HISTORICAL SECURITY COUNCIL

BACKGROUND GUIDE 2017

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ERFURT MODEL UNITED NATIONS 2017

Greetings from the Dais

Honorable Delegates,

We are pleased to welcome you to the Erfurt Model United Nations Conference 2017 and to the committee of the Historical Security Council!

The committee will be chaired by Madlene Scheiderer (Director), Lara Zumstein (Vice-President) and Merve Kania (Rapporteur). All of us have participated in several national and international Model United Nations (MUN) conferences and are members of the 2016-17 organization team for the Erfurt delegations to New York City and Geneva.

Madlene Scheiderer is student of International Relations and is currently finishing her bachelor's degree. She is also minoring in Economics and Public Law. She is especially interested in International Law and International Humanitarian Law, which encouraged her to participate in a study trip to Vienna last May. It was organized by the faculty for International and European Law, in order to combine the theoretical and practical knowledge about International Organizations: The United Nations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Lara Zumstein majors in International Relations and additionally chose law as her minor. Lara spent the last fall term in France, where she also chaired a MUN simulation within the preparation seminar for Grenoble AlpesMUN. In summer 2015, she joined a study trip to Palestine and Israel organized by the committee for Palestine in Munich (Palästina - Komittee München) which offered the program "Youth Unravels Crisis" to gain a deeper understanding of the different layers of the Israel - Palestine conflict. Within these two weeks, she met and discussed with human rights activists, artists, students, families and employees in the economic sector, who explained their view on the conflict.

Merve Kania studies International Relations and Social Sciences and focuses specifically on Middle East politics. In summer 2016, she interned with the unit for Dialogue with the countries located in the Near, Far, and Middle East of the German Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt). During this internship, her 2015-6 studies abroad in Turkey and her social engagement with the international non-profit organization 'breaking walls', she welcomed several opportunities to discuss the complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We look forward to debate this year's topic, which had and has a continuous effect on Israeli-Palestinian Relations.

The topic discussed before the Historical Security Council is:

The Partition Plan for Palestine

The Security Council is dedicated to maintaining international peace and security. The Council may issue both binding and non-binding resolutions, release both presidential statements and commission reports by the Secretary-General, and authorize peacekeeping or humanitarian missions, among other actions. The Council's unique legal authority and broad reach makes it the leader of the international community's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

This document includes the long and short form National Model UN rules, as well as an explanatory narrative and example script of the flow of procedure. It is thus an essential instrument in preparing for the conference, and a reference during committee.
However, as we are going to simulate a Historical Security Council, there are some additional facts which you need to be aware of: All actions, which happened prior to the simulated time period - January 21-23, 1948 -, shall be considered as facts. All actions, which in reality happened after the simulated time period, shall be considered as not pre-determined. This means, you should know every step the international community in general and your delegation in particular took until January 21, 1948, and that you may, upon your diplomatic abilities, change the path the Arab-Israeli conflict took thereafter.

We hope you will find this background guide useful, as it serves to introduce you to the topic for this committee. It is not meant to replace further research and we highly encourage you to explore in depth your countries' policies as well as consult the Annotated Bibliographies. In preparation for the conference, each delegation will submit a position paper by January 15th 2017. Please take note of the NMUN policies on the website and in the Delegate Preparation Guide regarding plagiarism, codes of conduct/dress code/sexual harassment,

awards philosophy/evaluation method, etc.[1] Adherence to these guidelines is mandatory. The NMUN Rules of Procedure are available to download from the NMUN website.[2]

This Security Council simulation at EfMUN is different to what this unique UN body is like today. The time-frame for this year's 'Historical SC' is 21st to 23rd of January 1948. To simulate the conference as adequate as possible, the Dais recommends all distinguished delegates to inform themselves about their country's territory in January of 1948. Further, it is recommended to research in detail what your country's political structure was like at that time.

Should you have any questions concerning your preparation for the Committee, please do not hesitate to contact us: madlene.scheiderer@uni-erfurt.de. Should you have any questions regarding the conference, please write to mun@uni-erfurt.de.
We are looking forward to the conference, your negotiation skills, your effort and innovation to influence history by providing new ideas that might have settled this conflict.

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[1] http://www.nmun.org/downloads/NMUNDelegatePrepGuide.pdf

[2] ttp://www.nmun.org/downloads/NMUNRules.pdf

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I. Abbreviations

Arab Higher Committee - AHC
Covenant of the League of Nations - CLN
General Assembly - GA
Jewish Agency - JA
United Nations – UN
United Nations Palestine Commission - UNPC
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine - UNSCOP
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – USSR
Security Council – SC

II. Committee Overview

Introduction

After the devastating effects of two World Wars, the international community decided to establish the United Nations (UN) as an intergovernmental organization. Its primary responsibilities are maintaining international peace and security and further the creation of conditions conducive to economic and social development while advancing universal respect to human rights[3]. The Security Council (SC) was established as one of its six principal organs and was given the primary responsibility, as stated in Chapter V, UN Charter, to preserve international peace and security.[4]

This section will present the Council's history, its mandate, structure and membership. The guide will then present the body's major functions and powers, as well as the council's conflict prevention activities. Additionally, this guide provides an insight into the history and root causes of the conflict. Finally, the guide will highlight some key outcomes of the council's most recent sessions.

Evolvement of the Security Council within the United Nations system

The idea of having an international organization based on common goals of settling conflicts and maintaining harmony among nations was already communicated by establishing the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference 1919 after experiencing the tragedy of World War I. "Less than four months [the conference started in December 1918 by Chairman and US President Woodrow Wilson], on 29 April 1919, the final version of the Covenant of the League of Nations (CLN) was adopted, and it became Part I of the Treaty of Versailles."[5]

The Covenant of the League of Nations consisted of a short foreword or "Preamble" which introduced its three primary objectives. Those three basic objectives were: Ensuring collective security, assuring functional cooperation, and executing the mandates of peace treaties.[6] Important to mention is the League of nations mandate, as stated in Article 22 of the CLN.[7] This mandate represented the legal framework for former territories transferred from the control of one country to another. This article was drafted by the victors of World War I (WWI) and included territories that before WWI belonged to the Ottoman Empire or Imperial Germany.

The founders of the League created three types of mandates for the administration of these territories by nations acting as "Mandatories of the League of Nations." Class A mandates covered territories that were considered to be ready to receive independence within a relatively short period of time.[8] Class B mandates covered territories for which the granting of independence was a distant prospect.[9] To the territories classified under Class C mandates declared them as no prospect of self-government.[10]

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[3] Since its founding, the UN aimed for advancing Human Rights. However, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not yet adopted in January 1947.

[4] http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/index.html, Chapter I and V

[5] http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid: *In general, Article 1 describes the conditions of membership, admission and withdrawal. Articles 2 to 5 specify the nature and power of the Assembly and the Council, the two main bodies of the*
Organization. Articles 6 to 7 discuss the appointment of a Secretary-General, the establishment of the League of Nations' Secretariat at Geneva, and its budget. Articles 8 to 9 deal with the subject of disarmament and the League of Nations' objective of reducing the number of arms to the lowest possible level through open discussion between Members. Articles 10 to 21 clarify the political and social mandates the newly formed international organization was expected to carry out, spelling out the obligations and rights of the Member States in order to promote international cooperation, and thus achieve international peace and collective security. Articles 22 to 23 detail the League of Nations' intention of extending international relations in the fields of finance, trade, transport by land, sea and air as well as the promotion of health and the struggle against drugs, prostitution and slavery. Articles 24 to 25 deal with the transfer of already established agencies and the commitment to encourage and support the aims of the Red Cross. Finally, Article 26 explains how Members should proceed when amendments to the Covenant are deemed necessary.

[8] These territories were all in the Middle East: Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan, administered by the UK; and Lebanon and Syria, administered by France. http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/United-Nations/The-Trusteeship-Council-THE-MANDATE-SYSTEM-OF-THE-LEAGUE-OF-NATIONS.html

[9] Ibid.: These territories were all african located territories: the Cameroons and Togoland, each of which was divided between British and French administration; Tanganyika, under British administration; and Ruanda-Urundi, under Belgian administration.

[10] Ibid. : These territories included South West Africa, administered by the Union of South Africa; New Guinea, administered by Australia; Western Samoa, administered by New Zealand; Nauru, administered by Australia under mandate of the British Empire; and certain Pacific islands, administered by Japan.

When the League of Nations was officially inaugurated on 10 January 1920,[11] its primary objective was to settle disputes by any means other than outright war. However, reaching this objective depended on the willingness of sovereign States in question to cooperate with the League of Nations and to respect the maxims of the Covenant. The experiment failed, because its member states did not adjust their policies to comply with the purpose of the League.[12] By the End of World War II, 43 states were still members but it had ceased to exist.[13]

In August 1941, the *Atlantic Charter*, mainly pushed forward by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Roosevelt, which included the right of self-determination for all people, the right of free trade and economic cooperation and the principle of a common peace and security system was signed. This Charter did not include binding measures, thus, it´s results were limited. However, it laid out President Roosevelt's *Wilsonian-vision* for the postwar world.
When the United States of America (USA) joined the World War II against Germany and its allies, the *Atlantic Charter* became the common ground for the coalition.

The United Nations Declaration was signed by 26 states on the 1st of January 1942 and by the Soviet Union on 24th of September 1942. As stated by Alvarez in the Oxford Handbook on the United Nations:

> "*The war-weary negotiators who hammered out its text were intent only on improving the mechanisms for collective security contained in the League of Nations Covenant. They were seeking to protect sovereignty, not to undermine it by interfering with stats ability to govern themselves, especially with respect to matters essentially within their ´domestic jurisdiction´ under Charter Article 2 (7). The principal purposes of the UN were, after all, to better protect existing sovereigns from aggression and to usher into full fledged sovereignty those that expressed their preference for self determination, as spelled out in Article 2 (1) and in Chapter XI.[14]*

At the *Yalta Conference 1945* it was decided that all remaining mandates of the League of Nations should be replaced under the trusteeship of the United Nations.
Therefore they installed

> [t]he Trusteeship Council [as] a UN principal organ. Under Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter, it has a special responsibility to the Trusteeship System, an institutionalized form of colonial administration broadly following the League of Nations Mandates arrangements.[15]

Due to its mandate the Trusteeship Council[16] had the authorization to examine and discuss reports from the administering authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of *Trust Territories*. Further, the Trusteeship Council was able to consulate with the Administering Authority, to examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to Trust Territories.[17]

21 additional states signed the declaration by 1st of March 1945. The Founding Assembly of the UN was held on 25th of April until 26th of June 1945 in San Francisco and combined all member states that had signed the declaration so far. The League of Nations were formally replaced on April 19th 1946 by the UN.
The old dynamics of the League of Nations were replaced by the United Nations and its reformed structures. Therefore, the permanent member states within the SC represented the new leaders of the world order; namely the United States of America, the Republic of China and USSR. Only the French Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland maintained their influential position by becoming a veto power in the Security Council.[18]

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[11] http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf

[12] Weiss, Thomas G., et al. in: The United Nations and Changing World Politics. 5th Edition. Westview Press, 2007. p.xxxix

[13] http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf

[14] Alvarez, José E. in: Legal Perspectives. In: The Oxford Handbook on THE UNITED NATIONS. Oxford University Press, 2007. p. 58.

[15] Wilde, Ralph, in: Trusteeship Council. In: The Oxford Handbook on THE UNITED NATIONS. Oxford University Press, 2007. p. 149

[16] Ibid.: This organ represents somehow the concept of ´trust´. It describes the relation between one actor being unable to govern or looking after itself and another actor who as `trustee´ takes over some responsibility, p. 150

[17] http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/index.html

[18] Opitz, Peter J., in: Forum der Welt. 40 Jahre Vereinte Nationen. In: Schriftenreihe der BpB, Band 249. Bonn, 1997. p. 16ff.

The Security Council held its first session on 17 January 1946 at Church House in London. After its first meeting, the Council relocated to its permanent residence at the United Nations headquarters in New York, USA.[19] At that time, the five permanent members and six non-permanent members comprised the membership of the council. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly (GA) for a two-year period or a one-year-period. In January 1948 the Security Council consisted of its five permanent member states and the following non-permanent members: Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Syrian Arab Republic and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics.[20]

During its first two years, the atmosphere of the SC was marked by the beginning of the Cold War era and the aftermath of the tragedy and cruelties of World War II. The character of the conflictive situation was more political than military. Therefore, the UN represented a platform where the two controversial sides showed their disagreement on topics related to international politics. Furthermore both sides - the Eastern bloc and America with its western allies - were looking for new relations, especially to countries that were not committed to either side.[21]

The delegations must keep in mind that some goals of the UN and especially of the SC were set but not yet accomplished in 1947/48. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 had not been adopted.

Mandate of the Security Council (According to Chapter VI and VII UN Charter)

When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the council's first action is usually to recommend that the parties try to reach agreement by peaceful means. The council may set forth principles for such an agreement or undertake investigation and mediation in some cases.

The council can further dispatch a mission or appoint special envoys. A soft manner is to request the Secretary-General to use his good offices to achieve a peaceful settlement of the dispute. When a dispute leads to hostilities, the council's primary concern is to bring them to an end as soon as possible. In that case, the Council may issue ceasefire directives that can help prevent an escalation of the conflict or dispatch military observers or a peacekeeping force to help reduce tensions, separate opposing forces and establish a calm in which peaceful settlements may be sought.

Beyond this, the council may opt for enforcement measures, including economic sanctions, blockades, arms embargoes, financial penalties and restrictions, and travel bans or severance of diplomatic relations. Furthermore this UN organ has more options which can be found in Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Thereby, a chief concern of the youngly established Security Council is to focus action on those responsible for the policies or practices condemned by the international community, while minimizing the impact of the measures taken on other parts of the population and economy.[22]

As this is a special NMUN committee this guide provides you additional information concerning two other delegations with observer rights that will be present at EfMUN 2017 to discuss this topic:

Jewish Agency

Since 1929, The Jewish Agency for Israel has been working to secure a vibrant Jewish future.
They were instrumental in founding and building the State of Israel and continue to serve as the main link between the Jewish state and Jewish communities around the world.[23]

The Zionists movement needed support for their project of creating a Jewish national home in Palestine, especially concerning the political and financial aspects. The Jewish Agency became an external arm of the Zionists, seeking to elicit aid from non-Zionist Jews, overseeing the settlement of Jewish immigrants in Palestine, and helping set up a Jewish economy.

It also negotiated with the Palestine mandatory government and Great Britain and represented Jewish interests at the League of Nations. After the anti-Semitic Nazi regime came to power in Germany (1933), the agency was instrumental in increasing the legal quota of immigrants to Palestine; it also set up the Youth Aliyah program to care for and resettle orphaned Jewish children from Nazi Germany.[24] In May 1942, David Ben-Gurion, representing the Jewish Agency at a Zionist conference at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, gained support for a program, later termed the *Biltmore Resolution*, demanding unrestricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, the creation of a Jewish army, and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. This posi-

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[19] http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/

[20] http://www.un.org/en/sc/inc/searchres_sc_year_english.asp?year=1948

[21] https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/glossary/cold-war.cfm

[22] http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/

[23] http://www.jewishagency.org/inside-jewish-agency/content/4916

[24] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jewish-Agency

tion drove the non-Zionist members from the agency, which emerged as spokesman for the Jewish cause in the postwar United Nations deliberations that led to the *Partition of Palestine (Nov. 29, 1947).*[25]

Arab Higher Committee (AHC)

The Arab Higher Committee was created on 25 April 1936 in Mandatory Palestine by six leading Palestinian political parties to coordinate the general strike that had begun on 15 April 1936. It was led by Hajj Amin al-Husayni, a member of a prominent Palestinian family, mufti of Jerusalem and leader of the *Supreme Muslim Council* and it became the chief Palestinian nationalist organization. Its goals were to boycott Jewish businesses, to end Zionist land purchases and Jewish immigration, and to replace British rule with an independent elected national legislature and government.

The strike was staged in response to several events: the killing of the resistance leader Izz al-Din al-Qassam by the British; the discovery of clandestine arms shipments to Zionist groups; and a British proposal for a limited legislature in which the minority Zionist community would have been overrepresented. The strike led to an armed revolt, which was met with a military response by the Mandatory authorities. The committee called off the strike on 12 October 1936, and the British government agreed to investigate the causes of the disturbances.

In June 1937, the Peel Commission recommended partition of Palestine between the Arab and Zionist communities, which the AHC rejected. Disputes between the parties represented in the committee led to a partial breakup in July, and after further guerrilla attacks the British outlawed the AHC on 1 October. Four of its members were arrested and deported to the Seychelles Islands, and the rest, including al-Husayni, escaped to neighboring Arab countries, from which they encouraged and attempted to direct the rebellion, which lasted until the spring of 1939.

After the White Paper of May 1939 recommended limiting Jewish immigration, the AHC was legalized again.

In November 1945 the committee, with al-Husayni as its head, was reestablished under the auspices of the Arab League and was recognized by Britain as representing the Arabs of Palestine. Factional disputes, however, made it politically ineffective, and it broke into two competing groups. At its meeting in June 1946 in Bludan, Syria, the Arab League dissolved these two groups and established a new AHC, under the leadership of al-Husayni, which it then recognized as the official representative organization of the Palestinians.[26]

III. History of the Conflict

The development of Zionism and the pre-developments of the Jewish State

Zionism aims evolved already in 1882 with the first *aliyah*[27] to Palestine. However, with the publication of Theodor Herzl's work "The Jewish State" in 1896 and the First Zionist Congress in Basel following the next year basis for the evolution of political Zionism was set.

Herzl, who later took over a major position in emphasizing political Zionism and its rhetorics, had a clear position towards Jewish history and reasons for decades of persecution and discrimination of the Jewish population. The "Jewish dilemma"- either assimilate to the nation's society they lived in or being discriminated for following their traditions and religion - according to Herzl - could only be solved by the establishment of an independent and sovereign state for the protection of Jews; and further formed by the Jewish population.

Jewish settlement was divided in periods linked to waves of immigration. Between 1882 and the end of World War II, there were five waves of immigration [*jewish: aliyot*[28]]. Crucial for the evolution of the Jewish State, however, were the first generation of convinced Zionist settlers, often referred to as the *Pioneer - generation,* who pushed forward the evolution of an independent and successful social, administrative and cultural life on the basis of Zionist and socialist ideas. Significant were also settlers who came to Palestine in the 1930s[29]. As anti - Jewish tendencies had started to rise in Europe and the already difficult daily life[30] for Jews all over Euro-

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[25] Ibid.

[26] http://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/arab-higher-committee-ahc

[27] wave of immigration; *aliyot* or singular *aliyah*; jewish for "to ascend": belonging to Zionist conviction, Jewish immigrants would ascend from the diaspora in their home countries in order to be "reborn" in Palestine.

[28] Gelvin, James L. : The Israel - Palestine conflict,Cambridge University Press 2005, p. 56

[29] Ibid. : The fourth aliyah brought around 82,000 Jewish settlers to Palestine

[30] In Eastern Europe, Jews had lived in ghetto - like conditions ; All over Europe, Jews had to decide either to assimilate to the norms and rules of societies or to live excluded while following their religious and social traditions.

pe aggravated, many Jewish immigrants did not mainly come for political, but existential reasons and aimed at building up new private existences. Still, they were crucial for the Zionist project of building up a Jewish state.[31]

Within the immigration and settlement process, the Jewish settlers managed to build up a rich social life in Palestine. The Zionist aim to establish a Jewish cultural and social life in order to enhance Jewish identity and structures to build up an independent state was enhanced by measures such as land purchase and agriculture, culture and social life.

The adaption of European habitats and the grade of organization - namely through the Jewish Agency - soon put the Jewish population in an advanced position and led to relative prosperity. The Arabic population in Palestine felt behind; for a long time, they had lived under the control of the Ottoman empire; the administrative organization and implementation of self - administration was not similarly successful[32]. This soon led to an increased separation of the two populations and first conflicts.[33] One example was the foundation of the paramilitary and later underground organization *Haganah* [hebrew: defense], which was founded in 1920 as a reaction to several attacks against Jews[34]. Haganah should protect the Jewish population, as the Jewish Agency did not want to only rely on British forces regarding the protection of the Jewish population.

Arab reactions towards Jewish settlement

The Arab population experienced the evolvement of an Arab nationalism after centuries of oppression[35]. In Palestine, this nationalism primarily evolved in opposition to Zionist aims and immigration. While Jewish immigration was supported by Great Britain, the Arab population did not receive support for the establishment of self-ruling structures. As they could not keep up with the grade of Jewish administrative and organizational skills[36], they soon were ruled out while Jewish settlers managed to build up first structures of self-rule that later led to the establishment of the Jewish state.

Nevertheless, Arab leaders kept up with the British in order to discuss a future Arab State in the Middle East region. A central outcome of these negotiation was the *McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence* (see following section). What followed was the *Arab Revolt* in June 1916, where Arabs entered the British fight against the Ottoman Empire.[37] Yet, the British did not only ignore agreements they had made with the Arabs beforehand, they also failed to answer the commitments of the League of Nations. Arab relations to both Zionist leaders and the British were, out of the mentioned reasons, restrained and kept aggravating.

The foundation of the *Arab Higher Committee* in 1936, therefore, aimed at establishing an organized leadership as voice for Palestinian Arabs. Immediately, they declared a general strike which lasted from 1936-1939 with the aim of ending Jewish immigration and the sale of land. However, the British Mandate Power declared this strike as illegal and outlawed the *Arab Higher Committee* soon.

Nevertheless, the *Arab Higher Committee* continued to exist and consolidated its role as voice of the Palestinian Arabs when it expressed the Arab position on the question of Palestine in later negotiations (see following sections).

Negotiation attempts and the British Mandate

During the years 1915 and 1917, Britain got involved in three major agreements - namely the *McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence*, the *Sykes - Picot - Agreement* and the *Balfour Declaration* that played an important role in the evolvement of British relations towards Arabs and Jews. These agreements that Britain had agreed on with the different actors in Palestine, both left Jews and Arabs with the hope for the establishment of an independent national state in the near future. However, after the end of World War I, Britain overtook the administration of Palestine and was appointed as Mandate Power for Palestine by the League of Nations in 1922.[38]

McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence

Already during World War I, the British had started negotiating the future of the Middle East region in the event of defeating the Ottoman Empire. A crucial role played the *McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence*, exchanged in 1915 and 1916 between the *Emir of Mecca, Hussain Ibn Ali* , and the British High Commissioner in Egypt,

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[31] Beforehand, Zionists had been a minority in Palestine. A significant number of population only brought the following waves of immigration.

[32] Sterzing, Böhme: Kleine Geschichte des israelisch - palästinensischen Konflikts, Wochenschau Verlag 2012, p. 23

[33] Ibid.

[34] e.g. pogrom in Jerusalem in April 1920

[35] Böhme -sterzing: Kleine Geschichte des israelisch - palästinensischen Konflikts,Wochenschau Verlag 2012, p.23

[36] e.g.through the Jewish Agency

[37] This was part of the agreements made in the correspondence, the following revolt was led by Husseini

[38] https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/DPI2499.pdf

Henry McMahon. As stated in the letters, British stated that *the British will acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries[39]*. The Arabs, therefore, hoped for a possibility to establish a sovereign state after the down break of the Ottoman Empire with the legitimation of the British Empire.

Sykes - Picot Agreement 1916

The secret *Sykes - Picot - Agreement* between France and Great Britain planned the mandates of the two countries in case of victory over the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, Great Britain had corresponded both with Arabs and Jews in the mentioned *McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence* and later the *Balfour Declaration* and had evoked hope for national independence. The release of the *Sykes - Picot Agreement* however revealed the Mandate Plan for the region, including Palestine, and destroyed especially Arab aspirations for national independence and a sovereign Arab state in the region of Palestine.

Balfour Declaration 1917

The *Balfour - Declaration*, issued by James Balfour to the British Zionist leader Rothschild on the 2nd of November 1917, had more political importance in comparison to the *McMahon - Husseini - Correspondence* due to several reasons. First, the declaration was the outcome of negotiations about the installment of a Jewish homeland under the protectorate of the British. These negotiations also included Mark Sykes, who had been formerly involved in the negotiations of the *Sykes-Picot Agreement*. Second, the character of the declaration was more official than the correspondence between British and Arab leaders. As the concessions made in the letters of the *McMahon - Husseini Correspondence* did not have binding character for the British,[40] the *Balfour - Declaration* contained a concrete declaration of commitment by the British towards the support of a Jewish state building, stating that

> *His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, [...].*[41]

Third, the concessions made in the *Balfour Declaration* soon were incorporated into positive law by the *British Mandate Treaty for Palestine* by the League of Nations in 1922.

The Arab reactions to this declaration were negative as they saw the declaration *"as a violation to formerly made agreements within the MacMahon - Husseini - correspondence"[42]*. The British claimed that the McMahon letters did not apply to Palestine, therefore the Declaration could not be a violation of the previous agreement[43]. The issuance of the Declaration had many long lasting consequences, as it delivered the first legal basis and legitimation as well as international support for the establishment of the Jewish independent state.

Despite the contradictory agreements that have been made between the British, Jews and Arabs, the *Faisal - Weizmann - Agreement* of 1919 aimed at arranging Zionist, Arab and British interests. The negotiations were lead by Amir Faisal on the Arab side, a member of the Hashemite dynasty and later King of Iraq, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, an "emerging leader of the Zionist movement"[44], on the Jewish side. Mainly setting national borders for both future Arab and Jewish states, this agreement was an important success for both parties. However, this agreement was never implemented.

The involved parties did not manage to arrange their interests, and the conflict intensified. The general strike of 1936 (see section *Arab Higher Committee*) furthermore made the British aware of the inability of solving the dilemma of integrating the interests of both sides into a peaceful solution.

The 1939 White Paper: Implications and Opposition

In an attempt to diminish the violence and political tension, the British Government issued what is known as the *MacDonald White Paper* in 1939 and tried to provide a solution to the Arab-Israeli question of 'right against right'. This document rescinded the 1937 partition decision, stating that the *Balfour Declaration* "could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the

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[39] http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/hussmac1.html

[40] Spencer C. Tucker : The Encyclopedia of the Arab - Israeli Conflict, p. 671

[41] http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20balfour%20declaration.aspx

[42] Spencer C. Tucker : The Encyclopedia of the Arab - Israeli Conflict, p. 672

[43] Ibid.

[44] Caplan, Neil: Futile Diplomacy, Vol. I, Frank Cass Company, 1983, p. 28

country".[45] It furthermore declared that Palestine would become independent in 1949, as a unified state in which both Arabs and Jews would share the government. Until their independence, the safety of the citizens should continue to be ensured by the Mandate power; Palestinian land will be protected from Zionist purchase and Jewish immigration to Palestine will be restricted to 75,000 over the course of the next five years.[46]

Neither the Jewish and Arab communities, nor the League of Nations or *Anglo-American Committee* endorsed the *White Paper*, although for highly different reasons. These reasons shall be outlined in the following: "The Jewish community never accepted the content of the MacDonald White Paper, because it limited Jewish rights towards Palestine and 'disclaimed any intention to create a Jewish State'".[47] The head of the Jewish Agency for Palestine David Ben-Gurion, openly opposed the 1939 *White Paper* immediately: "We will fight the White Paper as if there is no war, and fight the war as if there is no White Paper."[48] Furthermore, as will be further outlined in the following section, the Jewish military organizations *Haganah, Irgun* and the *Stern Gang* played crucial roles in terms of Jewish immigration assistance. Depending on the narrative, their pressing towards their aspirations of a Jewish National Home is labeled as 'defense', 'terrorism' or 'military opposition'.[49]

It was already in 1937 that the *Arab Higher Committee* had reiterated the Palestinian right to full and immediate independence in the whole of Palestine and demanded replacement of the Mandate by a treaty between Great Britain and an independent Palestine.[50] Chaim Weizmann depicted the situation following the 1939 *White Paper* as a permeance of hatred against Jewish people.[51]

The British Mandate, on the other hand, justified their choice of an immigration reduction over an entire immigration stop by economic terms: The Jewish community was considered to bring the country further prosperity.[52] It is only mentioned for complementary purposes, that some sources claim that the Palestinians were not permitted to have weapons since their 1936-39 revolt,[53] yet, "sensed that only through violence could they force recognition of their inherent rights".[54]

Rising Pressure for the British Mandate

In this context, the outbreak of World War II is considered to have deteriorated the Jewish-Palestinian dilemma of 'rights against rights' even further in terms of refugee and Zionist aspirations.[55] Both groups were looking for powerful supporters of their cause among the international community members.

"Shortly before the war broke out, both the Jewish Agency as well as Palestinian Arab leaders declared their support of the Allies."[56] The Arabic Mufti in exile al-Husseini, however, aligned himself with the Axis powers.[57] During this political truce, Arab-Israeli violence subsided for around two years. Simultaneously, Jewish and Arab battalions were formed. Noticing sinking support for their cause by the British Mandate, the Jewish communities increasingly seeked backing by the United States of America (e.g. 1942 *Biltmore Conference*), leading to the appointment of the *Anglo-American Committee* of Enquiry in 1946 making recommendations to both governments.[58]

The realization of land transfer regulations for purchases were issued in February 1940, and stayed active ever since. Between 1940 - 43, however, the ruling policy was to deport illegal immigrants to an alternative place for

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[45] https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/aeac80e740c782e4852561150071fdb0?OpenDocument

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid; „His Majesty's Government believe that the framers of the Mandate in which the Balfour Declaration was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country."

[48] http://www.jewishagency.org/ben-gurion/content/23436

[49] https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/aeac80e740c782e4852561150071fdb0?OpenDocument

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] ibid.

[53] http://www.palestinefacts.org/pf_mandate_during_ww2.php

[54] https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/aeac80e740c782e4852561150071fdb0?OpenDocument.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

refugees in the Colonial Empire, e.g. Mauritius.[59] When extermination of Jews by the Nazis became public knowledge, the *White Paper's* limits were lessened and legal immigration permitted at the rate of 18,000 per year.[60] Over the course of the second World War, the Jewish military organizations assisted in the deportation of much of the illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine referred to as *Aliyah Bet* and encompassing an estimated 65,000.[61]

As the publicly accessible number of Jewish displaced persons rose, the *Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry* recommended in a report to increase the Jewish immigration quota to 100,000 for 1946; instead, the 1945 *White Paper* issued by the the British Mandate permitted 1,500 Jews a month (18,000 a year) to Palestine.[62] By 1946, Jewish population reached 31% of the entire population (400,000) while their registered land ownership encompassed only 6.2% of the region.[63]

Over the course of the 1940s, particularly *Irgun* and *the Stern Gan*g (Lehi), were targeting British authorities.

Eventually, on 25th of July, 1946, another *British White Paper* was issued on terrorism. It condemned the "planned movements of sabotage and violence under the guise of the Jewish Resistance Movement"[64] carried out by *Haganah*, I and *Stern Gang* in Palestine.[65] It criticized the attacks on the Palestine railway system and oil refineries at Haifa, as well as the fact that the *Jewish Agency* knew of independent broadcasting of *The Voice of Israel* at the *Kol Israel* radio station.[66] Another infamous example is the targeting of the King David hotel in 1946 which killed 91 people, British administrators, Jews and Arabs alike. Arguably, these escalating attacks were an indicator of the deep-seated resentment and distrust towards the British Mandatory Power's immigration quotas and one of the main reasons why British administration passed a mandate and submitted the case to the UN.[67]

The Role of the UN

In February 1947, the Mandate Power Great Britain brought the question of Palestine before the newly established United Nations. Which organ was the most appropriate to deal with the difficulties this decision entailed? If the Security Council had taken up the issue immediately, the issue could have (a) involved the veto of one of the five permanent members, and (b) if deemed necessary, the resolution might have required its implementation by military force or sanctions – possibly including the troops and resources of the British Commonwealth again.

If the Trusteeship Council had been appointed as the appropriate forum, an agreement similar to the British Mandate role would have been necessary. In this light, the question was moved to the General Assembly and based on Article 10, 11 and 14 of the UN Charter;[68] the Security Council, however, did not deal with the issue until 1948.

In the post-World War II era, Zionist violence exacerbated and illegal immigration into Palestine increased sharply. "With a regular session several months away, the British Government, under the pressure of violence in Palestine, requested a special session of the General Assembly to consider the appointment of a special committee"[69] to make recommendations concerning the future government of Palestine.

> *An irrepressible conflict has arisen between two national communities within the narrow bounds of one small country. About 1,000,000 Arabs are in strife, open or latent, with some 400,000 Jews. There is no common ground between them. The Arab community is predominantly Asian in character, the Jewish community predominantly European. They differ in religion and in language. Their cultural and social life, their ways of thought and conduct, are as incompatible as their national aspirations. These last are the greatest bar to peace.[70]*

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] http://www.palestinefacts.org/pf_mandate_during_ww2.php.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/d442111e70e417e3802564740045a309?OpenDocument

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

The first special session of the UN General Assembly was held on 28 April 1947. While Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria spoke on behalf of the Arab Palestinian population, the *Jewish Agency* was granted the right to present the Jewish case before the General Assembly.[71] The Arab countries tried "unsuccessfully to include in the agenda an item that would address 'the termination of the Mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence'."[72] Simultaneously, the *Arab Higher Committee* heavily criticized the GA's decision, of allowing the *Jewish Agency* to speak in front of the plenary, while forwarding their concerns before the *General Assembly First Committee*, however, finally accepted the consecutive offer of the GA.[73]

The General Assembly decided to establish the *United Nations Special Committee on Palestine* (UNSCOP). During the discussion on its competences, an essential question was "whether the problem of the Jewish refugees in Europe should be linked with the Palestine problem"[74] or not. European, American and Arab states expressed a variety of argumentations in favour and against this issue. Eventually, UNSCOP was mandated "to investigate all questions relevant to the problem of Palestine and to recommend solutions to be considered by the regular session of the General Assembly in September 1947."[75] It consisted of the following eleven members: Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

For two-and-a-half-months, UNSCOP investigated the areas of Palestine and some of its neighboring countries, i.e. Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan, "and also visited displaced persons camps in Austria and Germany, which had been ravaged by the Second World War and had experienced the tragedy of the European Jews under Nazism."[76] Again, the cooperation of Jewish and Arab organizations was described as being of different nature.

While Jewish organizations collaborated with UNSCOP in its deliberations, "Palestinian leadership in the *Arab Higher Committee* decided not to participate, on grounds that the United Nations had refused to address the question of independence and had failed to separate the issue of European Jewish refugees from the question of Palestine."[77] *The League of Arab States* argued that the natural rights of the Palestinian Arabs as stated in the UN Charter[78] were self-evident and should be recognized without investigation by a foreign entity; they sought of the immediate creation of an independent Palestinian State west of the Jordan River. Jewish leadership, however, expressed that "the issues of a Jewish State in Palestine and unrestricted immigration were inextricably interwoven."[79]

During its period of investigation, the illegal immigration into Palestine was at its height. The *Jewish Agency* requested the UNSCOP committee members to also visit the internment camps in british controlled Cyprus where illegal Jewish immigrants who had been apprehended were held. It decided against such a visit. While UNSCOP was in the harbour town Haifa in July, some committee members witnessed violence between British vessels and members of the Exodus 1947 ship. With 4,500 illegal refugees aboard, all exceeding the established quotas, the ship was sent back to its origins in Europe.[80]

When UNSCOP completed its work on August 31st, 1947, all its members agreed on terminating the British Mandate. However, there was no consensus on how to distribute the settlement and rights of independence between the Jewish and Arab Palestinian population: One majority proposal and two minority proposals were considered: The majority proposal recommended to partition Palestine into "an Arab State and a Jewish State, with special international status for the city of Jerusalem under the administrative authority of the United Nations. The three entities were to be linked in an economic union."[81] One minority plan called for an independent state with federal structure, comprising a somewhat Arab canton and a Jewish canton, with Jerusalem as the capital of

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[71] Ibid.

[72] United Nations, 2008, "The Question of Palestine and the United Nations", page 4: https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/DPI2499.pdf

[73]https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/d442111e70e417e3802564740045a309?OpenDocument

[74] Ibid.

[75] United Nations, 2008, "The Question of Palestine and the United Nations", page 4: https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/DPI2499.pdf.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] see UN - Charter Art. 1 (2)

[79] Ibid.

[80]https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/d442111e70e417e3802564740045a309?OpenDocument

[81] United Nations, 2008, "The Question of Palestine and the United Nations", page 5: https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/DPI2499.pdf

the federation also under a special international regime and UN administration (*corpus separatum*). Furthermore, the minority plan proposed a single citizenship which shall be granted to Arabs, Jews and others alike. Please find the full proposals and UNSCOP's description of the tensions in Palestine here: document A/364.

In September 1947, the two partition plans were placed before the regular session of the General Assembly, which referred to itself as the '*ad hoc committee on Palestine*'.[82] While Jews were not fully satisfied with the suggestions made in the UNSCOP report, they endorsed the idea of being given their 'national home'.[83] Despite the fact that they represented only 31% of the total population and owned less than 7% of the land in Palestine, the plan recommended giving them 55% of the land. The Arab side declared that any partition of Palestine will be followed by attacks against the Jewish population; their leaders rejected the ideas articulated in the Partition Plan and lobbied for granting the Palestinian people the right of self-determination as articulated in Article 1 and 2 of the UN Charter immediately and without further international paternalism.[84]

On 29th November 1947, the General Assembly passed *Resolution 181 (II)* on 'the future government of Palestine', with 33 to 13 and 10 abstentions. This resolution recommended the majority plan of partition with Economic Union, as suggested by UNSCOP. First and foremost, this recommendation addressed the Mandatory Power but also all other Members of the United Nations. It requested the creation of the *United Nations Palestine Commission* (UNPC) which should be in charge of the implementation of the Partition Plan and act under the guiding instructions of the Security Council.[85] It *requested* the SC to:

> (a) [...] take the necessary measures as provided for in the Plan for its implementation;
> (b) [...] 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) [...] 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.[86]

Furthermore, *Resolution 181 (II)* encompassed concrete suggestions for Provisional Governmental bodies which should be mandated with drafting a democratic constitution for each state and a successive time plan for the implementation of the suggestions no later than 1 August 1948 (see also the following section 'Conclusion and Scenario'). The Mandate of Palestine should be superseded with Article 80 Trusteeship Agreement, Chapter XII, UN Charter. The GA elected Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and Philippines to become UNPC members. Until the full implementation of the Plan, however, the Mandatory Power is still responsible for maintaining peace, security and well-being of their League of Nations Mandate (Article 22).[87]

Reactions to UNGA 181 (II): Arab-Israeli Civil War

Whilst the Jewish population was in favor of the partition plan and *UNGA 181 (II)*, the Arab Palestinian population and many Arab leaders and governments rejected it.[88] Its adoption was followed by outbursts of violence by both the Arab and Jewish communities:[89] On the day of the adoption of the resolution, at least seven Jews were killed on public buses and the *Arab Higher Committee* called for a general strike. On December 30, 1947, Irgun and Lehi threw bombs at a crowd of Arab workers in Haifa; which lead to an angry Arab lynch mob massacring another 39 Jews until the British Mandate reestablished order.

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[82] Arnold Harttung, 1993, « Ursprung und Entwicklung des arabisch-israelischen Konflikts und der Palästina-Teilungsplan", Berlin Verlag: Arno Spitz GmbH, page 134.

[83] https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/5ba47a5c6cef541b802563e000493b8c/
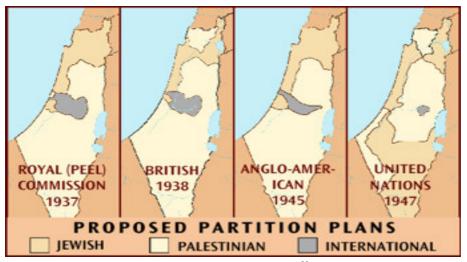d442111e70e417e3802564740045a309?OpenDocument

[84] Ibid.

[85] http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/A%20RES
%20181%20(II).pdf

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/palestine/ch2.pdf.

Map 1: Evolvement of the Partition Plans for Palestine.[90]

IV. Conclusion and Scenario

As stated in *GA Resolution 181 (II)* the *UN Commission for Palestine i*s installed in order to provide a solution for the international community to maintain peace and security in the region of Palestine. On 21 January 1948, the honorable delegation of Panama urges the Security Council (by Article 35 (2), Chapter VI, UN Charter) to react immediately to the information, UNPC was given by the distinguished representative of the Mandatory Power, Sir Alexander Cogen. He argues that the following information put the realization of the time frame adopted in UNGA 181 (II) at stake.

On 14 January Sir Alexander Cogen stated that the Arabs had made it clear that:

> *they proposed to resist with all the forces at their disposal the implementation of the partition plane. Moreover, since the first week in December the situation in Palestine had deteriorated rapidly. Violence conflict between the two communities had been intensified, courts and essential government services had been either unable to operate or were seriously crippled; there was but one month's supply of certain types of fuel oil in the country; there was general insecurity; communications were obstructed; the collection of public revenue was expected to drop sharply. Sir Alexander described the situation as one in which generally speaking, there has been a very severe diminution in the functions and authority of Civil Government, and in view of recent developments, it would be optimistic to hope for any improvement in the future.[91]*

In the morning of 21 January, Sir Alexander further conveyed at the sixteenth meeting of UNPC that:

> *in the present circumstances the Jewish story that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked is not tenable. The Arabs are determined to show that they will not submit tamely to the United Nations Plan of Partition; while the Jews are trying to consolidate the advantages gained at the General Assembly by a succession of drastic operations designed to intimidate and cure the Arabs of any desire for further conflict. Elements on each side are thus engaged in attacking or in taking reprisals indistinguishable from attacks…The Government of Palestine fear that strife in Palestine will be greatly intensified when the Mandate is terminated, and that the international status of the United Nations Commission will mean little or nothing to the Arabs in Palestine, to whom the killing of Jews now transcends all other considerations. Thus, the Commission will be*

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[90] https://cosmolearning.org/images_dir/education/photos/798.jpg

[91]https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/561c6ee353d740fb8525607d00581829/feca435dae3b3de-b85256c6000615518?OpenDocument

> *faced with the problem of how to avert certain bloodshed on a very much wider scale than prevails at present.[92]*

Furthermore, UNPC was informed by the representative of the United Kingdom that the ultimate date on which the Mandate power contemplates terminating the Mandate and removing all its troops from the territory shall be May 15, 1948. Other significant dates in connection with the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution are:

- No later than 1 August 1948 all British armed forces shall be withdrawn for that no later than 1 October 1948 an Independent Arab and Jewish State and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem under the Trusteeship Council shall come into existence - until then, the British forces shall withdraw successively from all areas:
- No later than 1 February 1948 an area situated in the Jewish state encompassing a seaport and hinterland suitable for substantive immigration shall be evacuated;
- No later than 1 April 1948, a Provisional Council of Government for each state shall come into existence, no later than 29 April 1948 the Trusteeship Council shall resume its administration.

How can the Security Council ensure the successful and peaceful implementation of the Partition Plan? Bearing in mind the controversial questions around the Palestinian 'right of self-determination' as in Art. 1 (2), Chapter I, UN Charter and the Jewish 'right of a national home'. Further calling to mind, the high amount of Jewish refugees during World War II and Palestinian displacements due to the most-recent violence. The SC needs to determine whether the eruption of the Arab-Israeli Civil War and the reciproke attacks represent a violent dispute (Chapter VI) or one of the violations listed in Chapter VII. Reiterating that the time frame of the UNPC's work was relatively short, it is recommended to investigate the full report of UNPC.[93]

V. Further Reading

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http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/index.html

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[92] Ibid.

[93] see further reading

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