The 1948 Palestinian Refugee Crisis:
U.S. Media Portrayals and the Language of Displacement

An annotated bibliography compiled by
Julia Albertson, Audrey Aller, Mikayla Brennan-Burke, Michaela Coplen, Claire DiLeo,
Leela Stalzer & Kristianna Weber

International Studies 182: The 21st Century Worldwide Refugee Crisis
Professor Maria Höhn
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Introduction

The Israel-Palestine, or Arab-Israeli, conflict reached its peak during the 1948 war in Palestine. The State of Israel announced its independence on May 14, 1948, claiming the land allotted to a Jewish state in UN Resolution 181. Immediately, armies from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, as well as a Saudi Arabian formation under Egyptian command, invaded the former British mandate of Palestine. Referred to by some as the Israeli “War of Independence” and others as the “Nakba,” or “catastrophe” in Arabic, the war and subsequent creation of a massive refugee crisis were the center of media attention around the world.

The United States played an important role in the crisis, for it had been a central actor in the creation of the State of Israel, recognizing its birth and legitimacy when the state declared independence. American newspapers reported on the situation in Palestine, including the numbers of both Arab and Jewish refugees displaced by the war, the living conditions of the displaced, and international and American reactions to the war and displacement. Sources rarely directly related the issue to the United States however, treating the crisis as the responsibility of the United Nations, Arab states, and Israel.

More sympathetic to Arab refugees than the mainstream media, colleges, including Vassar, criticized the U.S. response to Israel’s creation and responded to the Palestinian refugee crisis and by hosting informational events, lectures, and clothing drives. Their focus, however, remained on refugees from Central and Eastern Europe. Vassar, for example, admitted a number of displaced persons from these regions. The fight against communism was also a theme in campus publications, as improving relations with the Middle East was seen as a way to prevent the spread of communism.
Infographics:

Population of Jordan:
Total population 6.5 mln

- Native Jordanians (1.9 mln) 29% in %
- Palestinians (3.6 mln) 55%
- Iraqi’s (1 mln*) 16%

* Disputed number

Excluding the Iraqi refugees:

Palestinian segment of the total population

- Native Jordanians 35% in %
- Palestinian refugees and their offspring 65%

Sources: UNRWA, Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe (2009)

Population of Lebanon:
Total 4.1 million

- Palestinian refugees in % 10%

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon:

- Lebanese passport/ unregistered 60,000
- rest 130,000

Distributed throughout the camps 10,000

Living in UNRWA camps: 222,776

Source: UNRWA
Annotated Bibliography of U.S. Media Responses:
(annotations are arranged alphabetically by news organization to highlight the ways that various media outlets portrayed the refugee situation)

The Atlanta Constitution:


Focused on the debate in Congress over allotment of funds to aid 800,000 Arab Refugees in Palestine, this article alerts the public to concerns of “riots and bloodshed” if there is not more money sent to the United Nations relief and resettlement program. Accordingly, the article emphasizes how President Truman is “anxious” to address this issue. However, midway through, the article departs from the immediate need of Arab refugees to discuss Senate debates on North Atlantic Treaty and the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.

This article discusses how refugees from Palestine are subject to the decisions of politicians in distant countries. Huie argues that the reason most refugees were either forced to leave their homes or left in fear of massacres. Along with considering the challenging living conditions of refugees, the article points to the aid sent and distributed by international organizations. Huie asserts that "charity keeps people alive, but it solves nothing" and that refugees are caught in a web of "political maneuvering" without any country taking responsibility for the mass displacement of Palestinians.


As the title suggests, this article discusses Truman’s request of Congress to allot $5,000,000 for refugees from Palestine. Truman attributes much of the “tension in the Near East” to the “miserable state of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine.” Espoused in the article is the belief that resettling Palestinian refugees in neighboring Arab states can alleviate the tense situation. Furthermore, it quotes the President’s conviction in the urgent need of funds for continuance of resettlement programs. A noteworthy final sentence of the article briefly mentions that the U.S. was asked to contribute $50,000,000 for the 1952 fiscal year, ten times the amount that Truman requested of Congress.


In this article, Alsop argues that American policy in the Middle East during the period was in a “state of suspended animation, of paralysis.” Furthermore, he claims the reason to be a lack of U.S. power within the Middle East. Stressed in this article is the waffling U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East that sought to strike a balance of power between Israel and the Arab states by maintaining weak Arab states. Alsop claims that the Anglo-American alliance should assert real power in the Middle East to keep peace between Israel and the Arab states in order to “deal with the poisonous problem of the Arab refugees.” How they should “deal” with the refugees was not mentioned in the article.
According to this article, in December of 1951 an “ambitious” $800,000,000 program for aid to Arab refugees in Palestine was presented to the United Nations. The proposed program would resettle the 876,000 “homeless Arabs” in neighboring countries while additionally developing the natural resources of host states. Explaining the workings of the program, the article acknowledges the challenge of attaining the funding required to implement such a wide-reaching proposal. The phrase “homeless Arabs” is used twice in the article to describe the Palestinian refugees. Teltsch stresses how past short term projects are less effective than the proposed plan that would include sustainable development projects in Arab countries to support refugees.

This brief article points to impending United Nations proposals to allocate $250,000,000 in aid to Arab refugees. According to British Sir Henry Knight from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the presence of Arab refugees presents the dangers of “moral deterioration” and of little hope for “real peace in the area as long as there are a million people with more or less reasonable ‘grouses’ against the Western powers.”

This article discusses the January 1952 debates over the existence of United Nations commissions concerning Palestine, Israel, and the Arab states. Also included is the request by the Arab members of the United Nations that Arab refugees should be repatriated to Palestine. According to the article, Israel was newly willing to pay some compensation to Arab refugees in a one-time payment. Sullivan cites the concerns of the Israeli ambassador to the U.S. that the reason there was no successful settlement in the Middle East was due to the refusal of Arab states to recognize Israel or negotiate with the Israeli state.

This article addresses how the 800,000 Arab refugees from the Palestinian War were
regarded as a “huge social and economic blight on the entire Middle East” before the United Nations in September of 1952. Rosenthal argues that aid to refugees was declining and that there was a need for refugees to become self-sufficient and be able to contribute to economies of their host countries. She describes it as “wasteful” economic potential and harmful to the mental health of refugees for them to be unable to participate in gainful productivity.


Along with many other articles from The Atlantic Constitution, this piece of news concerns allotment of funds for aid to Palestinian refugees. Emphasized in this article is the role the U.S. played, with several other key nations, in sponsoring a program with $23,000,000 of aid for displaced Palestinians. The article claims that the United States, Britain, and France would give more than ninety percent of the total funds. No description or consideration of who the refugees are or what their needs may be is included in the discussion. Only monetary concerns, and assessment of which countries are pulling their weight in contributions, is addressed in this article.


This article describes refugee quotas determined for 1954-1955 by the U.S. Government. Of the total 250,000 immigrants which the United States would admit based on a quota system for various national and ethnic groups, it was determined that only 2,000 would be Arabs.

Chicago Daily Tribune:


At a time when about 25% of Palestinians had already fled their homes, this Chicago Daily Tribune article describes the exodus as "despair" in the face of the "Jewish" army, and "bitter" over the military failures of their leaders. Comparing the Arabs/Palestinians to Poles, the article uses a quote from a formerly wealthy Palestinian merchant (his loss casually mentioned) to explain that the Arabs are quick to attack those they once glorified.

Two Christian societies in the Netherlands are to go on record admitting the responsibility of the Church in being partly responsible for the "racial strife over Palestine," particularly by failing to prevent the Holocaust, which is seen as the cause of the war in Palestine. The Palestinian refugee problem is mentioned almost as an afterthought at the end of the article.


Short but placed right next to a longer article about the war, this article gives certain statistics concerning the Palestinian refugees. Not really describing the suffering of the refugees, it is a more straightforward statement about the U.S. and the U.N.'s foreign policy. At the end of the article, the Jewish refugee numbers are followed by the "Arabs" numbers.


These two articles have the same text and were published two days apart in 1949, and described the particularly brutal winter that many Palestinian refugees were going to experience in Lebanon, having recently fled their homes. These articles are very small and appear as tiny blocks in the newspaper, perhaps a sign that the attention given to the crisis is dwindling.


Also a very small article, this piece describes how Israel "welcomed' a group of 28 "Arab" women and 45 children "back" into Israel after the war. Completely lacking of any conversation about the massive refugee crisis, it is almost an apology for the newly-created state's actions during the war.
This article talks about the development of Palestine under Jewish leadership. There are photos of industrial factory production lines, and photos of individuals from different professions including a “great scientist”, a ballerina, a grocer, an officer, and a farmer. After introducing Jewish society in Palestine, the article moves to a discussion of the violent relationship between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The Arabs are portrayed as beneficiaries of the Jewish settlement.
In this piece, the author describes the “new type of Jew”, he is fighting for “the only home he has ever known”. The Arabs being pushed from their homes are portrayed as villains full of enmity towards the hard working, handsome young Jewish immigrants. The article goes on to describe Irgun, a nationalist Jewish terrorist organization. The hard work of the Jewish immigrants, specifically their irrigation technology and success in farming is the center of the discussion, and the displacement of the Palestinians is treated as a peripheral topic. The Arab cities and farming strategies are described as medieval and undeveloped. This is contrasted with the modern city of Tel Aviv that the Jews quickly erected.

This is one of the first articles that LIFE Magazine published regarding the conflict in Palestine, including photography of the impacted area by Dmitri Kessel. It depicts the conflict as a struggle between the “Haganah (Jewish Defense Force)” who “dream of a peaceful national home,” and the “Arabs,” whose “Moslem” leaders have “fanned traditional Islamic fanaticism and called for a holy war.” The article clearly distinguishes between “the Arabs” small bands of guerrilla fighters and the Haganah’s “regular army.” The article warns, in bold, that “Some Arab Leaders Plan War in the Spring,” and predicts that a full-scale war will be launched by volunteer Arab forces upon the British withdrawal.


This is LIFE’s second editorial on the Palestinian conflict. The editorial seeks a path to peace, but suggests that possibly, “even more may die in confused, transitional clashes between embittered, frightened Jews and exultant, ungenerous Arabs.” The article proposes that U.S. should involve itself more decisively by persuading the British to postpone their departure, pressuring Zionists to “abandon the idea of a sovereign Zionist state,” and pressuring “the Arabs” to abandon the idea of oppressing the Jewish population in Palestine. Interestingly, the editorial suggests that the U.S. congress should adopt the “Stratton Bill” for Displaced Persons (DPs) which would “admit in the next four years 400,000 European DPs, 80% of whom are Catholics and Protestants.” The editorial states that these refugees are “democratic, productive people whom the New World needs.” It’s unclear how the resettlement of largely Christian European DPs is related to this conflict—the article simply says, “Any Jewish DPs left over can go to Palestine.”


In this article, the LIFE editorial board questions the integrity and strength of the Israeli state. The article is critical of President Truman, who the editors believe have embraced Israel too quickly, and for political gain in an election year—thereby driving a wedge between the U.S. and Great Britain. The article continues to discuss the challenges facing Israel, primarily the “problem which Israel was supposed to solve automatically”: resettling Europe’s Jewish DPs. The editorial predicts that “war and economic barriers may long postpone European immigration into the new country,” which is already overwhelmed by “scores of thousands of frightened Jews from Arab states.” It continues
to state that resettling these DPs in the U.S. is our “moral obligation,” and will allow Americans to “get some of these people, Jews and Christians, off our conscience and into our factories and farms.”


Invoking pity, this article from 1951 first offers a history of the Palestinian exodus before speaking of the silence of the refugees on the 3rd anniversary of the Nakba. Following this discussion the article discusses the refugees as “pawns” between Arab States and the Israeli government. The author speaks of his interaction with refugees at a camp in Saida where provisions are sparse. In one interaction a refugee speaks of the Zionism of the American press and calls for Americans to try to understand the Palestinian story. The end of the article is a strong plea from the refugees for the ability to return home.

This article speaks about the Jews transition from urban to agrarian lifestyles when they relocated in Palestine. The article praises the “handsome, energetic” Jews for their quick adaptation to country life and for “rais[ing] the standard of living of Palestinian Arabs.” The article goes on to talk about the world’s only all Jewish city Tel Aviv, and the “modernistic houses”.


This article develops a history of how the Palestinian refugee situation was created by early Zionists. In addition to speaking to the difficulties the refugee situation has created for all governments, the article targets US readers and suggests that the US should adopt policy to help resettle the refugees and donate generously to the cause.

“Daughters of commandos killed in combat study at an Al Fatah school in Amman.”

This article focuses on Fatah, which at the time was the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, a guerilla fighting group, it has since evolved but it maintains the goals of its founder, Yasser Arafat. The article describes the Palestinian refugees will to reclaim their home and their resort to militancy.

**The Nation:**


This editorial discusses the events and repercussions of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which took place in September 1947 in Lake Success, NY. The Committee was created earlier in 1947 in an attempt to facilitate international discussion over the future of Palestinian governance. The authors of this editorial focus on the conflict between the U.S. delegation and the rest of the U.N. concerning the issue of trusteeship versus partition in Jewish Palestine. The Americans, in an unexpected move, began to espouse a trusteeship scheme, forgoing their earlier support for the widely accepted Jewish-Transjordanian partition plan.


In this article, Kirchwey argues that the flight of Palestinians from their homeland in 1948 was caused not by the warfare that was occurring, but by dynamics within their own
community. Some such dynamics, she posits, include believing Israeli control to be temporary (and to thus return once Arab forces had taken back the land), defeatist mentalities, and supposedly hearing from the Mufti (revered Islamic scholars) that their Jewish neighbors would slit their throats. Kirchwey’s interviewees agreed that Israel had no responsibility for reabsorbing the refugees, as it had no responsibility for their flight. Most of her sources, however, seem to speak in a condemning, Islamaphobic rhetoric, giving this article a highly biased perspective.


In this editorial, the editors of The Nation laud the recent concession of Arab governments “to reality”; in other words, accepting that they will not be able to reclaim Jerusalem. The editorial also discusses the implementation of a works program for Arab refugees which, it is assumed, will ultimately lead to a peace settlement with Israel.


In December 1951, a group of 19 religious, education, and labor leaders submitted a memorandum to the United Nations concerning the current and future status of Palestinian refugees. This memorandum was then published in The Nation and thereby circulated to a wider audience. The memorandum called for permanent resettlement of Palestinian refugees in Arab states, as well as for natural resource development in these areas to support these new communities. Such activities should be financed by a resettlement fund of $300,000,000 from the international community. The authors argued that Israel would be unable to absorb these refugees back into its borders, given its population size and staggering economy, and that it has no responsibility to, given that the country “did not expel the Arabs.” On the contrary, the authors contend that it was the Arab leaders who are responsible for the mass exodus out of Israel.

The New York Times:


Continuing the trend of condescending and superficial reporting, this article highlights the details of the vote for the U.N. on simply to visit the camps of displaced persons, rather than the actual plight of those in the camps.
In articles discussing the matter of "Arab refugees," they are never mentioned in connection to the influx of Jewish refugees- the two are kept distinct.


"The gradual stress on the refugee situation as the most important immediate problem for the Security Council...urged the council to press Israel to allow the Arabs to return to their homes in Israeli-occupied territory." Pacificity: "Arab leaders have said they were made homeless by Israeli aggression."


Rather than detail the status of the actual refugees, the New York Times continues to focus on the administrative, Western-interest angles on stories to the crisis. Thus, the Palestinian refugee crisis did appear in the Times, but only in relation to however it connected to the American government or its Western allies.


An acknowledgement of the Palestinian refugees, but in relation to an event in London, rather than here in America.

"Asked if it would be possible for Israeli and Arab refugees to take up life again together, the Archbishop said that they had lived peaceably together before, and could and must resume the practice," a blatant lie in the face of economic and political disaster.


Like many other Times articles from this period, this article focuses primarily on the capitalist side of the Palestinian refugee crisis, rather than the humanitarian or personal angles. It discusses the need for the IRO to refund agencies serving the needs of the Palestinian people, but fails to acknowledge what those needs are, under what sort of conditions these agencies have been working, or any other substantive details.


Barely a paragraph, this brief article notes only that "certain Arab refugees from Israel" are asking to return to their homes. The vagueness and brevity of the article are evidence of the larger US ambivalence and disinterest towards the plight of the Palestinians at that time. For more perspective, below the article is an ad for "World-famed Sulphur Water," that takes up twice as much room as the Palestinian crisis.


Description of the US military's aid to "Arab refugees," though half the article focuses on the crew and commander of the ship, rather than the actual situation at hand.

Documents on policy and refugee experience:

The Yale Law School’s “Avalon Project” provides the full text of primary source documents relating to foreign policy in the Middle East between 1916 and 2001. It includes important texts related to this conflict, including the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the 1922 Palestine Mandate, U.S. and British “white papers” on Palestine, UN resolutions, and the 1949 Armistice Agreement.

The Nakba Archive; http://nakba-archive.org

The Nakba Archive is an oral history project dedicated to documenting the experiences of Palestinian refugees. Over 650 first-generation Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon have been interviewed for the project. The interviews cover topics ranging from life in Palestine before 1948 and relations with local Jewish communities, to the end of the British presence and subsequent diaspora. Videos are subtitled in English.

**Vassar College news sources:**


This advertisement for a forum on Palestine shows Vassar's willingness to listen to both sides of the Israel and Palestine conflict before the announcement of the partition plan later that year. It also shows the language that Vassar used to describe the two points of view; the speakers are referred to as the "Arab Representative" and the "Zionist."


"Six D.P. Students Selected to Become Vassarites Next Year." 1950. *The Vassar Chronicle*, February 18, 1

The first of these two articles discusses a Vassar admissions program for displaced persons that was created collaboratively by administration, students, and faculty. It describes methods for fundraising and hints at a student advising program that could be implemented for the incoming students. The article describes the selected displaced applicants as having "varied" backgrounds.

The second article gives information on the displaced students admitted to Vassar through the aforementioned program. All six are from Central or Eastern Europe. It appears that the European refugees are being prioritized over the Palestinian refugees.

This article, published two years after the creation of the state of Israel, gives information on the 36 newly admitted international students, 5 of whom are described as "displaced persons" and whose tuition was to be covered by scholarships as well as other funds raised by students. It is not specified where the displaced persons in particular are from, but Israel and Palestine are both listed among the 24 foreign countries that the international students come from.


This article gives details on the German refugee crisis, as articulated by a Vassar professor who had gone to Germany to study the issue. The article provides historical context and explains the United States' interest in the problem as well as what refugees need. The piece is an example of the numerous Vassar newspaper articles from this time period that address the problems of European refugees. It serves as a contrast to the lack of articles discussing the Palestinian refugee crisis in as much detail and with as much concern.


This article, which was published several years after the creation of the state of Israel, summarizes a lecture given on what the speaker cited as the "the three main problems facing the Arab world today — internal modernization of society, the achievement of Arab unity, and Arab relations with the western world." The displacement of Palestinians is not mentioned in the article, but the speaker argues that Israel has been destructive to Arab unity and that the United States should reconsider its support for Israel. The event shows that there was campus critique surrounding the U.S. response to the creation of Israel.

**News sources from other universities:**


This brief editorial from Cornell University’s student newspaper discusses the imminent debate regarding the ownership and governance of Jewish Palestine before the United
Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine. The article makes note of Jewish refugees from World War II, but does not acknowledge the displaced Palestinian people.


This article from The Daily Princetonian discusses the efforts of American Middle East Relief (AMER) to provide clothing and medical supplies to the “Arabian war refugees” in the region around Palestine. As of this article’s writing, approximately 30,000 Palestinian families had already received supplies from this NGO. The article estimates that close to one million Arab citizens will require aid during that year in order to prepare for the brutal Middle Eastern winter. Princeton students participated in a clothing drive in support of AMER’s efforts in the Middle East.


This article discusses the recent lecture given by a prominent speaker, Baron Hans de Meiss-Teuffen. During his talk, Meiss-Teuffen posited that “the United States could save the people of the Middle East from World War III by raising their standard of living,” and that the Israeli war was won by the Jews because “the common Arab did not have his heart in it.” The article goes on to reference Meiss-Teuffen’s assertion that many educated Arab refugees, currently living in refugee camps throughout the Middle East, are converting to communism and beginning to lose their ‘morals.’


Brown University had a Displaced Persons Committee.


In this letter to the editor, Donald Bowen announces a used clothes collection initiative. Donated items are to go to some of the 1,900,000 refugees in Korea and Palestine. Bowen's rationale for the initiative is to fight communism by improving the United States' relations with other countries.

This article from Princeton University’s student newspaper details the policy analysis of Professor Emeritus Philip K. Hitti in regards to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Hitti argues for Israel to immediately heed three resolutions dictated by the United Nations: (1) relinquishment of Western Galilee and Nageb, which the Israeli state illegitimately occupied during the 1948 truce; (2) all 900,000 Arab refugees should be allowed to return to their former homes, or receive just compensation for their loss; and (3) Israel must accept that Jerusalem will continue to be “internationalized,” and thus shared with Jordan.