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15 April 1948

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER FROM THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
DATED 29 MARCH 1948, ADDRESSED TO THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL TRANSMITTING A
MEMORANDUM ON ACTS OF
ARAB AGGRESSION

Sir,

The Jewish Agency for Palestine has welcomed the opportunities afforded it under Article 39 of the Charter to supply information and present its views to the Security Council on the Palestine question. Under this arrangement representatives of the Jewish Agency have made oral submissions on February 27, March 5 and March 24.

We are anxious to avoid making excessive demands upon the time of the Security Council whose agenda is filled with so many important problems. Accordingly, the Jewish Agency desires to communicate the following written information for official distribution as S/documents, later to be included in the Official Records of the Security Council:

Memorandum on Acts of Arab Aggression, December 1947-January 1948*
Supplementary Memorandum on Acts of Arab Aggression, February-March 1948

We are aware that members of the Security Council may have had occasion to receive both these documents; but we attach importance to their official distribution and subsequent inclusion in the Official Records since they are essential to the understanding of the case which we have endeavored to outline.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) Moshe Shertok

Jewish Agency for Palestine

* Previously distributed as document S/710

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM
ON
ACTS OF ARAB AGGRESSION

submitted to the
PALESTINE COMMISSION AND TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL
of the
UNITED NATIONS
by the
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK

MARCH 13, 1948

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM
ON
ACTS OF ARAB AGGRESSION TO ALTER BY FORCE
THE SETTLEMENT ON THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF
PALESTINE APPROVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

On February 2, 1948, the Jewish Agency for Palestine submitted a Memorandum to the United Nations Palestine Commission on acts of aggression committed and prepared by Arab States, members of the United Nations, in an attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's Resolution of November 29, 1947. Since the submission of that Memorandum this campaign of aggression has gathered momentum in all its phases. Officially sponsored bellicose propaganda has been intensified; new attacks on the Jewish population of Palestine have been carried out by groups composed mainly or largely of foreign invaders; frontier violations by armed Arab bands have become bolder and more frequent; and preparations for major aggression when the Mandate ends are going forward intensively under the auspices of Arab governments and the direction of a command jointly appointed by them.

2. The information conveyed in the Jewish Agency's Memorandum of February 2 has since been confirmed in its main features by the independent appraisals of the Mandatory Power and the United Nations Palestine Commission.

PROPAGANDA, THREATS AND INCITEMENT

3. The utterances of official Arab representatives have continued to resound with the threat of violent action against the General Assembly's Resolution. The theme of these pronouncements remains unchanged. They reveal the clear intention of Arab governments to sponsor aggression against the Jews of Palestine; and the aim of this aggression is frankly stated to be the forcible imposition of the settlement which the General Assembly rejected, namely, the establishment of a unified Arab State in the whole of Palestine. On February 25, 1948, after the meeting of the Arab League Council in Cairo, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, Riad al Solh, published a long declaration in the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* on the intentions of Arab governments with respect to Palestine. He said:

"The Council has taken new decisions which the Arab governments will hasten to carry out with the same devotion and wholeheartedness. All I have to say to my brethren in the Arab countries is that perseverance, without any regard to the nature of the obstacles which may confront us, is our surest guarantee of the victory which we seek. It behooves us

not to pay much regard to the nature of the forces which will attempt to impose partition. As long as we are determined to resist it, it matters nothing to us whether it is an international police force or an army consisting of the great powers or the small powers, or the forces of a Jewish organization . . . Our interest and our vital needs, as well as our national duty, dictate that there shall be nothing in the whole of Palestine except a unitary Arab state. There shall be nothing else but that. This is my fundamental belief, and I am confident of its realization. In that confidence I rely on a study of the various means and resources available to the Arabs, all of which they will throw into the arena however wide the battlefield, however long the struggle." (See PLATE 1).

It will be observed that this declaration was issued a day after the President of the Security Council had called upon all peoples in and around Palestine to avoid any action which might render the situation in Palestine more difficult.

4. It is clear that the growing uncertainty of the implementation of the Assembly's Resolution has emboldened and hardened Arab intransigence. Thus, on March 4, members of the Arab Higher Committee, then in Cairo, were asked by *Al-Ahram* to state what their attitude would be if the General Assembly's Resolution were frustrated. They replied that:

"they would never agree to a bi-national unitary state and would continue to fight for their national program, namely an Arab state in all of Palestine. With regard to the status of Zionists in such a state, things would not be any different than they were for minorities in other Arab countries . . . These circles added that they were unprepared to enter into discussions on any other favorable solution of the Palestine problem since the struggle for Palestine had passed in their opinion from the political sphere to the practical."

5. On February 11, the Cairo newspaper *Al-Masri* published an interview with the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Hamdi al-Bajaji, and with the Vice-President of the Arab Higher Committee, Jamal Husseini. The former stated that the armed forces of the Arab States ought actively to associate themselves with the Arab volunteer contingents in the "liberation" of Palestine. He felt sure "that the British forces in Palestine would not try to oppose or fight the Arabs because Britain

رئيس وزراء لبنان يقول :

« وهدت الجامعة مركزها بما ادهش خصوصها قبل انصارها »
 « لن نخيئنا القوة التي ستعرض النسيب ، فقد ناهشنا لها . . »
 « فلننسى للجامعة دسورا نبى عليه علاقتنا بالصالحه »



رياض الصلح بك

العربية ككيان عام متصل . ونحن في لبنان نشعر شعورا كاملا بخطر هذه الامر وخطره لذلك ترى اللبنانيين جميعا في جد وسمي ، لا يفترون ولا يتوانون، ولا يخلون ولا يقتصدون في تذبة ساحة الجهاد العربي بفلسطين بالمال والعتاد والرجال . .

لقد املت علينا مصلحتنا وحاجتنا الحيوية كما املنا علينا واجبنا القومي ان لا يكون في فلسطين كلنا نسرب وضم عربي موحد . ولن يكون غير ذلك . اني مؤمن بذلك ايمانا كاملا من حيث المبدأ والتي وانني كن التوثيق بتحقيقه اعتمادا على دراسة الوسائل والامكانيات المختلفة التي بين ايدي العرب والتي سيقدون بها جميعا الى الميدان مهما اتسع نطاقه ومهما طل امد النفس .

Interview by Riad al Solh, Lebanese Prime Minister in *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, February 25, 1948. (Extracts translated in Paragraph 3 of this Memorandum.)

حجم مجلس جامعة الدول العربية دورته العادية السابعة منذ يومين وعاد رولة رئيس النسخه بت رئيس الحكومة اللبنانية والوفد السنوي للهدرة صباح اليوم الى لبنان . وقد تعصص دولته فاجاب على بعض مسائل طلب الله الاحرام ، تحدث ورايت عنها تعفينا على اعمال المجلس في هذه الدورة وقد كانت بريسته

وكان اول ما رجونا اليه احوض فيه مسأته اتعد بين سوريا ولبنان . ومعلوم ان الاتفاق الذي عقدته في القاهرة مع رجال الحكومة السورية يقضي بفتح مفاوضات بين البلدين من اجل اوصول الى وضع نهائي ثابت لعلاقات التي يجب ان تظل وثيقة بينهما

مسألة النقد

لا يتحدث عنها فتحدث الايام . .

اخذنا لفلسطين كل ما يخطر ببال !
 وكان من السديهي ان يفتت دولة الرئيس بنوع خاص عند قضية فلسطين وهي التي تشغل معظم اجتماعات الوفود العربية كما شملت العرب في كل ديارهم قال دولته : سرني ان يكون الراي العام في البلاد العربية ادرك ان ما كل ما يقرره المسؤولون من اجل انقاذ فلسطين يجوز ان يقال او يعان . واسمع لنفسى بعد هذا ان اضمنه ان كن ما يمكن ان يخطر للبلد قد واجهنا ودرسهاته وتبرناه. لقد سنى لمجلس الجامعة ان اتخذ عددا من القرارات في دوراته السابقة ، وسر كن واحد منا ان يعلم ان جميع تلك القرارات قد نفذها الحكومات العربية باخلاص ووده ، واتخذ مجلسنا قرارات جديدة سنبادر تلك الحكومات الي تنفيذها نفس الاخلاص وبالفرصة الصادقة . واذا كان لي ما اتوله لاخواني ابنا البلاد العربية ، فهو ان التصميم على الفوز دون الالتفات الى لون النفقات التي يمكن ان نعرضنا هو الذي يكفل لنا الفوز المطلوب . فيجب ان لا نغنى كثيرا في نوع القوات التي ستحاول فرض التقسيم ما دما قد صمنا على مقاومته فسواء لدينا ان تكون هذه القوة بوليسا دوليا او جيشا من الدول الكيرة او من الدول الصغيرة او قوة منظمة بهسودية بمدونها بالسلاح . ان المهم ان نعد العدة لمواجهة القوة بمنالنا ، ويجب ان نضع نصب اميتنا انا ندخل في عراق طويز لسباق بميسد جدا عن ان يكون يفورة من الفورات الحماسية وانهاست الشعبية اوفقيه ، فانما الدواع عن عروبة فلسطين ووجدتها وسيادتها عمل قومى عام مفروض على كل عربي في اي مكان وفي اي زمان وحتى الفسور وهو نوع ذلك عمل يتناق بالاستقلال كل سد من البلدان العربية اذ ان الخطر الذي يكمن في قيام اي كيان يهودي في فلسطين انما هو خطر مباشر يهدد كل ماك بمفرده نعظم النظر عن تهدده لمجموعة البلاد

COMMUNIQUE BY SYRIAN DEFENCE MINISTRY
ON RECRUITMENT OF TRIBESMEN

Translation of Plate 2 appears on Page 5

was a friend of the Arabs." Jamal Husseini reiterated his warning to the members of the United Nations Palestine Commission. Referring to the Lebanese proposal at the final session of the General Assembly, hinting at the possibility of a federal state in Palestine, the Palestine Arab leader said:

"We reject such a solution and will not accept any other than the extermination of the Zionists and complete independence for the whole of Palestine."

6. The Arab military commander in Palestine, Fawzi al-Kawukji (a Lebanese who took an active part in the Arab rebellion in Palestine before the war and who during the war worked in Germany as one of Hitler's Arab lieutenants), having crossed into Palestine on March 5,

*Translation of Plate 2**“Opening of Recruitment Offices for Tribesmen—
Directive to the Tribes Department to Prepare for Registration”*

*“Communique—*We are advised by the Directorate General for the Tribes that, following the opening of the people’s recruitment offices for the aid of Arab Palestine and the simultaneous urge and overpowering patriotic zeal to respond to the voice of duty for the preservation of the Arab character of this dear portion (Palestine) of the Arab homeland, numerous groups of sheikhs, chieftains and ordinary members of the various Syrian tribes have rushed to the offices of the tribes in the capital and districts, insistently demanding to be included among the fighters of the Holy War. They have sworn oaths to Allah to sacrifice their lives and property for this cause.

“Whereas the excessive number of tribal volunteers and the coordination of their enlistment with that of the settled population require that some system should be laid down to harmonize plans of action, therefore the Ministry for National Defence has approved this principle and begun to prepare the required directives for the realisation of a desire which emanates from a group of citizens who have an inborn inclination to acts of war and the bearing of arms. The cause of Palestine will greatly benefit by this group, on account of their attributes of perfect manhood, strong determination and solid Arabism. The instructions of the Defence Ministry will immediately be forwarded to the Directorate General of the Tribes to open recruitment offices in the Districts under the supervision of the Assistant Directors of Tribes and desert officers.

“(signed) MINISTER FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE”

Al-Qabas, Damascus, December 5, 1947.

1948, expressed the mood and objectives of Arab aggression in the following terms:

“Everything is ready. The battle starts when I give the word. I have come to Palestine to stay and fight until Palestine is a free united country or until I am killed and buried here. Our strength is adequate and infinite (sic). The armies have started flowing over the borders of Palestine and they will continue.”¹

On March 8, the Syrian Minister of Defence, Ahmed Sharabati, declared:

“We have obtained superior weapons with which to fight the Jews. As soon as the British army withdraws from Palestine the big fight will start.”²

¹ *Associated Press*, March 8.

² *United Press*, March 8.

PLATE 3

ANNOUNCEMENT BY SYRIAN MINISTER OF DEFENCE
ON RECRUITING IN ALEPPO

Al-Insha, Damascus, December 6, 1947

التطوع في حلب

بناء من قرار وزارة الدفاع اوطاي
تشكل في حلب ابتداء من تاريخ ٣ كانون
الاول ١٩٤٧ مكاتب التطوع: الاول
اطلاب المدارس في مدرسة التجريب الاول
من الساعة (١٤) الى الساعة (١٦).
والثاني: لسائر الاهل في المستشفى
المسكري بالرمضانية من الساعة (٨) الى
الساعة (١٠). وبعد الظهر من الساعة
(١٤) الى الساعة (١٦)

فعل الراغبين بالتطوع مراجعة هذين
المكاتبين كل فيما يخصه ابتداء من ١٢.١٢.٤٧

المقدم محمد جميل البرهاني
امر اللواء الثاني وقائد موقع حلب

Translation

"Enlistment in Aleppo"

"The Area Commander in Aleppo has issued the following communique to the noble people of Aleppo: In accordance with the decision of the Ministry for National Defence there have been formed in Aleppo, with effect from December 3, 1947, two Recruitment Offices for volunteers: The first for students—in the technical school, hours 14-16.

"The second for the rest of the population, in the military hospital in Ai-Ramadaniya, hours 8-10 a.m., 14-16 p.m. Those who wish to volunteer should apply to either of the above two offices.

"(signed) Major Mohammad Jamil al-Burhani, Commander of the Second Brigade and of the Aleppo Area"

Al-Insha, Damascus, December 6, 1947.

PLATE 4

GROUPS OF ARAB WARRIORS FOR PALESTINE
ASSEMBLING IN HOMS

"AL-INSHA", Damascus, 28.1.48
 فريق من مجاهدي السامية الناء، مرورهم في مدينة حمص . ويرى بينهم بعض المجاهدين من حمص
 قبل سفرهم الى ميدان التدريب (تصوير جوزيف عيسى - حمص)
 الانشاء (ص ١٠) 28.1.48

Translation

"Group of Holy Warriors from Selmiyah passing through Homs, including fighters from Homs before their journey to the training camp."
Al-Insha, Damascus, January 28, 1948.

These declarations, together with those quoted in the Jewish Agency's Memorandum of February 2, prove beyond any shadow of doubt that the incitement of the Arab peoples for aggression in Palestine is carried on by the Arab governments themselves; and that these governments in fact plan major operations against the Jews of Palestine to commence immediately upon the withdrawal of the British troops.

ACTUAL AGGRESSION

7. Since the Jewish Agency first submitted its report on Arab aggression, further attacks have taken place by large Arab forces on Jewish villages in various parts of the country. These attacks cannot be considered as phases of a Palestinian Arab revolt supported by external Arab forces. They are in reality acts of aggression by invading forces, assisted only to an insignificant extent by local Arabs. The true nature of Arab aggression is well illustrated in the attack by Arab forces on the village of Tirat Zvi in Beisan on February 16. This was carried out by the invading contingent which crossed the Jordan and concentrated in the Tubas Village on January 25. (See Memorandum of the Jewish Agency of February 2, 1948, para. 41). When the attack was repulsed with heavy Arab losses, Haganah forces carried out a thorough search of the bodies of Arab dead who were left on the field of battle. Full identification papers were found on 29 of them. Of the 29, fourteen were Syrians, three from Iraq, seven former members of the Transjordan Arab Legion, one a former member of the Transjordan Frontier Force, and one a soldier in the army of Saudi Arabia. Only three out of the 29 were ordinary civilian Palestinian Arabs who had volunteered for fighting.

8. All the major attacks which have so far taken place on Jewish villages, e. g., Kfar Szold, Yehiam, Tirat Zvi, Magdiel have been mainly carried out by Arab forces from abroad, the local Palestinian recruits playing only a subsidiary part. The total of the invading forces now in Palestine is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, 3,000 had arrived by the end of January, the remainder in February. The Syrians total about 2,500, of whom 300 entered Palestine on January 9 and 10, and 700 on January 21.³ Iraqi volunteers now in Palestine total about 2,500, of whom 900 arrived on January 31 and 1,200 on February 24. There are also a few hundred Lebanese and Egyptians. On or about December 28, some 600 Egyptian soldiers with their officers arrived at Damascus; some of them are reported to have since entered Palestine. On March 5, a group of 100 men from Egypt, uniformed and equipped, reached Gaza. Most of the Syrian volunteers have been identified as originating from Aleppo, Deir el-Zor, Homs and Hama. The Lebanese are all Moslems, mostly Metualis and residents of Tripoli, with a few

³ The infiltration of these bands is described in the report of the Mandatory Government to the United Nations Palestine Commission as quoted in the First Special Report of the United Nations Palestine Commission to the Security Council, February 16, 1948, paras. 7 and 8.



1-06-94

PLATE 5

ANNOUNCEMENT BY SYRIAN DEFENCE MINISTER ON PLACES
OF TRAINING IN DAMASCUS

"Al-Insha", Damascus, 6.12.47

امثلة تدريب المتطوعين

ادامت وزارة الدفاع الوطني يوم امس
الابلاغ التالي: ~~بموجب~~
ان وزارة الدفاع الوطني بدت بتنفيذ
اولا - ان التطوير في الاقضية
والمحافظات يتم بواسطة مراكز التدريب.
ثانيا - يبدأ تدريب المتطوعين في
مدارس التجيز والجامعة السورية اعتبارا
من بعد ظهر السبت الواقع في 6 - 12
1947
ثالثا - مكان التدريب لتطوعي الجامعة
السورية نكنة الحميدية.
ومكان التدريب لتطوعي مدارس
التجيز الملعب البلدي.

Translation

"Training of Volunteers in
Damascus"

"The Ministry for National Defence yesterday issued the following announcement:

"The Ministry for National Defence announces:

"(a) The enlistment of volunteers in the subdistricts and adjoining areas will be the responsibility of the gendarmerie stations.

"(b) The training of volunteers in preparatory schools and the Syrian University will begin as from Saturday p.m., December 6, 1947.

"(c) The volunteers from the Syrian University will train in the al-Hamidia Barracks. The volunteers from the preparatory schools will begin train on the municipal playgrounds."

Al-Insha, Damascus, December 6, 1947.

Druses. The northern districts of Syria have evidently been the center of special recruiting efforts by the Ministry of National Defence, as can be seen from the announcements published in PLATES 2, 3 AND 4. A staff officer of Fawzi al-Kawukji has made it plain that "Arabs of Palestine play only a supporting role in the plans of the Yarmuk Army" (the name given to the Arab guerrilla formations). He added: "They (the Palestine Arabs) can blow a bridge here or there, but for military operations they just get in the way."⁴

⁴ Associated Press, March 5.

INVASION OF PALESTINE BY ARAB FORCES

9. In an official statement dated February 4, 1948, the Mandatory Power reported in detail on three incidents of infiltration by considerable Arab forces from Syria and Iraq via Transjordan. The Mandatory Power did not report in similar detail on measures, if any, which the Palestine Government had taken to prevent these invasions or to eject the invaders. The Jewish Agency has drawn attention to the gravity of this problem in its Memorandum to the United Nations Palestine Commission of February 21 and in an oral submission to the Security Council on February 27. On the latter occasion, the Jewish Agency representative said:

“The gravest problem of all arises in connection with the continued incursion of Arab armed forces from outside. The Government . . . maintains, to all apparent appearances, an attitude of almost complete resignation and helplessness—or indifference—in the face of this steady piecemeal invasion of a territory which is still in its charge. According to the information of the Jewish Agency, so far seven contingents have crossed into Palestine through the northern and eastern frontiers, numbering between them some 4,000 to 4,500 men. They did not infiltrate in small groups; they came each time hundreds of men together, mostly in well organised convoys of motor-trucks. They crossed bridges and travelled along highways. With one or two exceptions their entry was entirely unhindered. Is it conceivable that no advance information could be obtained regarding the movements of these columns and no effective guard could be maintained at the main entrances or crossings? On one occasion the Jewish Agency succeeded in warning the authorities 48 hours in advance of an impending crossing. Yet nothing was done to prevent it and the contingent crossed safely and pitched its tents near a large Arab village⁵ where it remained unmolested until the men were presumably posted to various centres. The Administration now admits that certain parts of Palestine are under the virtual control of the commanders of these foreign forces. They are increasingly active in offensive operations. How can the general public then resist the impression that preparations are openly tolerated for the proclamation of Arab rule, local

⁵ The village of Tubas, from where, as has since been established, the attack was launched on Tirat Zvi on February 16.

PLATE 6

SYRIAN PRIME MINISTER WITH FAWZI AL-KAWUKJI
AT QATANA CAMP NEAR DAMASCUS



مريضة الجمعة، فبادرت السلطات إوقيل لنحمر له هناك استمر
لجان من يهود
بعد ذلك
العسكرية
لدة اليهود،
العرب
يهودية : ان
ير يشنه

"AL-MISRI", Cairo, 10.2.48

Jamil Mardam, Syrian
Premier, at the Qatana
barracks (near Damascus),
where "Palestine volunteers"
are undergoing training.

البريطانية
هذه المساج
بمصادمات
الهم
وجاء به
اليهودية في
قوة عربية

الموضوع مهم .. هذا الذي
أظهر علامات الجذ واضحة على
تسمات وجوه كل من فوزي
القواقجي بك وصالح حرب باشا
ودولة جميل مردم بك .. انه
موضوع انقاذ فلسطين .. الموضوع
الذي يشغل بال كل عربي في
الشرق الاوسط

Translation

"It is an important subject which gives rise to the serious expressions on the faces of Fawzi al-Kawukji Bey, Saleh Harb Pasha, and His Excellency Jamil Mardam Bey. The subject is the rescue of Palestine—a subject which occupies the mind of every Arab in the Middle East."

Al-Masri, Cairo, February 10, 1948.

PLATE 7

LEBANESE DEFENCE MINISTER AND ARMY COMMANDER
OVERLOOKING HULEH VALLEY*Translation*

"The Emir Majid Arslan, Lebanese Minister of Defence (left), and General Fuad Shahab, Commander of the Army, look out over the Huleh Valley. . . . The Minister of Defence and the Army Commander of Lebanon were present as observers last Friday at the attack on Kfar Szold."

Ha-aretz, Tel-Aviv, January 14, 1948.

האמיר מג'יד ארסלאן, מניסטר ההגנה הלבנוני (שמאל) והגנרל
פואד שאהאב, מספר הצבא, משקיפים על עמק החולה
כפי שהודיע "הארץ" ביום ב' שעבר, 12.1.48, נכחו בהתקפה על כפר סולד ביום ו'
הקודם כמשקיפים מניסטר ההגנה והמפקד הכללי של הצבא בלבנון.

or foreign, over large parts of Palestine, in complete disregard of the United Nations decision and under conditions of mortal peril to the Jewish population concerned?"

In an address to the Security Council on March 2, in which he joined issue with the spokesman of the Jewish Agency on a number of points, the United Kingdom representative made no reference at all to these incursions which undoubtedly constitute the most serious threat to peace in Palestine at the present time.

10. In the British House of Commons on February 4, Mr. Creech-Jones referred in the following terms to the invasion of Palestine by armed Arab bands:

"It will be appreciated that the security forces in Palestine have a frightfully difficult job, and it is exceedingly difficult to maintain a watch over complete frontiers."



Preparations for the invasion of Palestine. At the Helwan Barracks in Egypt.

RS IN EGYPT



Al-Musawwar, Cairo, January 10, 1948.

crossed on the night of January 20-21 came by the Sheikh Hussein bridge, which was guarded by the Arab Legion as part of the British forces; and the Jewish Agency had given warning of this incursion 48 hours before it took place. The party of 950 men which crossed on January 29-30 came over the Jisr Dhamiya (Yabbok) Bridge, according to the Mandatory Power's own record.⁶ On March 5, 1948, Fawzi al-Kawukji himself crossed into Palestine, by his own admission, at the Allenby Bridge. His convoy comprised scores of vehicles. It is difficult to assume that so many incursions could possibly have taken place if the Mandatory Power had been genuinely determined to prevent them.

11. Arab sources also express surprise at the ease with which these incursions take place. The Jerusalem correspondent of a Cairo newspaper has described the formation by foreign Arab invaders of a well-organised bridgehead and base in the Tulkarm-Nablus-Jenin triangle. He writes:

"In Northern Palestine the invaders have become stronger and exert greater influence than the British. The frontiers of Syria and Lebanon with Palestine are practically non-existent as far as the invaders are concerned. British constables and soldiers at frontier stations do not appear outside of the gates in order not to become targets of the fire of the invaders. Checking of all traffic in North Palestine and every other place where the invaders are stationed has passed into the hands of the latter. Even the British stop and let their cars be checked. The number of invaders is growing daily without hindrance. It is believed that by May 15 their numbers will reach into tens of thousands of well-armed fighters who will be able to seize control in most parts of the country in a short time. A major offensive will probably be launched as soon as the Security Council ends its deliberations."^{6a}

12. On March 3, *Al-Ahram* likewise published a report of a special correspondent who declared boastfully that entry from Syria and Lebanon had become very easy and that Kawukji's men were now the sole rulers in large areas of Northern Palestine.

13. The forces from the neighboring states now operating in Palestine do not, as has already been pointed out, rely on full local

⁶ United Nations Palestine Commission First Special Report to the Security Council February 16, 1948, paras. 8 and 9.

^{6a} *Al-Masri*, March 3, 1948.

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS IN EGYPT



"From Helwan to Palestine"

Musamarat al-Jeib, Cairo, February 15, 1948.

support. Actually the invasion from outside is proceeding in the teeth of the sullen opposition and resentment of large sections of the local Arab population. Although the outside forces have so far brought their supplies with them and are now trying to avoid the mistake committed by their predecessors in the 1936-1938 rebellion who lived on the Palestine villages, they generally proceed on arrival to lay down the law and continue to interfere with local affairs. From many villages reports come in of the growing discontent with this virtual subjection to foreign occupation. Nowhere has the clash between the ambitious plans of the invading army and the vital interests of the local population been more patently exhibited than in Jaffa. This Arab town came under the virtual control of an Iraqi commander, by the name of Adil Nijm-ed-Din, in the first week of February, 1948. At that time negotiations were in progress between the Mayor of Jaffa and the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, initiated by the former through a British intermediary, for a truce between the two cities. The Iraqi commander issued peremptory orders for the immediate cessation of these negotiations. Upon the remonstrance of the Mayor of Jaffa, Yusuf Haykal, who pleaded that this would mean the utter ruin of his town, he was reported to have replied:

“I don't mind the destruction of Jaffa if we secure the destruction of Tel-Aviv.”

OFFICIAL PREPARATIONS FOR FUTURE AGGRESSION

14. The Syrian Government, whose eligibility for its present membership of the Security Council is based, according to Article 23 of the Charter, “in the first instance on its contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security,” continues to play the leading role in the perpetration and planning of the campaign of Arab aggression. The responsibility of that Government for frontier violations in January has been recognized by the United Kingdom Government, as can be seen from the following extract of Parliamentary Reports, dated February 4, 1948:

“Mrs. Nichol asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if any reply has been received from the Syrian Government to the protest of His Majesty's Government against the attack in the North of Palestine which took place on January 9; and what action does His Majesty's Government contemplate to prevent further violations of the frontier.

“Mr. Bevin: The Syrian Government have replied verbally to the protest made by His Majesty’s Minister in Damascus. They have been left in no doubt as to the serious view that would be taken by His Majesty’s Government of any further violations of the Palestine frontier.”

The activities of the Syrian Government on behalf of aggression in Palestine received the following personal testimony from the Egyptian Ahmed Hussein who came to Syria at the head of an Egyptian contingent. On February 6 he made the following statement in a press interview:

“I saw all the departments of the Syrian Government doing their utmost to help Palestine. Syrian army stores are emptied to provide the volunteers with all the arms and equipment they need. Dozens of Syrian army officers daily present their resignations to join the volunteers; so do a great number of representatives and high ranking government officials.”⁷

15. In his declaration to *Al-Ahram* of February 25, 1948,⁸ the Lebanese Prime Minister, Riad al Solh, reiterated the determination of his government to “nourish the battlefield of Arab holy war in Palestine with money, equipment, and men.”

16. PLATES 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 contain the original texts of recruiting announcements issued officially by the Syrian Ministry of Defence; a photograph showing the Syrian Prime Minister conferring with Fawzi al-Kawukji at the Qatana training camp for volunteers near Damascus; and a photograph taken on January 10 showing the Lebanese Defence Minister and the Chief of Staff of the Lebanese Army overlooking the Huleh Valley during the attack by Arab bands on Kfar Szold.

17. In recent weeks the Egyptian Government, too, has considerably increased its contribution to all phases of Arab aggression. On February 1, it was reported that “the Egyptian Government had prepared a large area in the Almaza desert (on the outskirts of Cairo) for training Egyptian volunteers who wish to go to Palestine to assist the Arabs there.”⁹ The leader of the Egyptian volunteers, Ahmed Hussein, published an article in *Al-Ahram* on February 2

⁷ *Roz al-Yusef*, February 11, 1948.

⁸ which has already been quoted.

⁹ *Musamarat al-Jeib*, Cairo, February 1, 1948.

EGYPT'S CONTRIBUTION

انها قد نفذت قرارات الجامعة العربية
 وادت نصيبها المفروض عليها كأي دولة
 عربية اخرى . ذلك انه اذا كانت هناك
 معسكرات تدريب تقام الآن في سوريا،
 وتجهز حملات التطوعين بالسلاح وتمد
 بالذخيرة والعتاد . فهذا كله يتم على نفقة
 الجامعة العربية التي تدفع مصر ٤٢ %
 من مآلتها .
 فقد وضعت تحت تصرف الجامعة
 العربية ما يقرب من مليون جنيه .
 وساهمت بقية البلاد العربية الستة
 بمليون جنيه آخر .
 وقد فرص على الدول العربية تقديم
 كمية معينة من السلاح وفرض على مصر
 قدر يبادل هذه الكمية . ولقد ادت
 مصر أكثر من حصتها وسلمت السلاح
 الى زعماء فلسطين لتوزيعه على
 المناطق المحررة في فلسطين

(21) ١٢٣
 ٢٠٢

"Al-Ahram", Cairo, 2.2.48

قضية فلسطين

ومجهود مصر في سبيلها

هائى حيسا كنت فى سوريا ان الراى
 العام لسورى لا علم له بما بذلته مصر
 وتبذله من جهود من اجل فلسطين .
 والذى ان غمط مصر حقها قد تناول
 بعض الرجال المسئولين فلما عدت الى
 القاهرة دهنتكس الدهش، اذ وجدت
 ان المصريين انفسهم يتصورون ان بلادهم
 لم تفعل شيئا فى سبيل فلسطين . وهنا
 عذرت اخواننا السوريين اذا تصوروا
 فيما التصور والمجز .

ليس من شك فى ان مصر لم تفعل
 بعد كل ما ينبغي ان تفعله من اجل
 فلسطين . ولكن الذى لا نستطيع
 والذى يجب ان يعرفه كل مصرى وعربى

Article by Ahmed Hussein in *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, February 2, 1948. (Quoted in Paragraph 17 of this Memorandum).

(reproduced in PLATE 11), in which he announced that his government had contributed one million pounds, being 46 per cent of the total sum subscribed till then by all the Arab governments for the equipment of armed forces of war in Palestine. Ahmed Hussein went on to reveal that the Egyptian Government had donated "more than its quota" of arms for distribution to Arab forces in Palestine. After the recent session of the Arab League at the end of February, a further amount of £20,000 pounds was, according to *Akbar el-Yom*, contributed by the

Egyptian Government. On February 6, in the interview already mentioned, Ahmed Hussein described his own arrival in Syria with the "Mustafa Wakil"¹⁰ group, and his subsequent participation in attacks on Jewish settlements in North Palestine. In the same article, Ahmed Hussein declared that the object of his visit was "to stress the necessity of opening a front in southern Palestine with Egyptian forces fighting under the Egyptian flag." On February 11, it was reported that the Egyptian government had permitted 174 army officers and men to volunteer on six months leave for action in Palestine.¹¹

18. Photographs showing the training of volunteers for Palestine in the Egyptian army barracks at Helwan will be found in PLATES 9 and 10.

ORGANISATION, PLANNING AND COMMAND

19. At the Arab Prime Ministers' Conference in Cairo on December 16, the Syrian Government was entrusted with the training and overall organisation of Arab forces for aggression in Palestine. (See the Memorandum of the Jewish Agency of February 2, para. 29). In accordance with this arrangement, the President of the Syrian Republic convened a conference in his official residence on February 5 at which the Iraqi generals, Ismail Safwat Pasha and Taha Pasha el-Hashimi, were appointed to their respective commands in the "Arab Liberation Army," and Fawzi al-Kawukji was entrusted with the direction of guerrilla warfare in Palestine. The following account of the meeting was published:

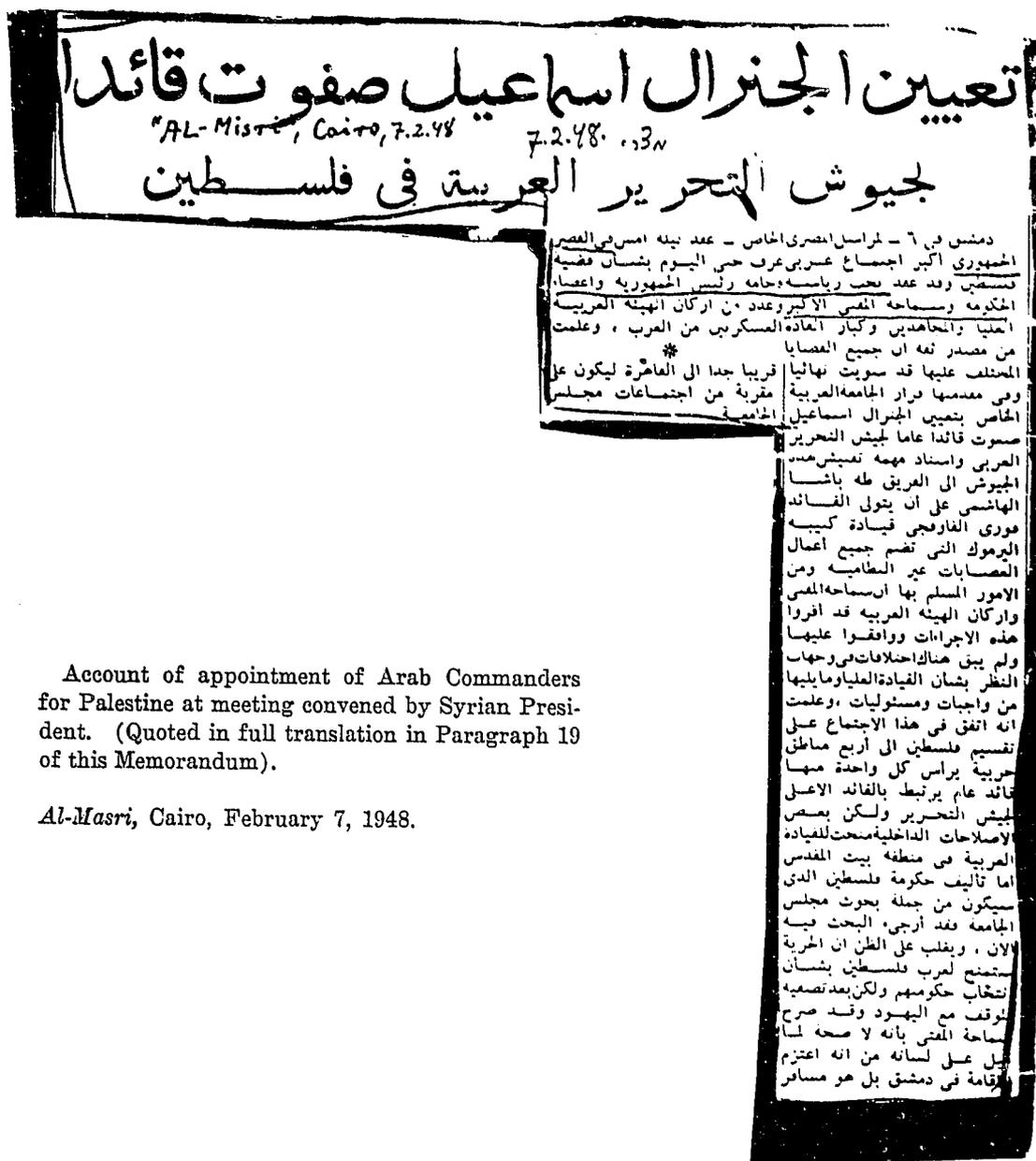
"THE APPOINTMENT OF GEN. ISMAIL SAFWAT AS COMMANDER OF THE
ARAB LIBERATION ARMIES IN PALESTINE"

"Damascus, Feb. 6—(from the Special Correspondent of *Al-Masri*). The most important Arab meeting ever held on the issue of Palestine was convened yesterday night in the Palace of the Republic. His Excellency the President of the Republic presided. The members of the Cabinet, His Eminence, the Great Mufti, some of the leading members of the Arab Higher Executive and 'fighters of the Holy War,' as well as prominent Arab military commanders attended.

¹⁰ Mustafa Wakil was an Egyptian pro-Nazi collaborator who died in Germany during the war.

¹¹ *Roz al-Yusef*, February 11, 1948.

APPOINTMENT OF ARAB COMMAND



Account of appointment of Arab Commanders for Palestine at meeting convened by Syrian President. (Quoted in full translation in Paragraph 19 of this Memorandum).

Al-Masri, Cairo, February 7, 1948.

“All controversial issues were finally settled, according to a trustworthy source. In the first place, the decision of the Arab League was ratified to the effect that General Ismail Safwat Pasha be appointed Commander in Chief of the Arab Liberation Army. General Taha Pasha el-Hashimi was nominated Inspector of the Liberation Armies and Commander Fawzi al-Kawukji was entrusted with the command of the Al-Yarmuk formation comprising the operations of the irregular units. It was agreed at the same meeting to divide Palestine into four military areas, each of which will be under a commanding officer, responsible to the Commander in Chief.”¹² (Text is reproduced in PLATE 12).

20. On January 26, the Beirut newspaper, *Al-Nidal*, reported the arrival in Lebanon of sixteen German officers who were to train Arabs in the use and manufacture of explosives. The Arab formation now at Nazareth is under the command of a German officer and a Moslem officer of Yugoslav origin, Mohammed Kamal.

21. Upon the arrival of Fawzi al-Kawukji in Palestine, his staff officer made an announcement regarding the strategy of the Arab command in Palestine. It was planned, he explained, to consolidate large Arab forces in the environs of Nazareth, Safad, Jenin and Nablus and in the hill countries southwards towards Jerusalem. “Present operations,” he added, “constituted the secondary phase of the overall strategy—testing the enemy’s strength.” The third and final phase would be a general assault on Jewish strong points.

22. In an interview given to a representative of *Al-Difaa*, a newspaper of Jaffa, on March 9, the Syrian Defence Minister, Ahmed Sharabati, explained that Arab fighters do not intend to attack the British since they have declared their opposition to partition and their readiness to evacuate Palestine. He stated that decisive fighting would come after May 15, but until then Arabs would attack Jews in every place evacuated by the British. By May 15, he added, the Arabs would possess all necessary equipment and supplies.

23. The Jewish Agency has referred elsewhere (Memorandum on British Policy in Palestine, February 21) to the control of the Old City of Jerusalem with its Holy Places by armed bands under the command of Sheikh Bakri. More recently, these bands, with the apparent acqui-

¹² *Al-Masri*, Cairo, February 7, 1948.

ARAB GANGS IN JERUSALEM



في منطقة القدس القديمة داخل السور الضخم ، وقف بعض رجال الحرس الوطني من العرب المجاهدين يؤدون مهمة الرقابة والدفاع . ومن خلفهم الشيخ يسن البكري - الزعيم الروحي للمنطقة والمشرف على الدفاع عنها بمعونة نخبة من المجاهدين الأحرار

Sheikh Bakri commanding Arab snipers within the walls of the Old City.
Al-Musawwar, Cairo, February 20, 1948.

PLATE 14

ARAB GANGS IN JERUSALEM



"Al-Yom", Beirut, ١٣. ٢. ٤٨

زار قائد منطقة القدس العسكري فندق «باترا» في المدينة القديمة بدعوة من
فضيلة الشيخ ياسين بكري، ويرى هنا الى جانب فضيلة الشيخ مع بعض الضباط
بحرسهم رجال الحرس الوطني العربي المسلحون بالاسلحة الاوتوماتيكية •

Sheikh Bakri receiving courtesy visit by British Area Commander of Jerusalem at Hotel Patra in the Old City.

Al-Yom, Beirut, February 13, 1948.

escence of the Mandatory Power, have consolidated their virtual control of this area, whose religious associations led to the adoption of the General Assembly's plan for a demilitarised and international Jerusalem. In PLATES 13 and 14, two photographs are reproduced: one shows Sheikh Bakri commanding Arab snipers within the walls, and

the other represents him receiving a courtesy visit from the British Area Commander. PLATE 15 reveals the impunity with which Arab gangs can impose control on the Old City of Jerusalem.

EFFECTS OF ARAB AGGRESSION

24. In its Report to the Security Council on February 16, 1948, the United Nations Palestine Commission states:

“Powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine are defying the Resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein.”

It is clear from all the evidence that the “powerful Arab interests” outside Palestine are the governments of Arab States; *and that it is mainly this external aggression which invests the security problem in Palestine with its present acuteness and gravity.* Without the manpower, funds and equipment supplied by foreign governments, the disturbances in Palestine, where the bulk of the Arab population has shown little disposition for conflict, would have never become a major military issue. In its task of securing peaceful conditions for the implementing of the General Assembly’s Resolution, the United Nations thus appears to be faced with nothing more nor less than the task of securing the observance of the Charter by member states who, in defiance of Article 2, employ “the threat and use of force in their international relations.” During the discussions of the General Assembly, the representative of the United States declared that his government assumed “that there would be Charter observance.” This assumption, however reasonable it might have appeared in view of the Charter’s compelling hold on the loyal adherence of member states, has not materialised. Another assumption current at the time was that the Mandatory Power would, in accordance with its own declarations, “maintain law and order” in Palestine until the termination of the Mandate. The maintenance of law and order in a country cannot conceivably be so interpreted as to exclude the vigilant protection of frontiers against foreign armies avowedly bent on aggression. It must therefore be concluded that an unexpected dereliction of duty by the Mandatory has allowed Arab aggression to reach its present degree of menace.

25. The General Assembly recommended on November 29 that “any attempt to alter by force . . . the settlement envisaged by this Resolution” should be determined as “a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace and an act of aggression.” The United Nations Palestine

PLATE 15

PROCESSION OF ARAB WARRIORS THROUGH JERUSALEM



"*Musawwar*" *Cairo*, 20.2.48
 فريق من المجاهدين العرب الاشواوس ، يحملون عتادهم وذخيرتهم ومؤونتهم ، ويجتازون أحد شوارع القدس
 العربية ، في طريقهم إلى الموقع الذي عين لهم للصمود فيه ومنع رجال الهاجانا والجيش البريطاني من الوصول إلى
 الحي اليهودي المحاصر وتعوين سكانه . . وقد استند مساعد العرب بالقدس بعد وصول إمداد من الأصاحبة إليهم

Translation—in part

"Arab warriors . . . on their way to their appointed positions to prevent Haganah and British troops from reaching the besieged Jewish quarter of Jerusalem and feeding its inhabitants."

Al-Musawwar, Cairo, February 20, 1948.

Commission reported on February 16 that there does exist "an effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged" in the General Assembly's Resolution. In the Security Council on February 24, the representative of the United States declared:

"Attempts to frustrate the General Assembly's recommendation by the threat or use of force, or by incitement to force, on the part of states or people outside Palestine are contrary to the Charter."

On March 5 the representative of France said in the Security Council:

"This recommendation (of the General Assembly) exists . . . There can be no discussion as to its application and its binding character upon all the organs of the United Nations, including, of course, the Security Council . . .

"It is quite inadmissible that any state member of the United Nations, in a territory which is not its own, should by armed force oppose the efforts of the other members of the United Nations to implement a resolution of the General Assembly. Such action goes much further than mere abstention from participation in implementation, which the Charter allows. We are faced here with open revolt . . . which is clearly contrary to the Charter."

26. The Jewish Agency fully subscribes to these interpretations of the effects on the Charter of aggressive acts aiming at the alteration of the General Assembly's Resolution by force. To resist any such alteration is therefore not only a dictate of Jewish national survival; it is also an exigency of the Charter and an essential process in the defence of international law. The sufferings of two generations have implanted in the hearts of their survivors a lesson which the United Nations Palestine Commission has concisely expressed:

"A dangerous and tragic precedent will have been established if force, or the threat of the use of force, is to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations."

27. It is impossible, in the face of such cumulative evidence, to deny that Arab governments are planning and executing operations which create a threat to the peace in Palestine, for the purpose of imposing the settlement which the General Assembly rejected last November. It should not require a long process of determination to assess these activities in their proper terms. If there is no threat to peace here—then war is no threat to peace.

Pandick Press



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