

## November 29, 1947 The Story of a Vote

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrIjzUK0FKg>

### Background Material

*This material is designed to help you introduce the video and prepare young people to view it with understanding. You can tailor the message to the group, depending on the ages and backgrounds of participants.*

#### What was special about 1947?

Jewish links to the Land of Israel go back thousands of years. According to the Biblical story, God promised the land to Abraham and his descendants “to eternity.” (Genesis 13:15) It was the site of the great Jewish Temples, of David’s kingdom and of the 12 tribes of Israel. While the Jews ruled the area during much of Biblical times and afterwards, the Second Temple fell to the Romans in the year 70 CE and for nearly 2,000 years the Jews were not sovereign there.

Through these centuries, Jews around the world never forgot their connection to Israel. At the Passover Seder we say, “Next year in Jerusalem,” and when Jews pray they face Jerusalem.

While the Jewish people never gave up the hope of one day regaining sovereignty in the land of their forefathers, many centuries passed in which they did little to bring about a return. It is important to note that, even during almost 2,000 years of exile, there was never a time when no Jews lived in the Land of Israel, under an ever-changing cast of regional and global powers.

Only in the late 1800s did Jews begin to take concrete action to return to Israel en masse. Early waves of Zionists came from Eastern Europe, drawn by a complex mix of yearnings for Zion and a desire to flee increasingly anti-Semitic, violent realities in the places their families had lived for generations.

In 1897, Theodor Herzl, the father of Modern Zionism, convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, with the express purpose of advancing efforts to create a Jewish homeland in the Land of Israel. At the conclusion of the Congress, the delegates approved a statement which said:

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:



1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.<sup>1</sup>

At the conclusion of the Congress, Herzl wrote in his diary:

*In Basel, I founded the Jewish state. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will recognize this.*

Of course, when Herzl wrote those words, in September 1897, neither he nor anyone else could have foreseen the horrific calamity that would befall European Jewry four decades later. Even Herzl, who was terribly concerned about European anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews, never imagined the lengths to which Nazi Germany would go to try to erase any Jewish presence in the world.

But if you think for just a moment about his secret prediction, and you look at the calendar, you realize that he was exactly right in his estimate – precisely 50 years after he wrote those words in Basel, the United Nations was asked to vote on a plan to partition Palestine into two states. One would be for the Arabs of Palestine. The other would be the state that Herzl so audaciously believed he had founded at the First Zionist Congress in 1897.

The final steps leading to the vote at the United Nations' temporary headquarters, in Lake Success, NY, are the focus of the video we are about to see today.

#### Why did the Jews need a state?

Herzl believed that the Jews needed a state because he had come to the conclusion that Jews never would be fully accepted in other countries. He believed that if they had a homeland, with a sovereign government, all Jews would enjoy greater security wherever they lived.

Remember that Herzl began his quest for Jewish statehood long before the rise of the Nazis and long before the annihilation of European Jewry began. There can be no denying, however, that the tragedy of six million Jews killed in Europe focused the world's attention on the need.

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<sup>1</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel Arab Reader*, pp. 9-10

### Who was in charge of Palestine before it became Israel?

Great Britain held the mandate for Palestine, granted to it by the League of Nations (the predecessor of the UN.) The British had seen Palestine as an important part of their global empire, but after World War Two came to an end, they realized they could not hold onto the land indefinitely. In fact, 30 years earlier, in 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Arthur James Balfour, had issued an important declaration called the Balfour Declaration, which said:

“His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

It is important to stress that, while the Holocaust certainly underscored the need for a Jewish state, it did not create the need or the movement to establish Israel.

Early in 1947, the British notified the UN that they planned to leave Palestine, and the UN appointed a special committee to make recommendations about what to do with the territory. The committee recommended partitioning Palestine into two states: one for the Arabs and one for the Jews. In November, 1947, the proposal to do just that came to the floor of the United Nations.

### What did the Arabs and Jews of Palestine say about the plan to partition Palestine?

The Partition Plan as proposed by the UN divided the land into two states that intersected and crossed each other in several places. Jerusalem – holy to Jews, Christians and Muslims – was to be under international rule.

The Arab High Committee for Palestine rejected the plan outright, saying they would not accept a Jewish state in the Arab Middle East under any circumstances.

There was serious debate among the Zionists in Palestine over how to greet the plan. Many said that the Jews deserved all of the territory, or at least that they should demand better, more defensible, borders. Ultimately, those who wanted to accept the plan – led by David Ben-Gurion, who was the leader of the Zionist movement and would become Israel's first prime minister – prevailed and the Zionists welcomed the Partition Plan.

## Biographical Notes

Some of the people who appear in the video are (*in order of appearance*):

**Zipporah Porath:** A journalism student from New York, she won a scholarship to study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1947-1948. During that time, the campus, on Mt. Scopus, became cut off from the rest of the city due to the fighting that erupted after the UN vote. She was inducted into the Haganah, became a part of the struggle for statehood, and has lived in Israel since then. Her letters home provided vivid descriptions of the breathtaking events she witnessed. After her mother's death in the US, 40 years later, she discovered a box filled with those letters and she turned them into a riveting book called *Letters From Jerusalem 1947-1948*.

**Suzy Eban:** The Cairo-born wife of the Jewish Agency's representative to the United Nations. Her husband, Abba Eban, went on to become Israel's foreign minister and one of its most eloquent spokespeople.

**Uri Lubrani:** The representative of the Haganah in London, he went on to hold senior Israeli government and diplomatic positions. He served as Israel's ambassador to Ethiopia, Uganda and Iran, the architect of Israel's rescue of Ethiopian Jewry, chief negotiator for the return of captive soldiers, negotiator in regional peace talks and advisor to prime ministers and other senior government officials.

**Ralph Goldman:** Worked in acquisitions for the Haganah in the US. In later years, he would lead the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which aids and supports Jews in Israel and around the world.

**Mordechai Chertoff:** American-born former foreign news editor, *The Palestine Post*. After Israel gained independence, he returned to the US. In recent years, he moved back to Israel, where he lives today.

**Eliezer Lev-Tzion:** A fighter in the Palmach, the elite strike force of the Zionist Movement's Haganah fighters.

**Eliezer Tsafir:** A fighter in the Haganah, he went on to serve in the Israeli Mossad and Shin Bet security services.

**Yehuda Avner:** Born in Britain, he was a young student in Jerusalem in 1947. He went on to be an Israeli diplomat, advisor to prime ministers and author of a book about Israeli prime ministers.

## Discussion Questions

1. We know from Suzy Eban that the ride home from Lake Success back to Manhattan was in complete silence. Imagine you were in the car and there was an actual conversation, what do you think they would have talked about?
2. There is a notion of “eyewitness to history”. Have you ever been at any event or lived through any time where you felt as if you were an “eyewitness to history”? If so, what was the event and how did it make you feel?
3. Imagine that you were at the U.N. on November 29th. You are a diplomat from a country that voted for the partition, a country that abstained and a country that voted against the partition. What do you imagine were the arguments for your position that you would make to your colleagues?
4. At this season of Chanukah, we celebrate the legend of the oil lasting 8 days, the Chanukah miracle. Many believe that the establishment of the State of Israel is a miracle as well. Do you agree? Why or why not? Have you ever experienced a miracle? Share your miracle with your class.
5. This video tells the story of November 29th, a date that may be new to you. This date has powerful meaning for those who experienced this historic event. Can you think of a date in your life or the life of your family that may not be important to anyone else, but is very important to you? (i.e. a birthday, anniversary, date someone finished medical treatment, date of adoption, date you celebrate getting a new pet)
6. You have learned something about the Balfour Declaration and its promise of a national homeland for the Jews. Why do you think that promise was so important and one that the Jewish world wanted to see come to fruition so badly? Click [here](#) for the Balfour Declaration and other primary source material.
7. When David Ben Gurion, who ultimately became Israel’s first Prime Minister declared the state in formation, he called it the Hebrew state as the name had not yet been chosen. Why do you think he chose the term “the Hebrew state”? What is the importance of Hebrew in this context?

8. You heard a number of people speak of their experience regarding this important date in Jewish history. Your grandparents may remember this day. Go home and ask them if they remember either November 29, 1947 or any other date associated with Israel's history. Ask them how it felt to hear the news and how their family and friends reacted.
9. All of us have artifacts at home that tell a piece of our family history. In the film, one such artifact was the checklist of the countries voting record on partition. What do you have at home that tells a unique part of your family's story? (Students could be encouraged to bring in such an artifact and parents can be encouraged to attend and hear each other's stories).
10. The video shares with us a variety of stories that describe how the votes had to be carefully won - one by one by one - finding the man in the bathroom, making sure the Philippines' envoy got the message. This is also true for so much that we do - take health care legislation as an example. What does this mean for how we act in the world?
11. At the end of the video, you hear how Jews are now for the first time "subjects of history as opposed to objects of history." What does the speaker mean by this and where does Chanukah fall on this continuum?

## Questions to Consider While Watching the Video

1. As you watch the video, think about:
  - a. Which interviewee you identify with most and why.
  - b. How your life would be different today if the UN had voted not to establish a Jewish state in Palestine.
    - Would it matter to you? Your parents and grandparents? Other Jews in your community and around the world?
  - c. Whether you can imagine yourself dancing the hora with the people who gathered outside the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem. What do you think people spoke about as they danced?
2. What is “the dream of 2,000 years” that Zipporah Porath refers to?
3. Yehuda Avner says that for 20 centuries, other people made decisions for the Jews, but on November 29, 1947, the Jews took control of their own destiny. Zipporah Porath said, “That’s when we started imagining what might be.” Do you think they are surprised at what Israel has become? Why or why not?
4. Why do you think the British refused to let more Jews immigrate to Palestine?
5. Why was the support of Belgium, Sweden, Haiti and the Philippines so important?
6. Imagine the tension felt by the people who were responsible for lining up votes in favor of the plan. How do you think Uri Lubrani felt when he heard the Philippines’ delegate vote in favor?
7. The United States and the Soviet Union – the world’s two superpowers, who rarely agreed on anything in the UN – both voted in support of the plan. What might have motivated each of these countries to support partition?
8. As you watch the roll call, try to keep track of the votes. Yes, No, Abstain.
9. Why were Mordechai Chertoff and Yehuda Avner so surprised that British soldiers celebrated with them?

## Suggested Activities

- **Imagine** that you are standing before the huge crowd of people dancing in front of the Jewish Agency building in downtown Jerusalem just moments after the UN vote. It's one week before Chanukah, and you are celebrating a new day of freedom. What would you say to the crowd?
- **Ask your grandparents** or other older acquaintances what they remember about the United Nations vote in 1947. If they don't have a special story to share, keep looking for someone who does.
  - Draw a picture or make a short presentation that depicts these memories. You might tell about the story you heard, or you might re-enact it!
- **Sing a Song of Freedom**

The Zionist pioneers in Palestine used to sing this song as they celebrated Chanukah:

Anu Nosim Lapidim/We Are Carrying Torches/ **אנו נושאים לפידים**

- <http://www.zemereshet.co.il/song.asp?id=357> (Hebrew, with audio link)
- <http://www.hebrewsongs.com/?song=anunosimlapidim> (English and transliteration)

The Zionists believed that the Jewish people needed to work hard to achieve their dream of independence in Israel. Like the Macabbees, who fought hard against their enemies, the Jews who struggled to line up the votes for the United Nations plan took matters into their own hands.

- Have you ever wanted something so badly that you were willing to sacrifice for it? Describe the situation, what you did and what happened.
- Why do you think the Zionist pioneers stressed the lack of a miracle in this song?
- How could you incorporate the Zionist struggle for Jewish nationhood into your family's celebration of Chanukah?

- **Letters From Jerusalem 1947-1948 by Zipporah Porath\***

Exactly one year after the United Nations vote – and six months after Israel declared its independence – Zipporah Porath wrote a letter from Jerusalem to her family in America. The new country was still at war with its neighbors, fighting for its very survival. Zippy wrote:

*Like everything else here, it has happened very fast, too fast – the twenty-ninth of November is just a red-letter day on the calendar. A fighting people hasn't time to be sentimental.*

*...I can't believe this year. So much has happened, but the most important thing by far is the birth of the State. I've been part of it and it will forever be part of me. I guess that means I am telling you I intend to see this war through and then remain on, whatever happens. This is now my home.*

- What makes a person feel so connected to something new and different?
  - Ask participants to share their own stories of commitment to new, unconventional passions, or to ask their families to share stories of coming to America, spending time in Israel or embarking on other adventures that veered from the “normal” path their lives was taking.
- Zippy Porath went to Jerusalem to study for a year because she won a scholarship. She never returned to the United States. Why do you think she changed the course of her life so completely? How big a role do you think the events of Nov. 29, 1947 – the day that everything changed – played in her decision?

\*For more information on her book: <http://www.amazon.com/Letters-Jerusalem-1947-1948-Zipporah-Porath/dp/9652221104>

- When Everything Changes....

How do you sum up world-changing news in a headline? See how the New York Times and a large Hebrew-language paper in Palestine handled the challenge the day after the UN vote.

- Write a headline for the miracle of Chanukah
- Write a headline for the biggest life-changing news that has affected your life
- Write a headline you hope to read in the newspaper one day



- **The Partition Plan**

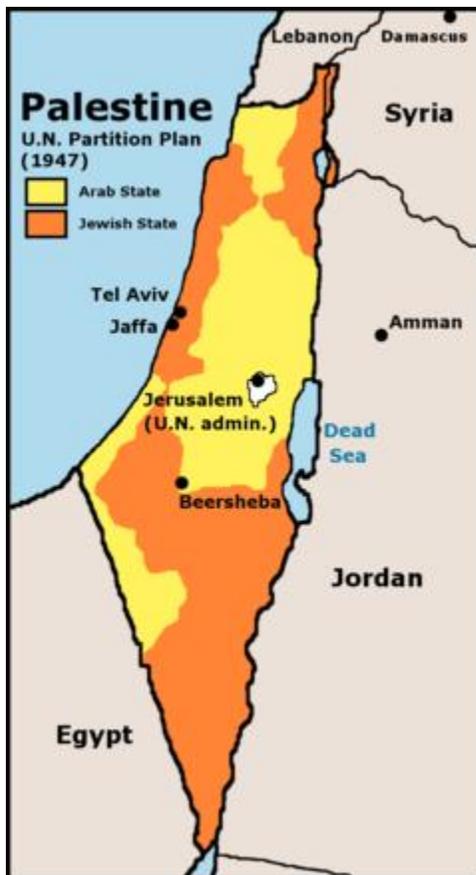
Take a few moments to study the map of the two states envisioned by the United Nations.

Put yourself in the position of the Jews of Palestine:

- What is there to like about the proposal?
- What about the plan concerns you?
- What alternatives did the Zionists have?
- The Jews had been stateless for close to 2,000 years. Why were the Zionists in a hurry to achieve statehood?

Now put yourself in the position of the Arabs of Palestine:

- What is there to like about the proposal?
- What about the plan concerns you?
- What alternatives did the Arabs have?



## Simulation Activity: The UN Debates Partition

### GOAL:

- To expose students' to the historical footage that brings to life the excitement and anxiety among diverse groups of Jews as they awaited the U.N. vote on partition on November 29, 1947.
- To deepen participants' understanding of the conflicting perspectives, priorities and considerations that fueled the debate for partition in 1947.
- To gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of international consensus building as played out in the U.N. vote to partition Palestine in 1947.
- To gain insight into the U.N. process through re-enacting the debate using historical documents and footage that lends credibility to the process.
- To provide students' today an opportunity to experience the process that led to the partition of Palestine in 1947.

### MATERIALS:

- TIME magazine article: "Just Beginning"
- The Jerusalem Post article: "Intensely Lobbying the UN Behind the Scene"
- Text of the speeches made at the UN debate by the representatives of Egypt (opposed) and Guatemala and the USSR (in favor): <http://www.scribd.com/doc/3504377/Mandate-of-Destiny-The-1947-United-Nations-Decision-to-Partition-Palestine>.

### ACTIVITY:

1. Distribute – or excerpt – articles from TIME magazine and The Jerusalem Post to help the group understand the setting, the stakes and some of the intrigue.
2. Participants should be selected to represent Egypt, Guatemala and the USSR. Another participant should be appointed to chair the session of the United Nations General Assembly. Others can be appointed to call the names of countries as the vote takes place, and to respond in the name of each member country. Finally, all participants should be given a tally sheet to keep track of the vote.
3. Participants who are representing each of these delegations should be given the opportunity to review these speeches, either in advance or while the rest of the group reads the TIME and Post articles.
4. Set up the room so that participants sit in a horseshoe facing a head table. The session chair and the person who will call on each country to vote should be seated at the head table. The participant who will respond on behalf of each country should sit in the horseshoe with the rest of the group.

5. The session opens with a call to order. The representatives of Egypt, Guatemala and the Soviet Union each receive three minutes to explain their position on the proposal to partition Palestine.
6. After the presentation, the chair opens the floor for questions. If there are any technical or factual questions that the participants cannot answer, the educator can either provide an answer or direct the group to the articles and other materials in their packets. After the question-and-answer session has run its course, the chair announces that the vote will begin.
7. The vote-caller calls out the name of each country in the order they were called in 1947. Representatives of the three countries that presented their views cast their own votes, but the rest of the votes are cast either by a single participant or by pre-selected participants. Everybody is encouraged to tally the votes as they are cast. The chair reviews the tally and announces the results of the vote.
8. To conclude the activity, the educator can pose questions aimed at encouraging participants to think about the magnitude of the vote:
  - How did the Zionists and their supporters feel?
    - What should they be planning for in the immediate future?
  - How did the Arabs and their supporters feel?
    - What should they be planning for in the immediate future?
  - Why is it so significant that the US and USSR voted the same way?
  - How would the individuals who had lobbied individual countries feel after the outcome?
  - Is this the end of the story or, as several people in the video said, a new beginning?

## **Intensely Lobbying the UN behind the scene, Jerusalem Post**

by **ABRAHAM RABINOVICH**

*(November 30, 1997) Fifty years after the crucial UN vote that created the State of Israel, the question of partition once again dominates the Middle East peace process.*

Gideon Rafael could hear the window of opportunity, opened only a few months before, beginning to creak shut as he sat in his car off Queens Boulevard. In two hours, the UN General Assembly would convene in Flushing Meadow, New York, to vote on a resolution to partition Palestine. The man sitting alongside Rafael, a member of the Arab delegation to the assembly, had just informed him of a tactic his associates would employ to delay the vote, effectively burying it. Bidding his contact a hasty good-bye, Rafael, of the Jewish Agency's political department, made a quick telephone call and sped off to the converted skating rink, temporary home of the UN where 56 men representing the nations of the world were to decide before dinner the fate of the Jewish people.

For many Israelis today, *Kaf Tet B'November* - November 29 - is more familiar as a street name than as a date in history. But on that date, 50 years ago yesterday, the UN voted to create a Jewish state in mandatory Palestine alongside an Arab state, reviving Jewish sovereignty after a 2,000-year time-out and setting in motion all that has happened since to this part of the world.

With 100,000 of their troops deployed in the country in a futile attempt to keep the peace, the British had in February 1947 decided to turn the Palestine problem over to the international community. The UN General Assembly met in special session in the spring to decide what to do with the baby left on its doorstep. The result was a Special Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (UNSCOP), made up of representatives from 11 nations, tasked to come up with a recommended solution by September 1. The committee, whose membership pointedly excluded any of the big powers, included two Moslems - from Iran and India - and two Latin American representatives clearly sympathetic to the idea of a homeland for the Jews: Guatemala's Jorge Garcia-Granados and Uruguay's Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat.

The UNSCOP team left in June for Palestine to interview Arab and Jewish leaders, and Mandatory officials. The undisputed statistics were these: the country contained 1.2 million Arabs and half as many Jews; Arabs owned 94 percent of the land and Jews only 6 percent. Beyond this, divergent historical, legal and moral claims separated the contending sides with a menacing abyss.

David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency, spelled out for the committee the political equation from the Zionist point of view. "The Arabs have vast undeveloped territories; the Jews have only a tiny beginning of a national home. The Arabs have no problem of homelessness, while for the Jews, homelessness is the root cause of all their suffering for centuries past." Jewish immigration would not displace the Arabs, he declared,

and the Arabs' economic and social conditions would only improve under a Jewish government.

The committee elicited a key political statement from Ben-Gurion who had opened his argument by calling for the establishment of a Jewish state in all of Palestine. Would he consider partition? "We feel we are entitled to Palestine as a whole," replied Ben-Gurion, "but we will be ready to consider the question of a Jewish state in an adequate area of Palestine."

"Am I right in understanding that you are not opposed to partition?" pressed the Czech delegate.

"We are ready to consider it," repeated Ben-Gurion.

The Palestinian-Arab case had been spelled out to the committee in New York by a member of the Arab Higher Committee, Henry Cattán, a Jerusalem attorney. "The Zionists claim Palestine on the grounds that more than 2,000 years ago the Jews had a kingdom in part of it. Were this argument to be taken as a basis of settling international issues, a dislocation of immeasurable magnitude would take place. It would be redrawing the map of the whole world."

Finding a solution for the displaced persons in Europe was a responsibility for the international community, he said, not for Palestine. He urged a halt to further Jewish immigration.

Dr. Judah Magnes, president of the Hebrew University, called for a binational state after sufficient Jews had been permitted in to make the two communities equal in number. Several delegates met secretly with the commander of the IZL, Menachem Begin, who had been eluding an intense British manhunt for five years. They reached his hideout after being taken on an elaborately circuitous route through the back streets of Tel Aviv. Begin opposed partition, saying that it would give the Jews not a state but a ghetto incapable of absorbing the Jews who wished to immigrate.

Senior Hagana commanders met with committee members in Jerusalem's Talpiot quarter in similarly surreptitious circumstances to express confidence that Jewish forces, which they numbered at 90,000, including 35,000 reservists, could overcome any Arab assault should it come to war.

The committee members were very impressed by what they saw of how the Jews had developed their part of the country - particularly Kibbutz Revivim in the northern Negev - and by the vitality of their cities.

Traveling to Beirut, the committee met with representatives of several Arab governments who insisted that all Jews who had entered Palestine since the Balfour Declaration be subject to deportation, something more than half of the Jewish population. "For the Arabs, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is a question of national dignity," said the Syrian representative. "We will never permit it." Lebanese Christian representatives, in separate conversations, said they favored a Jewish state.

Continuing on to Europe, the committee visited DP camps and heard from refugees selected at random that it was in Palestine, and Palestine alone, that they wished to settle. Gen. Lucius Clay, American military governor in Germany, confirmed that Palestine was where the refugees wanted to go. He said that their emotional condition was deteriorating the longer they remained in the camps.

The UNSCOP members retired to Geneva for deliberations. They succeeded in meeting their deadline a few hours before midnight on August 31 and came up, in fact, with two recommendations. A minority proposal, tabled by Yugoslavia and the two Moslem delegates, called for a federal solution, ironic in view of federal Yugoslavia's own fate more than four decades later. Under this proposal, Jewish and Arab states would join in a federal authority controlling defense, foreign affairs, immigration and other areas.

The UNSCOP majority, however, advocated partition of the country into separate states. Ten years before, a British commission headed by Lord Peel had made a similar recommendation after concluding that Jewish and Arab national ambitions could not be met within the boundaries of a single state. The Jews had been prepared to negotiate on the basis of partition, but the Arabs insisted on majority rule within an undivided country which meant permanent Arab rule, since such a state would ban further Jewish immigration. The Peel Commission's recommendations were overtaken the following year by the White Paper curbing Jewish immigration and then by the onset of world war.

The boundaries stipulated by UNSCOP for the Jewish state in 1947, with hundreds of thousands of refugees waiting in camps in post-Holocaust Europe, were far more generous than those of the prewar Peel Commission. They included the Negev, the coastal plain north of Ashdod, eastern Galilee and the Jezreel Valley. The Arab state was to include western Galilee, Judea, Samaria and the coastal strip between Ashdod and the Egyptian border.

The proposal also called for the international community to assist the Arab state economically. In this concern for the economic well-being of the Arab state, the resolution pre-echoed similar concerns that surround the Oslo agreements.

In addition to the two states, the proposal called for a neutral *corpus separatum* that would embrace Jerusalem and Bethlehem under international trusteeship. Its residents could become citizens of either the Arab or Jewish states, but the governor would be neither Jew nor Arab. Nor would members of the police force that would guard the holy places.

The population of the Jewish state would consist of 558,000 Jews and 407,000 non-Jews. The population of the Arab state would be 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The 200,000 residents in the Jerusalem *corpus separatum* would be divided roughly equally between the two communities.

Lobbying of General Assembly members over the final terms of the resolution was intense. Rafael recalls heated arguments between Jewish representatives and the head of the American delegation, Herschel Johnson, over the Negev. "At one point, he was called to the phone and returned a different man," says Rafael. "We didn't know it at the time, but he had

just gotten a call from President [Harry] Truman who told him, 'Forget it. The Negev belongs to the Jews.' I've never seen a representative fold like that."

Later, the Jewish representatives learned that it was Chaim Weizmann who had convinced Truman that the Negev was needed as the lung of the new state.

Rafael, who in time would become director-general of the Foreign Ministry, was a junior member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the UN. Along with Abba Eban, he is one of the few participants in that drama still alive. "That's one of the advantages of being a junior member," wryly notes the retired diplomat, now 84.

During the three months between completion of the UNSCOP recommendation and the vote in the General Assembly, Jews and Arabs tried to sway the votes of various delegations. The outcome was by no means certain, and the lobbying followed the principle that all is fair in love, war and politics. A female diplomat representing one of the smaller countries was charmed out of her political directives by the ardent wooing of a handsome Arab diplomat and reportedly vowed to cast her vote against partition contrary to her instructions. Urgent representations were made to her foreign ministry and a new delegate, male, was sent to replace her.

According to Prof. Michael Cohen, a historian from Bar-Ilan University, the Cuban delegate, who voted against partition, told a US State Department official that a Latin American country had changed its vote in return for \$75,000. It is not clear from the records in which direction the change was made. Strategy sessions led by Moshe Shertok (later Sharett), Israel's future foreign minister, were held by the Jewish delegation every day at Jewish Agency headquarters on Manhattan's East 66th Street. Also participating were leaders of the American-Jewish community.

'It was a very exciting period," recalls Rafael. "We were on the go day and night. We didn't just report at these meetings. There was also an operational division of assignments: 'You work on these delegations,' 'You on those.' We discussed the weak points and where we had to mobilize influence in various capitals."

Shertok and Eban met with Azzam Pasha, secretary-general of the Arab League, in search of agreement but nothing came of it.

Jewish lobbies were at work in many countries but in others, like the Philippines, Haiti and Greece, the brunt of persuasion was borne by the Americans. US secretary of state George Marshall, concerned about American interests in the Middle East, had recommended against partition but had been overruled by Truman. A key factor was the support of the Soviet bloc. "We were three locomotives - us, the Americans and the Soviet Union," says Rafael. "The other two were the most important and they were pulling in the same direction for completely different motives. It was a most unusual situation. There was a confluence of positions, not interests."

While Soviet archives on this period are still secret, it is presumed that Moscow was primarily interested in getting the British out of the Middle East. But there was also, Rafael believes, a measure of honest sentiment involved, a sense of identification with what the

Jews had experienced in the war. "We were some kind of companions in suffering," says Rafael. "Twenty million Russians had died in the war and a third of the Jewish people. In the deliberations in the General Assembly in the spring, [Soviet foreign minister Andrei] Gromyko had come out with a sensational statement. He said that six million Jews had been killed by the Nazi butchers and that the Jewish people had a longstanding association with Palestine and the right to independent status. I think that was an authentic sentiment. It was policy and it helped change the course of history."

This convergence of positions between the Soviets and Americans, notes Prof. Shlomo Avineri of Hebrew University, appeared during a very narrow historical window of opportunity. "The Cold War hadn't yet started in earnest and cooperation was still possible in the summer and fall of 1947. A year later, it would not have been possible for American and Soviet diplomats to work together." That winter the Soviets imposed their blockade on Berlin, and the Allies were forced to undertake a massive airlift to protect their interests. The Korean War, with its raw East-West confrontation, was only two years away.

Even with the two superpowers supporting a Jewish state, the outcome of the General Assembly vote - initially set for Wednesday, November 26 - was so doubtful that partition advocates undertook a filibuster to stall the vote. A clear hint of impending failure had come two days earlier when the members of the assembly convened in a cumbersome bureaucratic procedure, as an ad-hoc committee to discuss the UNSCOP report in detail. After rejecting the federal proposal, the ad-hoc committee had voted to submit the partition plan to the assembly - that is, to itself - for formal consideration. The vote was 25 for, 13 against and 17 abstentions, which was one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed for General Assembly approval of a resolution. The Arab and Moslem states constituted a formidable bloc, and many of the other nations had no particular reason to defy Arab goodwill for the notion of a Jewish state.

The following day was Thanksgiving, which gave a day's respite, and on Friday the French asked for another day's delay.

"The French were waffling," recalls Rafael. "Their position was important to other countries, particularly Belgium." Lobbying during the three-day break reached frantic heights with the realization that a single vote could be decisive. It was not a pretty sight. Harvey Firestone, whose rubber company owned extensive plantations in Liberia, personally intervened with the president of that country to change its planned vote against partition after Jewish representatives threatened a boycott of Firestone tires.

President Truman would later say that the US did not pressure any country to vote for partition. That statement, however, would seem to be based on an interpretation of pressure as gunboats or White House stationery. Two US Supreme Court justices, Frank Murphy and Felix Frankfurter, contacted the Philippine ambassador in Washington and sent telegrams to Philippine president Carlos Rojas warning that a negative vote would alienate millions of Americans. Ten senators also cabled Rojas.

Presidential aide David Niles, Truman's channel to the Jewish community, contacted influential American-Greek businessmen in an attempt to persuade Athens to vote for partition. Unlike with the Philippines and Liberia, this effort was not successful.

Similar approaches were made by American officials to a number of other countries with mixed results.

The Arabs too were busily applying pressure against partition in capitals around the world.

By Saturday morning, November 29, it seemed that the pro-partition position had improved, but the outcome of that afternoon's vote was still far from certain.

At 1:30 p.m., Rafael was at the Jewish Agency offices in Manhattan when he received a call from someone he describes as "an insider in the Arab delegation." He declines to identify this source except as "a very important and good man who was convinced we were right." The man's motive, says Rafael, was not money. "He said, 'I must meet you immediately. Something is going to happen which will surprise you.'" Rafael fixed a street corner in the borough of Queens as a meeting point and picked his caller up at 2. He then drove to a side street and parked.

"My contact told me that the Arab delegates had decided on a surprise move. They were going to say that they had changed their mind and were now considering support of a federal solution. They would ask for a deferment of a few months to work out details." The request was to be made by Lebanese delegate Camille Chamoun, later president of his country.

"Normally," notes Rafael, "any international organization which can defer a decision and has a good pretext for it seizes it. If they had deferred the vote in this case, the partition resolution would have been finished." Understanding the vital nature of the intelligence he had just acquired, Rafael telephoned it to his superiors and sped to Flushing Meadow where he found Shertok waiting, an hour before the session was to open. The information had already been passed on to him and he had informed the Americans and Soviets. The representatives of the two powers were already conferring with the president of the assembly, Brazil's Oswaldo Aranha, to discuss tactics to foil the Arab move.

The atmosphere in the hall was electric. The Jewish and Arab League delegations sat not far from each other at the side of the plenary hall, rigid with expectation. The public gallery above was packed. As the voting was about to begin, Chamoun asked for the floor. As expected, he requested deferment of the vote in order to permit the Arabs to work out details of a federal plan for Palestine. The American delegate, Herschel Johnson, quickly responded that the federal proposal was identical to the minority UNSCOP recommendation which had already been rejected as unworkable. He proposed that voting on the partition resolution proceed.

Aranha leaned over to exchange some words with UN secretary-general Trygve Lie. When he straightened up, he said that the meeting had been called for voting, not discussion. A basket with the names of the 56 member states was set in front of Aranha. (The 57th state in the Assembly, Siam, was absent because a revolution at home had caused its delegate to leave abruptly.) From the basket, Aranha picked the name of the country which would start the voting. "Guatemala," he called.

Rafael was the only one in the Jewish delegation to have prepared a tally sheet. He ticked it off as the voting proceeded. (He would present the sheet to Abba Eban on the latter's 80th birthday.) Another member of the Jewish delegation, the late Dov Joseph, would recall that while the voting took only three minutes, "it seemed to me to stretch the length of the Jewish exile."

The voting was conducted by the senior American on the UN Secretariat, Andrew Cordier. When it was done he handed the tally to Aranha who studied it for a moment before announcing that the resolution had been carried by a vote of 33 for, 13 against and 10 abstentions. "I close the meeting."

Wild applause and cheers broke out from the gallery and the Jewish delegation. "Men embraced each other sobbing with joy," Joseph wrote. "The delegates streamed into the lobby, the galleries emptied, and the Jewish observers who were present were left to savor the sweet fulfillment of that moment of destiny. There is no way in which men can express the utterly overflowing gladness of the heart. The whole of one's being become a prayer. Was a trace of the Divine Presence that had gone into exile with Israel to be found lingering in those halls which would always retain for us an element of sanctity? Is that why we were so reluctant to leave?"

In Palestine, where it was past midnight, Jews poured into the streets to dance and synagogues filled with worshippers giving thanks.

The Arab delegations had listened to the tally stony faced. The leading Palestinian-Arab representative, Jamal Husseini, declared that the partition line would be delineated by blood and fire. "And he kept his word," says Rafael. Azzam Pasha warned the Jews that they faced a slaughter the likes of which the Middle East had not seen since the invasion of the Mongols.

But, for the moment at least, thoughts of war were relegated to the backs of their minds by the Jewish Agency delegates and the American-Jewish leaders who had worked with them. They gathered that evening to celebrate in the apartment of Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the World Jewish Congress executive board. They were joined by Weizmann, the grand old man of Zionism who had induced the British to issue the Balfour Declaration pledging a Jewish national home in Palestine. He had been too gripped by emotion during the day to travel to Flushing Meadow, but he attended the party. "I remember him sitting there like on a throne, and everybody making their devotions to him," says Rafael. "He sat there like a king, just happily smiling. It was a most unusual moment."

Fifty years after the UN vote, the subject of partition once more dominates the public agenda here. The logic of dividing the land between the two contending parties had been challenged first by the Arabs when they thought they were powerful enough to overwhelm the Jews. After the Six Day War, substantial elements in Israel who thought the country powerful enough to impose its will on the Arabs were drawn to the notion of Greater Israel. In both camps, a broad consensus eventually came to the conclusion that compromise and separation were the only viable way. Even the current Likud government has accepted the

principle of territorial division, reversing its traditional stance, although the extent of that division remains a major bone of contention.

It was Egyptian president Anwar Sadat who reopened the window of opportunity for partition, says Avineri. "By supporting Palestinian autonomy he very clearly suggested that the principle of partition was acceptable to him. That was why Egypt was ostracized by Arab public opinion."

Later, the PLO itself, after initially rejecting territorial compromise, accepted the notion of two states for two peoples.

The Zionist movement, for its part, accepted partition in 1947 because it realized that the world would not accept a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine when Jews were only a minority of the population, says Avineri. "The situation today is not that much different. The best friends of Israel in the international community, primarily the US, are ready to go to great lengths to support the security and existence of Israel but on the principle of partition. Just as in 1947 there is not going to be any international support for Jewish rule in the whole of the Land of Israel, much as many people don't want to face it."

To Gideon Rafael, the basic principles of the 1947 resolution are as valid today as they were then. "There are only three solutions - Greater Israel without Arabs and that can only happen with war; Greater Israel with Arabs and that means no Jewish state; or two states alongside each other. Unless you are willing to sacrifice the idea of a Jewish democratic state, there is no other way but separation."

The passage of time and the plethora of dramatic events that constantly beset us may make the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, seem today like a faraway episode rendered irrelevant within a few months by war. However, its basic principle - half a loaf is better than none - has been shown to be relevant still. Beyond that, *Kaf Tet B'November* remains one of the most dramatic moments in Jewish history - the issuance by the international community to the Jewish state of its legal birth certificate, as Rafael puts it.

"You must remember that, at that time, the Jewish people were at the lowest ebb of their fortunes in history," he says. "In this darkness, the opening to a Jewish state was a beacon of light. We knew there were dark corners ahead of us, but this beacon shone above everything."

Neither the Jewish nor Arab delegations departing Flushing Meadow at the end of that day imagined the conflict would still be going on 50 years later. "The Arabs thought we'd be wiped out by then," says Rafael, "and we were convinced we would be at peace."

# TIME

Monday, Dec. 8, 1947

## “Just Beginning”

Last week the United Nations General Assembly, after much anxious hesitation, “settled” the 30-year-old Palestine dispute. They voted, 33 to 13, to partition Palestine into two states, Arab and Jewish.

“This is the day that the Lord hath made!” cried a rabbi in the U.N. delegates' lounge after the vote. “Let us be glad and rejoice therein!” One happy Zionist, Marcus Wulkin, rapturously kissed Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chief U.S. representative on the Jewish Agency for Palestine (see cut). But Arab representatives stalked out of the Assembly chamber, saying they would fight the plan. U.S. Delegate Herschel Johnson, who had steered the partition plan to parliamentary victory, was wary of premature rejoicing. “This thing is just beginning,” he said wearily.

**Uncertain Days.** In the tense final days of the debate, the crowd in the galleries and the speakers on the rostrum alike grew more emotional. Pakistan's Sir Mahmood Zafrullah Khan, ending an argument against partition, threw back his bearded head and cried: “All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Universe.” In his last harangue Iraq's excitable Fadhil Jamali accused Zionists of financing a recent Communist conspiracy in Bagdad. The crowd booed, stamped and jeered.

Until the very moment of public decision at Flushing Meadow, no one knew whether U.N. would approve partition. A two-thirds vote among nations voting in the full Assembly was needed to win final approval. In the middle of the week, defeat of the partition plan seemed probable. Nations like Haiti, the Philippines, Liberia, Greece, which normally follow the U.S. lead, said that they would vote no. Both the U.S. and Russia (together for the first time on a major issue) supported partition. But the very fact of U.S. Russian agreement seemed to free many smaller nations from the necessity of taking a stand.

**“Certain Misgivings.”** The U.S. had carefully refrained from bringing open pressure on other delegations to vote for partition. But as an Arab victory became likely, U.S. officials in Washington, in Manhattan, at Flushing Meadow, began stating the case for partition more firmly.

One day Haitian Delegate Antonio Vieux spoke heatedly against partition; two days later he announced shamefacedly that his government had ordered him to switch to yes. Filipino Delegate General Carlos Romulo, on Wednesday, orated against partition and sailed away on the Queen Mary. Saturday a new Filipino delegate flew in from Washington, voted yes. Liberia, which voted no in committee, said yes in the final roll call. In the final days Arab and Jewish hopes alternately soared and plummeted.

By Friday, a victory for partition looked probable. But when the Assembly president, Brazil's Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, was about to call for a vote, the Arabs won another delay. France's Alexandre Parodi rose. France, afraid of unrest among her 13,000,000 Moslem nationals in North Africa, hesitated to support partition. “We have come to the moment of decision,” said Parodi, “and I feel certain misgivings....” Was there really no possible ground for compromise, he wondered? Parodi got a 24-hour recess.

**Final Cheers.** When the Assembly gathered again on Saturday, the Arabs tried one last time to defeat the partition plan. Lebanon's soft-spoken Camille Chamoun proposed a federal union of Palestine including both Arab and Jewish elements.

Syria's white-thatched Faris el Khoury urged more delay to consider Chamoun's plan. When the galleries hissed, Khoury charged that U.S. Jews, who “comprise only one-thirtieth of the American population,” were trying to “intimidate the United Nations . . . and hiss the speakers to prove they are influential here.” The galleries hissed louder, and Aranha rapped for order.

In speeches which sounded remarkably alike, U.S. Delegate Johnson and Russia's Gromyko opposed further delay. The Arab proposal, said Gromyko, “added no novel element to the situation.”

The crowd was silent as Aranha called for a vote. But once more emotions erupted, this time in cheers and applause, as France's Parodi voted “Oui” and removed the last doubt about the outcome. Of the countries normally lined up with the U.S., Greece (which has many rich sons in Moslem Egypt) voted no. Of the Russian satellites, Yugoslavia (mindful of her Moslem puppet state,

Albania) abstained. All Asian countries either voted no (including India) or abstained (including China).

**Seven Dissents.** After the vote was announced, the six Arab delegations (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen) arose and strode out of the Assembly chamber. Pakistan's delegation soon followed. The U.N. Charter, said an Arab delegate, is dead. "Not of a natural death—it was murdered," added Syria's Faris el Khoury. The U.N. decision, he said, "will establish a Jewish patrol at the door of Asia. The Arabs and the Asiatics will not accept it." All Arab delegations announced that they would boycott the partition plan, have nothing more to do with U.N. discussions of Palestine. The Assembly, nevertheless, voted \$2,000,000 and approved a five-nation board (Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, Bolivia and the Philippines) to carry out the partition plan by Oct. 1, 1948. U.N. had turned a corner by taking direct responsibility for one of the world's most troublesome problems. It had acted. Whether or not it had acted wisely was another question.

## **An excerpt from A Tale of Love and Darkness by Amos Oz**

After midnight, toward the end of the vote, I woke up. My bed was underneath the window that looked out on the street, so all I had to do was kneel and peer through the slats of the shutters. I shivered.

Like a frightening dream, crowds of shadows stood massed together silently by the yellow light of the street lamp, in our yard, in the neighboring yards, on balconies, in the roadway, like a vast assembly of ghosts. Hundreds of people not uttering a sound, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers, some in their nightclothes and others in jacket and tie, occasional men in hats or caps, some women bareheaded, others in dressing gowns with scarves around their heads, some of them carrying sleepy children on their shoulders, and on the edge of the crowd I noticed here and there an elderly woman sitting on a stool or a very old man who had been brought out into the street with his chair.

The whole crowd seemed to have been turned to stone in that frightening night silence, as if they were not real people but hundreds of dark silhouettes painted onto the canvas of the flickering darkness. As though they had died on their feet. Not a word was heard, not a cough or a footstep. No mosquito hummed. Only the deep, rough voice of the American presenter blaring from the radio, which was set at full volume and made the night air tremble, or it may have been the voice of the president of the Assembly, the Brazilian Oswaldo Aranha. One after another he read out the names of the last countries on the list, in English alphabetical order followed immediately by the reply of their representative. United Kingdom: abstains. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: yes. United States: yes. Uruguay: yes. Venezuela: yes. Yemen: no. Yugoslavia: abstains.

At that the voice suddenly stopped, and an otherworldly silence descended and froze the scene, a terrified, panic-stricken silence, a silence of hundreds of people holding their breath, such as I have never heard in my life either before or after that night.

Then the thick, slightly hoarse voice came back, shaking the air as it summed up with a rough dryness brimming with excitement: Thirty-three for. Thirteen against. Ten abstentions and one country absent from the vote. The resolution is approved.

His voice was swallowed up in a roar that burst from the radio, overflowing from the galleries in the hall at Lake Success, and after a couple more seconds of shock and disbelief, of lips parted as though in thirst and eyes wide open, our faraway street on the edge of Kerem Avraham in northern Jerusalem also roared all at once in a first terrifying shout that tore through the darkness and the buildings and trees, piercing itself, not a shout of joy, nothing like the shouts of spectators in sports grounds or excited rioting crowds, perhaps more like a scream of horror and bewilderment, a cataclysmic shout, a shout that could shift rocks, that could freeze your blood, as though all the dead who had ever died here and all those still to die had receive a brief window to shout, and the next moment the scream of horror was replaced by roars of joy and medley of hoarse cries and “The Jewish People Lives” and somebody trying to sing Hatikvah and women shrieking and clapping and “Here

in the Land Our Fathers Loved,” and the whole crowd started to revolve slowly around itself as though it were being stirred in a huge cement mixer, and there were no more restraints, and I jumped into my trousers but didn’t bother with a shirt or sweater and shot out our door, and some neighbor or stranger picked me up so I wouldn’t be trampled underfoot, and I was passed from hand to hand until I landed on my father’s shoulders near our front gate. My father and mother were standing there hugging one another like two children lost in the woods, as I had never seen them before or since, and for a moment I was between them inside their hug and a moment later I was back on Father’s shoulders and my very cultured, polite father was standing there shouting at the top of his voice, not words or wordplay or Zionist slogans, not even cries of joy, but one long naked shout like before words were invented (355-356).

Or, Amos. *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. Orlando: Harcourt, Inc., 2003.

## Primary Source Material

### *The Balfour Declaration*

As World War One was nearing its end, and the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a world power, Great Britain was eager to assert its role in the Middle East. The British Foreign Secretary issued the Balfour Declaration, raising the hopes of all Zionists that the new era would speed the creation of a Jewish state.

Foreign Office  
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,

Arthur James Balfour

## *The United Nations Partition Plan*

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into two states, one for the Jews and one for the Arabs. The vote was 33-13, with 10 abstentions and one member absent. The opening paragraphs of UN Resolution 181 follow:

The General Assembly,

**Having met** in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future Government of Palestine at the second regular session;

**Having constituted** a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

**Having received** and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364)(1) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

**Considers** that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

**Takes note** of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

**Recommends** to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future Government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

### **Requests that**

- a. The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;
- b. The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;
- c. The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

- d. The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

**Calls** upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

**Appeals** to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

**Authorizes** the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part 1, Section B, Paragraph I below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.

View the full text at

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/UN+General+Assembly+Resolution+181.htm>

## How They Voted

### United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181

On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted on the proposal to partition Palestine into two states. In order to be approved, two-thirds of those voting had to vote in favor. Here are the results of the vote:

#### **In favor: 33**

*Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela.*

#### **Against: 13**

*Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.*

#### **Abstained: 10**

*Argentina, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.*