The Stolen Land

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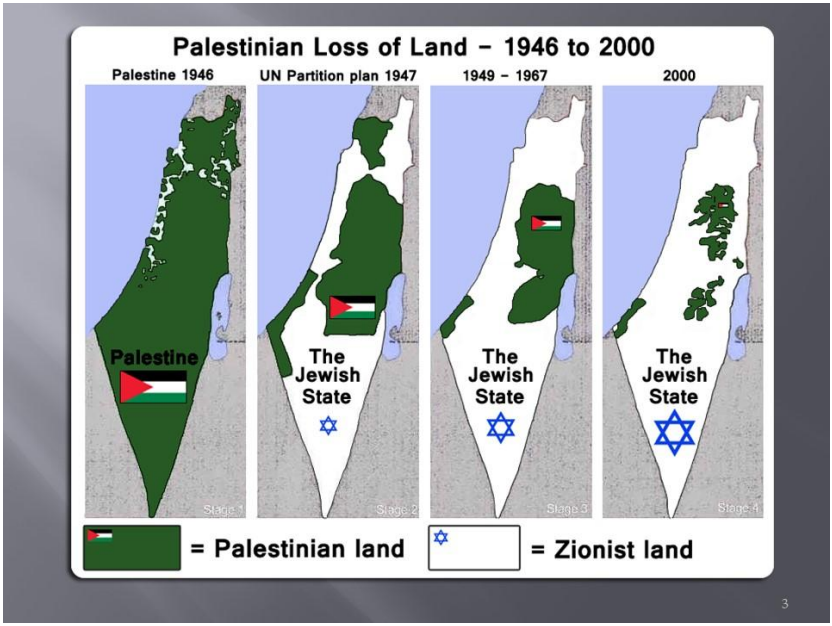
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The Stolen Land

The question of who has a right to the land of Israel is a perpetual issue which sees no sign of going away until our Lord returns.

The Palestinians claim Israel stole their land. The Israeli's claim that the land was legally acquired under international law. Who is right? The maps below might be displayed at a Palestinian Solidarity week at a University or at an anti-Israel protest. They may even be seen at a pro-Palestinian meeting in a church. They purport to tell a simple story. In 1946 prior to the establishment of the state of Israel nearly all of the land belonged to the Arabs. As time progressed the Arab lands have been squeezed and squeezed until little of their land has been left.



Today it is claimed that the Palestinians are a distinct people who have lived in the land for generations. Their culture and heritage was destroyed when their people were expelled by the Jews in 1948. Is this the true story or is it in reality total fiction?

Palestine

Palestine has never been an independent state. From 1517 to 1917 it was part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Going back in time it had been ruled by various Islamic dynasties, the Crusaders, the Byzantine Empire and at the time of Christ the Romans.

From the beginning of the Ottoman rule until 1850 the population was stable at just over 300,000 Muslims, 13,000 Jews and 27,000 Christians. About a quarter of the population lived in the main towns of Jerusalem, Gaza, Safed. Nablus, Ramle and Hebron[1]. The rest were peasant farmers scratching a living from the land.

The Jewish population of the Holy Land was concentrated in four towns: Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberius and Safed. According to the British Consul in Jerusalem report to the House of Commons, the Jewish population of Jerusalem had by 1874 risen to 10,000 out of a total Jerusalem population of 20,000.

The Arab Peasant

To unravel whether the maps represent true or fake history, we will start with the people who may be considered to have a legitimate claim to the land. The Arab peasant has supposedly lived on and cultivated the land for generations.

The Sultans Domain

In his study 'The Land System in Palestine' **Abraham Granott**, wrote "The **sultans regarded Palestine as their personal domain**, acquired by the law of arms and war. The inhabitants, except a few tribes like the Druzes who were never conquered, could not pretend to real or personal property. Even private inheritance reverted to the sultan. Though the peasants were not serfs, as under the feudal system, and under no obligation of service, all the country was crown land. ……The individual could not be imprisoned for debt though the village, as a unit, could be made to suffer for its collective obligation. The struggle, therefore, was between the land and the tax collector. If the assessor arrived at the right moment he seized what he claimed, and satisfied his demand. The peasant had no interest in thorough cultivation, or in the fertilization of the soil. His primitive tools were evidence of his poverty and indifference."[2]

Impoverished

Historian **Bernard Lewis** adds; "Harsh, exorbitant, and improvident taxation led to a **decline in cultivation**, which was sometimes permanent. The peasants, neglected and impoverished, were forced into the hands of money-lenders and speculators, and often driven off the land entirely. With the steady decline in bureaucratic efficiency

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ... the central government ceased to exercise any check or control over agriculture and village affairs, which were left to the unchecked rapacity of the tax-farmers, the leaseholders, and the bailiffs of court nominees."[3]

Always moving on

Recording his travels in the Holy Land in the early 1800's **John Lewis Burkhardt** wrote: "The oppressions of the government on one side, and those of the Bedouins on the other, have reduced the Fellah of the Haouran to a state little better than that of the wandering Arab. Few individuals ... die in the same village in which they were born. Families are continually moving from one place to another; in the first year of their new settlement the Sheikh acts with moderation towards them; but his vexations becoming in a few years insupportable, they fly to some other place, where they have heard that their brethren are better treated, but they soon find that the same system prevails over the whole country. . . . they are always permitted to depart."[4]

Exploited

Another problem for the peasant was that an estimated **98% were illiterate**. **Bernard Lewis** referring to the wider Ottoman Empire describes the consequence of illiteracy: "The widespread illiteracy sustained and fed the coffers of the feudal extortionists. The peasant had to borrow to pay the taxes, and the debts he incurred from outrageous usurious rates of interest forced him to sell his land, often to the wealthy *effendis* -- landlords -- in the town."[5]

The woes of the Arab peasant farmer didn't stop there.

Burckhardt writes: "[The] most heavy contribution paid by the peasants, is the tribute to the Arabs [Bedouin]. ... who visit the country

only in the summer, [they] are, from remote times, entitled to certain tributes called Khone (brotherhood), from every village in the Haouran. In return for this Khone, the Arabs abstain from touching the harvest of the village, and from driving off its cattle and camels. Each village pays Khone to one Sheikh in every tribe; the village is then known as his Ukhta or Sister, as the Arabs term it, and he protects the inhabitants against all the members of his own tribe. …The amount of the Khone is continually increasing, for the Arab Sheikh is not always contented with the quantity of corn he received in the preceding year, but asks something additional, as a present, which soon becomes a part of his accustomed dues."[6]

Neglected

In 1865 **H B Tristram** wrote; "A few years ago, the whole ghor (Jordan Valley) was in the hands of the Fellahin and much of it cultivated for corn. Now the whole of it is in the hands of the bedouin, who eschew agriculture except in a few spots, cultivated here and there by their slaves. And with the bedouin, come lawlessness, and the uprooting of all Turkish authority. No government is now acknowledged on the east side; and unless the porte acts with greater firmness and caution than is his wont ... Palestine will be desolated and given up to the nomads."

"The same thing is now going on over the plain of Sharon, where, both in the north and south, land is going out of cultivation, and whole villages rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth. Since the year 1838, no less than 20 villages have been thus erased from the map and the stationary population extirpated. Very rapidly the Bedouin are encroaching wherever horse can be ridden; and the Government is utterly powerless to resist them or to defend its subjects".[7]

There are many other eye witness accounts of the deplorable neglected state of the Holy Land in the19th Century

Mark Twain describes his travels in Palestine in 'Innocents Abroad'.(1869) "Of all the lands there are for dismal scenery, I think Palestine must be the prince. The hills are barren, they are dull of colour, they are unpicturesque in shape. The valleys are unsightly deserts fringed with a feeble vegetation that has an expression about it of being sorrowful and despondent. The Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee sleep in the midst of a vast stretch of hill and plain wherein the eye rests upon no pleasant tint, no striking object, no soft picture dreaming in a purple haze or mottled with the shadows of the clouds. Every outline is harsh, every feature is distinct, there is no perspective, distance works no enchantment here. It is a hopeless, dreary, heart-broken land."

Mark Twain's comments on the land are confirmed in a series of paintings made by **artist David Roberts** in the 1830's. They show a desolate land with few trees and little vegetation

A proud historic people?

None of the above gives an impression of a proud people who have lived on and cultivated the land for generations. The reality was of **an impoverished people** who increasingly left the land uncultivated seeking a better life in the cities.

The Ottoman Period

The Ottomans ruled an empire which covered much of the Middle East and North Africa. It conquered Palestine in 1517. Up to 1858 the Ottoman lands were populated and cultivated by local farmers. Land ownership was regulated by customs and traditions. Usually land was owned by the village community (musha). Some land was owned by families or individuals.

The Ottoman Land Reforms

The problems for the Arab peasant, who were already being driven off the land, were aggravated by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858. Prior to these reforms there were no official deeds to attest land ownership. Title rested on tradition alone.

Under the code anyone claiming ownership was required to register that claim. The code had a twofold objective:

1. The increase state control over the empire.

2. To increase tax revenue.

The peasant farmers who worked the land objected to registration and many did not comply with the law. Land registration required fees which the impoverished farmer could barely afford. Then there was the rampant corruption of the Ottoman administration who would expect their share of the proceeds. The peasant had learned by long experience, to have as little contact as possible with the Ottoman state. Besides registration fees, land owners became liable for future taxation and military conscription.

Compliance with the law varied from area to area. Around Jerusalem the peasants did register land and obtain title deeds. On the coastal plains few peasants registered their land. The coastal plain suffered much more from the marauding bands of Bedouin, mentioned in the previous chapter, than the hill country to the east. Therefore those attempting to farm the land were far less secure.

If land was not claimed, the central government sold the deeds to the highest bidder. Large-scale landlords took possession of vast tracts of land, mainly unoccupied but sometimes farmed. Frequently land was registered by someone other than the family who had farmed it. As long as the peasants were able to continue working the land legal ownership did not concern them.

Categories of land ownership

The Ottoman's recognised 7 categories of land ownership:

- ***Milk*** is "land in unrestricted private ownership
  Under the Ottoman's about 10% of the land was registered to the peasants who worked it. It is estimated that a further 10% was registered to large landowners.
- ***Waqf*** is land "dedicated to a religious purpose". This accounted for a further 10% of the land during the Ottoman rule.

The remaining 70% fell into one of the following categories all of which were controlled by the state:

- ***Mīrī*** is cultivated land owned by the state. An individual could gain rights over *mīrī* land by cultivating it and paying taxes; but the state continued to regulate its transfer and improvement. Most of the cultivated land in Palestine fell into this category.

- ***maḥlūl*** land where the tenant's rights to *mīrī* were forfeited by failure to cultivate the land;
- ***matrūk maḥmiyya*** property for general public use such as lakes or roads
- ***matrūk murfaqa*** property for use by a particular community such as market places and cemeteries.
- ***Mawāt*** is wasteland which an individual could turn into *mīrī* by cultivating it for a given period of time and paying for it.

A third aim of the 1858 law was to determine and consolidate state control over miri, matruk and mawat lands.

Registration of Title

The registration of land right up to the British Mandate was chaotic. Registration was piecemeal relying on the applicant to initiate the process. Under the Ottoman's there was no cadastral survey (delineation of property boundaries). In most cases there were no measurements or maps to determine property boundaries. Lack of this information made later land disputes impossible to resolve.

"The effect of these registration laws have been described as "catastrophic." The practice of registering land in the name of a fictitious or dead individual, and the inexact and incomplete nature of the records, made the peasant's claim to tenure insecure. Worst of all perhaps was the fact that local town merchants or city magnates often filed whole villages or series of villages in their own names. The entrusting of the implementation of the (Ottoman Land) law (of 1858) to the local administration … made a mockery of the intentions of the legislator. Instead of strengthening the state's rights over the *mīrī* land and the rights of the cultivators, the *a`yān* [notables] succeeded in registering large stretches of land in their own names." All together, the

laws contributed significantly to the concentration of property titles into the hands of a few individuals and the state."[8]

Early in the 19th century writers observed that the Jezreel valley was very fertile and well cultivated. After the land reforms much rich cultivated land such as the Jezreel and the Jordan valleys fell out of use. Taxation, rents and false claims of ownership caused many to move off the land.

Jewish migration

The large scale migration of Jews back to the Holy Land began in the 1880's. The Jews had money and were eager to buy land but their options were limited.

- The majority of land was controlled by the State which would not sell
- Another large area was controlled by the Waqf who also would not sell
- There was land registered to peasant farmers who might sell.
- Then there were the large landowners who had registered land they did not farm and were only too keen to turn their assets into cash.

So we have a situation where Jews acquired *Milk* over land which had been registered by large absentee land owners. Sometimes the land came with a resident population.

Mainly, the land offered for sale had been neglected becoming waste land. Among these desolate areas was the coastal area stretching from Mount Carmel down to the Sharon Plain. Before Jewish settlement it was a poorly cultivated malaria ridden marsh. The Arab population had abandoned it long before. Likewise the Hula, Kinneret and Kishon in the

north had been neglected due to their marshy disease ridden conditions.

In 1897 virtually all of the Jezreel Valley, belonged to only two persons: the eastern portion to the Turkish Sultan, and the western part to the richest banker in Syria, Sursuq "the Greek". The Sursuq's were a Greek Orthodox Christian family who, by a series of successful business ventures, rose to become one of the seven families considered Beirut's Aristocratic elite. Following the Ottoman Land Reforms the family acquired tens of thousands of acres of land in Palestine. In 1872 the Ottoman Government sold 365,000 Dunums (90,000 acres) of the Jezreel valley to the Sursuq's.

Theodor Herzl wrote in his diary 10th March 1897, "The Jewish Colonisation Agency is currently negotiating with a Greek family (Soursouk is his name I think) for the purchase of 97 villages in Palestine. These Greeks live in Paris, have gambled away their money and wish to sell real estate (3% of the entire area of Palestine, according to Bambus) for 7 million franks". Much of the land acquired by the Jewish national fund was sold to it by the Sursuq family.

Arabs dispossessed?

How many Arabs were forced off the land is very difficult to determine. In the 1930s during the British Mandate a scheme was set up to compensate Arabs who had been dispossessed. There was surprise at how few Arabs came forward. Kenneth Stein who has written extensively on land issues in Palestine comments:

"There were surprisingly few claims to tenancy rights from Arabs with respect to Jewish-owned land. This lack of claims was evidence that Jewish landowners were finding little difficulty, by means of payment

of liberal compensation, in persuading Arabs who claimed rights to abandon their claims."

In the end there were only 600 approved claims representing a tiny proportion of the land area of Mandate Palestine. Due to the economic development of Palestine in the 1930s those who had been dispossessed were able to find better paid jobs in the cities. Throughout that period unemployment was always below 5%, despite a fast growing Arab population.

The British Mandate

After the First World War Great Britain took control of Palestine. Prior to the ending of the war the British Government had, with the Balfor declaration, committed to the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Within the declaration there was a commitment, **"it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities".**

Part of not prejudicing the rights of the non-Jewish communities was protecting their land rights. At the time that Britain took over the administration of Palestine from the Ottomans about 20% of the land was registered in private ownership. Half of this was owned by Peasant farmers working their own land. The other half was registered to large absentee landowners. Another 10% belonged to the Waqf, the religious authorities. The remaining 70% of the land fell into one of the five categories of land which was controlled by the state.

The control of this state land transferred from the Ottoman Empire to Britain. It was this land which in theory could be made available for Jewish settlement. The use of state land for this purpose was established in **Article 6 of the League of Nations British Mandate for Palestine.** "The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, **close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.**" (my emphasis)

Article 80 of the Charter of the **United Nations** preserved all the rights granted to the Jews under the Mandate of the League of Nations including the right to close settlement specified in Article 6 of the League of Nations mandate.

The Land Problem

As mentioned in the previous chapter the registration of land right up to the British Mandate was chaotic. Registration was piecemeal relying on the applicant to initiate the process. Under the Ottomans there was no cadastral survey (delineation of property boundaries). In most cases there were no measurements or maps. Land was sometimes registered in the name of fictitious or dead individuals. Worst of all perhaps was the fact that local town merchants or city magnates often filed whole villages or series of villages in their own names.

In 1921 Herbert Samuel described the state of the land as follows: "It is obvious to every passing traveller, and well known to every European resident that this country was before the War and is now, undeveloped and under-populated, The methods of agriculture are for the most part, primitive; the area of the land now cultivated could yield a far greater product. There are in addition large cultivatable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of the hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes which could be redeemed, are untouched, a danger by their encroachment to the neighbouring tillage. The Jordan and Yarmuk valleys offer an abundance of water power; but it is unused. Some industries – fishing and the culture and manufacture of tobacco are examples – have been killed by Turkish laws; nor have been encouraged."[9]

State Lands?

Britain was commissioned to make available state lands and waste lands for Jewish settlement. The Ottoman Land Reforms were in force but the majority of land was still either unregistered or registration was incomplete. The land which was registered lacked maps or dimensions. Implementing Article 6 was a problem. How to allocate land for Jewish settlement when there were no surveys to determine which were state lands and waste lands.

In 1926 the High Commissioner Viscount Plummer wrote: "I have come to the conclusion that settlement work of a systematic and comprehensive nature should be begun as soon as possible, and a reliable record of rights over land be thereafter maintained. By no other means, it seems, can the tangled aftermath of Turkish practice be swept away, and a sure basis provided for agricultural development, reform of land taxation, definition of State Domain and the introduction of an agricultural credit system. The system of land registration must be considerably recast, it must be based upon survey, and embodied in law and regulation and personnel must be habituated to its use."[10]

To untangle this mess the British administration set up **'The Land Settlements Office'.** The office proceeded to undertake cadastral surveys to establish ownership. As Viscount Plummer had written it was essential to have properly determined boundaries if Jewish settlement was to take place.

On the progress of this survey Dov Gaish writes, "At the same time, the difficulty of dividing and allocating 'Musha' [collective] lands had become apparent. ……. In other case it was found that the villagers obstructed the settlement by raising many false claims, including frivolous ones, and the survey parties had to mark these claims,

measure, draught and inspect them only to reject them, and much effort was invested to no purpose in measuring the smallest non-essential details, and in repeated restoration of boundary markers."[11]

"By 1934 the process had run out of steam and virtually ground to a halt. One land settlement officer Isaac Camp wrote: "I am overwhelmed with the work of Land Settlement and as prospects for the future are for even more work, I have considered it advisable to inform you of the position as it is at present and is likely to become in the future." Of one area he wrote that, "there was no limit to the complicated and confused claims that paralysed the work of the settlement teams."[12]

Such was the complexity of the task and internal problems in the Administration that by 1947 titles were settled on only 25% of the total land area of Palestine.[13] Of this 25% a high proportion of the land was owned by Jews or clearly State Land.

The end of the Mandate

An arrangement which had initially promised so much came to an end on the 15th May 1948. Under the Palestine Mandate of the League of Nations, Great Britain was entrusted with the responsibility of establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Considerations of Empire and oil required the appeasement of the newly founded Arab nations. The Arabs were largely hostile to the immigration of Jews to Palestine and used their influence to pressure Britain to restrict both immigration and purchase of land. The impossible task of identifying land ownership no doubt contributed to the decision of the British government to hand back the Mandate to the newly formed United Nations in 1948.

Israeli Rule

Israel declared itself an independent nation on the 14th May 1948. Immediately war broke out. Israel was attacked by the surrounding Arab nations. Many predicted that the fledgling Jewish state would only last a few weeks.

The argument continues to this day over whether the Arab population fled or was expelled. It is not the purpose of this booklet to argue the case either way, although the author believes that all the evidence points to the overwhelming majority voluntarily fleeing due to the looming threat of war. Those who left believed that their exile would be short. In a matter of days or weeks Israel would be driven into the sea. Then they would be able to return to their homes and lands.

The first legislative act of the Provisional State Council was to pass the 'Law and Administration ordinance of 1948. This act provided for the adoption of all existing laws. With regard to land matters the Ottoman laws as modified by the British Mandate continued to apply.[16] (Most of these laws have now been repealed bringing into operation a modern form of land title registration).

In 1950, the Knesset passed the Absentees Property Law. This specified that any property situated within the post-war boundaries of Israel and owned by an Arab who had left the country between November 29, 1947 and May 19, 1948, or by a Palestinian who went abroad or to an area of Palestine held by hostile forces up to September 1, 1948, was transferred to the ownership of the Custodian of Absentee Property.

If an Arab could prove legal title to a piece of land they could reclaim it from the Custodian. For the reasons outlined in previous chapters very few Arabs had the required documentation to substantiate their claim.

The new state of Israel desperately required land for the flood of refugees seeking a new home in the Jewish state. The utilisation of the absentee lands became a necessity.

The land problem remains

The following 1949 quote from the Jewish National Fund illustrates how the new nation thought the land issue might be resolved.

"Of the entire area of the State of Israel only about 300,000-400,000 dunums – apart from the desolate rocky area of the southern Negev, at present quite unfit for cultivation – are State Domain which the Israeli Government took over from the Mandatory regime. The J.N.F. and private Jewish owners possess under two million dunums. Almost all the rest belongs at law to Arab owners, many of whom have left the country. The fate of these Arabs will be settled when the terms of the peace treaties between Israel and her Arab neighbours are finally drawn up. The J.N.F., however, cannot wait until then to obtain the land it requires for its pressing needs. It is, therefore, acquiring part of the land abandoned by the Arab owners, through the Government of Israel, the sovereign authority in Israel. Whatever the ultimate fate of the Arabs concerned, it is manifest that their legal right to their land and property in Israel, or to the monetary value of them, will not be waived, nor do the Jews wish to ignore them. ... [C]onquest by force of arms cannot, in law or in ethics, abrogate the rights of the legal owner to his personal property. The J.N.F., therefore, will pay for the lands it takes over, at a fixed and fair price."[17]

This optimism was misplaced. A comprehensive peace treaty with the Arabs has still not been achieved. Even if it were achievable with the passing of time Israel would find the true ownership of land and houses more difficult to unravel than did the Ottomans and British before. If any Arabs possessed the documentation to prove ownership of houses or land they could have claimed it many years ago.

The Maps

Going back to our starting point which was the four maps which purport to tell a story. The first map is mainly shaded to indicate Arab land. There are a few patches of white to indicate Jewish ownership. The map, dated as 1946 which falls within the British Mandate period, is not comparing like for like. If the white represents land in registered Jewish ownership then the amount of shading should be similar to represent land in registered Arab ownership. The majority of the land was waste or state lands under British control.

The above quote from the JNF considers all the unregistered land as belonging to an Arab owner. We should add the word 'potentially'. As explained in the preceding chapters most of the land was neglected with no registered ownership.

The second map is a proposed partition plan never implemented as the Arabs rejected it.

The third map shows the situation between 1949 and 1967. Gaza was ruled by the Egyptians and Judea and Samaria illegally occupied by Jordan. Illegal because, under the Mandate and UN Charter, state and waste lands within these areas were legally available for Jewish settlement.

The fourth map shows the land controlled by the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. The Arabs could have had control of more. Prime Minster Barak offered Yasser Arafat 98% of what he claimed. The offer was rejected. The Arab 'all or nothing' approach to diplomacy has thwarted any attempt to live in peace.

The Solution

This booklet has looked at the fake news which is presented to people as the factual history of the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Bible both foresaw this conflict and teaches us how it will end. Despite the efforts of men there will be no solution. The enmity will continue up to the time when the Messiah comes. At that time the surrounding nations will be judged. They will be judged because of their ancient hatred for the Children of Israel (Ezekiel 35: 5) and their desire to claim the land for themselves (Ezekiel 35: 10, 11).

"Let the nations be wakened, and come up to the Valley of Jehoshaphat; For there I will sit to judge all the ***surrounding nations****."* Joel 3:12.

In that day the Lord will establish His kingdom. In His kingdom there will be peace between the Children of Ishmael and the Children of Israel (Micah 4: 3-4). Until that glorious time comes we must counter lies with truth.

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From Time Immemorial

For further reading on the claims of the Arab population to the land I commend Joan Peters' book 'From time Immemorial'. It is an extremely well researched (the main body of the book is followed by 120 pages of references in small print) investigation into who has a rightful claim to the land. Kindle edition available from Amazon.

Publisher's description

"This monumental and fascinating book, the product of seven years of original research, will forever change the terms of the debate about the conflicting claims of the Arabs and the Jews in the Middle East. The weight of the comprehensive evidence found and brilliantly analyzed by historian and journalist Joan Peters answers many crucial questions, among them: Why are the Arab refugees from Israel seen in a different light from all the other, far

more numerous peoples who were displaced after World War II? Why, indeed, are they seen differently from the Jewish refugees who were forced, in 1948 and after, to leave the Arab countries to find a haven in Israel? Who, in fact, are the Arabs who were living within the borders of present-day Israel, and where did they come from? Joan Peters's highly readable and moving development of the answers to these and related questions will appear startling, even to those on both sides of the argument who have considered themselves to be in command of the facts. On the basis of a definitive weight of hitherto unexamined population and other historical data, much of it buried in untouched archives, Peters demonstrates that Jews did not displace Arabs in Palestine-just the reverse: Arabs displaced Jews; that a hidden but major Arab migration and immigration took place into areas settled by Jews in pre-Israel Palestine; that a substantial number of the Arab refugees called Palestinians in reality had foreign roots; that for every Arab refugee who left Israel in 1948, there was a Jewish refugee who fled or was expelled from his Arab birthplace at the same time; today's much discussed Sephardic majority in Israel is in fact composed mainly of these Arab-born Jewish refugees or their offspring; that Britain, the Mandatory power, winked at and even encouraged Arab immigration into Palestine between the two World Wars; that by disguising the Arab immigrants as "indigenous native Palestinian Arabs," the British justified their restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement, dooming masses of European Jews to destruction in the Nazi camps"-

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