini, a legacy passed on to Palestinian children to this very day - a combination of pathological hatred toward Jews, their loathsome dehumanization and a call to annihilate them as if they were unworthy of living.

This is what we need to remember on May 15.

