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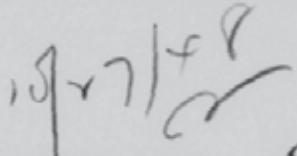
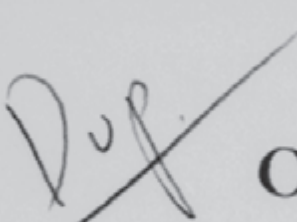
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Palestine Affairs, 1948.



## Organization of the Government of Israel

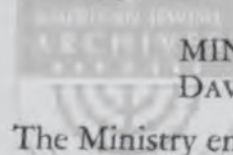
**W**HEN the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14 after the mandatory regime in Palestine had come to a sudden end, the Provisional Government was confronted with the task of organizing and setting in motion the complex machinery of an independent state. Preparations for setting up a government had been made weeks in advance by a joint committee of the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council). In the unique set-up of the mandatory administration, both these Jewish bodies had exercised governmental functions and conducted departments. The ministerial composition of the new government, in organization as well as in personnel, is in great measure traceable to similar departments in Jewish institutions, some ministries were taken over from the former Palestine Government departments, while others had to be created *de novo*. The fact that the present government is temporary, functioning without constitutional provisions, and that it is without established traditions, made it necessary for many of the ministries to define and develop their functions and organization as they went along. Moreover, the lack of a sufficient number of well-trained personnel in the civil service system and the exigencies of the war resulted in the inclusion of features which must inevitably be of a temporary character. There is no doubt that with the experience of time and the promulgation of a constitution, not only departments in ministries, but entire ministries, will be eliminated, while new ones will come into existence. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that the major outlines of the present structure will remain the general pattern for future governments.

At the moment there are sixteen ministries, in addition to the office of Prime Minister, with thirteen ministers, four of them heading two ministries each.

### PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN GURION

The Prime Minister is the head of the Government, presides at cabinet meetings, and approves all proposals submitted by the Ministers to the State Council. He has the power to impose emergency regulations in time of war.

The Prime Minister's Chief Secretary is also head of the Government's General Secretariat, which is the channel between the Prime Minister and all the Ministries. The Secretariat's functions are not yet clearly defined; at the moment they include publication of the *Official Gazette*, keeping the State records, and registering civil service appointments.



### MINISTRY OF SECURITY DAVID BEN GURION, Minister

The Ministry embraces Israel's land, sea and air forces. The Minister has three deputies: for manpower and recruiting; for war matériel (purchase, production, supply); and for auxiliary services (food, clothing, housing, etc.). The armed forces are directed by a general staff which has the same departments as the Ministry, and liaison between the Minister and his deputies, and the general staff, is maintained through the Chief of Staff.

The Minister is assisted by an aide-de-camp with a small staff, a military adviser, and an officer for liaison with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A secretary general is in charge of the functioning of the Ministry. The Minister is also assisted by a Security Committee, advisory in character, composed of eleven members representing a very wide range of public interests. The Committee discusses broad lines of policy, keeps the Ministry informed on the state of public opinion, and serves as a channel through which the Ministry's views reach the public.



## MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOSHE SHERTOK, Minister

The first action of the Ministry was to inform the governments of the world of the establishment of the State of Israel and to request recognition. It then appointed fully accredited diplomatic representatives to the countries which had recognized Israel and indicated a willingness to exchange diplomatic missions. It appointed special representatives and consuls and, in conjunction with the Ministry of Immigration, authorized its agents to issue visas. One of its most delicate tasks during the first months of its existence was the conduct of day-to-day affairs with the consuls accredited to the former mandatory government whose countries had not recognized the new State. A *modus vivendi* was worked out and satisfactory relations established.

The Ministry organized the Israeli delegation to the United Nations and appointed its personnel. In Israel, the Foreign Minister represented his Government in negotiations with the United Nations Mediator, the UN Truce Commission in Jerusalem, and the UN Secretariat in Tel Aviv.

A major unit of the Ministry is the Middle East division. There are a number of undersecretaries in charge of other geographic units—Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the United States, South America, the British Commonwealth nations, and Asia. The Ministry also has the following departments: legal; information; consular; international organizations; research; and administrative.

## MINISTRY OF FINANCE ELIEZER KAPLAN, Minister

The financial functions of the Palestine Government were taken over by this Ministry and the following departments set up: accountant general; budget; customs and excise; internal revenue; and economic planning. The last named—which is to prepare an economic budget, as distinct from the financial budget—deals with the control of foreign exchange, import and export policy, banking, insurance and investments, national income, and manpower.

## MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR ISAAC GRUENBAUM, Minister

Local government is the primary concern of the Ministry. For this, two departments were organized. One appoints and directs the District Commissioners, who have general executive functions in their respective areas; the other deals with local councils, rural and urban. The Ministry has an information department which deals with the press, radio and cinema; a finance and control department; a research department, to col-

lect and analyze demographic and economic information; and a legal adviser. It also handles arbitration in labor disputes.

## MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AHARON ZISLING, Minister

The Ministry of Agriculture was one of the most difficult to organize, since there existed a multitude of bodies dealing with agriculture and citriculture—departments of the former Palestine Government, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund and independent research organizations. After prolonged negotiations, a plan of action which designated the functions of the existing Jewish institutions was finally worked out. Thus, the Settlement Department of the Agency, charged with aiding immigrants to settle on the land, remains a part of the Agency; the Jewish National Fund will continue to acquire land and prepare it for settlement.

The Ministry has nine departments. Two are concerned with policy:

- Planning and development
- Agricultural economy

and seven have to do with various branches of agriculture:

- Animal husbandry and veterinary science
- Fisheries
- Groves and orchards
- Plant protection
- Forestry and soil conservation
- Field crops
- Water

The last deals with research into resources, utilization, irrigation planning and execution, and water rights.

Each of these seven departments has an advisory board made up of experts and representatives of the interests involved. A thirty-five member General Agricultural Board, representing the whole range of persons and bodies concerned with agriculture, has also been organized to assist in laying down general lines of policy.

Many officials of the former Government Agricultural Department, including some Arab specialists, are serving in the Ministry.

## MINISTRY OF IMMIGRATION MOSHE SHAPIRA, Minister

This Ministry reorganized the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency—with which the Minister had been connected since 1935—and took over its offices in Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and its officials abroad. It also took over the functions and most of the personnel of the Palestine Government Department of Migration.

Pending the passage of citizenship and passport laws,



the Ministry has been issuing travel documents. Its main task, however, is the reception of immigrants and the setting up of reception centers all over the country to care for the new arrivals until they are completely assimilated into the economy of the State.

#### MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY FRITZ BERNSTEIN, Minister

The following departments comprise the Ministry:

Industry, to which is attached the Standards Institute  
Foreign Trade, to which is attached the Trade and Transfer Institute, in charge of barter agreements and transactions; the Economic Bureau for Palestine (in London); and the Foreign Trade Institute

Small Trades and Handicrafts

Geological Institute. Concerned with research into water, petroleum and minerals. Works jointly with the Ministry of Agriculture.

Legal

The Ministry has also set up control offices covering: export-import; supplies; food; diamond industry; fuel; weights and measures; mines and concessions; and prices.

#### MINISTRY OF LABOR AND PUBLIC WORKS MORDECAI BEN TOV, Minister

A directorate of Public Works, a directorate of Labor and a directorate of Manpower make up the composition of the Ministry.

Public Works is a combination of three departments of the former government: public works, survey, and town planning. Its first undertaking was road maintenance, repair and extension, primarily for military purposes. Next was providing air raid shelters and setting up the seat of government at Hakirya, near Tel Aviv. It also serves as the requisitioning authority for army housing.

The Labor directorate embraces the activities of the Labor Departments of the Palestine Administration and the Jewish Agency. It supervises the General Labor Exchanges established jointly by the Agency and the labor institutions, mobilizes manpower and supervises its employment, oversees the occupational training of skilled workers, allots agricultural workers for the citrus industry, supervises the application of existing labor legislation, and is promulgating new labor laws and social security measures for all workers, both Jewish and Arab. It is concerned with the absorption of new immigrants into agriculture and industry, and with housing schemes for workers.

According to a law promulgated by the Government on June 16, men between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five and women between the ages of sixteen and fifty, not called up for military or auxiliary service, are liable to be mobilized for army supply production, food production, public services and urgent housing. The Manpower directorate registers, classifies and directs this labor. A Manpower Council representing industry, agriculture and labor assists the directorate in enforcing the order.

#### MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS DAVID REMEZ, Minister

The Communications Ministry operates the postal, telephone, and telegraph and cable systems, radio communications, air transport and airfields for civilian use. It controls the ports of Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jaffa and the Israeli Merchant Marine, and it has taken over the railroads and coordinated road transport.

#### MINISTRY OF JUSTICE FELIX ROSENBLUETH, Minister

No prototype of this Ministry, which follows the Continental rather than the English legal system, existed under the mandatory regime. It deals with all administrative legal matters.

With the exception of the reconstitution of the bench of the Supreme Court by the appointment of a Chief Justice and four Justices, no attempt has been made so far to modify the existing court system. There are ten departments in the Ministry:

Attorney General. The attorney general is also the director general of the Ministry; his functions are mainly supervisory. The department has a staff of seven law officers to advise the Government and the other Ministries on legal matters.

Drafting

Government Prosecutor. The Government's criminal and civil legal business is centralized here.

Courts

Land Registration

Land Settlement. Concerned with disputed titles.

Registrar General. Registers limited companies, partnerships, patents, etc.

Administrator General. Handles all public trustee business.

Education. Organizes and supervises legal studies and admission to the bar.

Administration. A secretary general supervises the functioning of the entire Ministry.

According to the ordinance of May 14, laws in force on that date were to remain valid in so far as they did



not conflict with the establishment of the State and with laws enacted by the new Government. The Ministry of Justice is planning to undertake far-reaching reforms of procedure and of the law itself. The present legal system is a mixture of elements which it is not possible to incorporate into the future code of Israel: the Statute Law of Palestine, enacted since 1919; Ottoman Law, in force in 1919; English Common Law and Equity which were applied where no other relevant law existed; and in matters of personal status—marriage and divorce, wills and succession, lunacy, etc.—religious law applied and religious courts had jurisdiction.

An institute for research into Jewish law has been established, presided over by the former head of the Legal Department of the Vaad Leumi, to report on how far Jewish law can be incorporated into the new civil code. This will doubtless be one of the most important influences in the Israeli legal system.

#### MINISTRY OF MINORITIES BEHOR SHITRIT, Minister

The field in which the Ministry operates is limited, but its interests are very wide. While the minorities in the State will be administered by the same government departments as the Jewish population, it was realized when the State apparatus was being planned that theoretical fairness of identical treatment for all sections of the population would in practice sometimes involve real injustices. The minority communities differ in many respects from each other, and quite apart from the role to be played by their own political representatives, they need administrators who know and understand them. They do not have, as yet, any considerable number of their own trained administrators to draw on, and while there are many Jews in the country who know the Arabs well, who speak their language and who have collaborated with them in affairs of mutual interest over the years, it would be extravagant to claim that there are enough such qualified men to enable each Ministry to maintain a special staff to deal with the "Arab side" of its activities. It was therefore decided to concentrate a number of such experts in one ministry to deal with Arab day-to-day interests in all spheres. The Ministry of Minorities was set up specifically to advise the other Ministries on Arab affairs, to observe how the actions of the different Ministries affected the Arabs and other minorities, and to act as intermediary where necessary. It is of prime importance to the minority communities to have one known address to turn to.

This Ministry has three departments: education and culture; fostering of Jewish-minority relations; and press and publications.

#### MINISTRY OF SOCIAL SERVICES ISAAC MEIR LEVIN, Minister

The functions and most of the personnel of the former social welfare departments of the Vaad Leumi and the mandatory government, as well as the former Government probation office, have been taken over by this Ministry. Three main departments have been organized:

General social services, embracing social welfare, coordination and supervision of local social welfare committees; homes and institutions; and care of immigrants. By agreement with the Ministry of Immigration, the Social Services Ministry looks after such new immigrants as are not able to become economically independent within a reasonably short time.

Child welfare

Probation services

Other departments are research and statistics; press and publications; finance and administration.

#### MINISTRY OF HEALTH MOSHE SHAPIRA, Minister

The Health Department of the Vaad Leumi was taken over by the Government to serve as the nucleus of the new Ministry, and its former head was appointed director general. Under the Vaad Leumi, the Department had mainly supervisory and coordinating functions. Its representatives sat on the governing bodies of the autonomous Jewish medical organizations—Hadassah, the Workers' Sick Fund, the Red Shield of David, and others. It advised municipalities and local councils on public hygiene and preventive medical services; it gave grants-in-aid to various hospitals and itself administered a hospital in Tiberias; it founded a youth physical training department. All these functions have now passed to the Ministry of Health, whose program has been widened to include former Government hospitals, Government-aided hospitals, and district health offices.

The Ministry, with headquarters in Tel Aviv and nine district health offices, has the following major departments:

Medical, embracing hospitals, medical offices, training of doctors and nurses, and registration of vital statistics

Preventive medicine, including social hygiene, infant welfare, care of new immigrants, anti-malaria and anti-tuberculosis units

Sanitation and prevention of epidemics

Laboratories

Administration



MINISTRY OF WAR RELIEF  
JUDA LEIB FISHMAN, Minister

Civilians who suffered material loss or have been physically incapacitated as a direct result of enemy action since December, 1947 are dealt with by this Ministry. The war damage department of the Ministry is divided into five sections concerned with agriculture, housing, commerce, industry and crafts, and transport.

MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS  
JUDA LEIB FISHMAN, Minister

The Ministry of Religious Affairs is vested with general administrative authority over religious communities and congregations organized as such. It is not concerned with individual Jews, Christians and Moslems in Israel, but with religious institutions and foundations.

Of its five departments, three are concerned with Jewish religious questions, one with Christian, and one with Moslem. Those dealing with Jewish matters are: religious councils; religious courts; and general religious affairs. The one concerned with Christian religious affairs is charged with such general supervision, property administration and jurisdiction as previously fell to the mandatory government. The Moslem department has as its main objectives the preservation of Moslem records, archives, mosques, cemeteries and religious sites, and the

supervision of the administrative apparatus of the Moslem courts and waqf (religious foundations, properties, bequests).

MINISTRY OF POLICE  
BEHOR SHITRIT, Minister

When the Mandate terminated, the British authorities did not hand over to the new Government of Israel its central police organization. The British officers and men in Jewish areas departed on May 14, the criminal records of the force were left in complete disorder, its headquarters was stripped of equipment, and all political records burned. Some seven hundred Jewish policemen in uniform, with a rifle each, remained, and even the files and papers of these men could not be found. The Israeli Government, which is continuing the policy of a centralized police, had to start building from the ground up. It organized the following central staff departments: administration; enlistment and training; wireless; communications; traffic; and criminal investigation (in four sections: records and statistics; investigation and procedure; training; and a special division to register and supervise aliens in the State). A fingerprint bureau was also set up.

An inspector general was appointed and central police headquarters established in Tel Aviv; district headquarters were later established in Tel Aviv and Haifa.

## Conclusions of the Bernadotte Report

*On September 18, 1948, the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, which was submitted to the Secretary General for transmission to the members of the United Nations, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on May 14, was made public. The Report is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the mediation effort; the second with the supervision of the truces; and the third with assistance to refugees. In Part I, Count Bernadotte worked out a scheme for solving the problem. His conclusions, which constitute the last chapter, are printed herewith.*

1. Since I presented my written Suggestions to the Arab and Jewish authorities on 27 June, I have made no formal submission to either party of further Suggestions or proposals for a definitive settlement. Since that date, however, I have held many oral discussions in the Arab capitals and Tel Aviv, in the course of which various ideas on settlement have been freely exchanged.

As regards my original Suggestions, I hold to the

opinion that they offered a general framework within which a reasonable and workable settlement might have been reached, had the two parties concerned been willing to discuss them. They were flatly rejected, however, by both parties. Since they were put forth on the explicit condition that they were purely tentative, were designed primarily to elicit views and counter-suggestions from each party, and, in any event, could be implemented only if agreed upon by both parties, I have never since pressed them. With respect to one basic concept in my Suggestions, it has become increasingly clear to me that however desirable a political and economic union might be in Palestine, the time is certainly not now propitious for the effectuation of any such scheme.

2. I do not consider it to be within my province to recommend to the Members of the United Nations a proposed course of action on the Palestine question. That is a responsibility of the Members acting through the appropriate organs. In my role as United Nations Mediator, however, it was inevitable that I should accumulate in-



formation and draw conclusions from my experience which might well be of assistance to Members of the United Nations in charting the future course of United Nations action on Palestine. I consider it my duty, therefore, to acquaint the Members of the United Nations, through the medium of this report, with certain of the conclusions on means of peaceful adjustment which have evolved from my frequent consultations with Arab and Jewish authorities over the past three and one-half months and from my personal appraisal of the present Palestinian scene. I do not suggest that these conclusions would provide the basis for a proposal which would readily win the willing approval of both parties. I have not, in the course of my intensive efforts to achieve agreement between Arabs and Jews, been able to devise any such formula. I am convinced, however, that it is possible at this stage to formulate a proposal which, if firmly approved and strongly backed by the General Assembly, would not be forcibly resisted by either side, confident as I am, of course, that the Security Council stands firm in its resolution of 15 July that military action shall not be employed by either party in the Palestine dispute. It cannot be ignored that the vast difference between now and last November is that a war has been started and stopped and that in the intervening months decisive events have occurred.

### Seven Basic Premises

3. The following seven basic premises form the basis for my conclusions:

*Return to Peace*—(a) Peace must return to Palestine and every feasible measure should be taken to ensure that hostilities will not be resumed and that harmonious relations between Arab and Jew will ultimately be restored.

*The Jewish State*—(b) A Jewish State called Israel exists in Palestine and there are no sound reasons for assuming that it will not continue to do so.

*Boundary Determination*—(c) The boundaries of this new State must finally be fixed either by formal agreement between the parties concerned or failing that, by the United Nations.

*Continuous Frontiers*—(d) Adherence to the principle of geographical homogeneity and integration, which should be the major objective of the boundary arrangements, should apply equally to Arab and Jewish territories, whose frontiers should not therefore, be rigidly

controlled by the territorial arrangements envisaged in the resolution of 29 November.

*Right of Repatriation*—(e) The right of innocent people, uprooted from their homes by the present terror and ravages of war, to return to their homes, should be affirmed and made effective, with assurance of adequate compensation for the property of those who may choose not to return.

*Jerusalem*—(f) The City of Jerusalem, because of its religious and international significance and the complexity of interest involved, should be accorded special and separate treatment.

*International Responsibility*—(g) International responsibility should be expressed where desirable and necessary in the form of international guarantees, as a means of allaying existing fears, and particularly with regard to boundaries and human rights.

### Specific Conclusions

4. The following conclusions, broadly outlined, would, in my view, considering all the circumstances, provide a reasonable, equitable and workable basis for settlement:

(a) Since the Security Council, under pain of Chapter VII sanctions, has forbidden further employment of military action in Palestine as a means of settling the dispute, hostilities should be pronounced formally ended either by mutual agreement of the parties or, failing that, by the United Nations. The existing indefinite truce should be superseded by a formal peace, or at the minimum, an armistice which would involve either complete withdrawal and demobilization of armed forces or their wide separation by creation of broad demilitarized zones under United Nations supervision.

(b) The frontier between the Arab and Jewish territories, in the absence of agreement between Arabs and Jews, should be established by the United Nations and delimited by a technical boundaries commission appointed by and responsible to the United Nations, with the following revisions in the boundaries broadly defined in the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November in order to make them more equitable, workable and consistent with existing realities in Palestine.

(i) The area known as the Negev, south of a line running from the sea near Majdal east southeast of Faluja (both of which places would be in Arab territory), should be defined as Arab territory;



(ii) The frontier should run from Faluja north northeast to Ramleh and Lydda (both of which places would be in Arab territory), the frontier at Lydda then following the line established in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November;

(iii) Galilee should be defined as Jewish territory.

(c) The disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish State should be left to the Governments of the Arab States in full consultation with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, with the recommendation, however, that in view of the historical connection and common interests of Transjordan and Palestine, there would be compelling reasons for merging the Arab territory of Palestine with the territory of Transjordan, subject to such frontier rectifications regarding other Arab States as may be found practicable and desirable.

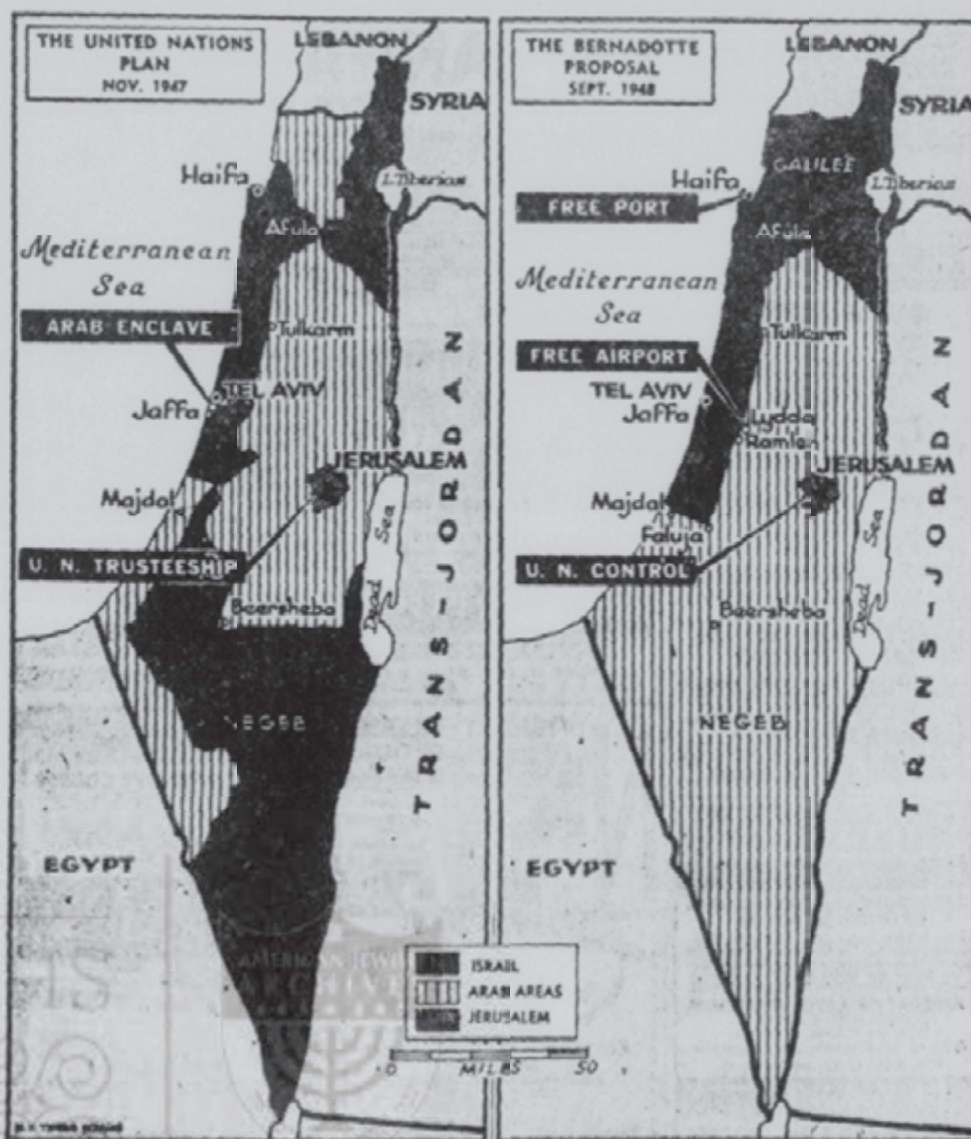
(d) The United Nations, by declaration or other appropriate means, should undertake to provide special assurance that the boundaries between the Arab and Jewish territories shall be respected and maintained, subject only to such modifications as may be mutually agreed upon by the parties concerned.

(e) The port of Haifa, including the oil refineries and terminals, and without prejudice to their inclusion in the sovereign territory of the Jewish State or the administration of the city of Haifa, should be declared a free port, with assurances of free access for interested Arab countries and an undertaking on their part to place no obstacle in the way of oil deliveries by pipeline to the Haifa refineries, whose distribution would continue on the basis of the historical pattern.

(f) The airport of Lydda should be declared a free airport with assurance of access to it and employment of its facilities for Jerusalem and interested Arab countries.

(g) The City of Jerusalem, which should be understood as covering the area defined in the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November, should be treated separately and should be placed under effective United Nations control with maximum feasible local autonomy for its Arab and Jewish communities, with full safeguards for the protection of the Holy Places and sites and free access to them, and for religious freedom.

## Proposed Partition Changes



*Courtesy of The New York Times*

(h) The right of unimpeded access to Jerusalem, by road, rail or air, should be fully respected by all parties.

(i) The right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes in Jewish-controlled territory at the earliest possible date should be affirmed by the United Nations, and their repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation, and payment of adequate compensation for the property of those choosing not to return, should be supervised and assisted by the United Nations conciliation commission described in paragraph (k) below.

(j) The political, economic, social and religious rights of all Arabs in the Jewish territory of Palestine and of all Jews in the Arab territory of Palestine should be fully guaranteed and respected by the authorities. The conciliation commission provided for in the following paragraph should supervise the observance of this guarantee. It should also lend its good offices, on the invitation of the parties, to any efforts toward exchanges of



populations with a view to eliminating troublesome minority problems, and on the basis of adequate compensation for property owned.

(k) In view of the special nature of the Palestine problem and the dangerous complexities of Arab-Jewish relationships, the United Nations should establish a Palestine conciliation commission. This commission, which should be appointed for a limited period, should be responsible to the United Nations and act under its authority. The commission, assisted by such United Nations personnel as may prove necessary, should undertake

(i) To employ its good offices to make such recommendations to the parties or to the United Nations, and to take such other steps as may be appropriate,

with a view to ensuring the continuation of the peaceful adjustment of the situation in Palestine;

(ii) Such measures as it might consider appropriate in fostering the cultivation of friendly relations between Arabs and Jews;

(iii) To supervise the observance of such boundary, road, railroad, free port, free airport, minority rights and other arrangements as may be decided upon by the United Nations;

(iv) To report promptly to the United Nations any development in Palestine likely to alter the arrangements approved by the United Nations in the Palestine settlement or to threaten the peace of the area.

## Israel's Reaction to the Bernadotte Plan

*On October 3, the Israeli Mission to the United Nations in Paris sent the following memorandum to the fifty-eight delegations.*

### **The Importance of the Negev to the State of Israel**

The territorial changes proposed in the Mediator's report result in an entirely inequitable apportionment of land between Israel and the neighbouring Arab State. They would cut off about two-thirds of Israel's territory, deprive her of the only land reserves available for development, cripple existing and potential prospects for the scientific utilisation of natural resources, and stunt Israel's progress and growth for generations to come. The beneficiary of these changes, which, according to the plan is to be an enlarged state of Transjordan, emerges from the proposed arrangement with an area more than 19 times that of the State of Israel.

It is for these reasons, which are elaborated upon in this memorandum that the government of Israel will oppose any plan separating the Negev or any part of it from the territory of the State of Israel.

#### **Area**

The area of the Palestine Mandate was first partitioned in 1922, when more than three-fourths of the country—some 34,740 square miles—were excluded from the main provisions of the Mandate to form what is now

known as Transjordan. The area of Palestine remaining for Jewish settlement was thus reduced to about 10,000 square miles. In the second partition of Palestine, approved by the General Assembly last November 29th, 1947, about 5,678 square miles were assigned to the Jewish State. However, of this area, more than 3,800 square miles are in the Negev, the undeveloped area of Southern Palestine.

The Mediator's report now proposes not an adjustment of the situation but an entirely new partition plan under which Israel would be granted Western Galilee (most of which she now occupies and controls), but would lose not only the entire Negev, but also a part of South Judea. The net result would be to reduce Israel's territory to an area of about 2,180 square miles. On the other hand, Transjordan would under the plan gain all the Arab areas of Palestine, as well as the Negev, and her total area would approximate 42,500 square miles.

#### **Population**

The incongruity of this territorial division becomes even more glaring when one takes into account that Transjordan's existing population is about 350,000 (to which would now be added the 600,000 or 700,000 Arabs of Arab Palestine) whereas the Jewish population of Israel is already close to the 800,000 mark, and constantly expanding by the immigration of Jews in need of a homeland.



## Land Use

The foregoing quantitative considerations are themselves startling and compelling arguments against any such drastic revision of the United Nations partition plan, but of even greater significance is an examination of the uses to which the lands in question may be put. According to a statement by Justice Emil Sandstroem of Sweden, the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the UNSCOP had considered that since the cost would be considerable, it would not be possible for the Arabs to develop the Negev area, which had in consequence been assigned to the Jewish State. Transjordan is already the possessor of large tracts of barren land. Its annexation of the Negev would mean nothing more than the acquisition of another item in a collection of arid and uncultivated wastes. Humanity would gain nothing from the perpetuation of sterility. But for Israel, the Negev holds out the promise of agricultural, scientific, industrial and economic development, with important benefits to the Near East as a whole.

## Agriculture and Industry

Israel has an urgent need for land upon which to settle the many hundreds of thousands of Jews who will immigrate in the next few decades. The soil of the Negev, neglected for many centuries, is itself arable. The factors for development of this area are water and the ingenuity to unite it with the soil. In 1943, the Jews successfully established three experimental settlements in the Negev. Another 15 were established toward the end of 1946. Today there are 27. Water is made available by pipeline, and by the capture and storage of winter rains in reservoirs. Thus, at Revivim, the southernmost Jewish settlement, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in 1947 inspected a large dam and reservoir and witnessed the fruits of this agricultural venture. Moreover, for several years, engineers have been at work on plans for large-scale irrigation projects which will open large tracts of land for new settlement. The hydroelectric development involved in these irrigation plans will bring low-cost power to the Negev, and furnish an economic base for industrial enterprise. To put these areas of Jewish settlement under the political domination of an Arab ruler would be sowing the seeds of fresh conflict. To sever the Negev from Israel is to separate it from those whose needs guarantee its maximum use.

In previous discussion of the Palestine problem it has been argued on the Arab side that the pressure of Jewish immigration would force the Jewish State to become

expansionist, and to threaten the existing territory of the Arab States. If the land reserve of the Negev were taken away from the State of Israel, and this large area ceases to be available for Jewish settlement, Arab fears would be intensified, and the prospects of pacific co-operation between Israel and its neighbours would be prejudiced. It must be emphasised that the inclusion of the Negev in the State of Israel is the population safety-valve for any partition plan, and therefore a major factor making for peace and operating against population pressure.

## Natural Resources

Much of the Negev is unknown and unexplored. As a result of Jewish effort and expenditure, some signs of mineral wealth have been noted. Whether the Negev has oil or mineral resources in any significant quantity is undetermined; but if such is the fact, it would be inequitable to deny the State of Israel a potential so essential for its development. The State of Israel has no coal or iron, nor any important mineral deposit. Its manufactures and industry are therefore dependent in considerable measure on the import of raw materials. The small size of the Jewish State limits its agricultural development. Accordingly, all industrial resources must be exploited to their utmost. The proper scientific utilisation of the Negev's resources would help balance the Israeli economy. In this connection, it is relevant to point out that the Arab States are already rich in oil, and should not be permitted a monopoly on all potential oil sources.

## Dead Sea

A major industry in Palestine has been the extraction of potassium and sodium salts from the Dead Sea by the Palestine Potash Company, which is a largely Jewish enterprise. The Company had plants at both ends of the Dead Sea. Under the partition plan approved by the General Assembly last fall, the northern plant was to be left in the Arab State (it has since been destroyed thanks to the initiative of the Transjordan Arab Legion). But the General Assembly deliberately revised the boundary lines between the two states to ensure that the southern plant would be in the State of Israel, and that a stretch of west coast of the Dead Sea would be in Israeli territory, to be available for the expansion of the potash plant. But if the Negev were to be taken from Israel, then all access to the Dead Sea would be denied, and Israel would lose one of its major industries and one of its most important exports.



## Aqaba

Severance of the Negev from Israel would also cut off Aqaba, once King Solomon's seaport on the Red Sea. The waters here teem with fish, and there are possibilities for large-scale commercial exploitation of a natural resource now neglected. The vital importance of Aqaba to Israel's future is recognized by all who foresee the expansion of commerce and industry in Israel, and the building of rail and highway communications across the Negev. Under Israeli control, Aqaba is to be developed as a port and will be Israel's outlet to South Africa and the Indian Ocean—Israel's window to the Orient.

## Conclusion

These are but a few of the considerations which played a part in the decision of UNSCOP and later of the Gen-

eral Assembly to award the Negev to Israel. They are considerations which cannot be brushed aside. The Negev is juridically an integral part of Israel's territory and cannot, within the terms of the Charter, be cut off without Israel's consent. Nothing has happened to weaken the legal or moral validity of the General Assembly's decision in this regard. The Arab States resorted to armed force to resist it, but they failed. Not a single Negev settlement within the boundaries of the State of Israel fell into Arab hands, nor are the Arabs in control of any part of the Negev contained within Israel. It would be a grotesque paradox if the General Assembly would now obligingly turn the defeat of Arab aggression into victory, and grant to the Arab States the very fruits they failed to wrest in a war fought against no less than the authority and judgment of the General Assembly itself.

# The Middle East—Review of Events

*August 16 to September 15, 1948*

THE precarious truce in Palestine continued, but in Jerusalem it was so riddled with violations that a day without shooting was marked as exceptional. The Mediator's appeal to the United Nations for an international force remained unheeded. A UN plane was forced down in the Egyptian-controlled area and its occupants, two UN observers from France, were killed as they got out of the plane.

Israel introduced an independent currency, a far-reaching economic measure. The most important political event was the session of the General Zionist Council, held in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv from August 22 to September 3, at which it was decided to separate the functions of the World Zionist Organization and the Government of Israel. The new Zionist Executive includes only one of Israel's cabinet ministers, who holds no portfolio. A split among the General Zionists in Israel resulted in the emergence of a "progressive" group. The Revisionists are planning to merge with the Irgun Zvai Leumi, now active as a political body.

Among the Arabs of Palestine, leftist elements launched a campaign calling for peace with the Jews and opposing the clash "fostered by imperialists."

The Arab League's Political Committee met in Alexandria to discuss Palestine and the fate of the refugees.

The Mediator's concern over the refugee problem encouraged the Arabs to make it the main issue in their tactics. They appealed to world sympathy for help and defiantly insisted that the refugees be permitted to return to their homes. A number of governments and relief organizations began sending aid. It was estimated that more than 50,000 refugees from Palestine were in Lebanon, 85,000 in Syria, 12,000 in Egypt, 75,000-80,000 in Transjordan, and more than 100,000 in Arab-held Palestine.

\* \* \*

King Abdullah and the Prince Regent of Iraq met and agreed to place their armies under a unified command. Iraq is said to have urged the withdrawal of British officers from Transjordan's forces. The exact position of the Hashimi forces (Iraq-Transjordan) versus Egypt in political as well as military matters remains obscure.

Iraq adopted a one hundred million dollar budget, with 38 per cent allocated to the armed forces. A deficit of eight million dollars is expected.

Iran's Majlis, pursuing the policy of national control over the country's new oil resources, empowered the Government to employ foreign experts to advise on exploitation.



Agitation in Cyprus gathered momentum when King Paul of Greece suggested that if the island were permitted to join Greece—considered their motherland by the overwhelming majority of the population—British installations on the island would not be interfered with, and, moreover, bases in Crete or elsewhere might be made available to Great Britain "if it could be arranged under the UN." The British flatly refused to give consideration to the plan. When the asbestos mines owned by British and American interests were occupied by workers on strike, demonstrations of sympathy and protest against British rule broke out in a number of towns. The British Governor of the island offered a new constitutional proposal which would give Cyprus a measure of self-government. The Greek members of the Assembly rejected the offer, which they said would only perpetuate "at best a beneficent autocracy," and left the Assembly. The Governor thereupon dissolved the Assembly and announced that there would be no change in the island's sovereignty and no negotiations with Greece.

While Saudi Arabia allowed a fifteen million dollar credit from the United States to lapse, on the ground that the U.S. favored the Jews of Palestine, Egypt accepted a grant of seven million dollars from the Export-Import Bank for the construction of a fertilizer plant near Suez.

The United States asked the Prague Government to stop the movement of planes and arms to Israel. By special order, displaced persons of military age were prevented from leaving the American zone of Germany; after the Israeli Government protested this action, Washington stated that men of military age would be permitted to leave provided that Israeli representatives obtained advance clearance for them from the UN Mediator.

Secretary of State Marshall told his press conference that *de jure* recognition of Israel would very likely be granted after the elections in Israel.

M. PERLMANN

## Chronology

(Aug. 16—Sept. 16, 1948)

### EGYPT

Sept. 9: In Cairo, police arrest 31 persons charged with Communist activities.

### IRAQ

Aug. 16: Finance Minister Ali Mumtaz says that 38 per cent of the new hundred million dollar budget will be for the armed forces.

Sept. 13: A Jewish merchant in Bagdad is fined 5,000,000 dinars (\$20,000,000) on charges of aiding the Jews in the Palestine war and organizing Zionism in Iraq. The fine is to be turned over "to the Iraqi Ministry of Defense to compensate for losses of men and material suffered by the Iraqi Army."

### ISRAEL

Aug. 17: The Government establishes its own currency—the Israeli pound—with the same exchange value as the former Palestinian pound.

Aug. 22: The Zionist General Council convenes at Jerusalem.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman declares that Israel is prepared to undertake "separate peace talks with each of the Arab countries."

Aug. 24: Bernadotte informs the Government that he intends to halt immigration of Jewish men of fighting age during the truce.

Sept. 2: Two Britons are formally charged, under an "official secrets act," with having committed offenses against Israel's security.

Sept. 3: With one exception, all the Cabinet ministers resign from the Executive. Among the replacements made by the General Zionist Council are representatives of the Revisionists and the United Labor Party.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency decides that, as of Aug. 1, it will contribute no funds to the Government of Israel and that none of its funds shall be used for political or propaganda purposes.

Sept. 6: Israel's representative at the UN, Aubrey S. Eban, tells a press conference in Tel Aviv that the United Nations "have failed, so far, to put all their pressure on the Arab speaking world to enter into direct peace negotiations."

Sept. 14: Israel's Supreme Court is formally inaugurated. The five justices are Moshe Smoira, Chief Justice; Simha Assaf, Schneur Zalman Cheshin, Moshe Dunkelblum and Itzhak Olshan.

### Jerusalem

Aug. 17: The Israeli Military Governor reports 293 Arab violations, which caused the deaths of at least 15 persons, during the first month of the truce.

Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok informs UN representatives that his Government was "taken aback" by Arab truce violations which had provoked "full-scale battles" in Jerusalem.

Aug. 29: Israeli and Egyptian military commanders agree to a UN plan to create a neutral zone surrounding the Red Cross area, where fighting had been going on for some time.



Sept. 2: Fighting in Jerusalem stops as the Arab Legion and Israeli forces agree on a final cease-fire.

Sept. 4: Jewish and Arab forces evacuate the disputed Red Cross zone.

Sept. 7: The Arab Legion shells Jewish positions; Israeli troops counter with heavy fire.

Sept. 10: Sternists kill ten Arabs at Beit Ikhsa, three miles northwest of Jerusalem, to prevent what they call "a serious breach of the truce" by the Arabs.

Sept. 12: Ten Israeli soldiers and civilians are killed by Arab field guns which fire into residential Jewish areas.

### War

Aug. 18: The UN Truce Commission orders the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway closed after Arab Legion troops direct machine gun fire at a UN-escorted convoy.

Aug. 28: Two French UN truce observers are killed by Saudi Arabian irregulars on the Gaza airfield (which is under Egyptian command) when they step out of their plane.

Sept. 7: Count Folke Bernadotte charges that Egyptian authorities have a "very grave responsibility" for the deaths of the two French military observers.

Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, announces that he has reached a general agreement with Count Bernadotte on Arab war refugees.

Sept. 13: The UN Mediator orders Israel to readmit 8,000 Arab refugees to three villages in the Jewish area and to rebuild their homes, which were destroyed by the Army, in violation, according to Bernadotte, of the truce.

Sept. 16: Foreign Minister Shertok says at a press conference that too few UN truce observers are assigned to Arab countries and that in general more leniency is shown to the Arabs than to the Jews.

### SYRIA

Aug. 19: The Cabinet resigns.

Aug. 23: Premier Jamil Mardam Bey announces the formation of a new Cabinet.

### UNITED NATIONS

Aug. 16: Count Bernadotte submits a plan to the Security Council to help about 330,000 Arab and 6,000-7,000 Jewish war refugees. He appeals to all governments and agencies to help prevent "a great human disaster."

Aug. 18: Secretary of State George C. Marshall states that although the U. S., France and Belgium rejected a request made by the Mediator to send a large body of troops to act as a UN police force in Palestine, they agreed to dispatch 300 additional military observers.

Aug. 19: Responding to an urgent warning by Bernadotte that "further deterioration of the situation in Jerusalem may lead to general resumption of hostilities," the Security Council adopts a resolution calling on Arabs and Jews to stop truce violations by both regular and irregular forces and to punish truce violators, and prohibiting reprisals or retaliations by either side.

Aug. 28: In a cable to Secretary General Trygve Lie, the Israeli Government asks whether the prohibition of retaliation against truce violations is not tantamount to encouragement of unilateral violations since it frees the truce violator from fear of strong counteraction

by the other party. It further asks whether, "in contradiction to past experience," the Security Council intends to apply immediate sanctions against the offending party; if there is no such intention, what redress is offered to the aggrieved party, and what guarantee that its position will not be worsened if it may not seek redress by its own actions.

Aug. 30: The Security Council is called into emergency session by the President for August, Soviet delegate Yakov Malik, to consider the Israeli request for clarification of the Council's Aug. 19 resolution.

### UNITED STATES

Aug. 19: Pres. Truman says that U. S. troops will not be sent to Palestine or to any other foreign theatre except as part of an official UN force to which other members have contributed.

Aug. 28: The Israeli Government protests the U. S. refusal to permit Jewish DP's of military age to leave Germany for Israel.

Sept. 2: The State Dept. says it has asked Czechoslovakia to stop the movement of fighter planes and arms to Israel.

Sept. 4: The Government informs Israel that it will expedite the emigration of Jews of military age from Germany and Austria for whom advance clearance has been obtained from the UN Mediator.

Sept. 8: Secretary of State Marshall indicates at his press conference that the U. S. will very likely grant *de jure* recognition to Israel after the elections in that country.

Sept. 9: Pres. Truman tells his press conference that *de jure* recognition of Israel is under consideration.

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## From Partition to Conciliation

**I**N THE thirteen months since the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the resolution to partition Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, implementation of the plan has retreated by stages from a full-scale Implementation Commission in November 1947, to a Mediator in May 1948, and a Conciliation Commission in December. The functions and powers of each successive body have diminished to the point where the possibilities of bringing about a permanent peace in Palestine through the instrumentality of the world organization are at their lowest level.

The tortuous and capricious treatment which the third regular session of the General Assembly gave to the Palestine question is traceable to the Progress Report of the Mediator which was made public three days after his assassination. The Report was divided into three parts: mediation efforts; supervision of the truces; and assistance to refugees. The conclusions of the first part<sup>1</sup> became known as the Bernadotte plan. Its main features were the suggestions that the existence of the State of Israel be recognized; the Negev be given to the Arabs and Western Galilee to the Jews; the United Nations guarantee the boundaries between the Arab and Jewish territories; the port of Haifa, including the oil refineries and terminals, be declared a free port, with assurances of free access for interested Arab countries; the airport of Lydda be declared a free airport, with assurances of access to it and employment of its facilities for Jerusalem and interested Arab countries; the Arab parts be annexed perhaps to Transjordan; the City of Jerusalem (the area defined by the November resolu-

tion) be placed under UN control; Arab refugees have the right to return to their homes in Jewish-controlled territory at the earliest possible date, and their repatriation, resettlement, economic and social rehabilitation, and payment of adequate compensation for the property of those choosing not to return, be supervised and assisted by the UN; a Conciliation Commission be appointed to employ its good offices and make recommendations to the parties or to the UN with a view to ensuring the continuation of the peaceful adjustment of the situation in Palestine and to supervise the rehabilitation of the refugees.

The Arabs objected strenuously to the plan because of its basic recognition of the Jewish State and partition. The Jews, while welcoming the recognition of Israel, could agree neither to the surrender of the Negev, the internationalization of modern Jerusalem, nor the infringement of Israel's sovereignty in connection with Haifa and Lydda. Nonetheless, at the opening of the debate in the General Assembly, only one day after the Report was made public, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced that the United States considered that Count Bernadotte's conclusions were sound and offered a generally fair basis for the settlement of the Palestine issue. He declared that the United States "strongly urges the parties and the General Assembly to accept them in their entirety as the best possible basis for bringing peace to a distracted land," and that it was his Government's sincere hope that the parties concerned would realize that their best interests and the interests of the world community would be served by accepting the Mediator's judgment in a spirit of fair compromise. The following day, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told the House of

<sup>1</sup> For a verbatim presentation, see "Conclusions of the Bernadotte Report," *Palestine Affairs*, 105-108, Sept., 1948.

Detailed Subject Index for Volume III • Pages 154-156



Commons that the British Government would give "wholehearted and unqualified support" to the Bernadotte proposals and that Great Britain would "insist emphatically" that they "be considered as an integrated plan and put into operation in their entirety."

Anglo-American unanimity on the plan, even to the extent of using identical words in making their position known, was a manifestation of the effort on the part of these two Great Powers to push it through. Although the British, throughout the discussions on Palestine before the United Nations, had consistently maintained that they would support only such a solution to which both parties agreed, Bevin said at this time: "We do not suppose that either side will welcome these proposals in toto but the world cannot wait forever for the parties to agree. It is now time, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, for a final solution to be found by the United Nations." On the other hand, although the United States had recognized the State of Israel on the basis of the partition resolution and had given assurances that it would not support any boundary modifications without Israel's consent, it lost no time in pressing for the adoption of the Bernadotte plan as if it were the last testament of the martyred Mediator.

In contrast to these hasty endorsements was the Mediator's own position on his conclusions, which he considered merely general suggestions to serve as a basis for further consideration. He stated in his Report that from his experience as Mediator he had accumulated information and drawn conclusions "which might well be of assistance to Members of the United Nations in charting the future course of United Nations action on Palestine."

### Urgency and Speed

Because of the strong Anglo-American support of the Bernadotte plan, opinion in the Palais de Chaillot was that it would find sufficient support to assure its passage. France gave her general approval.

Urgency was the theme, and speed the method, of the Anglo-American combination during the early stages of the General Assembly session. On September 23, the General Committee of the Assembly put the Palestine question on the agenda, under the heading "Palestine Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine." The item was approved and turned over to the Political and Security Committee [First Committee]. The British delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, gave notice that his delegation would ask the First Committee to put the issue high on its list. The same day, Secretary of State Marshall, addressing the Assembly on the various

issues before it, said about Palestine that the Assembly's aim should be "a Palestine free from strife and the threat of strife, with both the Jews and Arabs assured the peaceful development envisaged by the actions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; an early demobilization of armed forces to permit the return to conditions of peace and normal living in Palestine; the repatriation of refugees who wish to return and live in peace with their neighbors; economic aid to Jews and Arabs to restore and strengthen their economic well-being; the admission of Trans-Jordan and Israel to membership in the United Nations."

On the 27th, Foreign Secretary Bevin, speaking before the Assembly, said: "We believe that the plan contained in Part I of the mediator's report is one in which the two parties should be able to acquiesce without sacrificing any of their vital interests. We believe that it offers the best hope of healing the breach between these two Semitic peoples. We have, therefore, decided to support Count Bernadotte's plan in its entirety and we would urge speed in dealing with it."

When the First Committee met on September 29, the British delegate proposed that because of its urgency the Palestine question be put first on the Committee's agenda. This move was warmly supported by the United States. It was, however, subsequently defeated by a combination of pro-Israeli, pro-Arab and Slav blocs. The Arabs argued that the Bernadotte plan was so complicated in its details that more time was needed to study it. The Israelis maintained that any decision hastily arrived at would not be free from the emotional impact of the Mediator's assassination. The British proposal was defeated by a vote of 21-16, with 14 abstentions, and as a compromise Palestine was put third on the agenda, following atomic energy control and a proposal for Big Power disarmament.<sup>2</sup>

### Procrastination

The attitude of the British and the Americans suddenly changed. Urgency and speed were replaced by procrastination. On October 15, the First Committee reached the Palestine item. After a lengthy discussion on admitting a representative of Transjordan as an observer, with the same status as Israel's representative, the Committee heard a long statement by the acting

<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, the military operations in the Negev created a new situation which exposed the weakness of the Arabs, on the one hand, and the superior strength of Israel, on the other. For a full description of the developments, which were handled by the Security Council, see "The End of the Palestine Truce," *Palestine Affairs*, 125-132, Nov., 1948.



Mediator, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. On the whole, he advanced the Bernadotte conclusions, but he specifically noted that the Mediator had not intended these to represent a final plan of action, but merely to serve as a basis for negotiations with the parties and for action by the Assembly. At this point, the states directly concerned—particularly those who had pressed for speed because of the urgency of the situation—kept silent on their position. The British representative [Hector McNeil] then suggested that the First Committee should study the report on atomic energy instead of proceeding with the Palestine question. Since no delegation would speak, the Chairman was forced to adjourn the meeting, protesting: "I can only preside over these discussions. I cannot fill the time with soliloquies or monologues."

Five days later, when the Palestine question was reached again, Dr. Guillermo Belt, the delegate of Cuba, proposed that the Committee's agenda be modified, and that instead of Palestine, the Mexican proposal appealing to the Great Powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences and establish lasting peace should be taken up. A procedural wrangle ensued as to methods of changing the adopted agenda. Significantly, those who had previously urged speed did not speak against Cuba's proposal. In fact, Sir Hartley Shawcross supported it under the pretext that since a number of delegations were not prepared to give their views on the Bernadotte Report, it would be unfortunate for the Committee to take up the Palestine question. He made no mention of the fact that his own delegation did not deem it necessary to present its views. Two full sessions were devoted to the Cuban resolution, which was finally adopted, 34-11, with 10 abstentions.<sup>3</sup>

On October 23, for the third time, the First Committee was confronted with the Palestine question. Before it could discuss the question proper, it had before it a communication from the Arab Higher Committee, dated October 15, asking for the privilege of audience. By itself such a request involved no difficulties, since from the first special session in 1947 it had been the Committee's accepted practice to grant this privilege to the Arab Higher Committee as well as to the Jewish Agency. The matter was now complicated by a communication dated the 17th from Jamal Husseini, Foreign Secretary of the All-Palestine Government, informing Secretary General Trygve Lie that the Arab Higher

Committee had also been authorized to represent his Government. This raised a procedural issue, and there was a long debate on whether the First Committee could recognize the delegation of a government whose very existence was in defiance of the General Assembly's partition resolution. A proposal made by the Chairman that the delegation be recognized as representing only the Arab Higher Committee and that after it was seated it could state that it was also representing the All-Palestine Government, was not accepted. Suddenly, the Iranian delegate proposed a week's postponement of the Palestine issue in order to give the delegates an opportunity to study it; the proposal was quickly adopted, by a vote of 19-16, with 14 abstentions.

Charges were openly made in the Committee that these repeated maneuvers at postponement were to prevent discussion of the issue during the critical days of the American presidential election. There can be no doubt that there was a concerted effort to delay the debate, in the same manner as earlier there had been a concerted effort to rush the issue through. There can also be no doubt that those forces which had deemed conditions at the end of September favorable for passage of the Mediator's plan, as the result of the impact of his assassination, felt later on, as the situation developed in Palestine and measures were adopted by the Security Council, that the conditions were now unfavorable, and they therefore sought postponement. Palestine did not come up again before the First Committee until November 15.

The various maneuvers in connection with the sanctions resolution in the Security Council and the wavering attitude of the United States made it clear that the enthusiasm the latter had originally displayed for the Bernadotte plan had cooled off considerably. The delegations of the smaller states waited for the United States to make its position known before they would declare themselves. On the 15th, the Foreign Minister of Israel, Moshe Shertok, presented the objections of his Government to some of the provisions of the plan; he was followed by the representatives of the Arab Higher Committee and the Arab states. The Arab arguments against the Bernadotte plan were the same as those they had advanced against the partition proposal. Faris el Khoury of Syria and Emir Feisal el Saud of Saudi Arabia expressed surprise that Great Britain had changed her previous stand of opposing any solution not acceptable to both parties. The debate came to an abrupt end, for no one else wished to speak; the afternoon meeting of November 18, which was opened shortly after three o'clock, was adjourned at three-fifty.

<sup>3</sup> The Guatemalan delegate ironically remarked that while the British in the First Committee were advocating postponement of the Palestine question, they were urging its debate in the Third Committee [Social, Humanitarian and Cultural], to which the problem of Arab refugees had been referred by the General Assembly, at the suggestion of the Lebanese delegate, Charles Malik.



## Resolutions and Amendments

At this juncture it was reported that a last-minute rift between the American and British delegations was preventing the United Kingdom from presenting its long-awaited resolution. According to these reports, the United States wished to modify its previous wholehearted and exclusive support of the Bernadotte plan by coupling it with the original partition plan. The British stubbornly insisted on exclusive support of the former. The Arabs were eager to wait until the 19th, the deadline set by the acting Mediator for Israel's acceptance of his withdrawal order from the Negev; should Israel refuse to comply, they felt that the Assembly would be badly disposed toward the new state. On the 18th, the Israeli reply, in the affirmative, was made public. At the evening session on that date, the British submitted their resolution, which was based almost entirely on the Bernadotte conclusions.

On November 20, Dr. Philip C. Jessup made a preliminary statement in the Committee, with notice that he would later introduce amendments to the British draft resolution. This statement, which outlined the American stand, thus enabling the other delegations to formulate their own positions, established the following principles: no territorial changes without the consent of the State of Israel [based on President Truman's statement of October 24 that he did not favor territorial changes in the UN partition plan "unless they were fully acceptable to the State of Israel"]; any territorial additions Israel demanded beyond the boundaries set forth in the November 29 resolution would have to be offset by her giving up territory elsewhere (apparently meaning in the Negev); the Bernadotte plan to serve as a basis for renewed efforts to bring about a peaceful adjustment; Israel to be admitted as a member of the United Nations; the Conciliation Commission to undertake further efforts to bring about a settlement of the boundary question.

Two days later, the First Committee opened the debate on the British proposals. (See footnote 4.) The United States introduced its amendments, the most important of which were that the boundaries of Israel and the Arab part of Palestine were to be determined on the basis of the partition resolution and the Bernadotte proposal, with greater weight to the former; and elimination of Paragraph 2, which asked for endorsement of the Bernadotte conclusions. Australia introduced a draft resolution which called for direct negotiations between the two parties; if these failed, the Conciliation Commission was to report back to the Assembly; the partition resolution to serve as the primary basis for negotiations; the Security Council to give favorable considera-

tion to Israel's application for membership in the United Nations.

On the 24th, Guatemala introduced amendments to the United States amendments. These asked for sympathetic consideration by the Security Council of Israel's membership application; that the three-member Conciliation Commission be appointed by the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary General of the United Nations; all reference to the Bernadotte conclusions be deleted; Arab Palestine not be annexed to Transjordan without the free expression of the people concerned; the return of the Arab refugees not take place until after the proclamation of peace between Israel and the Arabs.

The British revised their resolution on the following day, in accordance with all the amendments made by the United States except the one asking for the deletion of Paragraph 2. Three other resolutions followed: Poland wanted the Conciliation Commission to be bound only by the partition resolution; Colombia called for the appointment of the Conciliation Commission on a personal rather than a governmental basis; Russia asked for the evacuation of all foreign troops and foreign military personnel from Palestine. The acting Mediator, Dr. Bunche, also addressed the Committee, and he again warned that Count Bernadotte himself had not regarded his conclusions as a definitive blueprint for the solution of the problem.

The First Committee was overwhelmed by the avalanche of resolutions and amendments. To resolve the impasse, Lester B. Pearson of Canada proposed that a drafting subcommittee be established to work out a resolution acceptable to the majority. Great Britain and the Soviet Union objected, and no action was taken. Instead, on the 26th, by a vote of 24-6, with 14 abstentions, the Committee appointed a Working Group to prepare a consolidated tabulation of the subjects proposed in the various amendments and resolutions. Before the First Committee adjourned that day, Syria introduced a resolution calling for a study of the establishment of a single Palestinian government on a cantonal or federal basis, and the submission of the issue to the International Court of Justice.

The Working Group classified fourteen subjects: preamble; withdrawal of foreign troops from Palestine; general principles; establishment of Conciliation Commission; boundaries; future of Arab Palestine; Jerusalem; Holy Places; economic union; refugees; admission of Israel to UN; requests to the Security Council to assume jurisdiction; administration; other items.

On November 29, the First Committee began to



discuss (not to vote on) these fourteen subjects. To meet American objections, the British revised their resolution a second time, thus eliminating the American amendments. After taking up the first four items, the debate abruptly halted; on December 1, voting on the amendments began.

The first three provisions in the Australian draft were defeated and she withdrew the last one, asking for acceptance of Israel as a member of the United Nations. Syria's proposals for a unitary state and for the submission of the question to the International Court were rejected, as were the Polish resolution and the Guatemalan sub-amendments. The Russian resolution to order the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Palestine was also defeated.

In voting on the British resolution, now fully supported by the United States as well as by China, the First Committee rejected the provision calling on the Jews and Arabs to consult with each other to settle the issues on the basis of both the partition and the Bernadotte plans. It also rejected the provision calling on the Conciliation Commission to adopt the Bernadotte principle that the Jews must give up part of the Negev if they wanted to keep the areas they had occupied in Galilee, and the provision asking the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter if attempts were made to modify by force the boundaries between the two states after they had been determined. The provision calling for the annexation of Arab Palestine to Transjordan did not muster enough votes to pass.

Paradoxically, while the First Committee on the previous night had rejected the Polish proposal to delete all reference to the Bernadotte plan, it rejected all the provisions in the British resolution referring to the plan as a basis for consideration.

The resolution as a whole was finally adopted on December 4, by a vote of 25 to 21, with 9 abstentions. The same combination of forces which had been successful in defeating the British move to have Palestine considered as the first item on the agenda also succeeded in seriously weakening the resolution by removing the major operative provisions, as originally proposed by the British.

There were differences of opinion as to the composition of the Conciliation Commission and the method of its selection. Some delegations asked that there be three members; Poland proposed five. Some suggested that the members be selected on a personal basis; others wanted them to be representatives of their governments. After the passage of the resolution, Canada proposed that the Commission be selected by a committee of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Rus-

sia strongly objected, and advocated the selection by the Security Council as a whole. The Canadian proposal was finally adopted by a vote of 24-21, with 8 abstentions.

### The Final Resolution

The vote by which the resolution was passed in the First Committee, which operates on a simple majority, was not enough to guarantee its ultimate passage in the Assembly, which requires a two-thirds affirmation. There was, therefore, the possibility that the third regular session of the General Assembly would conclude its work without taking any action on Palestine. The American, British and Canadian delegations therefore got together and attempted to amend the First Committee's resolution to make it acceptable to the three blocs working against it. A plan deleting all references to the Bernadotte conclusions was worked out, thus eliminating the objections of the pro-Israeli bloc; the single reference to the "State of Israel," as well as any reference to the partition plan, were removed to win over the Arab bloc; the provision that the Commission be appointed by the Big Five was eliminated and instead it was proposed that the appointment be made by the General Assembly, after nomination by a committee of the Big Five, thus satisfying the Slav bloc. Two days later a completely emasculated resolution was presented to the General Assembly as an amendment to the First Committee's resolution.

The final resolution was passed on December 11, by a vote of 35-15, with 8 abstentions, the fifteen negative votes being those of the Slav and Arab blocs. The hopes of Britain and the United States were thus only partially realized. The United States, Turkey and France were elected to the three-member Conciliation Commission.

The resolution as adopted reads:<sup>4</sup>

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, having considered further the situation in Palestine,

<sup>4</sup> To what extent this resolution differs basically from that proposed by the British can be judged by comparing it with the following, which is the original British draft submitted on November 18:

#### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

*Having adopted on 29th November 1947 a resolution regarding the future Government of Palestine and providing a plan of partition with economic union;*

*Having adopted on 14th May 1948 Resolution 186 empowering a United Nations Mediator in Palestine to exercise certain functions including the use of his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine;*

*Having received and examined the progress report of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine submitted by the late Count Folke Bernadotte;*

*Having taken note of the resolution of the Security Council concerning the truce in Palestine and of the resolution of 16th November 1948 concerning the establishment of an armistice by means of negotiations conducted either directly or through the acting Mediator in Palestine,*

(Continued on next page)



1. EXPRESSES its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation in Palestine for which cause he sacrificed his life; and

EXTENDS its thanks to the acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine.

2. ESTABLISHES a Conciliation Commission consisting of three states members of the United Nations which shall have the following functions:

(a) To assume, in so far as it considers necessary in the existing circumstances, functions given to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine by resolution of the General Assembly of 14 April, 1948.

(b) To carry out specific functions and directives given to it by the present resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council.

(c) To undertake upon request of the Security Council any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of Mediator shall be terminated;

3. A committee of the Assembly consisting of China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and the United States of America shall present for approval of the Assembly a proposal concerning the names of three states who will constitute the Conciliation Commission.

4. REQUESTS the Commission to begin its functions

at once, with a view to establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission at the earliest possible date.

5. CALLS UPON the Governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of negotiations provided for in the Security Council's resolution of 16 November, 1948 and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly with the view to final settlement of all questions outstanding between them.

6. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to take steps to assist Governments and authorities concerned to achieve final settlement of all questions outstanding between them.

7. RESOLVES that holy places, including Nazareth, religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice; that arrangements to this end should be under effective United Nations supervision; that the United Nations Conciliation Commission, in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposal for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem should include recommendations concerning holy places in that territory; that with regard to holy places in the rest of Palestine, the Commission should call upon political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of holy places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval.

8. RESOLVES that in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, including the present municipality of Jerusalem, plus surrounding villages and towns, most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; most

1. Same.

2. NOTES WITH SATISFACTION Part 1 of the progress report of the United Nations Mediator and endorses the specific conclusions contained in Part 1 of that report as a basis for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question;

3. ESTABLISHES a Conciliation Commission consisting of (three states members of the United Nations) to carry out the functions assigned to it by this resolution in accordance with the specific conclusions of Part 1 of the progress report of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine and by such instructions as the General Assembly or the Security Council may issue;

4. Same as 2 (c).

5. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission, in pursuance of paragraph 3 above, to appoint a technical boundary commission to assist the Governments and authorities concerned in delimiting the frontiers in Palestine based on the specific conclusions of the United Nations Mediator (paragraph 4 (b) of the conclusions to Part 1 of the Mediator's report), subject to such adjustments as may promote agreement between the Governments and authorities concerned without altering the general equilibrium of the Mediator's conclusions, and taking into account the nature of the terrain and the unity of village areas;

6. ENDORSES the recommendation contained in paragraph 4 (c) of the Mediator's conclusions concerning the disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish State or the city of Jerusalem, and instructs the Conciliation Commission, in full consultation with the inhabitants of Arab Palestine, to assist the Governments of the Arab states concerned to arrange for the disposition of this territory, in accordance with the aforesaid recommendation.

7. About the same.

8. RESOLVES that in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, as defined in the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, should be accorded special and

separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control with the maximum feasible local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities; and instructs the Conciliation Commission (a) to take all feasible steps to facilitate the effective administration of the area, coordinating to the fullest extent possible the organs of self-government and administration of the Arab and Jewish communities of the Jerusalem area, (b) to report to the Security Council for appropriate action any attempt to interfere with its functions with respect to Jerusalem, and (c) to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area. To assist it in carrying out these functions, the Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations Commissioner for Jerusalem who shall be responsible to the commission.

9. About the same.

10. RECOMMENDS to the Security Council that after the frontiers have been established in accordance with the resolution the Security Council consider any attempt to alter these frontiers by force as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression;

11. ENDORSES the principle stated in Part 1, section V, paragraph 7 of the Mediator's report and resolves that the Arab refugees should be permitted to return to their homes at the earliest possible date and that adequate compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for property which has been lost as a result of pillage, confiscation or of destruction; and instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the Arab refugees and the payment of compensation;

12. Same as first sentence, Assembly resolution.

13. Same.

14. Same.

15. Same.



southern Bethlehem; most western Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and most northern, Shufat, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control.

REQUESTS the Security Council to take further steps to ensure the demilitarization of Jerusalem at the earliest possible date.

INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to present to fourth regular session of General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for Jerusalem area which will provide for maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area.

The Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint United Nations representatives who shall cooperate with local authorities with respect to the interim administration of Jerusalem area.

9. RESOLVES that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among Governments and authorities concerned, the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine.

INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council for appropriate action by that organ any attempt by any party to impede such access.

10. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to seek arrangements among Governments and authorities concerned which will facilitate economic development of the area, including arrangements for access to ports and airfields and use of transportation and communication facilities.

11. RESOLVES that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for property of those

choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which under principles of international law or in equity should be made good by Governments or authorities responsible.

INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of refugees and payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and through him with appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations.

12. AUTHORIZES the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts acting under its authority as it may find necessary for effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under the present resolution.

The Conciliation Commission will have its official headquarters at Jerusalem. Authorities responsible for maintaining order in Jerusalem will be responsible for taking all measures necessary to insure the security of the Commission. The Secretary-General will provide a limited number of guards for protection of the staff and premises of the Commission.

13. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to members of the United Nations.

14. CALLS UPON all Governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in implementation of the present resolution.

15. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide necessary funds required in carrying out terms of the present resolution.

BENJAMIN SHWADRAN

## Recognition of Israel<sup>1</sup>

### URUGUAY

Montevideo, 19 May 1948

Whereas: The establishment of the State of Israel within the territorial limits assigned to that nation by the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of November 29, 1947 was proclaimed by the National Council of the Jews of Palestine, and

Whereas: (I) The establishment of a National Home in Palestine, such as was envisaged by the Balfour Declaration, the statements of Pichon, Sonnino and Wilson, Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles [Covenant of the League of Nations], the Treaty of Sèvres, and the terms of the Palestine Mandate conferred upon Great Britain

by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, was always understood as a humanitarian and just solution of the old Jewish problem.

(II) The solution of partition recommended by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, supported by the Uruguayan delegation, and approved by the United Nations Assembly, is to be considered the legal basis in the matter, which conforms with the aspirations toward the humanitarian and just solution stated above.

(III) The effective realization of this resolution may be opposed by force, but it must nevertheless be fully legally implemented.

(IV) The British Mandate was terminated and the Jewish population of Palestine, organized on a legal basis, and in line with the cited Resolution, legally constituted a sovereign State, as a means of giving fulfillment to the Assembly resolution.

<sup>1</sup> For official statements of recognition already published, see *Palestine Affairs*, 55-56, May, 1948. Bulgaria, Canada, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Romania and Venezuela have recognized Israel, but their official statements are not yet available; they will be printed in forthcoming issues.



(V) It is the duty of all States to lend their support to the resolutions of the United Nations as a means of strengthening the action of that important international organization.

The President of the Republic resolves and decrees:

*Article 1.* That the State of Israel and its Provisional Government be recognized.

*Article 2.* That this recognition be publicly proclaimed.

DANIEL CASTELLANOS  
*Secretary of State*

BATLLE BERRES  
*President*

#### SOUTH AFRICA (May 24)

In reply to Your Excellency's [M. Shertok, Israeli Foreign Minister] telegram, the Union Government accords *de facto* recognition to the State of Israel. In view of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of 29th November, 1947, which is based on Partition, this recognition is not in respect of any particular boundaries, and the Union Government will be prepared to accord similar recognition to an Arab area in Palestine, either as a separate State, or as incorporated into neighbouring Arab States.

The Union Government expresses its cordial good wishes to the State of Israel as the fulfilment of the policy of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and as a contribution to historic justice and to world peace.

JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS  
*Prime Minister*

#### HUNGARY (June 1)

Referring to the talk I had with your Excellency on 28 May, 1948, I beg to inform you that the Government of the Republic of Hungary recognizes herewith the independent State of Israel.

LASZLO RAJK  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs*

#### FINLAND (June 11)

Referring to your telegram of 27 May, I have the honor to inform you by Presidential order that the Government of Finland has today recognized with very great pleasure the State of Israel and has given *de facto* recognition to its Provisional Government as constituted at the present time.

CARL ENCKELL  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs*

#### COSTA RICA (June 18)

It is an honor for me to inform Your Excellency of the receipt of cable of May 17, advising the establishment of the State of Israel and the program of the Pro-

visional Government Council. In referring to such communication, I take pleasure in stating that it is the desire of the Costa Rican Government and People that the newborn State of Israel be welcomed into the concert of nations of the world, and that it may be able to fulfill its noble and just ideals. My Government expresses best wishes for the prosperity of the State of Israel and hopes that the relations between both countries will always be cordial and firm.

BENJAMIN ODIO  
*Secretary of Foreign Affairs*

#### PANAMA (June 18)

Whereas: On the 29th of November 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a majority vote of more than two-thirds, resolved that there be created a State limited by precise boundaries and representing a population mainly of Israeli nationality, within the territory of Palestine. At the same time it resolved the creation of an Arab State, under similar conditions, in another area of the same territory.

The Republic of Panama voted in favor of this partition, considering it to be the most just and proper solution of the complex problem of securing a home for the Hebrew nation and thus giving fulfilment to the humane aspirations contained in the 1917 Declaration of the British Secretary of State, Balfour; in the statements of Foreign Minister Pichon of France, Sonnino of Italy, and President Wilson of the United States, in 1918; in the British reaffirmation by Lord Curzon in 1919; in the San Remo Conference agreement in 1920; and in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the Class A Mandate for Palestine conferred upon Great Britain, Articles 2 and 3 reiterated the aim of creating there a national home for the Jewish people, and the Mandate recognized the historic ties between the Jewish people and their native soil.

The Mandatory Power announced in November 1947 their determination to relinquish the Mandate, and on May 14, when they withdrew from Palestine, British authority ceased to exist there. Thus, there remained on this territory a people, which to safeguard their own existence and from the *de facto* and *de jure* points of view, found themselves fully justified in taking into their own hands the authority which Great Britain ceased to exercise and in directing the course of their destiny.

Under these circumstances, on May 14, 1948 at 6:01 P.M., in Tel Aviv, the Hebrew people proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel as an independent Republic and proceeded to organize a National Govern-



ment in full conformity with the terms of the aforementioned resolution of the United Nations. They committed themselves to comply with the obligations imposed upon the States by international law and indicated adherence to the principles of liberty, justice, peace and human dignity to which the San Francisco Charter is consecrated.

In view of the proclamation of the State of Israel by the inhabitants of Palestine, in accordance with the principle of nationality and with the principle of self-determination, and in strict harmony with the decision of the United Nations, the Government of Panama had before it two alternatives: either not to recognize the State, which would have been inconsistent with its own vote and would have amounted to complete repudiation of the resolution of the judicial community of Nations, or to recognize the new State, which would be in accordance with the rules of international right and would contribute to upholding the authority and prestige of the United Nations. There could be no doubt as to the proper choice.

The requisites for the existence of a State, according to Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of the States—which Panama recognizes as law—are fulfilled in the State of Israel. It has a permanent population, a fixed territory, self-government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other international bodies.

By virtue of the facts and considerations set forth, the Executive Council of the Republic of Panama, exercising its constitutional and legal powers,

Resolves: To recognize the State of Israel as a sovereign State fully invested with legal capacity.

The Ministry of Foreign Relations has been charged with communicating this act of recognition to the Government of Israel and with establishing normal relations with the new State.

Registered and published.

ENRIQUE A. JIMÉNEZ  
*President*

ERNESTO JAÉN GUARDIA  
*Minister of Foreign Relations*

## The Psychology of Jewish Youth in Palestine

THE effect of the new environment in Palestine on Jewish youth has significance not only from the purely psychological point of view, but also from Zionism's objective to normalize and stabilize Jewish life in a free Jewish state. To be sure, the formal existence of the State of Israel is of very recent origin. The psychological atmosphere created by the Jewish effort in Palestine during the last quarter of a century, however, has been that of a state in the making, and the accomplishments during this period have been brought about solely by the determination and human resources of the Jews. Youth took an active part in the process. It is therefore possible, on the basis of research testing, to obtain certain preliminary findings.

The psychological testing, which has been conducted for a number of years, is based primarily on accepted techniques in the United States, adjusted to the special conditions prevailing in Palestine in respect to language and cultural environment. The writer has been engaged in such research for the past ten years. The bases of comparison were the Jewish youth of Europe, Jewish youth in the United States, and general American youth. From the results a picture emerges, although it is still not complete, of the differences between Jewish youth in Palestine and those in Europe; it indicates the direction in which the normal life is developing.

### Somatic and Motor Ability

Professor Franz Boas called attention to the fact that Jewish youth in the United States are physically better developed than Jewish youth in Central Europe. The children in Palestine also appear to be much taller and healthier than the children in Europe. Their motor coordination is good equal to that of the Western average. In Europe, Jewish children were somewhat clumsy, their movements were generally hurried and not too purposive. Motor skill and coordination do not depend on inherited characteristics and maturation alone; learning also plays a part, and modern youth in Palestine have achieved good results after a relatively short period of better living conditions, opportunity and training.

There is a marked difference between the average Palestinian boy and the average American boy in regard to play. By comparing the results of Lehman and Witty with those of the writer, it becomes clear that, even allowing for some differences in testing methods, American children excel in outdoor play which requires greater motor skills and coordination, while Palestinian children are better in social and indoor play. They read much more than the Americans, but somewhat less than the Central European Jews. Reading is their favorite way of spending their free time.



## Emotions

Physical growth and change, glandular hyperactivity, and environmental conditions create emotional tension. Psychologists differ as to the nature of this tension, some maintaining that it is rooted entirely in cultural environment. If this were so, it is no wonder that Jewish youth in Europe were emotionally unstable, over-self-conscious, and inclined to excitement and depression. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. The changing psychosomatic structure causes emotional disturbances which the cultural environment can either aggravate or moderate.

Studies on this phase in Palestine indicate that while there is some emotional tension, it is not so great as that described by European psychologists. General tension is heightened during adolescence; the personality is not yet integrated and the adolescent is pursued by ambivalent feelings. At the pre-puberty age, optimism prevails; at the height of puberty, because of physiological changes, a depression syndrome is sometimes present. Most girls are dissatisfied with themselves, and even among boys there is a high percentage of disturbing moods. This condition is affected by fluctuations in energies, but the social surroundings also seem to exert a great influence. Almost all adolescents dream of themselves as heroes, and they have great plans for their future. Coming into contact with reality, the situation contains within it all the seeds of emotional conflict. Frustration is produced, since our culture does not give full rights to adolescents. In Jewish Palestine, the clash does not seem to go so deep, and consequently most adolescents are gay and happy, and to them the future seldom appears hopeless.

In the last stage of adolescence, the post-puberty period, on the eve of maturity, there was an intensification of depression in European Jewish youth. Most of them could foresee no future or any possibility of working out a gratifying plan for living. In Palestine, in contrast, post-puberty seems to bring an increase of optimism, so far as the possibilities for self-realization are concerned. As a rule, Palestinian youth are full of energy, they make decisions quickly and simply, they are not afraid to try out new ways—they join the army; they settle in faraway, deserted places—all without the over-intellectual and over-skeptical approach so common among the last generation at the same age. These youths are emotionally more stable, better balanced, than their counterparts in Europe, and even under stress the percentage of neurotics and psychotics is relatively low.

## The Craving for Independence

To be adult implies the leaving behind of childhood, of dependence on parents. In their striving toward this goal, adolescents often find the major obstacle their own fathers and mothers. As a consequence, stubbornness and problems of discipline arise; this is true of teen-agers everywhere. Such conflicts seem to be reduced to a minimum in Israel. The youth sometimes try to bolster their self-esteem by get-rid-of-home attempts, but these are relatively few and unimportant; the parents are rather conciliatory. Another outlet for independence cravings is the lack of formality and a certain roughness of behavior. The youth make every effort to be simple and unaffected; they are a bit harsh, but cordial and ready for any self-sacrifice.

## Sex and Social Life

Some fear has been expressed that co-education of the sexes and the relatively free atmosphere of social entertainments might bring sexual craving to an early outlet. Sex knowledge is one of the most difficult problems of adolescence. Somatic and physiological maturity precede intellectual maturity. In every civilized society, sexual life implies intellectual development, the ability to select, responsibility, and mutual respect between the sexes. The adolescent, while sexually mature, must wait until he is socially and culturally adequate to sexual life, as accepted by his social and cultural environment.

The physiological-sexual development of Palestinian youth is not hastened by the climate of the country, as was presupposed. Their sexual maturation does not come earlier than that of the average North American or European; the mean menstruation age is 13.4; boys mature a little later. An extensive study shows that there is no reason to suspect that sexual life begins early. The free atmosphere and the abundance of social relations between boys and girls exercise a restraining influence and impose delay in seeking sexual outlet. The youth movements contribute to the sublimation of erotic craving and make possible a higher and more cultural psycho-sexual maturation.

The youth of Israel are probably over-social and they are almost overburdened with social activities. There are an unbelievable number of social organizations and movements. At the pre-puberty age, eighty per cent of the children belong to some kind of youth group. Of all the youth, about fifty per cent are members of youth movements; the rest take part in school-sponsored clubs, athletic and sport groups.



The youth movements educate their members to serve the needs of the nation in accordance with their respective beliefs. The nation requires pioneers who will leave the cities and towns to convert the desert and the swamps into flourishing farms; it requires unselfish men and women ready for any sacrifice. Unfortunately, these movements are divided into too many groups, influenced and guided by the different political parties. This, however, is not the fault of the youth, but of the adult society in the Yishuv, which is split into so many parties and splinter parties.

### Intellect

Writers of the last generation and educators in Palestine often complain that the intellectual level of the present generation has declined and they put the blame for this on the democratization of the secondary schools and schools of higher learning. This contention is not borne out by a comparative testing of the mental abilities of Palestinian youth with those of American youth. In performance, logical thinking, memory and attention ability, no serious differences are indicated; in some aspects, Palestinian youth excel. While the general inclination for academic study and interest in entering the professions are much lower in Palestine than they were

among the Jews of Central Europe, the Israeli youth furnish a satisfactorily high percentage of writers, artists and scientists.

### Personality

The youth in Israel are no longer possessed by many of the Diaspora problems. They are modest, yet self-assured, and they do not suffer from exaggerated feelings of inferiority, frustration or indecision. They know that the new land is their home and they are free and happy. Even during times of stress they enjoy good mental health. There is a strong incentive to live and work; the motivation is highly stimulating. They are quiet and without the slightest resemblance to any kind of Hamletism. There is about them an air of simplicity and unself-consciousness. They participate in the national struggle without feeling that they are making sacrifices. Their personalities are, on the whole, well integrated, and the transition period from childhood to self-integration is relatively brief and uncomplicated. They are not too well disciplined, but they have an excellent sense of cooperation and self-discipline, both in their organizations and in the Army. The great majority is healthy in mind and in body, cheerful and realistic.

B. WOLMAN

## The Middle East—Review of Events

*November 26 to December 25, 1948*

**F**OLLOWING prolonged debate on the Palestine question, the Political Committee presented a resolution to the General Assembly which the latter, after altering and weakening it considerably, adopted on December 11. The main provision called for a three-member Conciliation Commission to seek a settlement of the issue. The functions of the Commission—to which the Assembly elected the United States, France and Turkey—are vaguely defined, and its guiding principles are doubtful. The Security Council failed to approve Israel's application for membership in the United Nations. The vote was five to one, with five abstentions.

\* \* \*

The Egyptians again suffered defeat when their infantry, backed by tanks, attacked the settlement of Nirim. The military situation in Palestine was otherwise quiet; in Jerusalem, it improved with a new series of negotiations which resulted in the signing of a cease-fire agreement between the Israeli and Transjordanian commanders.

In the House of Commons, a strange story was belatedly aired of a British Mosquito plane shot down over Tel Aviv in November while on reconnaissance. Why it was flying over a foreign territory without clearance could not be ascertained. A number of British statesmen, among them Winston Churchill, came out for recognition of Israel.

The Arab front underwent a series of shocks: serious disturbances in Egypt caused by the Moslem Brotherhood; a wave of riots in Syria which brought about the resignation of the cabinet; and King Abdullah's open defiance of the Arab League.

From the League's inception, there has been a silent quarrel between Transjordan's ruler, nurturing his Greater Syria scheme, and the other member-states. The open fight which now threatens its very existence started when a group of Palestine Arab notables, meeting in Jericho and speaking on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine, requested that Abdullah take over Arab Palestine. Ab-



dullah indicated his gratification at the request and referred it for action to the Transjordan Parliament. The latter obliged and approved.

This was the opening shot in a battle which has not yet subsided. On December 11, King Farouk, in an official communication to the chiefs of all the Arab states except Transjordan, declared that the Jericho resolutions did not represent the decision of the Palestinian Arabs and that he, Farouk, would not accept the unification of Palestine and Transjordan under Abdullah. The learned sheiks of Azhar, the theological authorities in Cairo, came to Farouk's support. They reprimanded Abdullah for violating his promises to maintain a united Arab front. In reprisal, the Transjordan-controlled Ramallah radio broadcast to Egyptian listeners a brief account of Egypt's defeat in the war on Israel. It declared that if the whole truth ever became known the Egyptian masses would revolt, and threatened that if Farouk did not stop his opposition to Abdullah, it would not hesitate to tell the entire story of Egypt's defeat.

Opposition to Abdullah's annexation of Arab Palestine came also from the Egyptian-sponsored Gaza government headed by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini. Abdullah countered this by appointing Sheik Husam el-Din Jarallah, a lifelong opponent of Haj Amin's, as the new Mufti. Saudi Arabia and Syria voiced their antagonism to Abdullah's plans; Lebanon hesitated; Iraq apparently supported them. There is persistent talk in Cairo of the possible expulsion of Transjordan from the League, although the convening of the Political Committee, which would take action against Transjordan, is constantly being postponed. Combined Arab opposition, as well as the position of his ally, Great Britain, have prevented Abdullah from acting precipitately.

It is well known that the British favor Abdullah's ambitions, the realization of which would give them a foothold in Palestine. On the other hand, they would be loathe to see the break-up of the Arab League. Whatever they might gain by supporting Transjordan, they would stand to lose by bringing down upon themselves the wrath of the other Arab countries. In any case, British policy in the Middle East, based on the Arab League, seems to be seriously weakened.

In Syria, riots and violence which broke out in Damascus spread rapidly to the northern cities and forced the cabinet of Jamil Mardam to resign. For almost three weeks it was impossible to get a new cabinet together; finally, one was formed by Khalid Azem. While the actual cause of the upheaval is far from clear, contribut-

ing elements were probably the regular opposition to the Government, resentment against the reverses in Palestine, Communist propaganda, and last but not least, increased activity on the part of supporters of King Abdullah's Greater Syria scheme.

In Syria and Lebanon, there were bitterness and resentment against Egypt for her attempt to induce the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company to build a line with its terminus in Egypt instead of one going across Syria and terminating in Lebanon. Confronted with a real threat of such a diversion, Lebanon insisted on Syria's immediate agreement with the American concessionaires. This had previously been withheld supposedly in protest against American support of Israel.

The Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt, with a claimed membership of over a million, has for a number of years exercised considerable influence on public opinion; it had a press of its own and at one time it seemed to be a pro-government force. On December 8, the Prime Minister, in his capacity as Military Governor of the realm, dissolved the Brotherhood, which he accused of trying to seize power and overthrow the established order. Mass arrests were made, arms caches uncovered, the Brotherhood's publications suspended, and responsibility for the long series of bombings and assaults that had plagued Egypt during the past year placed squarely on the organization.

A number of Sudanese charged with creating disturbances during the elections last month were to come up for trial early in December. Egyptian lawyers flew to the Sudan to defend them, but were turned back by the British authorities. Egyptians considered this a brutal demonstration of their country's helplessness in the Sudan and of Britain's constant violation of Egypt's rights in the condominium. University and high school students demonstrated in Cairo; the police chief there was murdered, and in Alexandria several policemen were wounded. In order, perhaps, to allay suspicions and to meet the popular anti-British demands, the Prime Minister reiterated that Egypt would not resume treaty negotiations with Great Britain unless the Sudan was united with Egypt and British troops left the Canal zone.

It was reported that President Truman would ask Congress to vote for a grant of \$16,000,000 to aid Palestine Arab refugees. The American ambassador to Egypt, Stanton Griffis, is to direct the administration of United Nations' aid to refugees. The Arab League has contributed twenty thousand pounds (\$80,000) for the purpose.

M. PERLMANN



# Chronology

(Nov. 16—Dec. 15, 1948)

## EGYPT

Nov. 17: The Government stops the U.S. freighter *Flying Trader* at the northern end of the Suez Canal and seizes part of her cargo on pretext that it is destined for Israel.

Nov. 20: It is reported that police have arrested thirty members of the Moslem Brotherhood, the largest terrorist organization in the country, which was responsible for a series of bombings and political assassinations.

The *Flying Trader* is permitted to leave Port Said after Egyptian military authorities confiscate 38 tractors and 4,000 bags of rice.

Nov. 22: The U.S. orders its embassy at Cairo to protest against the confiscation of the *Flying Trader's* cargo.

Dec. 4: Climaxing several days of demonstrations against the trial of pro-Egyptian political leaders in the Sudan and against British refusal to allow Egyptian lawyers to defend them, Cairo's police chief, Selim Zaki Pasha, is murdered, and university and secondary school students stone police.

The Government suspends indefinitely the Moslem Brotherhood's daily newspaper, *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, on the ground that it has violated censorship regulations.

Dec. 5: Seven policemen are wounded in student demonstrations at Alexandria.

Dec. 8: Premier Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashy Pasha, in his capacity as Military Governor of Egypt, orders the dissolution of the Moslem Brotherhood. The Ministry of the Interior accuses the organization of "aiming at seizing power and overthrowing established order in the country."

Dec. 13: Speaking before the Senate, Nokrashy Pasha reiterates Egypt's demands for union with the Sudan and withdrawal of British troops from the Suez Canal zone.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Dec. 6: In answer to a question in the House of Commons, the Foreign Undersecretary states that "the government does not wish to exclude the possibility of Jewish entry into U.N.O. at some stage, but they regard the present application as premature and hard to accept in view of the fact that the future of Palestine is still being discussed and that no frontiers have yet been drawn."

Dec. 10: Speaking in the House of Commons, Winston Churchill calls for British recognition of Israel.

Dec. 15: The Air Ministry announces that a Mosquito bomber, missing in the Mediterranean area since Nov. 20, is believed to have been shot down by an Israeli fighter.

## IRAQ

Nov. 24: Former Premier Salih Bey Jabr tells a joint session of Parliament that his proposal that the Arab nations cut off oil concessions to Britain and the U.S. after the UN adopted the partition plan was blocked by Saudi Arabia.

Dec. 4: The National Democratic and Liberal parties suspend operations on the ground that they "were so persecuted and their freedom so restricted that they were paralyzed and made incapable of exercising their functions." The only remaining political group in the country is the Independence party.

## ISRAEL

Nov. 25: The State Council unanimously decides to hold the first general elections on Jan. 25, 1949.

Nov. 26: Bulgaria recognizes Israel.

Dec. 5: Nathan Friedman-Yellin and Matityahu Shmuelwitz, leaders of the Stern group, go on trial before a three-member military court in Acre.

## Jerusalem

Nov. 28: The Israeli and Arab military commanders of the area meet under UN auspices and start negotiations for a cease-fire.

Nov. 30: The commanders of the two parties sign an agreement providing for a "complete and sincere cease-fire."

Dec. 12: The Israeli and Arab military commanders enter into a preliminary agreement on the opening of the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road for the Christmas pilgrimage.

## War

Nov. 18: Sixteen sheiks and three Bedouin chieftains, representing 15,000 Arab tribesmen in the neighborhood of Beersheba, sign a petition asking Israeli authorities to grant them protection.

Nov. 21: The Government protests to the UN Truce Commission that Egyptian forces have occupied new positions in the Negev, southeast of Gaza, and have shelled Israeli units in the Imara and Mivtahim settlements.

Nov. 23: The Government orders a halt to unrestricted army recruiting and announces the formation of a regular reserve of men up to 45 years.

Dec. 6: Egyptian troops attack Israeli lines in the Negev with tanks; they are repulsed by Israeli forces.

Iraqi and Israeli forces in central Palestine sign a local cease-fire agreement.

Dec. 7: Israeli forces beat off an Egyptian attack near Nirim, less than five miles from the Egyptian frontier, causing more than 100 Egyptian casualties.

Dec. 10: Egyptian infantry, supported by tanks, launches another attack against Nirim.

Dec. 15: The Government ends truce talks with local Arab military commanders and announces that it will consider only high-level discussions directed toward an armistice.

## LEBANON

Nov. 27: Syrian and Lebanese officials meet in Beirut, at the invitation of Lebanon, to discuss the question of the Trans-Arabian pipeline. It is reported that this move was prompted by information that Egypt was offering to permit the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co. to build a terminal on her territory.

## PALESTINE ARABS

Dec. 1: At a meeting in Jericho, Palestine Arab leaders acclaim Abdullah "King of All Palestine."

## SYRIA

Dec. 1: Several persons are killed and many wounded in riots in Damascus. Premier Jamil Mardam Bey and his cabinet resign.

## TRANSJORDAN

Dec. 12: The Council of Ulemas (scholars) of el Azhar University in Cairo issues a warning that if King Abdullah proclaims himself King of Palestine, he will be violating his pledge to Allah.



*Dec. 13:* Parliament unanimously approves the proposed merger of Transjordan with Arab Palestine. The action is denounced by the Egyptian Premier, the secretary general of the Arab League and the Premier of the Gaza government.

**UNITED NATIONS** (*For complete details, see "From Partition to Conciliation"*)

*Nov. 16:* By an 8-1 vote, the Security Council adopts a resolution introduced jointly on the previous day by Canada, France and Belgium.

*Nov. 18:* Great Britain introduces a resolution in the First Committee [Political and Security] embodying the conclusions of the Bernadotte plan.

The acting Mediator, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, asks Israel and the governments of the Arab League states to notify him "at a very early date" of their views "on the procedure to be followed in achieving the armistice envisaged by the Nov. 16 resolution."

The Israeli Government informs the acting Mediator that all Israeli forces sent into the Negev after Oct. 14 have been withdrawn, but that forces there prior to that date will remain to safeguard the area and Jerusalem. It further declares that Israel welcomes the armistice and asks "to be notified without delay the time and place at which its accredited representatives may meet accredited representatives of Arab states."

*Nov. 19:* The General Assembly unanimously adopts a resolution authorizing the Secretary General to advance immediately up to \$5,000,000 from the UN working capital fund to help Palestine war refugees.

The acting Mediator rules that Israel's reply to his order for withdrawal of forces from the Negev to the Oct. 14 lines constitutes an acceptance in principle. He requests the Israeli and Egyptian Governments to instruct their liaison officers to begin conferences as soon as possible with his chief of staff, Brig. Gen. William E. Riley, on the establishment of the demarcation lines of the neutral zones.

*Nov. 20:* Dr. Philip C. Jessup makes a preliminary statement in the First Committee, outlining the American position.

*Nov. 22:* The Soviet Union demands in the First Committee that a permanent peace settlement in Palestine, based "in substance" on the partition resolution, be worked out by direct Arab-Jewish negotiations.

*Nov. 23:* In the First Committee, the U.S. introduces amendments to the Nov. 18 British resolution, and Australia introduces a resolution.

*Nov. 25:* Great Britain submits a revised resolution, accepting most of the amendments offered by the U.S.

The acting Mediator asks the First Committee to affirm Israel's right to UN membership, and to call urgently on the Jews and Arabs to enter into negotiations looking toward an end to the Palestine war.

*Nov. 26:* Syria introduces a resolution in the First Committee asking for the establishment of a single Palestinian state on a cantonal or federal basis.

*Nov. 29:* Israel submits her application for UN membership.

Britain introduces a second revised resolution in the First Committee, accepting all the U.S. amendments.

*Dec. 1:* The First Committee rejects three provisions of the Australian resolution and she withdraws the fourth.

The First Committee approves the preamble and the first three paragraphs of the British resolution.

*Dec. 2:* After the U.S. and Russia indicate their support of the Israeli membership application, the Security Council refers it to the Membership Committee for study.

*Dec. 4:* Secretary General Trygve Lie announces the appointment of Stanton Griffis, U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, as director of the UN Relief for Palestine Refugees. Mr. Griffis names Bayard Dodge, former head of the American University in Beirut, as an adviser.

By a vote of 25-21, with 9 abstentions, the First Committee approves the British resolution, as finally amended.

*Dec. 7:* The Membership Committee of the Security Council reports that it could not reach a conclusion on Israel's application and refers it back to the Council.

*Dec. 8:* Britain charges in a Security Council subcommittee that Israeli armed forces have made "incursions" into Transjordan territory; the accusation is denied by the Israeli representative.

Accusing Israel of refusing to allow the withdrawal of Egyptian forces encircled in the Faluja pocket, Britain proposes that a Security Council committee study the possibility of applying sanctions under the Charter to compel the Jews to comply with the Council's Nov. 4 resolution.

*Dec. 11:* By a vote of 35-15, with 8 abstentions, the General Assembly adopts, in a considerably watered-down form, the resolution approved by the First Committee on Dec. 4.

The Big Five nominate the U.S., France and Turkey as members of the Conciliation Commission. The General Assembly confirms the nomination, 40-7, with 4 abstentions.

*Dec. 14:* In a statement released by the Israeli Information Service in Paris, the British Government is accused of delivering considerable quantities of arms to Egypt, Iraq and Transjordan during the last six months.

## Subject Index for Volume III—January-December, 1948

### Aden

bibliography—July, 89

Agriculture, Palestine Arabs—Jan., 2-3

ARAB ECONOMY IN PALESTINE, THE—Jan., 1-4

### Arab League

chronology—Jan., 7; Feb., 23; Mar., 35; May, 70; Aug., 98; Oct., 122

Arab Legion (see Transjordan's Army)

ARAB PRESS IN PALESTINE, THE—Feb., 19-20

ARAB REFUGEES, THE—Nov., 132-137

Arabia (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, etc.)

bibliography—Feb., 14; Apr., 46; Oct., 116

### Arabs

bibliography—Feb., 14; July, 89; Oct., 116

ARABS IN ISRAEL—Oct., 113-115

Bernadotte Plan (see also Mediator)

conclusions—Sept., 105-108

Israel's reaction to—Sept., 108-110

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1947—Feb., 13-19

1948, I—Apr., 45-48

II—July, 88-90

III—Oct., 115-120

CASE OF JERUSALEM, THE—May, 63-67



## CHRONOLOGY

Dec. 13, 1947 to Jan. 12, 1948—Jan., 7-8  
 Jan. 13 to Feb. 15—Feb., 23-24  
 Feb. 16 to Mar. 12—Mar., 35-36  
 Mar. 13 to Apr. 12—Apr., 50-52  
 Apr. 13 to May 14—May, 70-72  
 May 15 to June 15—June, 78-80  
 June 16 to July 13—July, 91-92  
 July 14 to Aug. 15—Aug., 98-100  
 Aug. 16 to Sept. 16—Sept., 111-112  
 Sept. 17 to Oct. 14—Oct., 122-124  
 Oct. 15 to Nov. 15—Nov., 138-140  
 Nov. 16 to Dec. 15—Dec., 153-154  
 Citriculture, Palestine Arabs—Jan., 3  
 Conciliation Commission  
   General Assembly resolution establishing—Dec., 146-147  
   members of—Dec., 145  
 CONCLUSIONS OF THE BERNADOTTE REPORT—  
   Sept., 105-108  
 Costa Rica  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 148  
 Czechoslovakia  
   recognition of Israel—May, 56  
 Egypt  
   bibliography—Feb., 14-15; Apr., 46; July, 89; Oct., 117  
   chronology—Jan., 7; Feb., 23; May, 70; June, 78; July, 91;  
   Aug., 98-99; Sept., 111; Oct., 122; Dec., 153  
   foreign trade of—Aug., 95-97  
 END OF THE PALESTINE TRUCE—Nov., 125-132  
 Finland  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 148  
 FOREIGN TRADE OF EGYPT, SYRIA AND  
 LEBANON, THE—Aug., 95-97  
 FROM PARTITION TO CONCILIATION—Dec., 141-147  
 Galilee—Nov., 130  
 GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL—PROVISIONAL  
 COUNCIL—May, 54-55  
 Great Britain  
   chronology—Jan., 7; Feb., 23; Mar., 35; Apr., 50; May, 70;  
   June, 78; July, 91; Aug., 99; Oct., 122; Nov., 138;  
   Dec., 153  
 Greater Syria Plan, The—Apr., 38-39  
 Guatemala  
   recognition of Israel—May, 55  
 HAIFA OIL REFINERIES, THE—Aug., 93-94  
 Hungary  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 148  
 Implementation Commission  
   reports—Feb., 11, 12; May, 60  
   suspended—May, 62  
   terms of reference—Feb., 9  
   work of—Feb., 10-11  
 IMPLEMENTING PARTITION—Feb., 9-12  
 Industry and Handicrafts, Palestine Arabs—Jan., 3  
 Iran  
   bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 46; July, 89-90; Oct., 117  
   chronology—Jan., 7; Feb., 23; Nov., 138  
 Iraq  
   bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 46; Oct., 117  
   chronology—Jan., 7; Aug., 99; Sept., 111; Oct., 122;  
   Nov., 138; Dec., 153  
 Israel (see also Palestine)  
   Arabs in—Oct., 113-115  
   bibliography—July, 90; Oct., 117-119  
   chronology—June, 78-79; July, 91-92; Aug., 99;  
   Sept., 111-112; Oct., 122-123; Nov., 138-139; Dec., 153

government of  
   organization of—Sept., 101-105  
   Provisional Council—May, 54-55  
 ministries—Sept., 101-105  
 Proclamation of State of—May, 53-54  
   facsimile of (Hebrew)—May, 56  
 reaction to Bernadotte plan—Sept., 108-110  
 recognitions—May, 55-56

## ISRAEL'S REACTION TO THE BERNADOTTE PLAN— Sept., 108-110

Jerusalem (see also Truce)  
   Case of—May, 63-67  
   chronology—June, 78-79; July, 91; Aug., 99;  
   Sept., 111-112; Oct., 123; Nov., 139; Dec., 153  
   neutral zones—Nov., 127-129

## Kurds

  bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 46

## LABOR IN SYRIA AND LEBANON—June, 75-76

Labor, Palestine Arabs—Jan., 3-4

Latrun—Nov., 127-128

## Lebanon

  bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 46; Oct., 119  
   chronology—Jan., 7; Feb., 23; June, 79; Dec., 153  
   foreign trade of—Aug., 95-97  
   labor in—June, 75-76

## Maps

  Jerusalem—May, 65  
   Proposed Partition Changes—Sept., 107

## Mediator (see also Bernadotte)

  General Assembly resolution appointing—May, 62, 63  
   instructions to, on truce observation—July, 84, 85, 87  
   proposals for solution—July, 86  
   rulings on truce—July, 85-86

## Middle East

  bibliography—Feb., 13-14; Apr., 45-46; July, 88-89;  
   Oct., 115-116

## MIDDLE EAST, THE—REVIEW OF EVENTS

  Dec. 12, 1947 to Jan. 12, 1948—Jan., 4-6  
   Jan. 13 to Feb. 12—Feb., 21-22  
   Feb. 13 to Mar. 12—Mar., 33-34  
   Mar. 13 to Apr. 12—Apr., 48-50  
   Apr. 13 to May 15—May, 67-70  
   May 16 to June 15—June, 76-78  
   June 16 to Aug. 15—Aug., 97-98  
   Aug. 16 to Sept. 15—Sept., 110-111  
   Sept. 16 to Oct. 15—Oct., 120-122  
   Oct. 16 to Nov. 25—Nov., 137-138  
   Nov. 26 to Dec. 25—Dec., 151-152

## Ministries, Israel—Sept., 101-105

## MORE INDEPENDENCE FOR TRANSJORDAN—

  Apr., 37-44

Negev—Nov., 128-131

## North Africa

  bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 47; July, 90; Oct., 119

Occupational structure, Palestine Arabs—Jan., 2

Oil refineries—Aug., 93-94

## ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL—Sept., 101-105

## Palestine (see also Israel)

  Arab economy in—Jan., 1-4

  press in—Feb., 19-20

  bibliography—Feb., 15-18; Apr., 47-48

  chronology—Jan., 8; Feb., 23, 24; Mar., 35-36;

  Apr., 50-51; May, 70-71

  end of truce—Nov., 125-132



Psychology of Jewish Youth in—Dec., 149-151  
 truce for—July, 81-88  
 Palestine Arabs  
   chronology—Oct., 123; Dec., 153  
 PALESTINE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL—  
   Mar., 25-33  
 Panama  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 148-149  
 Poland  
   recognition of Israel—May, 55  
 Press  
   Arab, in Palestine—Feb., 19-20  
   Syrian—June, 73-74  
 Proclamation (see State of Israel—Proclamation)  
 PSYCHOLOGY OF JEWISH YOUTH IN PALESTINE,  
 THE—Dec., 149-151  
 RECOGNITION (of State of Israel)—May, 55-56;  
   Dec., 147-149  
 RECONVENING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—  
   Apr., 41-44  
 Refugees  
   Arab—Nov., 132-137  
     number and situation of—Nov., 135  
     relief measures—Nov., 136-137  
 Review of Events (see Middle East—Review of Events)  
 SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED  
 NATIONS, THE—May, 57-63  
 South Africa  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 148  
 STATE OF ISRAEL—PROCLAMATION—May, 53-54  
 Syria  
   bibliography—Feb., 15; Apr., 46; July, 90; Oct., 119-120  
   chronology—Feb., 23; Sept., 112; Dec., 153  
   foreign trade of—Aug., 95-97  
   labor in—June, 75-76  
 SYRIAN PRESS, THE—June, 73-74  
 Trade  
   foreign, of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon—Aug., 95-97  
 Transjordan  
   army—the Arab Legion—Apr., 44-45  
   bibliography—Feb., 18; Apr., 48; Oct., 120  
   chronology—Dec., 154  
   constitution—Apr., 38  
   More Independence for—Apr., 37-44  
   recognition—Apr., 39  
 TRANSJORDAN'S ARMY—THE ARAB LEGION—  
   Apr., 44-45  
 Truce  
   failure of—Nov., 125-128  
   Jerusalem  
     chronology—July, 91  
     Security Council resolution—Nov., 126  
     United Nations proposals for—May, 64-67  
   Palestine  
     armistice resolution—Nov., 131-132  
     end of the—Nov., 125-132  
     Security Council proposal for—May, 57-59  
       resolutions—July, 83, 84-85, 86-87  
     U. S. proposal for—Apr., 42; July, 81  
 TRUCE FOR PALESTINE, A—July, 81-88  
 Trusteeship  
   Pres. Truman on—Apr., 41-42  
   reaction to proposal—Apr., 41  
   U. S. proposal for—Mar., 32; May, 59, 60

Turkey  
   bibliography—Feb., 18; Apr., 48; July, 90; Oct., 120  
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
   chronology—June, 79  
   recognition of Israel—May, 55  
 United Nations  
   Case of Jerusalem, The—May, 63-67  
   chronology—Jan., 8; Feb., 24; Mar., 35-36; Apr., 51-52;  
     May, 71-72; June, 79-80; July, 92; Aug., 100; Sept.,  
     112; Oct., 123-124; Nov., 139-140; Dec., 154  
   End of the Palestine Truce, The—Nov., 125-132  
   From Partition to Conciliation—Dec., 141-147  
   Implementing Partition—Feb., 9-12  
   Palestine Before the Security Council—Mar., 25-33  
   Reconvening the General Assembly—Apr., 41-44  
   Second Special Session of the—May, 57-63  
   Truce for Palestine, A—July, 81-88  
 United States  
   chronology—Feb., 24; Mar., 36; Apr., 52; May, 72;  
     June, 80; July, 92; Aug., 100; Sept., 112; Oct., 124;  
     Nov., 140  
   Palestine policy—Mar., 25-26, 31-32; Apr., 41-42; May,  
     58-59; July, 81  
   recognition of Israel—May, 55  
 Uruguay  
   recognition of Israel—Dec., 147-148  
 Yemen  
   chronology—Mar., 36; Apr., 52  
 Yugoslavia  
   recognition of Israel—May, 56

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