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מכון ז׳בוטינסקי בישראל

מכון ז'בוטינסקי
תל אביב



Declaraciones de los soldados del

Yrgún Tzevaí Leumí

Meyer Nakar, Jacob Weiss, Absalom Habib

ante el "tribunal militar" de la organización terrorista denominada "Ejército Británico de Ocupación".

Declaración de Meyer Nakar

Oficiales británicos:

Al encontrarnos en presencia de vosotros, nos preguntamos a nosotros mismos: ¿Ante *quiénes estamos*? Vosotros os dáis el título de "jueces". Nosotros sabemos que no sois jueces, sino oficiales de un ejército de ocupación extranjero que domina por la fuerza la patria de otro pueblo y se aferra a ella, para sus propios objetivos, mediante una opresión cruel. Pero ésta no es una respuesta completa. Porque la pregunta no va dirigida a vosotros, personalmente, sino, en una medida mucho mayor, a vuestros superiores, a ese régimen de tiranía que os ha puesto por jueces sobre los ciudadanos libres de este país. ¿Qué es este régimen?

A ello quizás pueda contestarse con las palabras pronunciadas por el delegado de la Unión Soviética en la Asamblea General de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas: "el régimen británico de Eretz-Israel está en quiebra" (en hebreo: "ha tendido el pié). Y ésta no es la opinión del señor Gromyko únicamente. Todo el mundo sabe que "tendéis el pié" en Eretz-Israel, lo mismo que tendéis la mano en los Estados Unidos. Un régimen cuyos funcionarios se ven obligados a vivir en ghettos ¿acaso es un régimen? Un régimen que gasta como la mitad del presupuesto para las necesidades policiales y que a pesar de ello permanece impotente en presencia de la furia del pueblo insurreccionado ¿acaso es un régimen?

Es muy posible mostrar numerosos hechos demostrativos de que vuestro régimen está en bancarrota aquí, y no hay más ninguna fuerza en el mundo que pueda salvarlo de la disolución o de la desaparición. Más quizás sea extremadamente característico el siguiente hecho. Miembros de vuestro Parlamento han manifestado, que hay un medio de aplastar la resistencia hebrea, y que consiste en erigir horcas en la Tierra Santa para asesinar a prisioneros hebreos. Y he aquí que lo habéis hecho. Habéis cometido uno de los crímenes más infames: habéis asesinado a prisioneros de guerra. ¿Y qué habéis conseguido? ¿Habéis logrado atemorizar a alguien? ¿Habéis debilitado la aspiración de libertad de nuestro pueblo? ¿Habéis logrado aplastar el levantamiento nacional? Vosotros sabéis que no habéis conseguido nada. El fuego de la rebelión se va extendiendo dentro y fuera del país. Y vosotros sólo habéis cargado con el desprecio universal por el asesinato de prisioneros, considerado en todas partes y en todo momento como un crimen de lesa humanidad.

En otros términos: tampoco ese acto criminal le ha servido a vuestro régimen, de modo que su bancarrota es *completa*. Y siendo ello así, mejor será que os déis prisa en desprender las consecuencias. Un régimen que ha caído en bancarrota en todos los terrenos de la vida y en todas las tentativas de dominación debe desaparecer.

Así, pues, fallidos británicos, ha llegado el momento de que abandonéis este país, que fué nuestro y será nuestro, y que edificaremos como un país de libertad, de paz y de progreso, para gloria eterna.

Vuestros gobernantes se sienten ofendidos cuando se los compara con los nazis. Si ocurre que en Nueva York jóvenes hebreos pintan sobre la bandera de vuestro Estado la cruz gamada, vuestros diarios se quejan de ello y vuestros representantes protestan. Sin embargo, vale la pena que meditéis por un momento si en verdad es posible limpiar a vuestra bandera de la svástica, que ha sido adherida a ella de hecho, no por manos de ningún extraño sino por vuestras mismas manos.

Pues ¿qué es lo que simboliza la cruz gamada en nuestro tiempo? Simboliza al esclavización de pueblos, el asesinato en masa, la crueldad de una fiera, la inmoralidad, el exterminio y muchas otras cosas, características de la pavorosa decadencia moral de la humanidad. Pero, sobre todo —y esto aun vosotos lo confesaréis—, este signo de pecado simboliza el asesinato de judíos. Sí, la cruz gamada será recordada en los siglos venideros como el lazo que fuera puesto por los enviados de Satanás en torno de la garganta de todo un pueblo. Es una regla: el portador de la svástica es un asesino de judíos; un asesino de judíos es un portador de una svástica, si no en la manga de su traje, en lo íntimo de su corazón. Y ahora, oficiales británicos, preguntáos a vosotros mismos: ¿qué función desempeña Gran Bretaña en este siglo luego de haber sido aniquilado en Berlín el asesino de los judíos? ¿Acaso ella no recibió de sus manos la cruz gamada, con todo lo que ella trae en sus brazos? ¿Acaso Gran Bretaña no es actualmente el único Estado del mundo que mata, como Estado —como Estado—, judíos? ¿Acaso soldados de Gran Bretaña no asesinan actualmente judíos en Jerusalén y en Famagusta, en Haifa y en el Sudán, en Eretz-Israel y en Europa? ¿Acaso Gran Bretaña no retiene a decenas de miles de judíos en los campos de concentración? ¿Acaso Gran Bretaña no atenta contra la vida de nuestro pueblo por doquiera?

Gran Bretaña, asesina de judíos. Esta es la función que habéis asumido, esta es la reputación que os habéis gastado en los ámbitos del mundo. Y de esto no os limpiaréis, lo mismo que la Alemania nazi no se limpiará nunca de eso. ¿Qué utilidad tendrá que raspéis los indicios de la cruz gamada de la "Union Jack", de vuestra bandera? Pues ella no os ha sido pegada con una goma común, sino con un material imposible de sacarlo: os ha sido pegada con *sangre*, sangre de nuestros hermanos, que vuestras manos han derramado en todos los ámbitos del mundo, que vuestras manos continúan derramando aquí y en el exterior.

Sí, Gran Bretaña, una cruz gamada gigantesca cubre hoy tu cuerpo, lo mismo que el odio que ella simboliza ha penetrado en tu alma. Has asumido una misión: la de terminar lo que tu maestro, Hitler, no alcanzó a terminar. Por eso, lo mismo que él, también tú bajarás de la escena y entrarás en la Historia con una designación que te perseguirá hasta el fin de todos los siglos: el de asesina de judíos. Pero no lograrás realizar tu plan. Como fué rota la cruz gamada, así será rota la cruz gamada nazi-británica. El Dios que ayudó a David a derribar a Goliat por haber insultado las filas de Israel, ayudará a los portadores del Escudo de David a vencer a los portadores de la cruz gamada que profanan la Tierra Santa.

Declaración de Jacob Weiss

Oficiales del ejército de ocupación:

No puedo comenzar sin referirme al ultraje bárbaro cometido con prisioneros heridos, de que he sido testigo presencial al ser capturado. Eshbal, Amrani, Berend, Bando, Dad, Moscovich, Shmukler y otros fueron tiroteados todos con decenas de balas desde una corta distancia, a pesar de que ninguno de ellos estaba armado. *Esto, porque todos ellos se hallaban entre los prisioneros y no entre los atacantes.* Pero la técnica de vuestros soldados es todavía deficiente, de modo que, no obstante las decenas de heridas, muchos no murieron en seguida y fueron traídos, sangrantes, al patio de la estación policial. Ahí se los echó en tierra — y no en camillas. ¡nó! — y así quedaron tendidos durante seis horas enteras, mientras su sangre manaba como agua. Decenas de bestias con apariencia humana los rodeaban, con las manos hundidas en los bolsillos. Su única preocupación consistía en impedirnos proporcionarles los primeros auxilios. Y así tuvieron la suerte de asesinar, de un modo tan canallesco, a Eshbal, a Berend, a Bando, a Amrani y a Nisim Levi. Es evidente que esos canallescos asesinatos no harán temblar a nadie. Por el contrario, ellos le abrirán los ojos al pueblo para que vea a *quién* combatimos nosotros. Y si en el pasado habéis aprovechado de todas las ventajas conferidas a un beligerante por las leyes de la guerra, no hay duda que en lo futuro se cumplirá la ley de represalia, y si bien en materia de ultraje a los prisioneros y de sadismo no rivalizaremos con vosotros, en lo demás se os pagará como lo tenéis merecido.

Y ahora, sobre lo que vosotros llamáis "juicio". No reconocemos vuestra autoridad para juzgarnos a nosotros, ciudadanos libres de la patria hebrea, y no pensamos participar en estas deliberaciones, a las que denomináis, con burla y escarnio de la alta tradición de la humanidad civilizada, "juicio".

Todo lo que vosotros hacéis en este país es ilegal. Vuestro régimen es ilegal; vuestros "tribunales" son ilegales; vuestras leyes, salidas de la más totalitaria de las máquinas que ha existido alguna vez, son ilegales; y vuestra misma presencia aquí, contra la que todos se levantan, es ilegal. Esta tierra es nuestra desde tiempos remotos por la eternidad. ¿Qué tenéis que ver, oficiales británicos, con nuestra patria? ¿Quién os ha puesto por gobernantes de una nación antigua y civilizada y amante de la libertad? ¿Quién os ha puesto por jueces de un pueblo que dió a la humanidad el Dios de la justicia y el derecho cuando vuestros antepasados moraban aún en cavernas y bosques perennes?

Más he aquí que vuestra dominación en este país se acerca a su fin. Todo el mundo lo sabe. Y también vosotros lo sabéis. No, no podréis permanecer aquí por mucho tiempo. Ciertamente, habéis hecho todo lo que esclavizadores crueles pueden hacer para sujetar al país con las cadenas del avasallamiento y para quebrantar el espíritu de resistencia de sus ciudadanos y dueños legítimos. Habéis concentrado enormes fuerzas militares, os habéis rodeado de decenas de kilómetros de alambradas de púa; habéis gastado millones para la policía pública y la secreta; habéis asaltado, exilado, amenazado; habéis introducido reglamentaciones como no las hubo ni siquiera en la Alemania nazi, y hasta habéis hecho esto: asesinásteis a prisioneros hebreos, llevásteis al patíbulo a exponentes de la juventud hebrea.

¿Y el resultado? No sólo no habéis conseguido quebrar el espíritu de la resistencia hebrea, sino que, por el contrario, a vuestra vista, a pesar del patíbulo y quizá gracias al patíbulo, ella está aumentando, a tal punto que vuestro Churchill ha debido llorar por su imperio odiado y ridiculizado en los ámbitos del mundo por la "guerra sucia" que conduce en la Tierra Santa.

En esta situación, en la que todo el mundo ve la bancarrota de vuestro régimen, os vísteis forzados a llevar el asunto de Eretz-Israel a la Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Por supuesto, vuestros delegados no han ido con intenciones limpias a la institución internacional. No se proponen obtener allí un fallo justo, sino una autorización para proseguir con vuestro dominio y una absolución por los actos de crueldad del mismo. Pero la Organización de las Naciones Unidas, por más que haya en ella títeres de Gran Bretaña, no está sometida todavía a la autoridad de vuestros gobernantes. No todo lo que os habéis propuesto conseguir en ella conseguiréis o podréis conseguir. Y la primera prueba de ello es la resolución de la Asamblea General que insta tanto a los *gobiernos* como a los *pueblos*, a abstenerse del empleo de la fuerza durante las deliberaciones de la comisión internacional para Palestina.

Esa resolución no tiene dos significados. Dado que vuestro gobierno es el *único* que emplea la fuerza en este país, es evidente que la Asamblea General de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas le ha pedido precisamente a él que deje de amenazar con o emplear la fuerza, hasta tanto la Organización de las Naciones no haya adoptado su resolución. Vuestro gobierno estará obligado a someterse a este requerimiento o a asumir la plena responsabilidad por el incumplimiento de la resolución de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas. En este último caso, no me cabe duda de que los Estados que no son títeres vuestros y que han suscripto dicha resolución no os permitirán que expongáis a risa y mofa la voluntad de la institución internacional y la firma de ellos. La Organización de las Naciones Unidas os reclamará que respetéis sus resoluciones.

Los pueblos del mundo saben que el establecimiento de tribunales militares en un país que no es vuestro; el poner a oficiales extranjeros por jueces sobre ciudadanos libres y el amenazar con el asesinato de prisioneros, significan en general una amenaza del empleo de la fuerza. La prosecución de esta situación intolerable bajo cualesquiera condiciones, se convierte, a la luz de la resolución de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas, en un crimen internacional, en una atrocidad contra todos los pueblos que se han mancomunado en la misma resolución.

Por lo tanto, desde este lugar en que se pisotea arrogantemente la resolución de los pueblos, apelamos a la Organización de las Naciones Unidas, a la comisión investigadora y a todos los Estados independientes que votaron en favor de la moción de Noruega y les exigimos que intervengan para no permitir a los esclavizadores británicos, infractores a las leyes de la humanidad, que coloquen a ciudadanos hebreos frente a un tribunal militar y asesinen a prisioneros hebreos. Naturalmente, nosotros despreciamos vuestras amenazas de asesinato, mas estamos seguros de que vendrá la intervención internacional, dado que en el platillo de la balanza se ha puesto esta vez, entre otros factores, el honor de la humanidad y el honor de muchos Estados.

Y en lo que se refiere a nosotros, sabemos que este combate será uno, que uno habrá de ser su fin: nuestro pueblo conseguirá su libertad, y su esclavizador bajará de la escena. Por eso estamos tranquilos, más aún: somos felices. Porque no hay mayor felicidad para un hombre que la de consagrar la vida a un gran ideal y saber, saber con claridad que él es uno de los que lo realizan directamente.

Oíd, oficiales británicos, y contadles ésto a vuestros gobernantes, que están afectados de ceguera y no ven la mano que graba la gran advertencia sobre el muro: decidles que en éste país ha surgido dentro de Israel, una generación nueva, una generación que ama la vida, una generación que ama la libertad más que la vida. Una generación que destruirá la tiranía nazibritánica y traerá la libertad aún al precio de la vida. El pueblo de Israel vive. El Reino de Israel resurgirá.

Declaración de Absalom Habib

Oficiales del ejército de ocupación:

Antes de entrar en el asunto en sí quiero dedicar algunas palabras a una cuestión que en verdad está al margen del mismo, pero que para mí es importante por afectarme personalmente. Después de que vuestra inteligencia y vuestro valor no os sirvieron para impedir la ruptura de las murallas de la Bastilla de Eretz-Israel, la ciega casualidad os proporcionó una gran "victoria" sobre una parte de los prisioneros liberados que se hallaban inermes y *sobre nosotros tres luego de habérsenos terminado nuestras municiones*. Aquí fueron satisfechos vuestro sadismo y bajeza. Vuestros hombres se comportaron de acuerdo con la mejor tradición nazi: tiraron contra heridos tendidos en tierra, impidieron intencionalmente, durante muchas horas, el suministro de los primeros auxilios, etcétera. A mí me ultrajaron especialmente: no faltaron amenazas de asesinato, apretarme el cuello con sogas, golpes crueles con las culatas y con los pies en las partes delicadas del cuerpo y, luego de haberme desmayado, un auxilio consistente en orina de un británico mezclado con polvo y con mi propia sangre. No lo cuento para quejarme. ¡De ninguna manera! No me quejaré ante vosotros. Pero los pueblos del mundo deben enterarse de las atrocidades cometidas por las fieras británicas en Tierra Santa.

Doy por sentado que conocéis la historia sangrienta de vuestra dominación en Irlanda. Recordaréis, seguramente, que también allí dominásteis a un país pequeño y a una nación civilizada por la fuerza y la astucia, bajo la máscara de la religión y so capa de "la ley y el orden". Recordaréis, seguramente, que también allí le quitásteis la médula de los huesos al pueblo trabajador e intrigásteis entre sus diversas capas para mantener vuestra dominación. Y cuando los hijos del pueblo irlandés, se levantaron contra vosotros, cuando los combatientes de la Resistencia irlandesa, salieron a enfrentaros, intestásteis ahogar en ríos y torrentes de sangre el levantamiento contra la tiranía. Erigísteis horcas; asesinásteis a decenas de miles; exilásteis a tierra desolada; asaltásteis y ultrajásteis, y pensásteis en vuestra gran necedad que por la fuerza y las persecuciones quebraríais el espíritu de resistencia de los irlandeses libres, el espíritu de resistencia que es un don de Dios a todo hombre digno de llamarse hombre. Os equivocásteis. La Resistencia irlandesa fué robusteciéndose. Precisamente la sangre de los combatientes y la sangre de los oprimidos unió al pueblo en torno a la bandera de la rebelión, hasta que os visteis obligados a retroceder, dejando detrás de vosotros imborrables huellas de sangre y el recuerdo de días inolvidables. La Irlanda libre surgió a pesar de toda vuestra furia.

Vuestros orgullosos gobernantes son en verdad unos grandes ignorantes. No aludo únicamente a Bevin, que ha encontrado de repente cuatro mil millones de hombres sobre la faz del globo terráqueo. Aludo también a aquellos de vosotros que al menos saben que en el mundo viven actualmente sólo más de dos mil

millones de almas. Todos son ignorantes. Todos son ciegos. Porque no han estudiado ni sabido los dos fundamentos de la vida, y quizás nunca los estudien, nunca los sepan. Dichos dos fundamentos son: la lección de la Historia y el alma del hombre.

Si hubiérais atinado, tiranos británicos, a aprender de la Historia, os habría bastado el ejemplo de Irlanda o el ejemplo de Norteamérica, para comprender que debiérais apresuraros a alejaros de este país nuestro, que está envuelto en el fuego de la santa rebelión, que no se apaga, sino que, por el contrario, se propaga con toda nueva gota de sangre vertida por vosotros o frente a vosotros. Entonces prestaríais atención a las palabras de advertencia que pronunciara Bernard Shaw en los días de la Rebelión Irlandesa, en 1916, luego de haber asesinado vuestros verdugos a cuatro prisioneros de guerra irlandeses. Bernard Shaw es un irlandés que llegó a ser un escritor inglés incorporado a vuestra cultura y a vuestra sociedad. Y sin embargo, ese hombre halló la valentía de deciros las siguientes palabras:

"Opino que los hombres que fueron fusilados a sangre fría después de haber sido tomados prisioneros, eran prisioneros de guerra, por lo que su muerte ha sido absolutamente injusta. Un irlandés que alza su arma para devolver la independencia a su país hace lo mismo que harían los ingleses si, desgraciadamente para ellos, los alemanes invadieran a su vez su país. El hecho de que él sepa que sus enemigos no respetarán sus derechos en caso de caer en sus manos, razón por la cual debe combatir con la soga al cuello; este hecho aumenta su riesgo, pero también aumenta, en la misma medida, su gloria a los ojos de todos los admiradores del patriotismo en el mundo entero. A los irlandeses que han sido ejecutados se les colocará junto a los mártires irlandeses que les precedieron y junto a los mártires de Polonia, Serbia y Bélgica, y no hay nada en el cielo o en la tierra que pueda impedirlo".

Esas palabras fueron pronunciadas por un hombre considerado como un cínico, hace treinta años, y se confirmaron por completo. Y si vuestros dominadores estudiaran nuevamente las consecuencias de las guerras libertadoras, tal como nosotros las estudiamos; si meditaran en la moraleja que se desprende de las palabras de Bernard Shaw y del conocido desarrollo de los acontecimientos que siguió al asesinato de los prisioneros irlandeses, entonces hace tiempo que habrían renunciado a la tentativa de aplastar mediante el patíbulo o mediante la bayoneta el levantamiento de una nación amante de la libertad. Pero, como ya lo he dicho antes, ellos son ciegos y no aprenderán. Y ¿quién sabe? Quizás esta ceguera os haya sido impuesta por la Divina Providencia para pagaros con el tiempo por las lágrimas y la sangre que habéis derramado en nuestro país y fuera de él.

Empero, no es únicamente una lección de la Historia lo que vosotros, tiranos británicos, no aprendéis. Tampoco conocéis el alma del hombre. Vosotros pensáis que con una cantidad determinada de soldados armados y con una cantidad determinada de intrigas sutiles os será muy posible seguir dominando durante mucho tiempo un país en rebelión, cuyos habitantes —todos sus habitantes— ven en vosotros invasores, intrigantes y explotadores. Es un error fatal. ¡Ni la bayoneta ni las intrigas pueden sostenerse mucho tiempo frente al *alma del hombre*, frente al alma del ciudadano *libre*. Porque esta alma realizará milagros. Ella romperá bayonetas. Ella hará estallar intrigas. A ella no la asesinaréis. Ella continuará combatiendo, rebelándose y suscitando rebelión, aunque le quitéis el cuerpo pasajero. Pero vosotros, realizadores de la doctrina racista, que os consideráis dominadores de una clase superior, mientras que a otros pueblos los conceptuáis como de un grado inferior; vosotros, a quienes vuestra gastada arrogancia os ha enloquecido, ¿qué tenéis de común con el alma del hombre libre, dispuesto a arriesgar y hasta sacrificar su vida por la libertad?

No sorprende, por consiguiente, que tampoco conozcáis nuestra alma, el alma de la nueva generación hebrea. Os preguntáis asombrados: ¿Cómo ha podido ocurrir que estos judíos, a quienes teníamos por cobardes, que fueron víctimas de matanzas durante siglos, se hayan levantado contra nuestra dominación, combaten a nuestras tropas y desechen nuestras órdenes, y que, hallándose a la sombra de la muerte, la desprecien? ¿Cómo ha podido ocurrir que por causa de estos judíos nos hayamos visto obligados a encerrarnos en ghettos sin encontrar tampoco en ellos la tranquilidad?

Os asombráis, ¿no es así? Pero la cosa es más sencilla de lo que parece. Dos elementos han tallado la figura espiritual de nuestra generación: el suelo patrio y la desgracia de la Diáspora. El suelo patrio ha sido lo que nos ha renovado, lo que nos ha dado vigor a nuestros músculos, valor a nuestro corazón y fe en nuestra porvenir, lo que nos ha devuelto *efectivamente* la tradición que nuestro pueblo había conservado teóricamente durante muchos siglos: la tradición del heroismo de los Macabeos y de Bar-Cojba.

Y, por otra parte, la desgracia sin parangón de la Diáspora. Ella nos ha enseñado que estamos empeñados en un combate no sólo por nuestra libertad, sino también por nuestra misma existencia. Ella ha sido la que nos ha enseñado que la prosecución de la esclavitud significa un exterminio seguro para todos nosotros. Ella ha sido la que nos ha enseñado que si no tomamos nuestro destino en nuestras manos, descenderemos al abismo. Que si no combatimos, seremos aniquilados. Y ella ha sido la que le ha quitado el miedo a cada uno de nosotros. Sí, oficiales británicos: hay ante vosotros, hombres no sólo aquí, sino también en los ámbitos de la tierra, que no temen más. Porque ¿a qué han de temer? ¿Acaso han de temer la muerte los hombres de un pueblo al que le fueron muertos millones de sus hijos en una noche infernal, sin motivo ni objeto? Y cuando recordamos a nuestros hermanos aniquilados —y los recordamos siempre— nuestro corazón rebosa de dicha por habérsenos dado que no nos pisotearan como a ellos y por habernos tocado en suerte el privilegio sagrado de *combatir* por nuestro país, de vivir sobre nuestro suelo patrio, de escribir un capítulo —capítulo de heroísmo— en nuestra historia y de dejar un testamento, no de cobardía ni inmolación, sino de valor y guerra por la libertad, a las generaciones venideras.

Vosotros, tiranos británicos, no comprenderéis nunca el alma de un hombre libre que va al encuentro de la muerte —como fueron Gruner y sus camaradas— con una *canción* que brota de su corazón, de su corazón creyente y amante. Y seguramente tampoco comprenderéis que yo, un hombre hebreo joven que se halla frente a un cruel enemigo, alce mi corazón a mi Dios que está en el cielo, y alabe y agradezca que me haya concedido el privilegio de sufrir por mi tierra y por mi pueblo y diga con todas mis fuerzas:

"Bendito seas Tú, Señor, nuestro Dios, Rey del Universo, que nos ha hecho vivir y subsistir y llegar a este tiempo".

Estas declaraciones fueron pronunciadas durante el "juicio" que se siguió a los tres patriotas por tomar parte en el Ataque a la cárcel de Acre. Se les condenó a muerte y fueron asesinados en la horca el 28 de Julio de 1947.

Dios vengue su sangre!

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI
B'ERETZ ISRAEL

THE HEBREW STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

A selection of documents on it's background and on events punctuating its course

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THE HEBREW STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

A SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS ON IT'S BACKGROUND AND ON EVENTS PUNCTUATING ITS COURSE

The collection of documents that follows, is not a history of the Irgun Zvai Leumi or its struggle. The time for that has not yet come. It does, however, present a comprehensive picture of the belief that animates the soldiers of the Irgun and the spiritual driving-force that has produced the greatness of a Dov Gruner and a Meir Feinstein; and of thousands of others who, young and loving life, are nevertheless prepared at any moment to give it up in the struggle for the freedom of their people.

The following pages include also a number of statements and declarations by the Irgun at various stages in the struggle, illustrating its background, and some of its incidents — pronouncements all flowing from the single mainspring of the Irgun's existence: the knowledge that national liberation and independence can be achieved only by an uncompromising, armed struggle against the tyrannous aggressor until he has removed himself from our country; that his determination to rob us of our country and to crush our people can be overcome by our even greater determination to be free, by our refusal either to be deceived by fine phrases or intimidated by brute force, and by the application of all our human resources to that task.

In the course of the struggle the british tyrant, having taken Irgun soldiers prisoners has, in accordance with the precedent set, by the German Nazis, refused to recognise their rights as prisoners of war. In contravention even of the laws that he ostensibly recognises, he has set up ,,courts" manned by Occupation Army officers, to try Hebrew citizens and to ,,sentence" them to long terms of imprisonment, or to death.

Irgun soldiers thus ,,tried" have naturally refused to recognise the authority of the Nazo-British courts, but continuing their struggle in the ,,court room" have made declarations elucidating the causes of the struggle, and the rights of Hebrew soldiers. Some of these declarations, in the tradition of the great martyrs of revolutionary history in all ages and among all peoples, are included in this publication.

The first of them is the statement made by Amnon Moscovith, one of the ,,accused" in the ,,Trial of the Twenty" — twenty young men of Shuni village, ,,sentenced" in October, 1945 to long terms of imprisonment for the ,,possession of arms".

THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO RISE AGAINST OPPRESSION

DECLARATION BY AMNON MOSCOVITCH BEFORE A BRITISH MILITARY „COURT"

You are going to condemn us to many years' imprisonment. You mean to deprive us of a civilized man's most precious possession: of liberty. This right of yours, which originates in physical force, imposes at least one human duty upon you. You are bound to learn and to know whom you are judging, whose hands you want to shackle, whom you are giving the cup of suffering, physical and moral.

Biographical details about me and my brothers, the other „accused", would tell you nothing. There are in Eretz Israel thousands and tens of thousands of Hebrew young men like us. Every one of them might be in our place here, for we are not, as you know, the first ones, and surely not the last ones, to be brought before you from the Acre citadel, in order to return, for a long time, to its dark cells. Therefore, if you wish to know the Hebrew accused, who awaits your sentence with absolute tranquillity of mind, you have to look not at his identity papers, but at his soul. You have to enquire, not at his age, social position or education, but into his convictions, creed and ideals.

We are sons of a certain family. In so far as it has been planted and has grown in Eretz Israel, it is a Hebrew family, but it is not only Hebrew. It is, properly speaking, a universal family. Its age is — eternity; the region inhabited by it is — the globe; the secret of its existence is — faith; its fate is — suffering; its happiness is — self-sacrifice; its enemy is — oppression; its banner is — liberty; and its name? Its name is *resistance*. Yes, Gentlemen, we are sons of the great, Hebrew and all-human, family of resistance. Our spiritual fathers left the village of Modiin, in order to stir up a revolt against a great empire, which sought to subjugate the land of the prophets both

politically and spiritually. Our spiritual fathers went out of the crevices of rocks in the days of another empire, and, in their strugge against its conquering armies, efected eternal monuments; Massada and Jodefet. Our spiritual fathers repose for ever under the ruins of Beittar — those rebels of Bar-Kochba and disciples of Rabbi Akiba, who achieved an unsurpassable unity of Book and Sword. Such are our Hebrew fathers. But our spiritual brothers may be found, not only in this country, but in all the countries of the world, beyond seas and behind mountains, in the past and in the present. Their footsteps will lead you to the Greek Thermopylae, and your Runnymede, and the Serbian Kossove field, and the American Yorktown, and the French Bastille, and „the thousand" of Garibaldi, and the Yugoslav partisans, and the French maquis, and the fighters of modern Greece — in every country and in every age you will find those whom we proudly call our brothers in arms and brothers in faith.

There was a time — and how remote it appears to us now, in these days of filthy egoism, — when that family used to behave as members of one family do: they helped one another. The Frenchman Lafayette, the Pole Pulaski, the Italian Garibaldi, volunteered to figh for American's freedom. The Englishman Byron — take heed, Honourable Judges — went to fight for Greece, and fell in the battle for her liberation. It was not only „Young Italy" that arose in Mazzini's days, but also „Young Europe", which united all the nations aspiring to liberty, whose oppressors wery many, but whose enemy was one; oppression. But it is not the mutual help between fighters of various nations, that makes the peculiar characteristic of the human family of resistance. Something else has framed its unitary shape, in spite of all the chronological, geographical and ethnological differences. It is the Spirit. It is the unvanquished spirit of resistance to evil, it is the spirit of rebellion even against gigantic forces; it is the immortal spirit of revolt, it is the eternal aspiration to mount higher and higher, in spite of all the sacrifices, sufferings and persecutions. And I venture to say, Honourable Judges, that it is this spirit that propels the mills of human civilization, it is that which drives us forward, it is that which has given us fire and light, it is that which dispels the darkness, whenever anybody — a single dictator or a collective despotism — attempts to plunge us into it, or prevents our emerging from it.

I am not speaking of spiritual things only, although, in my opinion, they determine the ways of history. Everybody knows that without that spirit of resistance, which, in its manifold manifestations, is communicated by one generation to its successor, and by one nation to another, Hitler would have become the supreme ruler of Europe, and perhaps of the whole world. I am now referring to a very concrete event, which originated in the spirit of resistance, and without which we would not perhaps exist now, neither you, as British Judges, nor we, as Hebrew accused. I wish to remind you of that event.

About 170 years ago, there were still thirteen British colonies in North America. They were governed by a British Commissioner, and all their affairs were settled by British law. Their taxes were collected by a British tax-collector; their mutual relations, as well as the relations between the local population and the new settlers, were fixed by the British agent. How these British officials governed the American colonies may be learned from an original and official document, dated 4th July, 1776. The following is an extract from it;

,,He (the King of Britain) has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

,,He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the condition of new Appropriations of Land.

,,He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone.

,,He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

,,He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by ours Laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

,,For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

,,For protecing them, by a Mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

,,For cutting off of trade with all parts of the world.

„For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

„For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury.

„For transporting us beyond seas ta be tried for pretended offenses."

I have drawn your attention, Honourable Judges, to those points, because one may learn from them that, just as the ways of the struggle for liberty and justice are the same, so the method of oppression is the same. The above words were written in Philadelphia, nearly 200 years ago. Nevertheless, one might dictate them in Jerusalem, this very day, since all the charges, preferred against you by Jefferson, might be repeated today by any Jewish representative. Moreover, that Hebrew representative could add a long list, an endless list, of acts of fraud, and treachery, and oppression, and murder. Most of all — murder. I am speaking not only of Abraham Stern, Abraham Emper and Itzhak Zak, murdured in cold blood by your high officer Morton, who did not even undergo a fictitious trial, but, on the contrary, was promoted to a higher rank, and was compelled only by the wrath of the Hebrew youth to flee the country; I am speaking not only of those acts of murder, and of the murder of Asher Tertner, a Hebrew youth, almost a child, in Haifa. I am also speaking of that long list of murdered human beings, which is unprecedented in the history of mankind — of the list of six million Jews, murdered through the fault of your rulers.

But let us go back to the British colonies in America. After their inhabitants and leaders had clearly seen that your rule was a rule of despotism and oppression, they resolved to rise in arms against it, in order to set up an independent government of their own. The history and the outcome of that war are well known. One of its turning-points was Yorktown, where your General Cornwallis surrendered to the rebel Washington. But let us suppose for a moment that the course of events had been different. Let us suppose that Cornwallis had succeeded in arresting Washington, and Jefferson, and Lee, and Benjamin Franklin, and Taylor and Adams, and all the others who signed the Declaration of Independence and urged the nation to rise in rebellion against your rule. All those who dared to hold arms, use arms and fight against you, in defiance of your law, would have been brought before a Military Court (of course, a Military one !). It would have been a trial of twenty, or perhaps fifty, persons, and they would have been sentenced, no doubt,

to five, ten, fifteen and twenty years' imprisonment. It would have been recorded in your history — if it had been recorded at all — that several American ,,criminals", who attempted to rise in rebellion against your benificent rule, had received a propers punishment, and — what did Mr. Churchill say some months ago? — ,,Advance Britannia; Long live the cause of freedom!".

Think for a moment, Honourable Judges, of that eventuality. For its results would have been neither theoretical nor simple. If it had ocurred, your Commissioner would have resided at New York to this day, and instead of the U.S.A., there would have existed, in the best case, a British Dominion, whose level of progress and number of inhabitants would not have exceeded, as may be learned from experience, those of Canada. And then? I believe that any Britisher, who thinks of that eventuality, must shiver and tremble. For in that case, Honourable Judges, you would have been doomed. It is possible that already Kaiser Wilhelm would have put an end to your world rule, to the results of your toil during generations, and there is no doubt that Adolf Hitler would have vanquished you, and would have transformed you, those who sing; ,,England must be free, or die" — into slaves or dead bodies. It would, of course, have been the fate of all the other nations too, and, as I have told you, you would not have been judges today, and we — the accused, *all of us* would have been today in a concentration camp or a grave. It is no secret that without the U.S.A., without her planes and armoured cars, her arms and equipment, her industry and soldiers, without all those things which are the outcome of America's rebellion and her victory over you, — the entire free humanity would no more have existed. Now you see, Honourable Judges, that what is regarded as an evil by men like Cornwallis, is considered a blessing, not only by men like Washington, but also by the God of History, who sometimes saves the offspring of the Cornwallises through the agency of descendants of the Washingtons.

Do not be surprised, therefore, to see that we have learned from our brothers in spirit, not only to accuse the rule of oppression, but also to fight against it. Do not be surprised to see that we have also imbibed the moral teaching, contained in the simple words of that document of the 4th of July, 1776, which says in its preamble;

,,We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

,,That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and Happiness. Prudence indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right them themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and to provide new Guards for their future security".

I have quoted the historic preamble, because it offers an almost exact image of the conditions prevailing in Eretz Israel, as well as for our revolutionary way. Your administration, deprives us of all ,,the inalienable rights bestowed by the Creator upon all men". It deprives us, it deprives our nation, of the right to live. Through its fault, because of its ,,pretended legislation", which has closed the gates of our homeland for our brethren, millions of Jews have been slaughtered in the accursed Diaspora; through its fault, as a result of the instigations of its agents and emissaries, nearly one thousand Jews have been killed in four organized attacks in the Holy Land. Through its fault, because of its Satanic will, tens of thousand of Jews are still starving in concentration camps and refugee camps, on the roads of Europe and on its shores. Your administration deprives us of the right to freedom. Where is freedom, if we cannot let our brothers enter our home, in spite of their cry ,,save us!" Where is freedom, if we cannot develop the natural resources of this country, as our knowledge and abilities, which, as is well known, are not inferior to yours, enable us to do — if we cannot

develop the natural resources of this country, so that it may give life to millions of happy inhabitants, just as it gave life, even in ancient times, to six or seven million citizens? Where is freeedom, if you, British Officers, are judging us, Hebrew soldiers? Where is freedom, if throngs of your officials devour the fruits of the toil of the country's citizens, and suck the marrow of their bones by heavy taxation? Where is freedom, if Jews have been pushed out, as in Tsarist Russia, to a „pale of settlement", and are not allowed even to *buy* land in most areas of Eretz Israel. Where is freedom if the Government is not our Government, if the laws binding our country are not our laws, if the representatives who speak on behalf of our country, are not our representatives? Where is freedom, if our homeland is governed by an administration which has violated all its obligations, and has brought all its promises into derision? No, Honourable Judges, under your rule there is no life for our nation, there is no freedom for us; you have deprived us of both, just as you have deprived us of our right to happiness. How can we aspire after private happiness, if we know that our brothers, fathers and mothers are being ruthlessly exterminated and murdered, only because you have not permitted them to come here? How can we think of happiness, if, day and night, there appear before us the appalling images, not only of the furnaces and the extermination camps, but also of refugee camps, where tens of thousands of our brothers live or agonize, hungry, scabbed, humiliated, beaten — and even they are not allowed by you to find shelter in their homeland?

And if so, if your rule has become a rule of tyranny in its most appaling sense, if it deprives a nation numbering millions of its right to life and freedom and happiness, then, as the American fighters said, it is our right, our d u t y, to fight for the overthrow of that rule and the establishment of another rule, a Hebrew rule, which will protect the security and the future of the exterminated nation. The right to oppose oppression is one of the natural rights of every civilized man; you will also find it in the second article of the „Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen", of that Declaration which was born in the flames of the French Revolution, and which determines, to this very day, the ways of thought of civilized humanity. So far from committing a crime, anybody exercising that right fulfils his duty; and anybody who does not fulfil his duty, must despise himself for his egoism and cowardice; and anybody who perse-

cutes those fulfilling their sacred duty, must be ashamed of his tyranny and baseness.

It cannot be argued against us that we started the struggle thoughtlessly. It cannot be said that we have not tried all the ways of explanation and moral influence. For twenty-five years, the Hebrew nation has been contiunally appealing to your conscience, to the British nation's conscience. You have contended that Eretz Israel is a barren country; we have proved that it may be converted into a flourishing garden. With that typical hypocrisy, expressly acknowledged by your most sober paper „The Economist", you have contended that we dispossess the Arabs — those same Arabs, whose brethren are deliberately left by you in the darkness of ignorance, in constant hunger and epidemics, in all those numerous States, whose governments are set up by you and your „advisers". We have proved to you that our colonization enriches the Arab population, which is thriving and prospering, in contrast to all the neighbouring countries. No pretext of yours, however artful and deceitful, has been left without a Hebrew reply and explanation. To all the unjust decrees all the White Papers, all the restrictions of our rights, we have responded with a bitter cry and an appeal to your conscience, your fairness and your human feelings. But all has been in vain. Lack of resistance on our part has been interpreted by you as acquiescence; our requests have been interpreted as cowardice; our supplications — as weakness. One fraudulent act has led you to another; from one maltreatment you have passed to a second. And it all has ended in the declaration to the effect that we shall be, in our homeland, only one third of the population; and it has also ended in an act which we will never forget, even if we wish to forgive it after the free Hebrew State has been set up — in the act of closing the gates at a time when our parents and children were being slaughtered and exterminated.

All our appeals have been in vain. Not only have you paid no attention to them. You have even mocked at them. Evidence of it may be found even in a British source; you will find it in the words of Wedgwood, that great man, who was treated by your Lords as a Don Quixote and idle prattler, when he ventured to tell you, in his speech in 1942, that he would like to urge all the Jews in Eretz Israel to acts of violence, to acts of rebellion. For they sometimes are (so he said)

acts of salvation — but your totalitarian censorship does not permit one single word of his to reach the public in Eretz Israel. In that speech, Wedgwood repeated what he had said while speaking to free America. Thus spoke the defender of the banner of justice in a dark world: „First of all arms; then land and then freedom", and he added:

> „Some think that all will be right at the end of the war; that „Struma", „Patria" and all the killings were imposed on the British Government to prevent the Arabs from making trouble at this troublesome hour. Wishful thinking! The Arabs are the *excuse*, not the *reason*. Every charge must be directed against the whole British Administration in Palestine. All of them have a vested interest to prove that the Balfour Declaration is not *realisable*, that they were right. There is nothing to hope from any British Government in Palestine. The bombs which blew up „Struma" have dug too deep a cleavage between them. I tried to save for my countrymen the historic glory of building up Jerusalem, to do justice, to establish freedom. My words are of no avail. They won't do that. I can't help it. You must turn to America to take over the task. Don't ask anything more from Britain"...

If this is what Englishman has haid, one of the few who have not been dazzled by the cunning phraseology of your rulers; if this is the r e a l i t y in Eretz Israel, is it surprising that, after all the attemps to persuade you had failed, we have at last started our fight against you, and are urging all our brethren to rise in open rebellion against your treacherous rule? And what did you imagine? Have your really thought that we shall refrain from all action and content ourselves with bitter lamentations and wordy protests, while you are depriving us of the most precious thing — of our homeland? Have your really thought that one may endlessly maltreat a great and unhappy nation? Have you intended to transform us into a Zulu tribe? Have you not noticed that a new generation, healthy in body and firm in mind, has risen in this land, a generation endowed with a loving heart and thinking creative brains, as well as with h a n d s, skilled both in constructing and in fighting?

If in spite of your vaunted wisdom that is what you have thought, you have been totally blind, and you have not seen that a day will come, when this nation, which had regarded you as

friends and benefactors, will rise in rebellion, and remove the mask from your face, and show the whole world: Here are those who break faith, here are those whose only aim is to subjugate others, here are those who are disloyal to their task, here are those who destroy International Law. And do not pretend that it is of no importance to you, since you have enough tanks and planes to protect your Empire and its routes. From your history you know that whenever a white oppressor comes across a white oppressed, the former must withdraw. You have learned it not only in North America. You have also learned it in South Africa, and in Ireland which is not distant from your Isles. The Germans, too, have learned it all over Europe. And you will learn it here too, in Eretz Israel. We are not over-estimating our strength. It is inconsiderable and small in comparison with yours. But there is a great principle in history: a big force aiming at despoliation and oppression is inconsiderable; a small force, aiming at freedom and justice, is powerful.

Of course, we have not started our struggle with a light heart. Wo know that the road is full of hardship, and our sacrifices will be numerous. We deplore these sacrifices. In the last generation, the Jewish people lost such a quantity of blood as no nation did. Therefore, every drop of Hebrew blood is today a thousand times more precious than ever. And, besides, I have already told you that we belong to the international and all-human family of resistance. One tragic feature marks the way of that family. It is compelled to use force, but the truth is that it d e s p i s e s physical force. It holds a rifle or a pistol, but its true desire is to work with a spade or a pen. Our Family believes that man has been created not in order to kill his neighbour, but in order to continue The Creator's work together with this neighbour. In the six days of creation the Creator laid the foundations of the Universe, but the rest — the discovery of fire and atomic energy — was left by him to man, created in his own image. A world of justice, a world of brotherhood, a world of peace, a world of mutual help and mutual understanding — this is the world, visioned by our spiritual fathers,and brothers; and we, too, aim at establishing that world, and we want our nation to participate in it, — because we have been brought up in the spirit o fthe Hebrew law and the prophetig tradition and vision.

In spite of it — or perhaps for this very reason — all the

seekers of freedom in the world, including ourselves, have always fought with arms in their hands. It is true that man has not been created in order to kill; but neither has he been created to be killed. It is true that man has not been created in order to subjugate; but neither has he been created to be subjugated. And if anybody rises to kill you, or to cause your murder, or to subjugate you — rise and fight him with the same weapons as he employs against you; iron against iron; force against force; brains against brains; blood for blood. This is the supreme commandment — the moral, human, and divine one.

This commandment is our principle of action; and the whole Hebrew youth will embrace this principle on the appointed day. That is why we are so calm when we enter the path of sufferings. For it is good to fight for Zion; and it is good to suffer for Zion. Everything is worth doing in order to save this nation. And we are not isolated, we are not abandoned. The free world, all decent men who took part in the war of liberation, will help us. They will not abandon an ancient nation regenerating its existence; a nation aspiring, not to subjugate, but to liberate itself; not to destroy, but to build; not to expand but to centralize; not to die, but to live — to live freely and honourably, like any other nation. The free world — and, perhaps, even the best sons of your nation — will stretch out their helping hand to us, and the result of our suffering will be victory, the victory of justice, the victory of truth.

And you, my brothers, prepare to spend your young years in the Bastille of Eretz Israel. Be proud that it is your lot to fulfil your sacred duty, and to follow the historic path, opened, for the first time, twenty five years ago by the great teacher of our generation (Jabotinsky). Remember that although our sacrifice is great in itself, it is a mere nothing in comparison with the sacrifices brought by millions of our brothers for our people, its faith, its existence and its regeneration. Rember our oath. And rember also : any Bastille, no matter whether it was erected in Paris or stands on the shore of the Mediterranean, is doomed — to destruction.

The British Military „court" and the world were given an account of the reason for his joining the struggle by Isaac Ganzweich, former partisan fighter in Poland.

THE ROAD OF A HEBREW SOLDIER

(DECLARATION BY ISAAC GANZWEICH).

The statement I have to make is personal in content. I want to tell you some details of my recent past, not because these details are important in themselves, but because they illustrate the Jewish fate and the relations between Britain and my people. You, and your consciences, can draw the conclusions.

I have the honour to inform you, gentlemen, that I come from the valley of slaughter in Poland. I came to Eretz Israel only one-and-a-half years ago. You will not find any external marks on me to testify to my fight and the fight of my brothers. We appeared anonymously in the ghettoes; anonymously we went out to the woods; anonymously we attacked German convoys. Few in number, hungry and lonely we stood against the most powerful and most cruel military force that had ever arisen in Europe. Nobody recorded our deeds, nobody estimated our sacrifices. If it were not for this trial, if it were not for the spiritual need I feel to appear before a British court not as an individual, but as a representative, as a representative of the Jewish blood which was shed like water, as a representative of Jewish isolation the like of which the history of humanity has not known — if it were not for this I too would remain anonymous to the end of my days — like thousands of others who took part in the most difficult of battles — the battle of the decimated Jewish people against the destroying vandal.

Now that I have introduced myself "in my invisible but honourable uniform, I want, I am entitled, to demnnd that you concentrate your thoughs on this question; *how does it come that a Jewish fighter from Poland is on trial not before a German court, but before a British court?* I naturally emphasise the second part of the question. If the Germans still had military power and if I were captured by them, I would cetrainly get my portion of lead. But that is not the question. The questions is — why am I standing before a British court? Why am I held in a British prison?

Only a year and half ago I and my brothers were your allies. True, unrecognized allies, unknown allies, but, nevertheless, allies in *fact*. We were on the same of the barricade. You killed Germans, we killed Germans; you destroyed their means of communication, and we, too, sabotaged their railways. Of course, the quantitative difference between your deeds and ours was tremendous. But from a moral viewpoint, from the point of view of military honour, we were brothers-in-arms. We had one enemy, we fought against him with combined forces and according to the opportunities presented to each one of us. And now — what a difference! You are judges, and I am accused; your are judging, and I am facing charges.

This fact tells us a great deal. It tells us prehaps more than all the speeches, more than all the books that have been written, or that may be written on the Jewish tragedy and on your attitude to it.

I, gentlemen, was „there"; I went down to the deepest depths of purgatory. How colourless is Dante's artistic description compared to the reality created by the devil on earth! The true inferno was there in Poland, in the heart of Europe. It was there they burnt people alive, there that they turned synagogues into graveyards, there that they shattered children against rocks in the fields, that they turned human beings ino hunted animals, into strange beings whom only some invisible force kept alive in spite of everything. And who were those people who were crushed, trampled on, strangled, burnt, slaughtered? They were — my father and my mother, my sister and my brothers, my relatives, the friends of my childchood — all those I loved, all those who loved me.

Can you imagine our feelings? Can I, with my poor words, bring home to you that standings before you is a man who was dipped in blood up to here, up to the neck, who walked in

an endless cemetery, who saw things that the eye of man has not seen since the world was created?

And I want to tell you the truth, you British. I want to tell you how we condemned ones, how we Jewish fighters felt. We hated the Germans, we hated them more than death. The idea of revenge became a programme, a sacred duty. And though we knew it was naive to believe that we should be able to avenge all they had done to us — it sufficed us to know that we, with our own hands, were doing something to them, that we were killing them, those mad dogs who tried to exterminate an ancient people and to enslave the whole world.

But it was not only the Germans that the inmates of the ghettoes cursed. They cursed you too. I tell you this openly because I know I speak in the name of millions of people who went down to the grave with a double curse; cursed be the murderers, their lips whispered, and cursed be that enlightened world which handed us over to them, which did nothing to save us, to save at least our children, our little ones.

That is what the slaughtered said. And the fighters added another accusation. Day and night they looked into the sky, waiting for help. They waited for arms. They waited for food. They had no doubt that you could send us the minimum requirements for carrying on the struggle, either in the flaming ghettoes or in the deep forests. But you did not do it. The heroes of the ghettoes had to be content with home-made arms, with a few revolvers and a handful of bombs against the Nazi-German machines of war and destruction. You forsook men whose readiness was unconditional but whose hands were empty. Yet if we had been properly armed we should not only have been able to smite our common enemy the more, but also — and especially — we should have been able to rescue hundreds of thousands of the condemned from slaughter.

And God willed that I should not die but live, that, after numberless wanderings. I should come to my Homeland. And what did I find? Oh, my judges, if you only knew what Eretz Israel looked like to us in the depths of the bunkers! If you only knew what we thought about her in the days of terror. Already at the beginning of the war a rumour spread in Poland that a Hebrew State and a Hebrew army had been set up. That was the kind of thought that you call the son of the wish. The doomed Jews wanted a redeeming State, and therefore

imagined that it already existed. But there were also logical reasons for sustaining this refreshing rumour. A war had broken out against Hitler. The whole Jewish people was against its enemy and the enemy of mankind. Therefore our people would certainly be recognized as an ally and Britain would immediately change her policy, and a Jewish army would be set up and a Hebrew Government, and so on and so forth. Dreams, not so? Fata Morgana? But that was what we all believed when the walls of the stinking ghettoes closed down on us, and from them we directed our prayers, in our faith and in our hope, eastward, to Zion!

Only after I came here did I learn the whole truth. Not only that there is no State, not only that we have no Army of our own — but that even the White Paper was not annulled and that just as the gates had been closed, so they remained closed. I shall confess; at first I did not believe what my eyes saw. I regarded the reality as a dream, just as there we had imagined the dream to be a reality. Was this the reward for our blood? Was this the compensation for our sacrifices? Was England too among the destroyers! But reality is reality. Eretz Israel is locked and barred. One may leave, but none may enter.

Then, my judges, I swore by the blood of my parents and my brothers and my sisters that I would not rest until the gates of our country are oppened or are burst open. For I am but one of the few who succeeded in coming here, while tens of thousand remained there, in the great prison, in purgatory. I asked myself: why did I deserve to remain alive? How am I better than my brothers that I was not destroyed like them? And my conscience gave one reply; if the great God brought me here it is a sign that he wills me to be the messenger of all those who remained on the other side of the wall, that I should fight for them, for their redemption and their future. Otherwise there is no reason in my living; otherwise there is no content in my life.

If this mission, sacred not only to me, but also in the eyes of every honest man, Jew or Christian, is regarded by you as a crime, that proves that there is no end to the Jewish tragedy, just as there is no atonement for the crime of your rulers who have helped and are helping to destroy my people.

Another of the „accused" in the Trial of the Twenty was Jehuda Lemberger. In a detailed and documented indictment he placed the British in his rightful place — the dock.

THE RULERS OF BRITAIN FOR TRIAL

(DECLARATION OF JEHUDA LEMBERGER)

The Occupation Regime has given you authority to try us and to keep us in prison. But this is a purely formal authority, which flows from your seizure of power in this country by force. There is no connection between this authority and international law. By law, and in justice we should exchange our roles and our places. I am not, of course, referring to the judges personally. You are carrying out orders. I am referring to those who sent you, to those who sit not in this room but in Whitehall and who posture as our accusers and judges. It is they who should be in the dock. They are guilty of breaches of the law, of deceit, of breach of faith, of the use of force and of complicity in mass murder.

I have said we should change places. That is not precise. If these people, the rulers of Britain who sent you to judge us, were in the dock, it is not we or our brothers who would want to be their judges. The terrible crime they have committed is international in scope. Their court should therefore also be international. This demand is based not on brute force but on the power of conscience. Our demand derives from the same moral origin as gave a great Frenchman, Emil Zola, the human authority to accuse publicly the judges of Dreyfus, the Government which appointed them and the powerful State forces that backed them. In the name of that supreme authority *we demand the constitution of an international court to try the rulers of Britain for complicity in the murder of six million Jewish men, women and children.*

This is a just demand. Soon there will take place the international trial of the rulers of Nazi Germany, who are directly responsible for the world conflagration and for the mass extermination of our people. But in every legal text-book you will find the clause whereby not only the murderer himself is punished but also his accomplice and helper, whether the help is given directly or indirectly. And I shall prove that *the rulers of Britain actively helped the Nazis destroy the Jews of Europe*. I shall prove that although Britain fought against Germany — and there was a time when the British people awakened the respect of all free men, when they stood alone and unyielding against the wild and victory - intoxicated German forces — and though Britain was contemptuous of all the ,,collaborators" among the enslaved peoples of Europe, in this field, *in the field of the destruction of the Jew Britain was a confirmed collaborator and co-operated with the Nazi murderers throughout all the years of the war*. Consequently it is just that as soon as the case against the wild beasts, Goering, Hess and Ribbentrop, is ended a second trial should begin against their helpers — the responsible leaders of Britain.

This is, incidentally, not a new demand. It was put forward several months ago by Colonel Patterson. As you know, he is not a Jew. He is a Briton. In the previous War he commanded the Jewish Corps in Gallipoli and, in the course of his participation in that unsuccessful expedition, he learnt the qualities of the reborn Jew who goes out to fight, albeit on a foreign field, for his people and his country. Patterson's lieutenant was the one-armed Captain Joseph Trumpeldor; and it is well that you should know how that legendary Jewish hero agreed to lead Jewish youth and exiles from Eretz Israel to the wild Turkish peninsula and to shed his blood for the common cause. Yes, for the common cause, for Trumpeldor was given an explicit official promise that a British victory over the Turks would be the victory also of the Hebrew people, which would regain its land and its freedom. Trumpeldor has himself given an account of the negotiations, that led to this promise and I quote from his diary;

> ,,We did not want to be a transport unit and we did not want to go to any front they might choose. We said emphatically; we want to go into battle, in the front line and only on the Palestine battlefield. We would fight

in and for Palestine. We would conquer, step by step, our country from which we had been exiled by force, we would liberate our Homeland. This idea was close to the hearts of all of us who had been deported from Palestine. This was our only request. And we made this clear to the General who was sent to Alexandria by the C-in-C in Cairo, General Maxwell, to negotiate with us.

„We want to go into action, and in our Homeland. But the General was a diplomat too and at the big and decisive meeting in the stuffy atmosphere of the barracks he said;

„The British people speaks to the Jewish people through me, in friendship. This friendship will certainly continue in the days to come in *Jewish Palestine*. Will you accept the proffered hand or reject it?"

I have quoted this long extract in order to show you that only in consequence of the promise given to Trumpeldor on behalf of your Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, did this man, who revived the tradition of heroism in the Jewish people, go out to fight outside of Eretz Israel — but *for* Eretz Israel. Trumpeldor took the hand proffered in friendship to the Jewish people in „Jewish Palestine". Trumpeldor fulfilled his obligation. The Zion Mule Corps was formed and, as Patterson testified, did excellent service in exceptionally difficult conditions. But what happened to the British promise? Given in 1915, it was followed by innumerable further promises, the Balfour Declaration, Ministerial statements, „Times" leaders, the Mandate for Palestine, and so on and so forth. And the outcome? The Jewish people should do what the French did when they published, in a Yellow Book, a report relations with Germany and on the guilt for the Second World War. The collection of French documents begins with the „Paroles d'honneur" broken by Hitler and his lieutenants. We too should publish a Yellow Book, or a Black, and begin with all the words of honour you gave to the Jewish people and which you violated, sometimes by deceit, sometimes by brutality, always making them dead letters.

Even Patterson, the officer who commanded not only the Corps in Gallipoli but also the Legion which was raised by Ze'ev Jabotinsky and which took an active part in the conquest

and — as we thought then — the liberation of Eretz Israel East and West of the Jordan, has admitted that British promises were trampled underfoot, that it was from Britain's attitude to the Jewish people, to Eretz Israel and to the League of Nations, which entrusted the country to your care, that Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado learnt that promises could be broken and international law flouted; that this attitude was perhaps one of the causes that led to the world slaughter, and that, ultimately, the leaders of Britain aided in the destruction of the Jews by the legions of Hitler and Himmler.

That is the „J'Accuse!" of Patterson who, like Zola in his day, demands that your leaders be tried as war criminals. Zola demanded justice for one single man, while Patterson demands justice and a just trial because of the death of six million people, among them one-and-a-half million little children.

My demand is therefore not a new one. But it is a just one. The place of the authors of the White Paper, of those who shut the gates of Eretz Israel, who caused the sinking of the Struma, is not among decent people, not in Westminster or in Downing Street. Their place is here, in the dock.

I sometimes wonder and ask myself why they themselves do not ask for a trial. Is Britain so hard-hearted, is the demoralisation of our day so deep, is shamelessness so abundant that these people, who drove millions of people into the fire, and heard, but did not heed, the cries of the burned, do not feel any pangs of conscience, any guilt, any regret? For after all if we are concerned with guilt from the viewpoint of human feeling, theirs is the true guilt. It would be strange to say: the Nazis are guilty. Wat have they to do with human guilt? Are the human beings? If a wild beast attacks a peaceful village and kills men, women and children — will we say that the animal is „guilty"? Will we not ask rather: where were the people who had the good hunting rifles? What were they doing during the attack? Why did they not try to stop the beast? Why did they not try to save at least part of the village? We would all ask these questions. And if we were told that the armed men deliberately waited until the beast had made an end of the whole village, and only afterwards killed it, we should say, and you, judges, would agree, that it was their hands which had shed this blood.

Or ships sinking in mid ocean and sends S.O.S. signals, and a second ship, warship or mercantile, which can come to her aid, does not do so — what will you say? That the waters are „guilty" for having killed the unfortunate passengers? Or is the guilty one the captain of the second ship who could save, but did not? You are a seafaring people, gentlemen. The laws of the sea are well-known to you. Can you deny that such a captain would be treated by you as a dishonourable blackguard, as a criminal in the full sense of the word?

Or if a fire breaks out in a house full of women and children, and one man places himself opposite the burning house and watches quietly until the women and the children and the house are turned to ashes, and only then begins shouting „My heart bleeds for these unfortunates" — will you not see in such a man a despicable being, who would be blackballed from every club, and shunned by everybody. The concept „gentleman" was created in England. Tell me, gentlemen, what would you think of such a man?

The parallels I have cited are no exaggeration. On the contrary — we are concerned with more than the elementary laws of humanity, which would in themselves be enough to place those who disobeyed them on trial. We are concerned here with an explicit, clear *obligation* that was imposed on you and that you accepted, and in spite of which you behaved like that man in the jungle who, gun in hand, cheerfully watched the tiger eat its prey, or like that sea-captain who unconcernedly smoked his pipe while the nearby sinking ship was tearing the ether with its S.O.S., or like Nero who sang songs of love in the light of the flames which consumed thousands of people. This country was destined, and could, rescue its exiled and exterminated sons. Its ruler is not just a neighbour who has heard something about a fire in the neighbourhood. His job is that of a fireman whose *duty* it is, in spite of danger, to hurry and save and save. And if the fireman does not do so, and moreover adds fuel to the flames, and obstructs others who are trying to save — there is only one word for him: criminal.

My charge, which is the charge of the whole Hebrew people, against the rulers of Britain, is based on facts, proofs, documents. I cannot bring them all before you today. It would require days, perhaps weeks, to submit to you the full, documented and reasoned charge-sheet. I shall therefore content,

myself with the principal facts and documents, which are sufficient to prove to anybody that the great crime was committed deliberately and with premeditation, and that those guilty are the rulers of Britain.

I shall begin with the pre-war period. Hitler already ruled in Germany. The Nuremberg laws had already been promulgated. The Jews of Germany had already been murdered or deported. Austria was seized. Prague fell. About a million and a half Jews fell directly into the hands of Hitler and hovered between life and death. What fate awaited them you knew from the reports of international newspapermen. You did not trouble to hide your knowledge of the tragedy being enacted in the heart of Europe, Neville Chambrelain spoke of it in your Parliament. He said „From what happened in Vienna after it was seized by the Germans, we know after the fall of Prague, what is likely to be the fate of the Jews of Czechoslovakia." You knew. You knew that a million and a half Jews were already in the burning house and that the flames were about to spread and embrace millions of others.

For in the years 1938-39, your rulers had no doubt that war with Hitler was unavoidable. They finally grasped the fact that, they having helped him arm, they having allowed him to turn the Versailles treaty into a scrap of paper, that after they had allowed him to crush the Jews in Germany and to throttle Czechoslovakia, the danger was approaching their own shores. That was why they hastened to sign a pact with Poland, and decided that this time they would fight. That war should no longer be prevented was the general view in London on the morrow of the fall of Prague and the Birmingham speech of Chamberlain.

And just as you knew then that war was approaching, so you knew the relation of forces between Germany and, say, Poland. You knew that in those European plains there would be no obstacle to the tanks of the Germans and that the Nazis would conquer their weaker neighbours. In other words you knew clearly that soon the majority of the Jews of Europe would be under the axe of destruction. I emphasise: under the axe of destruction, and not under the jackboot of the oppressor. The difference is important; the difference is decisive; and it was a difference well-known to the world. The peoples of Europe were enslaved by Germany, exploited by Germany, and

naturally gave many victims in the struggle against Germany. But these people knew and believed that after the dark night the sun would shine again; and that after the evil arm was cut off they would be able to go out again into the light of life. Our people's situation was different. What threastened us was not temporary enslavement, but total physical destruction. It was no secret. It was known to every newspaper reader. Already in 1936 Hitler had ended a speech in the Reichstag with these words; „The second world war means the complete destruction of the Jews of Europe."

I therefore sum up this point,

a) You knew in the years before the outbreak of war that war was coming soon.

b) You knew that when war did break out most of the countries of Europe would fall into Hitler's hands.

c) You knew that in those countries there lived millions of Jews who would be mercilessly detroyed by the wild invaders.

You knew all this; and you were warned about it by Jewish leaders. And you even heard the cry of the Jewish masses themselves at thousands of public meetings: to Zion, to Zion! For the instinct of a living and persecuted people, the eternal Jewish instinct told them they were on the verge of the abbyss. And what did you do in those decisive years? You locked the gates of Eretz Israel; you sent the well-known antisemite Winterton to Evian to say that there was no more room for Jews in their Homeland. When throughout the length and breadth of Europe the signs were up: „Death to the Jews!" you hung your sign over the gates of our country: „Entry to Jews forbidden!" And in May, 1939 — remember the date: May, 1939 — you published the White Paper and announced that Eretz Israel would not be a Jewish Homeland but „Palestine" with six hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants. And the rest? What was to be the fate of „the Jewish People" to whom, to all of whom, the promise had been given to help establish their „National Home"? Your answer was; „To the ovens! To destruction!"

Thus ended the first act of the gruesome tragedy; thus was committed the first part of the terrible crime.

Immediately afterwards the second act opened. War broke out. Poland was conquered. The Balkan countries fell. The bulk of the Jews of Europe were trapped. The sword of Damocles was no longer suspended over them; it came down on them. The mass murders began. Jewish blood was shed like water. At that time a number of Jews tried to escape and to reach their Homeland. They boarded rotten ships and ventured out into the mined ocean — for there on land certain death awaited them, while on the rotten deck there was a hope that they might yet reach their haven. Two of these boats reached Eretz Israel, but your mighty Navy captured the ,,enemy''. Your warship detained the ,,Milos'' and the ,,Pacific'' and covering them with their guns, brought them to Haifa. And then you published an official communique, a historic communique which will be inscribed in the chronicles of our people as the proclamation of Amalek of old was inscribed, which will be inscribed in your chronicles as a testimony of unforgiveable shame. Listen to the words of your Government in that document of 27 November, 1940:

,,Early this month two ships carrying 1.771 passengers were detained off the Palestine shores and brought into Haifa harbour. These people must be regarded as illegal immigrants. His Majesty's Government is not lacking in sympathy for refugees from countries under German rule, but it is responsible for governing Palestine and must ensure that the laws of the country should not be publicly flouted. Moreover, it regards the resumption of illegal imigration at this time as a development likely to affect very adversely the situation in the country and to become a grave menace to British interests in the Middle East. The Government has consequently decided that the passengers aboard the ,,Milos'' and the ,,Pacific'' will not be allowed to enter Palestine *but will be sent to a British Colony until the end of the war, when it will be decided where to send them.* But it is not the Government's intention that they should remain in this colony or that they should come to Palestine. The Government will take similar steps in the case of any further groups who suceed in reaching Palestine with the object of entering it illegally.''

That was what the communique said. And now permit me to analyze it. The contents of the communique unquestionably reached Europe too, that is to the Jews imprisoned there and to

the Germans ruling or about to rule there. To these Jews you said; ,,Do not try to leave Europe. It will not help you. Even if you succeed in crossing the ocean, you will not be permitted to enter the ,,National Home". We shall send you to a prison far away (the deportees were treated like prisoners in Mauritius) and at the end of the war we shall decide what to do with you".

The news passed from mouth to mouth in the dark exile: ,,There is no way out; the road to Eretz Israel is closed". That was one push into the abyss. At the same time you gave another push. The Germans also heard your humanitarian proclamation and, you may depend on it, they understood its meaning perfectly. This is what you said to the German murderers:

The fate of the Jews does not interest us. Do what you please with them. We shall not allow them to enter Palestine. They must stay where they are. Our blockade of the ports of Europe is also a blockade of the Jews of Europe. None of them will leave. Do your work!"

Thirdly, you probably know that in logic and in law there is a system of drawing conclusions *a contrario*. Think then, according to this system, what conclusion was to be drawn from the statement that the coming of the Jewish refugees, fleeing from the greatest dangers threatening their lives, was likely to be a menace to the British in the Middle East? Did not this mean that British interests demanded that the Jews should remain in Europe, in the Hitlerian slaughter-house? That is how you understood — and presented to the world — ,,British interests" and your rulers still have the impudence to demand that these ,,interests — the interests of the accomplices of murderers — should be recognized as legitimate interests, as democratic interests, as interests against which it is forbidden to revolt.

It is no wonder that even the World Jewish Congress, which does not consist of ,,extremist" Jews like us (and you regard every Jew who wants to live as a dangerous extremist) that even that Congress sent a telegram of thanks to the King of Sweden for helping save Jews in Europe — and not to the King of Britain. And, indeed, the King of Sweden deserved the thanks of our people. His Government did whatever it could to save. And our people is not ungrateful. Whoever does us the least kindness is remembered in our history with praise and thanks. And just as in the sending of that telegram to Stock-

holm the World Jewish Congress said „Thank you, little Sweden", so in not sending a telegram to London that Congress said „I accuse you, Great Britain. You had a mighty Navy; you built up a great Air Force; you dominated the seven seas; thousands of roads were open to you; above all, you ruled over the land of the Hebrew people. You could therefore have saved millions. And yet you did what you did and doomed them to destruction."

That was the second act of the tragedy. You blockaded the Jews in Nazi Europe.

Then began the third act. The first reports were vague. There was talk of „liquidation commissions", of mass deportations to „an unknown place". Until the truth was revealed in all its horror: in the heart of Europe, on Polish soil, death factories had been set up. Every day they were destroying tens of thousands of men and women and children. You knew all about it; but for months you concealed the facts. Afterwards you claimed that the reports were exaggerated, that it was inconceivable; and thus, behind tho smoke-screen that *you* created, Himmler continued his work and exterminated the first two millions of our brothers. At that time it was proposed that you should do at least one thing, that your planes should bomb the death camps, into whose building the Germans had invested much labour and technical exprience. Your answer was: „We cannot do it, for our bombs might hit the unfortunate Jews in Treblinka and Auschwitz". Extraordinary humanitarianism, was it not ? The death camps consequently remained intact, and reaped their harvest — the Jews of Poland, the pride of our people, were almost all exterminated.

But there were still Jews in Hungary. There were still Jews in Rumania. And these pleaded with you while there was yet time, before the satellite Governments had been replaced by the open rule of the Gestapo; „Take us out, bring us to our country". And they were not the only ones who asked. There are documents which prove that the Governments wanted to get these Jews out, and even sent emissaries to you to that purpose. Everything depended on you, on your giving them freedom of passage to Eretz Israel. You refused. „British interests" demanded that the Jews of Hungary and the Jews of Rumania, too, should fall into the hands of Himmler. And, indeed, you achieved that as well. A year after the extermina-

tion in Poland had been concluded, the bitter cup was passed to the remnant of the exile in Hungary and Rumania.

The story of Turkey is also well-known, and there too there are documents. The Turkish Government was prepared to give transit to any Jews who succeeded in reaching her shores, provided thay had permission to enter Eretz Israel. Time out of number you were asked by Ankara: „Will you give these Jews entry permits to Palestine?" Again and again you answered „NO!" And Turkey closed her frontiers. Only in March 1944 did you inform the Turkish Government that you would permit entry, but of course only within the limits of the White Paper, and on the basis of monthly quotas and with all the customary restrictions. Several hundreds were saved this way.

That is the story of Britain's collaboration in the murders by the Germans. That is the charge against your rulers, of a terrible crime, premeditated and carried out wilfully, as a result of which six million of the Hebrew people were strangled, slaughtered, burnt, suffocated and starved to death. Six million! Has your imagination grasped the figure?

And that is not the end. The fourth act of the tragedy begins immediately on the liberation of the conquered countries. Some Jews still remained. Remnants, shadows, wandering over the graveyards, without a yesterday, without a today and without a tomorrow. They want to leave the slaughter-house. They want life, they want freedom. They are hated by all the inhabitants of Europe. They cannot remain there, cannot breathe there; and their faces are turned Zionward, Zionward. But what do you do? You keep them in the Nazi concentration camps, you drive them by force into the countries of hatred. And Mr. Emerson, the bearer of British humanity, expresses the hope that the hard conditions of the Jews in the camps will force them to return to the countries from which they came — only that they should not come to Eretz Israel. As a consequence of this political decision, some tens of thousands of Jews more, whom Hitler did not manage to kill, have been lost.

And your rulers assume that at the end of the fourth act, the fifth act will begin, what you call „Jewish repatriation" to Poland, to Germany, to Belgium, to Rumania, and so on. „Repatriation" whose meaning is: eternalising Jewish dispersion and the continued slaughter of Jews. And then the curtain will

fall. The Jews will continue to hover between life and death, and you will continue to rule in „Palestine".

But, gentlemen, the curtain is not going to fall. For the Hebrew youth has appeared on the stage. The youth which is blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the exterminated people; the youth which hears constantly that historic Jewish cry breaking from millions of throats; „Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One"; the youth which is contemptuous of death and is prepared to sacrifice everything in order to save those whom you did not succeed in killing; the youth which has straightened its back on the soil of the ancient Homeland and has armed itself not only with the arms of the Law, but also with the lore of arms.

This youth will not be silent. Eretz Israel, enslaved by you and closed to our brothers, will be an open, bleeding wound on your body. We shall fight by every means and in all ways.

The curtain has not come down and will not come down. The war of the Hebrew people is only just beginning.

David Kirpitchnikoff, another of the Twenty, gave the legal ground for rising against oppression.

HEBREW LAW AGAINST THE LAW OF OPRESSION

(DECLARATION BY DAVID KIRPITCHNIKOFF)

In this trial, as well as in the similar ones, the Court is trying to put obstacles in the way of making clear the whole of the circumstances of the problem, by contending that political matters are beynod its scope of jurisdiction, and by declaring that only the bare fact, contained in the indictment, will be taken into consideration. This attitude is essentially wrong, and has no foundation either in law, or in legal practice, or in science. The function of a Court is not restricted to ascertaining facts. The machinery of the police will suffice for that. If a Court were to content itself with ascertaining the factual situation, the legal proceedings, as well as the personal evidence of the accsued during the trial, would be superfluous. An inquisitional and secret investigation, without hearing the parties, and by giving heed only to the proofs of the prosecution, would be sufficient.

But if Justice nowadays requires public proceedings in the presence of the accused, it is because it does not take into consideration the bare facts, but the guilt; because it does not intend making an equation between the fact and the punishment, but examines the psychic conditions and the personality of the accused, his past and the motives which promted him to the action attributed to him. The Court is bound not only to consider the question, if and how the offence has been pertrated, but also to answer the question, who is the accused? Is he a bad man or a good one? A social man or an antisocial one? Are his motives base or noble? In short, the Court is

bound ont only to ascertain the true facts, but also to consider the problem of subjective guilt; and only after the latter problem has been elucidated can a just verdict be brought in.

In view of all these factors I shall endeavour to throw light on the whole problem before you; and I hope that you will have patience enough to listen to my words to the end.

Although we are required to account for our actions before a Court, and charged by the prosecution with many grave offences, we have no feeling at all of being transgressors. This fact may astonish you but it is nevertheless true. Our feeling of innocence is quite peculiar. Ordinarily, such a feeling is the result of being conscious that the crime attributed to the accused has not been perpetrated by him at all, and the accused, as a citizen recognizing the authority of his Government, agrees to the notions of legality and illegality expounded by the prosecution. In our case we are completely indifferent as to whether the action described in the indictment of the Attorney General has, or has not, in fact taken place. Moreover, our conceptions of legality and illegality of actions are not identical with those of the Prosecutor, but are directly opposed to them. It is of no importance whether the prosecution has acutally proved that each one of us was carrying or holding arms — in compliance with the legal procedure, requiring that the task and the part of each accused in accomplishing the action be defined exactly and separated and distinguished from those of the other accused. It is our consciousness of law and justice that matters. Our conscience and our consciousness of law tell us that it is the right — and the duty — of every Jew in Eretz Israel to hold arms in order to defend himself and fight against the rule of oppression. Therefore we are indifferent to any factual considerations in this trial. For even if each one of us had been found in possession of arms, the factual situation would not, in our opinion, indicate a crime, but the fulfilment of an honourable duty. This opinion is not new to you. But the importance of this opinion comes more to the point than the reasons for it. You are Englishmen, who judge Jews in their country, in the Homeland of the Hebrews. You are also jurists, and have been taught at the University that a juridical rule is the result of opinions about right and wrong, prevailing in the society in question. A juridical rule is not a caprice or a ruler's will; it is not a regulation binding for ever; it is the expression

of a society's conception of good and right. You, the English, are proud of the fact that many laws, which are theoretically obligatory in your country, do not actually obtain in English life, because the interest protected by them, or the procedure fixed by them, is not in harmony any longer with the English conception of justice and equity. You, the English, decided, when King Charles I was put to death by Cromwell, that whenever there is a collision between the views of the people and those of the ruler regarding good and evil, right and wrong, it is the popular sentiment of law and justice that is binding. Therefore, when you are to judge Jews in Eretz Israel, you must take account of the social consciousness of justice in this land of the Hebrew. If you choose another way, then let it be known to you that we deny your right to judge us; we repudiate your juridical imperatives, which we regard as means of oppression and iniquity.

The legal proceedings which have taken place hitherto, the explanations given by the accused in similar trials, revealed the conviction prevailing among the Jews: — they believe that in view of the conditions created by you, every Jew is allowed, and is even bound, to carry arms. And if it displeases you, if you can't suffer Jews to possess arms, blame yourselves, blame your Government which has brought about this situation. We have only drawn the right conclusions. There is no sentiment of guilt in our hearts and you are looking for it in vain.

Now, after making a contradistinction between the Hebrew sentiment of justice and the British law in Eretz Israel, and after demonstrating that the gulf dividing them cannot be bridged, it is clear we still have to tackle another side of the problem. Science and history teach us that in a collision between two legal principles, the higher principle always gains the upper hand. So the question presents itself, which of these principles is the higher one? Is it the British law in Eretz Israel? Or is it the conciousness of justice of the Hebrew population? I wish to answer this question in a dispassionate manner.

With a feeling of pride we point out that we are Jews. We are sons of one of the most ancient nations in the world, and we have a tradition of national existence for 4000 years. Our forefathers built up a culture which has guided the whole of humanity, they laid the foundations of equity and justice, referred to by Mr. Churhill, in his letter to the Editor of the

„Jewish Chronicle", as follows: „Once again. at the appointed time, he (the Jew) will see vindicated those principles of righteousness which it was the glory of his fathers to proclaim to the world". At that period the world had not yet heard of England, and the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles floundered in barbarism and ignorance. It is no shame that your nation is younger than ours, but it is a shame that a young nation should treat an ancient nation with cruelty only because the latter hesitated long before deciding to oppose force with force.

We gave you the Bible, which has fashioned your culture and language. Traces of our creative work are imprinted in Englishmen's daily life. Our cultural possessions have been acquired and adapted to English needs. And again it is no shame that somebody should have learned something from somebody else It is a fine quality, to learn and outdo one's own teacher. But it is an everlasting shame, to treat the eternal nation as you do; to cheat, and deceive, and oppress it.

We lay stress on our national pride, not in order to boast, but in order to draw your attention to the fact that the notion of „natives" you are used to in your numerous colonies, the notion which determines your attitude towards the peoples ruled by you — is completely strange to us. Our cultural supremacy, our historical past, our achievements in civilisation and our religious Law, grant us the right to assert that the legal principles created by the Hebrew nation belong to a high category of juridical principles, in comparison with the juridical norms of your Administration. Even if your rule had been equitable and humane, we should have demanded that the supremacy of the Hebrew sentiment of justice be recognized. So much more now, when your Administration has become, as is universally known, a typical Occupation Administration using methods of oppression and despoliation, which need not be demonstrated, and which will be probably mentioned again at length in the course of this trial.

Accordingly, if an Englishman wants to judge Jews in Eretz Israel, he must take account of the sentiment of law, of the Jews, and this sentiment tells us that every Jew is allowed to bear arms in this country, in order to defend both himself and his people, that is — in order to fight against your Administration, which encroaches on its primary ights. Therefore, even if arms, had

tion in Poland had been concluded, the bitter cup was passed to the remnant of the exile in Hungary and Rumania.

The story of Turkey is also well-known, and there too there are documents. The Turkish Government was prepared to give transit to any Jews who succeeded in reaching her shores, provided thay had permission to enter Eretz Israel. Time out of number you were asked by Ankara: „Will you give these Jews entry permits to Palestine?" Again and again you answered „NO!" And Turkey closed her frontiers. Only in March 1944 did you inform the Turkish Government that you would permit entry, but of course only within the limits of the White Paper, and on the basis of monthly quotas and with all the customary restrictions. Several hundreds were saved this way.

That is the story of Britain's collaboration in the murders by the Germans. That is the charge against your rulers, of a terrible crime, premeditated and carried out wilfully, as a result of which six million of the Hebrew people were strangled, slaughtered, burnt, suffocated and starved to death. Six million! Has your imagination grasped the figure?

And that is not the end. The fourth act of the tragedy begins immediately on the liberation of the conquered countries. Some Jews still remained. Remnants, shadows, wandering over the graveyards, without a yesterday, without a today and without a tomorrow. They want to leave the slaughter-house. They want life, they want freedom. They are hated by all the inhabitants of Europe. They cannot remain there, cannot breathe there; and their faces are turned Zionward, Zionward. But what do you do? You keep them in the Nazi concentration camps, you drive them by force into the countries of hatred. And Mr. Emerson, the bearer of British humanity, expresses the hope that the hard conditions of the Jews in the camps will force them to return to the countries from which they came — only that they should not come to Eretz Israel. As a consequence of this political decision, some tens of thousands of Jews more, whom Hitler did not manage to kill, have been lost.

And your rulers assume that at the end of the fourth act, the fifth act will begin; what you call „Jewish repatriation" to Poland, to Germany, to Belgium, to Rumania, and so on. „Repatriation" whose meaning is: eternalising Jewish dispersion and the continued slaughter of Jews. And then the curtain will

fall. The Jews will continue to hover between life and death, and you will continue to rule in „Palestine".

But, gentlemen, the curtain is not going to fall. For the Hebrew youth has appeared on the stage. The youth which is blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the exterminated people; the youth which hears constantly that historic Jewish cry breaking from millions of throats; „Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One"; the youth which is contemptuous of death and is prepared to sacrifice everything in order to save those whom you did not succeed in killing; the youth which has straightened its back on the soil of the ancient Homeland and has armed itself not only with the arms of the Law, but also with the lore of arms.

This youth will not be silent. Eretz Israel, enslaved by you and closed to our brothers, will be an open, bleeding wound on your body. We shall fight by every means and in all ways.

The curtain has not come down and will not come down. The war of the Hebrew people is only just beginning.

David Kirpitchnikoff, another of the Twenty, gave the legal ground for rising against oppression.

HEBREW LAW AGAINST THE LAW OF OPRESSION

(DECLARATION BY DAVID KIRPITCHNIKOFF)

In this trial, as well as in the similar ones, the Court is trying to put obstacles in the way of making clear the whole of the circumstances of the problem, by contending that political matters are beynod its scope of jurisdiction, and by declaring that only the bare fact, contained in the indictment, will be taken into consideration. This attitude is essentially wrong, and has no foundation either in law, or in legal practice, or in science. The function of a Court is not restricted to ascertaining facts. The machinery of the police will suffice for that. If a Court were to content itself with ascertaining the factual situation, the legal proceedings, as well as the personal evidence of the accsued during the trial, would be superfluous. An inquisitional and secret investigation, without hearing the parties, and by giving heed only to the proofs of the prosecution, would be sufficient.

But if Justice nowadays requires public proceedings in the presence of the accused, it is because it does not take into consideration the bare facts, but the guilt; because it does not intend making an equation between the fact and the punishment, but examines the psychic conditions and the personality of the accused, his past and the motives which promted him to the action attributed to him. The Court is bound not only to consider the question, if and how the offence has been pertrated, but also to answer the question, who is the accused? Is he a bad man or a good one? A social man or an antisocial one? Are his motives base or noble? In short, the Court is

bound ont only to ascertain the true facts, but also to consider the problem of subjective guilt; and only after the latter problem has been elucidated can a just verdict be brought in.

In view of all these factors I shall endeavour to throw light on the whole problem before you; and I hope that you will have patience enough to listen to my words to the end.

Although we are required to account for our actions before a Court, and charged by the prosecution with many grave offences, we have no feeling at all of being transgressors. This fact may astonish you but it is nevertheless true. Our feeling of innocence is quite peculiar. Ordinarily, such a feeling is the result of being conscious that the crime attributed to the accused has not been perpetrated by him at all, and the accused, as a citizen recognizing the authority of his Government, agrees to the notions of legality and illegality expounded by the prosecution. In our case we are completely indifferent as to whether the action described in the indictment of the Attorney General has, or has not, in fact taken place. Moreover, our conceptions of legality and illegality of actions are not identical with those of the Prosecutor, but are directly opposed to them. It is of no importance whether the prosecution has acutally proved that each one of us was carrying or holding arms — in compliance with the legal procedure, requiring that the task and the part of each accused in accomplishing the action be defined exactly and separated and distinguished from those of the other accused. It is our consciousness of law and justice that matters. Our conscience and our consciousness of law tell us that it is the right — and the duty — of every Jew in Eretz Israel to hold arms in order to defend himself and fight against the rule of oppression. Therefore we are indifferent to any factual considerations in this trial. For even if each one of us had been found in possession of arms, the factual situation would not, in our opinion, indicate a crime, but the fulfilment of an honourable duty. This opinion is not new to you. But the importance of this opinion comes more to the point than the reasons for it. You are Englishmen, who judge Jews in their country, in the Homeland of the Hebrews. You are also jurists, and have been taught at the University that a juridical rule is the result of opinions about right and wrong, prevailing in the society in question. A juridical rule is not a caprice or a ruler's will; it is not a regulation binding for ever; it is the expression

of a society's conception of good and right. You, the English, are proud of the fact that many laws, which are theoretically obligatory in your country, do not actually obtain in English life, because the interest protected by them, or the procedure fixed by them, is not in harmony any longer with the English conception of justice and equity. You, the English, decided, when King Charles I was put to death by Cromwell, that whenever there is a collision between the views of the people and those of the ruler regarding good and evil, right and wrong, it is the popular sentiment of law and justice that is binding. Therefore, when you are to judge Jews in Eretz Israel, you must take account of the social consciousness of justice in this land of the Hebrew. If you choose another way, then let it be known to you that we deny your right to judge us; we repudiate your juridical imperatives, which we regard as means of oppression and iniquity.

The legal proceedings which have taken place hitherto, the explanations given by the accused in similar trials, revealed the conviction prevailing among the Jews: — they believe that in view of the conditions created by you, every Jew is allowed, and is even bound, to carry arms. And if it displeases you, if you can't suffer Jews to possess arms, blame yourselves, blame your Government which has brought about this situation. We have only drawn the right conclusions. There is no sentiment of guilt in our hearts and you are looking for it in vain.

Now, after making a contradistinction between the Hebrew sentiment of justice and the British law in Eretz Israel, and after demonstrating that the gulf dividing them cannot be bridged, it is clear we still have to tackle another side of the problem. Science and history teach us that in a collision between two legal principles, the higher principle always gains the upper hand. So the question presents itself, which of these principles is the higher one? Is it the British law in Eretz Israel? Or is it the conciousness of justice of the Hebrew population? I wish to answer this question in a dispassionate manner.

With a feeling of pride we point out that we are Jews. We are sons of one of the most ancient nations in the world, and we have a tradition of national existence for 4000 years. Our forefathers built up a culture which has guided the whole of humanity, they laid the foundations of equity and justice, referred to by Mr. Churhill, in his letter to the Editor of the

„Jewish Chronicle", as follows: „Once again. at the appointed time, he (the Jew) will see vindicated those principles of righteousness which it was the glory of his fathers to proclaim to the world". At that period the world had not yet heard of England, and the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles floundered in barbarism and ignorance. It is no shame that your nation is younger than ours, but it is a shame that a young nation should treat an ancient nation with cruelty only because the latter hesitated long before deciding to oppose force with force.

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been found in our possession, which is not the case, even if we had been arrested while using them, there would have been no guilt with us.

Now let us briefly consider the problem of punishment. There is a controversy in science on the matter, but the prevalent opinion is that punishment must be of an educative and purifying value and that its aim is to improve the personality of the offender. We, therefore, ask: what is a punishment, even the severest one, likely to improve in us? Without submission, resulting from the consiousness of guilt, there can be no improvement. But, if we have no consciousness of guilt, if, on the contrary, we have a consciousness of injustice done by you, is there any room for submission? From which source will improvement come? The action we committed or could have committed is, in our and every Jew's opinion, good, desirable and sanctified. The conclusion is that, as far as improvement is concerned, to punish us would be aimless. Now allow me to analyse the other value of legal punishment. Although the science of law disapproves of punishment as a means of intimidation, the British Courts of Law in Eretz Israel have more than once adduced the intention to frighten, as a reason for the severe punishments imposed on the accused. Now the question is, whom do you want to frighten. The Hebrew fighting youth? Even you don't believe it possible. Every Hebrew young man, taking active part in the struggle of a military organization, has, before joining it, weighed all the pros and cons — to join the underground movement or not, to take the risk of punishments and sufferings or not. A man appears before a Court after joining an organization. A military organization is based on voluntary service, not on compulsory mobilization. Everyone knows beforehand of your punishments and courts, and everyone has made his mind up before appearing in the Court. A punishment cannot frighten him and will not attain its end.

Maybe you chersih the illusion that the punishment will frighten others? It is your right. But, with all due deference, it is our right to tell you the truth: you are wrong in believing that the punishment will frighten anybody. A Hebrew young man in Eretz Israel has two alternatives: to live according to your wish, or to join a fighting organization. If he chooses the way sparing him physical pain, he condemns himself to

terrible mental sufferings. The feeling of subjugation, oppression and humiliation is dominant in him. Every morning, the newspaper brings him terrible tidings of his brethren in Europe. And if he is a thinking man, he despises himself and curses his cowardice. There is no escape from the shameful feeling that he enjoys a quiet life, while his brethren and sisters are exterminated in Europe, and here, in the Homeland, strangers in police uniform, equipped with a stick and a pistol, assault citizens. In such a mental condition, he can't read a book or go to the cinema. In books, he finds desciptions of the heroic struggle of the underground against the German invader in Europe. Books teach him that war against oppression is good, and is the duty of every decent man. At the cinema, he is shown „For Whom The Bell tolls", how a bridge is blown up, how acts of sabotage are organized, how patriots fight against the conqueror. At school, he is taught history. He sees and understands that all have done the same thing, without which the world would have been still sunk in darkness and barbarism. Littly by little he comes to understand what eternal life is. The names of the judges of Socrates were forgotten long ago. Had they been remembered, they would have been symbols of scorn and derision. But Socrates is eternal, not only because of his teachings, but because he applied them in actual life, because he did not avail himself of the opportunity to run away, and of his own free will drank the poison. For Socrates was convinced that although the poison would put an end to his life, it would also eventually kill the regime of ignorance and barbarity. The same applies to Galileo and Giordano Bruno, who by their death conquered death.

Your rule is continually pouring oil on the flame of rebellion. Now infringement of our rights at the Jerusalem Municipality, now a sudden hunt in the streets of a city, now a commission of enquiry into land sales to Jews in prohibited areas, like in Tsarist Russia. Despoliation is steadily increasing and accumulating. Distress increases, and the desire to free oneself from mental pain grows stronger. The road to a fighting organization lies open. Among fighting men, one is suddenly relieved of mental distress, one gains an ideal and faith. In spite of physical distress and incessant persecutions, life aquires a meaning, he knows what he is living for and what he is willing to die for. He becomes free and liberated. He doesn't envy the heroes of the past any longer, and he doesn't feel ashamed in

the presence of their shadows. The doors of vigorous existence, with the glory of a just war, of selfsacrifice and the consciousness that his actions are good, are thrown open before a member of a military organization. And what is more important — he has a clear conscience. He is suddenly liberated from the embarrassing questions about his right to remain alive while all his relatives have been savagely exterminated. He stops envying his fellow citizens, who have the privilege of mourning their relatives at a funeral. He doesn't envy a son who takes part in his father's burial procession, who knows his grave, who recites the Doxology and lights a candle for the ascent of his soul on the anniversary of his death. Heroic deeds efface the images of Maidanek and Treblinka, where roads were built with the ashes of the victims; where bones of our brethren were used for manufacture of buttons, and hair of our sisters — for manufacture of mattresses and armchairs. On the other hand, the concrete figure of the British policeman, still watching over the closed gates, becomes clearer and clearer; and a thought buzzes in the brain: had we started our fight earlier, we might have abolished in time the obstacles meeting Jews on their way back home, and millions might have been saved.

Therefore, your punishment will frighten nobody. Mental distress induced by you is much more terrible and dreadful than the acutest physical pains.

To sum up, the way chosen by you is hopeless. Persecutions and despoliation will not attain their end, and punishments will not frighten. There is one way before you. It is the hard way of truth and justice. Your duty is to do justice. Restore us our robbed Homeland, redress the inhuman wrong done to the remnants of our nation, expiate your sin to the massacred victims, for it was your armed hand that hindered their rescue.

Menachem Binder, a soldier of the Irgun, captured with thirty of his comrades, during their withdrawal after an Irgun operation in Southern Eretz Israel, demanded, at the ,,trial'' in June, 1946, their rights as prisoners of war. Characteristically, the British ,,prosecutor'' contented himself with claiming that the ,,court'' was not competent to decide the issue.

THE STATUS OF AN UNDERGROUND ARMY

(DECLARATION BY MENACHEM BINDER)

The arms enumerated in the indictment were not found in our hands. If they had been in our hands they would not today be in yours. Nor would we be sitting here, for that matter. For if our hands had really held those two Bren-guns and the tommy-guns and rifles then one of the following two things would have happened: either we would have broken through the columns of your soldiers although they outnumbered us 100 to 1, or all of us should have fallen in this unequal battle, killing many of your soldiers There was no third possibility. But it is a fact which we stress not for our own sake but for that of truth and perhaps for the sake of history — that you found all those arms only after we had been captured, after most of us had been hit by your bullets and were bleeding from our wounds. And you found it very far away from the place where we were taken prisoner by you.

(By the way, I should like to point out that the prosecutor was not correct in referring in the indiction to ,,*bearing of arms*'', which we should, according to *his own* conceptions, have defined as ,,*possession of arms*''. We do not think there is a great difference between these terms and we do not care which of them you use, nor do I want to interfere in the management and proceedings of this trial; and I make this remark for the sake of precision alone).

The fact that we have been captured under these conditions does not detract in the least from our honour as Jewish soldiers and fighters. At any rate, if you permit a somewhat incomplete comparison, it does resemble the fall of Tobruk or the surrender of your famous Singapore... Still I have to state emphatically that the conduct of the soldiers who captured us was far from being soldierly. I shall not mention that they misbehaved in words and with their fists against wounded men, which may be considered as an outburst of their feelings of hatred against us. Perhaps one cannot complain of such an outburst of instincts however shameful, though civilised poeople ought to be able control themselves. I refer mainly to the intentional action of enlightened British soldiers which they carried out with German thoroughness.

They took from us almost everything of value: money, fountain pens, watches, purses, etc. They just „liberated" many trifles which we liked not for their financical but rather sentimental value. In general those objects were souvenirs or gifts which we had received from our relatives or friends. Is it fair to take such things from wounded people, bleeding and thirsty people who have been taken prisoners of war? Who taught His Majesty's forces to loot like this?

I think that the fact that we were taken prisoners however painful in itself, does not humiliate us, while the conditions under which this happened are a stain on the honour and uniform of the soldiers who captured us.

Their behaviour was not soldierly, but reminded one of the behaviour of highvaymen.

However, this matter has another aspect, too. This was the first time that you captured a Jewish military unit, forming a part of the Jewish forces fighting against you and declaring openly that they would fight against you till the end; that is, until you hand over to the Jewish people the rule over its country and homeland, or until it is destroyed completely. Such a fighting unit you bring to trial in accordance with your usual, or, rather, unusual laws, as though these people were not soldiers, members of an independent underground army but ordinary breakers of the law. Is there any logic in such an attitude?

I state this problem intentionally as a problem of logic

only. It is certainly possible to bring up the question of justice and human feeling that should compel a civilised man to take off his hat to people who could have lived quietly in their comfortable homes together with their beloved ones but who recognised their duty towards their brethren which demands that they endanger and even sacrifice their lives — which they do in pure idealism. One might expect from gentlemen who probably day in day out have the words ,,freedom'' and ,,democracy'' on their lips that they display an attitude of respect towards men fighting for freedom even if their fate made it necessary for them to fight against one another. But I shall not discuss *this* aspect of the matter. Experience has taught me that such an ,,old-fashioned'' argument which was perhaps appropriate in the nineteenth century doesn't make any impression. It is therefore not worth while appealing to feelings that probably no longer exist in our times, the times of large-scale cruelty, the epoch of Hitler and — Bevin. It is better to appeal to logic, cold reasoning, calculations of profit and loss, because if there is anything that can influence your rulers, I think that these are the *only considerations*.

Thus, Gentlemen, let us build our logical construction on one basic assumption. This basic assumption is that in this country there exists an independent, adequately armed Jewish force fighting against you, that is against your rule. The war waged by this armed force is a war of liberation, the war of an oppressed people against its oppressors, of a people whose homeland has been stolen against those who stole it. Therefore, this is a just war and this justice must be admitted by all those peoples who ever stood in battle for their freedom, against oppressors in their midst or foreign oppressors.

However, you do not want to recognise this force, and you call the members of the Jewish army ,,terrorists'', while those who carry out its military plans you regard — or pretend to regard — as criminals. Gentlemen — this is not a novel attitude. The Nazis — the German Nazis as I must point out, because I regret that there are still many Nazis in the world who are not Germans — the German Nazis called ,,terrorists'' the French Maquis and the partisan fighters of Tito and the fighters in Poland and the rebels in Slo-

vakia and Greece, etc. This, then, is a very old term of abuse, used by all tyrants against the fighters for freedom, with tne intention of casting a slur on the idealism of the fighters and their struggle.

However, as you know, Gentlemen, these names of abuse did not help the Nazis, who employed them against the fighters for freedom in the countries of occupied Europe. The oppressed people themselve regarded their fighting sons as fighters for their own cause and they supported their struggle wholeheartedly; while the other countries recognised the underground armies as semi-regular armies entitled to the same rights as soldiers in uniform. They even compelled the Germans to respect these rights of the various underground armies. If the Germans refused to do so they were thretened with retaliation. It is interesting to note that the Germans, who on the whole proudly trampled underfoot every international law, accepted this demand and recognised, officially or practically, the belligerent rights of the European-underground.

On the basis of these precedents, and since from you one should be able to demand at least what was demanded from the German Nazis, the Irgun Zvai Leumi demanded two years ago the recognition of the fighting Jewish forces practically and theoretically as underground forces possessing the rights of belligerents. In our opinion this demand is in the interest of all concerned. It would even seem that it is to a great extent more in your interest than in our own. After all, Gentlemen, we are prepared for everything, for every sacrifice. We fight for our country and the lives of our children, while you in your war against us have let yourselves in for some very unpleasant business, which complicates your international relations, staining your honour in every respect; while, on the other hand, this small country, which is our all, is for you only a tiny part of the 40 million square kilometres at your disposal. One can, therefore, not compare our readiness for sacrifice in this war with your readiness for sacrifice. Our determination can be compared only to that of the Russians in their defence against the German invaders of their homeland, or to the determination you would have displayed had the German armies succeeded in landing on the shores of your Homeland. This is a particular kind of determination not to be weakened by any danger whatever.

If, therefore, you do continue with your ostrich policy and

prefer not to face the fact that against you stands in this country an organised force, fully aware of its national and historic mission, a force backed not only by six hundred thousand Jewish citizens in the Jewish Homeland but by eleven million Jews all over the world, and, finally, or, as you say, „last but not least" — *by public opinion in all free countries;* (if you should like to examine this thesis you may study a few American, French or other newspapers;) if you continue in your blindness and bureaucratic obstinacy to regard the Jewish fighters and their organisations as ordinary law-breakers whom you can even hang like criminals, then, Gentlemen, I am afraid that the results of such an attitude are bound to become very grave indeed. By your very attitude towards our ever deepening struggle you are bound to liquidate all the laws commonly accepted in warfare, and which we are prepared to respect, provided, of course, that you too commit yourselves to act in accordance with them. But, Gentlemen, if these laws are indeed abandoned and if we realise that Jewish blood can be shed wilfully, there can be no doubt, as we told you two years ago, that British blood too will not be spared. Then the war between us will really develop according to lines that actually neither you nor we can know at present. I ask you to remember that in the course of our war there were numerous cases when our comrades disarmed your soldiers, your police constables, capturing dozens of your soldiers and police. It is true that after your men had surrendered they were not harmed but were released after our operations had been completed. Actually not even these facts can be considered as strictly equivalent because your soldiers were held by us for some hours only while we, once we fall in your hands, have to spend long years in your prisons and concentration camps. This inequality is due to the fact that under the particular conditions of our war we are not yet in a position to hold your soldiers in captivity for a longer time.

Perhaps these condition will change and this inequality will be eliminated. In any case, it should be perfectly clear that the life of a prisoner should be „taboo"; it should be safe, it should not be abused or tortured or refuse the satisfaction of his needs as a civilised man. But what is going to happen if you discriminate against Jewish soldiers who fall into your hands ? Do you think that the Jewish armed forces will pass over this in silence ? It is obvious that they will arrive at their conclusions from your treatment and there can be no doubt that

they will do so, because you should not forget in all your calculations, Gentlemen, that under the present circumstances there is one thing of paramount importance: the soldiers of Israel fight in the profound conviction that if they do not *succeed* in this war there will be neither life nor future for them, their childern and their people. You should not take this too lightly. This is our situation. We are the generation of Maidanek and Treblinka. We have no illusions. We know very well what fate is in store for us — all of us — if we have no state of our own, capable of protecting us militarily as well as politically. Therefore we are ready for every necessity, for *every* necessity. For indeed the war that we are waging is a matter of life or death, a war for the survival of the Jewish people, and no dangers can hold us back, no sacrifices frighten us.

I have told you all this frankly and openly because this matter does not concern merely myself or my comrades here in this courtroom. It concerns thousands and tens of thousands of people — English as well as Jews — who may be the victims of your blindness, of your treating as criminals the fighters of a nation struggling for its rights. I think that if you consider well what I have told you, you too will realise that it is incumbent upon you to recognise, theoretically and in practice, the Jewish underground forces as possessing full combatant rights with all that this status implies.

The ,,objectivity" of these British ,,judges" having been illuminated by a characteristic Nazi remark by the President of the ,,court" — Irgun soldier Chaim Luster, one of the Thirty-One, made his reply in the ,,court".

GO HOME

(STATEMENT BY CHAIM LUSTER)

In my statement I will confine myself to an interpellation. While I was in prison I heard that the clandestine radio of the I.Z.L. broadcast an announcement to the effect that you, Mr. President, said at a meeting with other officers: ,,What a pity one has not done with the Jews in Palestine what one did with the Jews in Europe. I could then leave this damned country and return home to England."

You must not be surprised that these words reached the Jewish Underground movement. It is true that no guarantee can be given as to the precision of the words actually used but it would seem that their sense has been reported correctly. And you surely know that the Jewish Underground has many ears and many eyes,, and sees and hears things that you never dreamed would reach those who fight against you.

As a matter of fact, Mr. President, you words stand in need of a detailed analysis and thorough discussion. After all, you are not an ordinary officer or an inferior official of your government. Your position is very high, it is perhaps one of the highest in this country, since in your and lies the sceptre of justice — if one can speak of British justice — and the fate of human beings is sometimes subject to your decision. Accordingly I treat this opinion — and I am sure every Jevish citizen does the same — which you stated in front of your friends and acquaintances, very seriously indeed. I think it worth while considering these words.

Allow me to begin with the end: this country you chose to call a damned country". You surely admit that this expression is no less amazing than it is insulting. Hitherto we were accustomed to the whole world calling our country the „Holy", since it is sacred to hundreds of millions of people who see it, regardless of race or religion, as the source of divine wisdom, and the centre of monotheism. It was on these grounds that the Anglo-American Inquiry commission — or, rather, its English members — found it possible to announce that Christianity has a very great interest in the Land of Israel, and therefore they thought it necessary to leave you as rulers in it you, the Christian English people. But if so, how can you explain that you as an Englishman and a Christian call the holy country a „damned country" ?

Is it — and I arrive at this conclusion from the first part of your very suggestive statement — that the holy Land became a „damned country" because the *Jews* live in it, or because the Jews want to possess it as did their ancestors ? This opinion, too, is strange and surprising. For everyone knows that if this country did become a holy country in the eyes of mankind this happened precisely thanks to the Jews. Thousands of years ago they destroyed the idols of the heathens, they brought to this country the word of the Lord from Mt. Sinai. Nor should it be forgotten that the founders of the Christian religion too were the sons of our people and that the tree of Christianity whose branches now extend over all the countries of the world, was planted and grew up in our country.

But if you are nevertheless of the opinion that the Jews turned the Land of the Lord into a „damned country", I have to ask you another question. You have, of cource, the right to hate us — you are not the only one in the world who hates us — but if you hate the Jews how does your conscience allow you to assume the function of a *Judge of the Jews* ? I think that all legal books contain a passage stating explicitly that if a judge or any member of the jury has, for some reason or other, a hostile attitude to the accused, it is his *duty* to ask to be released from his function. I think you ought to have done so, Sir.

We think that all this jury is illegal, but still less can a judge be recognised who openly admits his personal hostility against the accused as members of a certain people.

However, in the continuation of your words there is a pas-

sage with which we agree wholeheartedly. It is splendid, isn't it, that we should agree with one another. Therefore, this fact should be recorded in the minutes of the proceedings and by public opinion. We certainly agree that you should return home to your family in England. We agree for two reasons. First of all, we highly appreciate your feeling called nostalgia, your longing for your home. This feeling, you should know, has been alive in our hearts for two thousand years, Oh, how we yearned for our home! All our prayers, all our dreams, were directed to the day on which the Lord would bring us back to our home. When the Lord brought back the Jews to Zion, our forefathers sang by the rivers of Babylon: „We were like *men in a dream*". Yes, like men in a dream. For there is no greater happiness than to return home, home. Therefore there is no difference whether you return home from a palace or from a hut, from pleasant surroundings or from a „damned country", whether you return from a good people or, as happened to our nation, from people who want to murder you. The main thing is — to return home. And so all our desire today is to return home. But, of course, this does not apply to us alone. We are happy that we succeeded in reaching our home, but like us, there are millions of our brethren, who want to return home too. Can they be denied this right? Particularly since these are people who have not even got a temporary home, because the homes they built on the volcanos of the Diaspora have been destroyed completely, burying in their ruins alive or dead all those who were near and dear to them. You should really understand, Sir, and Gentlemen, if you still can understand, that the whole issue, which has caused our trial too, is nothing but the return home of millions without a home. They do not return for the sole reason that you do not allow them to return, because you deny them this right, which as far as it concerned you, was so clear and natural and so *imperious*, that you are even ready to curse and desecrate sacred ideas when your superiors postpone for some time your voyage home. If there is in such a mentality a certain egoism — I regret but I have no other name for it but *foul egoism* — this mentality has also certain implications. It would seem, and this is something decided by you — that so long as your wish is fulfilled and you and your colleagues rule our country, you cannot return to your home and our people cannot return to its own home. And if so, Sir, you are perfectly free to return home! And not only you alone. Take along with

you all your army and police, and all your officials, who too probably should like to go home. Return home and give us back this country which you have stolen from us. You know that we shall take it and that it will be ours as it once was. Your military commanders who appeared before the Inquiry commission left no room for doubt on this score. This country will be ours again, only we will rule it not in order to exploit it or in order to oppress others, or in order to make of it a military base against others; we will rule this country in order to carry out our great mission, given to us by Divine Providence, a mission for mankind as a whole.

We shall bring home millions of people who unless they have this home have no prospect of survival, no future. Thus, you see, in this case our hearts' desires coincide: if you return to your home, we too will return to ours and then there will surely be no reason to break the peace between our two peoples.

Do so ! For heaven's sake — go home and give us back our home !

And now, Sir and Gentlemen, permit me shortly to analyse the first part of your words. You expressed your regret that one did not do to the Jews in Eretz Israel what was done to their brethren in Europe. Let us speak openly; you know, of course, Sir, what it was that was done to the Jews in Europe: they were put in thousands into gas chambers and were murdered in infernal agonies.

And you would like the same thing to happen in this country as well. Very interesting ! Very instructive ! And you surely realised that this time it would not be the Germans who massacred millions of men and women and children, but this time, in order to carry out this mass murder, it would be necessary to use the hands of your brethren, the English, who have the Bible on their lips and preach democracy and the brotherhood of man. And apparently you are prepared to assign this task to your brethren, to your people and you surely hope they will fulfil it. Perpaps Mr. Chairman, you are right. Perhaps they will be no less ready to do so then the „civilised" Jerries. But this you and all of you should know: You shall not live to see this ! No, no, no ! You will never succeed in bringing the inhabitants of this country to extermination camps without resistance, without an enormous price that you will have to pay with your own *blood*. This was possible only there, in the damned countries of

the diaspora, truly damned, on that soil of the Exile that robbed our brethren of the physical and spiritual will of resistance, which had led them to be completely defenceless, because of their naive belief in the image of man that you possess — only there it was possible and even there the Lion of Judah roared and went to fight at the last moment against the foul murderers and killed thousands of them. Here, however, this is not possible at all, here we stand in our country. Our country has given us the youthful vigour of the people of the Hasmoneans. Our country commanded us to take up arms again and to redeem it with our blood, as our forefathers once redeemed it with their blood, its ancient conquerors and liberators. Our country has revised in us the heroes of Masada and Jodefeth. It has given us strength, it calls us from the depths; „Arise and fight for me and for the People that has been led away from me into exile."

We have heard our country's voice Gentlemen, for it is the voice of our mother, the voice of the motherland.

There follow a number of statements of the Irgun, issued at different times since the summer of 1945. The first is the announcement made in July, 1945 with the coming to power in Britain of the Labour Government.

WE SHALL GIVE THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO KEEP ITS WORD

In England a Government of the Labour Party has taken office. Before it came to power, this Party undertook to return the Land of Israel to the people of Israel as a free State, in which all those who long for Zion and its exiles would be concentrated.

This in itself gives no guarantee for the attainment of our national aim. The Hebrew people, tried in suffering, is also learned in experience. Men and parties in opposition, or in their struggle with their rivals, have, for twenty-five years, made us many promises and undertaken clear obligations; but. on coming to power, they have gone back on their words and continued with the policy which leads only to the robbery of our country and the destruction of our people. This experience, which has cost the Jewish people six million lives, teaches us that ONLY a war of liberation, independent and real, will set in motion political and international factors and bring redemption to our enslaved and decimated people.

This historic conclusion remains clear. The battle in which, as the advance-guard of the people, the fighting youth is engaged, is not being fought to obtain „friendly statements" or for the annulment of „decrees"; the battle is being fought for the attainment of the FUNDAMENTAL aim: the establishment of Hebrew rule in the land of the Hebrew. And it will not cease except this aim be achieved. That is why, despite all

the threats from outside and from within, we have not laid down our arms and, during the past few days, have entered a phase of widespread operations.

But in the presence of a Government ALL of whose members subscribed, as members of their party, to the programme for the mass return to Zion and the establishment of the Hebrew State, we consider it our duty, out of a sense of responsibility and of our free will, to give them an opportunity to prove whether they mean to go the way of all British Governments — the way of denial and betrayal — or whether it is their intention to fulfil without delay their public undertakings.

In view of the known situation of our people, *only a very short time — weeks and not months* — is required in order to find out whether their words are being translated into deeds, or whether to all the tragic illusions of the Jewish people there has been added another illusion, perhaps the last, whose shattering will demand from all of us:

WAR, WAR TO THE END, WAR TILL VICTORY.

On 29 June, 1946, the British counter-offensive was launched against the Hebrew people. It came at a time when all the three Hebrew armed organisations were co-operating in the struggle. The immediate reaction of the Irgun was a call and a plan for complete national concentration, for a National Government and a single National, fighting Command, to which, as before and since the Irgun was prepared to submit.

MOBILISE THE NATION !

The arrest of the heads of the Yishuv is a step in the campaign of liquidation, carried on systematically and brutally by the bloody British regime against our people. This act of aggression was preceded by many acts of hostility, resulting in the destruction of one-third of the people, which have brought us to the edge of teh abyss, and which have all had one purpose:

To put an end to the aspirations for Hebrew freedom; to rob us for ever of our only country; to turn us — as in the Diaspora — into dust and to blot us out from under God's Heaven.

The oppressive hand of the enemy — the teacher of Hitler and the executor of his plans — has been raised against the Jewish people. The existence of the nation is at stake.

In this situation there is no other way but to fight. In this situation vacillation is a misdeed, delay and retreat are crimes. In this situation the whole people — in Zion and in the far-flung Diaspora — must rise as one man and smite the cruel enslaver, by every means and in every way, until he is brought low.

In the face of the British aggression, which covers itself in a cloak of ,,law and order'' — let there be set up the legal, independent State institutions of the Hebrew people — the only owner of this country:

a) Let the Hebrew Provisional Government be established — the legal Government of the country which will fight for the downfall of the British Occupation regime

b) Let the Supreme National Council be established — the Parliament of the Jewish people and of Eretz Israel, which will make laws, impose obligations and give orders.

c) Let there be published the Declaration of Hebrew Independence and Freedom — the basis of the constitution of our country, whose principles shall be: Liberty, equality and social justice for all the citizens and inhabitants of the country.

d) Let there be set up Hebrew courts of justice and let the British courts be boycotted.

e) Let there be set up the Exchequer of the Hebrew people; all our payments must flow into this exchequer, and all payments of taxes to the exploiting invader must be forbidden.

f) Let there be set up the united Hebrew Liberation Army, which shall take an oath not to lay down its arms until our independent State is set up.

g) Let there be set up the Supreme Military Command, which will proclaim a general mobilisation of all who can bear arms in the people, which will set up an Emergency regime in our daily lives and will conduct the struggle.

h) Let the call go out to all the centres of the Diaspora to hasten to the aid of fighting and embattled Zion.

i) Let the call go out to the peoples of the world — to the United States, to the Soviet Union, to France and to all the free peoples — to give aid to the Hebrew fighters for freedom.

In this way — and only thus — shall we become a nation, fighting against the enslavers who have invaded our country; and stop being a „community" persecuted by its „law-enforcing" rulers. In this way the Jewish people will arise, and live, and smash the chains of slavery.

And end, therefore, to half-measures! Let the banner of revolt be raised! Let our camp be united, our hands firm, our aim clear, our faith resolute! For it is the cruel oppressor, the treacherous aggressor who places us before the alternative:

A war of liberation, or destruction; Freedom or Death.

The character of the leaders of His Majesty's occupation forces, and the spirit they have instilled into the soldiers under their command, was demonstrated by the anti-semitic order of the day circulated by the Nazi General Barker at the end of July, 1946, which, as it happend, did not remain secret.

It was published for the information of the public by the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

HIT THEM IN THE POCKET

ORDER BY GENERAL BARKER OF 26 JULY, 1946

We publish for the information of the Hebrew public and the civilized world, the full text of the Order of the Day issued by the Nazo-British Commander-in-Chief in Eretz Israel.

„The Jewish community in Palestine cannot be absolved of the responsibility for the long series of outrages, which reached their climax in the blowing up of a large part of the Government Offices in the King David Hotel, causing heavy losses of life. Without active or passive help by the Jewish community for the terrorist groups who committed these crimes, they would have been discovered — and for this reason the Jews must bear part of the responsibility.

„I am determined that they should be punished and made aware of our feelings of contempt and disgust at their behaviour. We must not let ourselves be misled by hypocritical sympathy expressed by their leaders and representative bodies and by the protestations that they are not responsible and that they cannot curb the terrorists. I repeat that if the Jewish community really wanted to put an end to the crimes it could do so by cooperating with us. I have accordingly decided that as from the receipt of this letter all Jewish places of entertainment, cafes, restaurants, shops and private homes are out of bounds. No British soldier will have contact with any Jew, and duty contacts will be made short as possible and will be limited to the duty

concerned. I understand that these measures will create difficulties for the troops, but I am certain that if my reasons are explained to them, they will understand their duty and will punish the Jews in the manner this race dislikes most: by hitting them in the pocket, which will demonstrate our disgust for them."

The following warning, which remained unheeded by the British regime of barbarism, who proceeded to carry out the flogging of a 16-year old Hebrew soldier, was consequently implemented by the retaliatory flogging of a British officer and two N.C.O.'s. There have been no more British floggings.

WARNING

A Hebrew soldier, taken prisoner by the enemy, has been sentenced by an illegal British Military „Court" to the humiliating punishment of flogging.

We warn the Occupation Government not to carry out this punishment, which is contrary to the laws of soldiers' honour. If it is put into effect — every officer of the British Occupation army in Eretz Israel will be liable to be punished in the same way: 18 strokes.

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI
b'Eretz Israel

January, 1947

The striving of the Irgun for friendly and neighbourly relations with the Arab citizens of Eretz Israel has been made clear repeatedly both to them and to the world at large. In a special proclamation published in Arabic and Hebrew in 1945 it was given succinct expression. Despite the reign of terror of the British-instigated, self-appointed ,,leaders" of the Arab inhabitants of Eretz Israel, there have been many indications that the call of the Irgun has not remained without an echo in the hearts of the Arabs The proclamation of the Irgun follows.

TO OUR ARAB NEIGHBOURS

The Hebrew youth, trained to fight, has launched the struggle for the liberation of its Homeland. The Irgun Zvai Leumi b'Eretz Israel, with its thousands of members, armed with modern weapons, is fighting against a treacherous Government which aims at putting an end to the eternal vision of the great Hebrew people. This war of liberation, which is only just beginning, will grow in intensity and in scope.

This struggle is not directed against you. We do not regard you as enemies. We want to regard you as good neighbours. We have not come to destroy you or to deprive you of the soil on which you are living. There is enough room in Eretz Israel for you, for your children and your childrens' children, and for millions of Jews who have no other place to live but in this land. The Hebrew Government will accord you full equality of rights. The Hebrew and Arabic languages will be the languages of the country. There will be no discrimination between Arab and Jew in the apportionment of Government posts or public works. The Holy Places of the Moslem religion will be placed under the supervision of your representatives. The

Hebrew Government will facilitate the education of your masses and there will be illiteracy in the land of the Bible. There will be no more epidemics in your villages and towns. Wages will be raised to the European level. There will be great progress in your agriculture. You will build houses instead of tents. Electricity and water will reach every place where you live. The Hebrew State will be the common home for all of us, and there will be peace and neighbourly relations between it and the independent Arab States.

The treacherous Government does not want this. It tries to sow friction between us, to incite you against us, and us against you, in order to secure for itself the role of supreme arbiter, in order to leave you in the desolation of the desert and the gloom of illiteracy, and our brothers — to destruction in the lands of exile. But we do not listen, and do not intend to listen, to its cajolery. And we have proved this in *deeds*. In Ramallah, inhabited by Arabs, we seized the central broadcasting station, in spite of its proximity to the big police fortress: but we did not touch the inhabitants of the town. We delivered attacks in Jerusalem and Haifa, but we did not turn our arms against their Arab inhabitants. This has been our way in the past, and so it will be in the future.

But you too must beware of heeding the advice of the inciters. Do not try to raise a hand against the Jews or their property. For if, against your national and personal interests, you do raise a hand against us — we shall be compelled to cut it off without delay with the force of our arms. And both you and the whole world have learnt that the power of the new Hebrew youth is great.

It depends on you and your wisdom. If you wish it, and you do not listen to the inciters, peace and friendship will reign between our two peoples in this country for ever. Together we shall build this Holy Land; together we shall enjoy its resources and its fruits; together we shall develop its agriculture and industry; together we shall march with the free peoples of the earth to a life of justice and freedom, of dignity and happiness.

Our Arab neighbours.

We stretch out our hand to you in peace and fraternity. Do not reject it.

The following appeal was handed to the diplomatic representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and France during the participation of these three States, with Great Britain, in the Moscow Conference in January, 1947.

AN APPEAL TO THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The representatives of the victorious Powers have gathered in Moscow, in order, as they put it, to establish lasting peace

But peace is indivisible.

This rule was laid down, as it happened, in the very place where the present Conference is meeting, and reality has proved its truth.

Peace is indivisible. And freedom, too, is indivisible.

The Foreign Ministers of the United States, of the Soviet Union and of France should know that there is neither peace nor freedom in Eretz Israel. The peace is disturbed by the British Occupation regime robs us of freedom and even of the a military base and a great camp of oppression. The illegal British Occupation regime robs uf of freedom and even of the right to live. And in the light of the experience of our generation we must remind the representatives of the great Powers that war and enslavement in Eretz Israel threaten to endanger the peace of the world and the freedom of the peoples.

We, therefore, in the name of our people fighting for freedom against an aggressive and cruel oppressor, call to the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union and France, to take account of, and place on their agenda, the situation in Eretz Israel.

For the sake of peace and security, for the sake of the freedom of peoples and for the sake of international justice, Britain must be obliged:

a) To withdraw her Occupation forces from Western and Eastern Eretz Israel.

b) To abolish her illegal Occupation regime, operating directly in Western Eretz Israel and indirectly in Eastern Eretz Israel

c) To transfer power in Eretz Israel to a democratic representation of the Hebrew people — to a Hebrew Provisional Government — which will carry out the repatriation of the sons of our people wishing to return to their Homeland, and will hold free elections for the Parliament and Government of our country which will represent all its citizens irrespective of nationality or religion.

Thus one of the most painful problems of humanity will be solved; thus peace and social progress will be assured in Eretz Israel and in the Middle East; thus an end will be put to the state of oppression and war reigning in this historic land and which threatens the peace of the world.

You, representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and France, can do it. Do it for the sake of that lasting peace, to establish which your Conference is being held after a terrible bloody war that cost our people, bereft of independence, six million victims.

The following appeal was broadcast to the world on 21 August, 1946, in French, English, Russian and Italian.

DO NOT BE ACCOMPLICES TO THE CRIME — GIVE AID TO JEWISH REPATRIATES

The Nazo-British enslaver has imposed a blockade on our country. It is the most cruel blockade in human history. It is not directed against raw materials or war material brought by sea to a belligerent; it is directed against human beings, against people who for years resisted Nazi-German tyranny, against people who were saved by a miracle from the destroyers, against people who have been left with nothing in their lives except a Homeland — the Homeland which alone can give back to them the reason for living, which must take the place in their lives of their dear ones, who were shot or strangled or buried alive.

The Nazo-British enslaver wants to make you accomplices in his crime o calls to you to help him decide the facte of the remnants of our destroyed people. DO NOT HELP HIM!

You too fought for years against a cruel oppressor, and you learnt that just as peace is indivisible, so is freedom indivisible. If one people is enslaved, other peoples follow. Therefore our war is your war and our victory — your victory. Therefore — help our brothers struggling to their only Homeland! Give them passage across your frontiers, give them shelter in their wanderings; show them the way to the ports; place transport at their disposal. For thus you are helping justice overcome evil, freedom defeat slavery, the victim to overcome the murderous aggressor. Thus you help not only our people, but also yourselves and your future!

In their effort to break the spirit of the Hebrew people and to induce them to turn informer against the fighting underground, the British Occupiers, early in March, 1947, imposed „martial law", whose immediate purpose was to isolate Jewish centres from one another and from the outside world and to throttle Jewish economic life. But neither the Irgun nor the people was intimidated. The Irgun delivered, unprecedentedly heavy and widespread series of blows at British objectives; the people stood firm. After a fortnight martial law was ignominously lifted. The Irgun issued the following communique:

WHY THEY LIFTED MARTIAL LAW

The tyrants have been forced to lift Martial Law because:

1) Britain is afraid of international complications. The Soviet Union and Poland could demand discussion by the United Nations Security Council of a state of martial law reigning in time of peace in a country which is formally under international supervision.

2) The blows suffered by the enemy at the hands of the Underground Army in spite of martial Law rendered this means of suppression ridiculous.

3) Bitterness bordering on mutiny has become evident in the ranks of the Army of Occupation, whose patrols and camps were subjected to the incessant attacks of the Army of Liberation.

The enemy has suffered a stinging defeat.

The enemy has been compelled to retreat.

But we are singing no victory songs.

We are not fighting for the lifting of decrees. We are fighting for the liberation of our country, for the repatriation of our brothers, for the establishment of our State.

To this end we shall continue to fight until victory. And behind us we shall have the mass of the people, who proved throughout the period of trial that they are indeed worthy of Statehood.

From the depth of the underground we send our greeting to the poor of our people who, subjected to the severest of tribulations, courageously stood the test.

BE STRONG AND OF GOOD COURAGE, BROTHERS — VICTORY WILL COME.

On the eve of the arrival of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in June, 1947, the Irgun issued a warning to them against the inevitable British attempt to intimidate them and to spy on them. The Committee subsequently learnt how well-founded the warning was.

THE ONLY DANGER TO MEMBERS OF THE UNO COMMITTEE IS FROM BRITISH SPIES

The Inquiry Committee of the United Nations Organisation is due to arrive in Eretz Israel in the coming days. From the experience gained during the stay here of the Anglo-American Committee, it may be said with certainty that the Nazo-British Occupation regime will direct at the members of the international committee and at their assistants a flood of horrific stories of plans for attempts on their lives by the ,,terrorists''. In order ostensibly to ,,protect'' them, the representatives of the eleven nations will be surrounded by British agents who will not allow them to move a step without a ,,bodyguard''.

The purpose of these horror-stories and ,,security measures'' is clear to all. Bartley Crum, the member of the Anglo-American Committee, even exposed it in his book. He knew that he and his colleagues on the committee — whovever they might be — were in no danger whatsoever; and that only the desire of the enslavers to depict the Hebrew underground as a ,,group of gunmen'', lacking any political roots, and their desire to trail the footsteps of the committee members — the desire, characteristic of all totalitarian States, to spy on all visitors likely to keep their eyes open — were the reason for surrounding the members of the committee with a tribe of 'two-legged bloodhounds under the cloak of ,,protecting them from attack''.

There is no doubt that this miserable spectacle will be repeated with the members of the International Commitee. For this reason we consider it necessary, even before their arrival, to make it known that there is no danger to the Committee from Hebrew fighters. In truth, we are convinced that the members of the Committee do not require this statement in order to have a feeling of security. They naturally know that plans for attacks on them, or their assistants, or their offices, germinate only in the minds of *British provocateurs*, and that the Hebrew underground, which fights the British enemy, and only him, knows how to respect guests. But we make the statement nevertheless because we want the members of the Committee to know in advance that the agents and policemen who will surround them are not sent to ensure their safety — which nobody threatens — but to spy on their movements, contacts, letters and so on. The members of the Committee should beware of the spying eyes and dexterous fingers of the British ,,security officers".

As for the *general* conditions that will reign in the country during the work of the Committee, those will be dependent on whether the Committee, as the representative of the United Nations Organisation, will succed in imposing the authority of the United Nations Organisation on the British Occupation regime in regard to the decision of the General Assembly. If the Committee succeeds in preventing the use of force by the enemy against Hebrew repatriates, Hebrew prisoners of war and in other ways, it will prevent *automatically* military attacks by the underground. But if in the very days of the presence here and the work of the Committee the enemy will continue to break the decision of the United Nations Organisations — it will be the duty of the underground to answer force with force.

The key is in the hands of the Committee itself.

The name of Dov Gruner has become history. It has become a symbol of heroism and endurance; a symbol of The Hebrew struggle for national liberation. The story of this quiet soldier, standing firm against the strength and intimidations of a mighty Empire, his heroic bearing in life, his dignified calmness in the shadow of the gallows, stirred the world. The cowardly manner in which his British murderers killed him was symbolic of the difference between the ugly purpose which animated them and the nobility of purpose of the Hebrew fighters.

When Dov Gruner was informed of his imminent execution he sent a note to the Commander of the Irgun Zvai Leumi in which he wrote, with characteristic simplicity; „If I had my life to live over again, I would do the same again."

We give here the words of Dov Gruner to the British Military „court" which „sentenced" him to death:

YOUR HAND WILL BE CUT OFF

I do not recognise your right to judge me. This court has no lawful existence because it has been appointed by a regulation which itself is devoid of any legal basis.

You came to Eretz Israel by reason of an obligation which was entrusted to you by the nations of the world.

You were entrusted with the task of correcting the greatest injustice ever inflicted upon any nation, the injustice of the dispersion of the people of Israel, which made them the world's foremost victims of persecution and massacre. This obligation, and this obligation only, is the legal and moral basis for your presence in this country. You have committed a wicked breach of this obligation, brutally and with satanic treachery. You reduced your obligation to a mere scrap of paper, and then tore it to pieces. Though you did not declaer it openly you acted exactly like the German Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg, who said; „What is an international agreement?—Nothing but a scrap of paper. Is it worth quarreling about?" Generally you

have learned quite a lot from the Germans. Or perhaps, on the contrary, the Germans learned from you. In any case, in one respect, their purpose and yours is identical; the extermination of my people.

For you know only too well that the rape of our country and the closing of its gates means a continuous mass attack on the lives of millions of men, women and children — my people. Notwithstanding this, or perhaps because of it, you are determined to transform this country into one of your military bases, one of the many — and to steal it from the people which has no other home in the world than this, given to it by God and by history A history sanctified by the blood of generations, a land which has been made to flourish by the blood and sweat of its devoted sons.

After having cancelled and annulled the obligation which you solemnly undertook towards our people and our country you have no right whatsoever to be here. And if you are jurists, gentlemen, you will certainly remember the classic legal principle; If the cause ceases for which the law was enacted then the law itself ceases to exist. The cause for the international law under which you came to administer this country was other than the use to which you have corrupted this sacred trust. It was the revival of the Hebrew state in the country of our forefathers. Thus it is expressly stated, even in the text of the Mandate of the League of Nations. I say „even" because I know from reading the documents how the statesmen endeavoured — and they know how to find ambiguous definitions open to different and contradictory interpretations — to define in well-balanced words that Mandate, signed by fifty-two nations. In spite of their endeavours they failed to render ambiguous two provisions which without any shadow of doubt determine the nature of the obligations which you took upon yourselves.

One provision recognizes the historical connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel; and the other provision states that you undertake to reconstruct our National Home. What the historical connection between a nation and its country is. is something I need not explain. And what does „to re-construct" mean? It is only possible to reconstruct what has existed in the past and was destroyed. And what existed in the past in this country? Look into this book lying in front of you, the Bible, and you will learn.

But you mocked at, or attempted in your arrogance to mock at, the Lord's promise, as, in your vanity, you trampled upon the international treaty which you signed with our people and the nations of the world. Therefore nothing has remained of the legal basis of your rule, and it is now based on one principle only: brute force. The bayonet, and a reign of terror in the disguise of so-called „laws". These laws are drafted by the bearers of the bayonets, they promulgate them, they enforce them contrary to the fundamental right of man, contrary to the wishes of the local population and contrary to international laws.

That is why I cannot recognize your competence to try me. Because this too was ruled by the ancient Romans: No one can transfer to another more rights than he possesses himself. And if your whole rule is one of unlawful occupation, how can it confer upon you the power to try me, or any other citizen in this occupied country.

When a regime in any country is transformed into a rule of oppression, it ceases to be lawful; it is the right of its citizens — moreover *it is their duty* — to fight against this rule and to overthrow it. This is what the Hebrew youth is doing and this it will continue to do, until you evacuate this country and return it to its lawful owners — to the people of Israel. For this you must know: There is no force in the world that can break the link between the people of Israel and its one and only country. He who attempts this — his hand will be cut off and the curse of God will fall upon him for ever and ever.

Mordechai Alkoshi, one for the three Irgun soldiers captured in possession of whips designed to bring retribution on the British Army for their barbaric flogging of a 16-year-old Irgun member, was hanged together with his two immediate comrades — Eliezer Kashani and Dov Rosenbaum — and Dov Gruner. Before being brought to trial he and his comrades were subjected to tortures and humiliations of a kind made notorius by the German Nazis.

Here is his declaration to the „Court" that tried him.

HOW BRITAIN TREATS PRISONERS OF WAR

(STATEMENT BY MORDECHAI ALKOSHI)

I want to say a few words about the behaviour of soldiers of enlightened Britain towards Hebrew prisoners of war. I want the whole world to know that at the same time as the denazification of Germany is being carried out (to whatever extent it *is* being carried out) there is in process the nazification of Britain and her armies. And here are the practical proofs:

After our capture on the road near Lydda one of our comrades was injured, not at all seriously, but he died after being transferred to the hands of the British Army.

As for us, we were brought, under a rain of blows, to one of your military camps, where we were immediately taken to an isolated room. British soldiers began tearing our clothes off us, not with their hands but with razor blades. Our clothes were torn; our flesh was torn too. We were beaten over the head and on the body with rifle-butts. We bled all over. But your soldiers were not satisfied. They took us out, naked as we were, and made us run round the camp, while other soldiers stood around and laughed. Our legs faltered, and we fell. They lifted us up, made us run again and beat us. Then they took us back to the room. They gave us no clothes. They gave each of us a sheet. But every few minutes one of the sadist would come into the room and pull the sheets off sadists the bodies. The next morning the tortures continued. They made us kiss the ground. They pulled out our hair and ordered us to

sweep the floor with it. They poured dirty water over us three times and then again made us run naked round the camp. Then they began concerning themselves with our health. We were brought before a military doctor. After he had looked at us, he asked your fine boys; „Do you want to play with them a little longer?" Of course they did. And at the orders of the doctor, the comrade of the well-known doctors of Belsen, we were brought back to the camp, where the blows, the tortures and the humiliations were repeated.

These, British officers, are your features. This is the slumbering beast awakening inside the defenders of your Empire. This is how you treat prisoners. Do you wonder then that we are filled not only with disgust for you, but with the ever-deepening belief that you are destined to disappear off the stage as Adolf Hitler disappeared? An army that does what was done to us is not an army. It is a filthy gang, lacking all human feeling or human dignity, which threatens the foundations of human civilisation.

We have determined to purify the Holy Land of this Nazi filth; and no sacrifice will be too great for us to fulfil this historic duty, imposed on us not only by our freeedom-loving people but by the whole of progressive humanity.

Several hours before they were due to be hanged in May, 1947, by the British in Jerusalem Gaol, Meir Feinstein, a soldier of the Irgun, and Moshe Barzani (of the F.F.I.) blew themselves up in their cell. This is the declaration Meir Feinstein had made to his „judges".

Officers of the Occupation Army,

A regime of gallows — that is the regime you want to establish in this country, which was destined to serve as a light-house for the whole of humanity. And in your stupid wickedness you assume that by this regime you will succeed in breaking the spirit of our people, the people to whom the whole land has

become a gallows. You are mistaken. You will learn that what you have come up against is steel, steel tempered by the fire of love and of hatred — love of the Homeland and of freedom, hatred for the enslaver and invader, It is burning steel. You will not break it. You will burn your hands.

How blind you are, British tyrants! Have you not discovered yet who it is standing against you in this struggle, which has no precedent in human history? Do you think you will frighten us with death? We, who for years listened to the rattle of the wheels of those trucks that bore our brothers, our parents, the best of our people, to a slaughter which, too, has no precedent in human history: We, who asked and ask ourselves every day; How are we better than they, than millions of our brothers? In what lies our virtue? For we could have been among and with them in the days of fear and in the moments that came before death.

And to these recurring questions our conscience makes one reply: We remained alive not in order to live, in conditions of slavery and oppression, and wait for some new Treblinka. We remained alive in order to ensure life and freedom and honour for ourselves, for our people, for our children and for our children's children for ever. We remained alive in order that there should not be repeated what happened there and what has happened here and is likely to happen under your rule, the rule of treachery, the rule of blood.

Therefore, we shall not be frightened. We have learnt — and at what price in vain sacrifices! — that there is a life that is worse then death and there is a death that is greater than life. And if you have not yet understood this phenomenon of a people that has nothing to lose but the shackles of slavery and the „prospect" of a new Maidanek — it is a sign that you have been smitten with blindness, in order that you would leave the stage of history, from which the Almighty removes all those who rise up against the eternal people to destroy it. Assyria and Babylon, Greece and Rome, Spain and Germany came before you — and you will follow in their footsteps. It is an everlasting law.

That is what I wanted to tell you, British officers, you and those who sent you. As for me I have nothing to add beyond what my comrade has told you; I am a prisoner of war and demand the status of a prisoner of war.

Three soldiers of the Irgun Zvai Leumi are, at the moment of publication, in the death cell at Acre prison fortress, ,,sentenced'' for participation in the attack on that fortress on June, 4. 1947 — an attack which, for the first time in history, broke open the walls of what the British have made the Bastille of Eretz Israel. Tens of Hebrew prisoners of war were liberated in the attack, described even by the enemy as a strategic masterpiece.

The three captives, Avshalom Haviv, Meir Nakar and Jacob Weiss knew the likely fate that would await them at the end of their ,,trial'' by the British barbarians.

We give here the addresses made to the ,,Court'' by the three. Avshalom Haviv dealt first with the treatment by British ,,soldiers'' of their captives.

THE LESSON OF IRELAND

(STATEMENT BY AVSHALOM HAVIV)

Officers of the Occupation Army,

After your brains and your heroism had proved incapable of preventing the breaking open of the walls of the Eretz Israel Bastille, blind chance helped you and gave you a mighty ,,victory'' over some of the escaping prisoners, who were unarmed and over the three of us after our ammunition had run out And this gave you an opportunity to satisfy your sadism and compensate your inferiority complex. Your men behaved in the best Nazi tradition. They shot wounded men lying on the ground, they allowed no first aid for hours. They abused me particularly. They threatened me with death, they tied ropes round my neck, beat me with rifle-butts and kicked me in the most delicate parts of my body. When I fainted they brought me round with British urine mixed with sand and with my own blood. I am not telling you this in order to complain. I would not complain before you. God forbid. But the peoples of the world should know the horrible acts carried out by the beasts of prey in this country.

I assume that you know the bloodstained history of your rule in Ireland. You will probably remember that there too you seized a small country and cultured people by force of arms and deceit, under the cloak of religion and under the cover of ,,law

and order". You will probably remember that there too you exploited the marrow of the bones of the working people and sowed discord among the various classes in order to maintain your rule. And when the sons of Ireland rose up against you, when the Irish underground started their fight against you, you tried to drown the rising against tyranny in rivers of blood. You set up gallows, you murdered in the streets, you exiled, you ran amok, and believed in your stupidity that by dint of persecution you would break the spirit of resistance of the free Irish, the spirit of resistance which is the gift of God to every man worthy of the name. You erred. Irish resistance grew in intensity. The blood of the fighters and of the tortured only solidified the people round the banner of revolt, until you were forced to retreat, leaving behind you ineradicable bloodstains and unforgettable memories. Free Ireland arose in spite of you.

Your supercilious rulers are really very ignorant. I refer not only to Bevin, who suddenly discovered that there are 4000 million people in the world. I refer also to those among you who know at least that there are only rather more than 2000 million people on earth at the moment. All of them are ignoramuses. All are blind. For they have not learnt the two foundations of life, and they will never know them. They are: the lessons of history and the spirit of man.

If you were wise, British tyrants, and learnt from history, the example of Ireland, or of America, would be enough for you to understand that you ought to hurry to leave this country of ours, enveloped in the flames of holy revolt which are not extinguished but, on the contrary, flare up the more with every drop of blood shed by you or in the fight against you. You would then pay heed to the words of warning uttered in the days of the Irish rising, in 1916, by Bernard Shaw, after your hangmen had murdered four Irish prisoners of war. Bernard Shaw is an Irishman, who became an English writer, steeped in your culture and living among you. And yet he had the courage to say these words to you:

„My view is that the men who were shot in cold blood after their capture were prisoners of war, and that it was therefore entirely incorrect to slaughter them. An Irishman resorting to arms to achieve the independance of his country is doing only what Englishmen will do if it be their misfortune to be invaded and conquered by the Germans. The fact that he knows that his enemies will not respect his rights if they catch him, and

that he must therefore fight with a rope round his neck, inscreases his risk, but in the same measure adds to his glory, in the eyes of his compatriots and of the admirers of patriotism throughout the world. The shot Irishmen will now take their place beside the Irish martyrs who came before them and beside the heroes of Poland and Serbia and Belgium, and nothing in Heaven or earth can prevent it..."

These words were uttered by a wise man who is regarded as a cynic, thirty years ago and were vindicated to the hilt. And if your rulers were to study anew the results of wars for freedom, as we study them; if they were to consider the conclusions to be drawn from the words of Bernard Shaw and from the well-known developments that followed the murder of the Irish prisoners — they would long ago have foregone the attempt to crush, with the aid of gallows or the sword, the rising of a freedom-loving people. But, as I have said, they are blind and will not learn. And who knows? Perhaps this blindness has been given by the Almighty in order to bring upon you, in the course of time, retribution for all the blood and tears you have spilt in our country and outside it?

But not only the lesson of history have you, British tyrants, failed to learn. You also do not know the spirit of man. You believe that with a given number of armed soldiers and of tried intrigues it will be possible for you to maintain your rule over a country in revolt, whose inhabitants — all of them — regard you as invaders, sowing friction and exploiting. It is a fatal error. Neither the sword nor intrigues can stand up for long against the *spirit of man*, the spirit of *free* man. For this spirit can do wonders. It will continue to fight, to revolt and to inspire revolt, even if you deprive it of its transient body. But you, preachers of the idea of race, who regard yourselves as supreme rulers and other peoples as inferiors, you whose empty pride has robbed you of sanity, what have you to do with the spirit of free man who is ready to risk his life, and even to sacrifice it, for freedom?

It is no wonder, therefore, that you have failed to understand also the spirit of the new Hebrew generation. You wonder; „How come that these Jews, who we thought were cowards, who were the victims of slaughter for generations, have risen against our rule, fight our armies, mock at our orders and, when they stand in the shadow of death, hold death in contempt? How come that because of these Jews we are forced

to shut ourselves in ghettoes, in which too we find no peace?"

You wonder, do you not? Yet the thing is simpler than you imagine. The spiritual character of our generation has been determined by two factors. By the soil of the Homeland and by the catastrophe in the Diaspora. It is the soil of our Homeland which has revitalized us and has given power to our muscles, courage to our hearts, belief in our future, which has restored to us in *practice* the tradition which our people carried in its heart for many generations; the tradition of heroism of the Maccabeans and of Bar-Kochba.

And the catastrophe in the Diaspora taught us that we are in a battle not only for our freedom but for our very existence. It taught us that perpetuation of slavery means extermination for all of us. It taught us that if we do not take our fate in our hands, we shall go down to the grave, that if we do not fight — we shall be destroyed. And that is why fear has departed from the hearts of each one of us. Yes, British officers, there stand before you people, not only here but throughout the country, who are no longer afraid. For what should we fear? Should death awaken fear in the hearts of sons of a people, millions of whose sons were killed in one nightmare night without reason and without purpose? When we remember our brothers who were destroyed — and we remember them always — our hearts are happy that we were enabled not to be crushed like them, that we have been given the sacred privilege of *fighting* for our country, of living on the soil of our country, of writing a chapter a heroic chapter — in our history, and of leaving a heritage, not of cowardice and slaughter, but of courage and of a war of liberation, for coming generations.

You, British tyrants, will never understand the spirit of free men, going towards death, as Dov Gruner and his comrades went — with a song bursting from their hearts, from their believing and loving hearts. And this too you will probably not understand; I,. a young Hebrew, facing the threat of death, lift my heart to my God in Heaven, and give praise and thanks for the privilege that has been given me to suffer for my people and my country, and say with all my being;

„Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the Universe. who hath kept us alive and maintained us and enabled us to attain this season!"

BRITISH BANKRUPTS AND BEGGARS

(STATEMENT BY MEIR NAKAR)

British Officers,

As we stand before you we ask ourselves: before *whom* are we standing? You call yourselves judges. We know that you are not judges but officers of an alien occupation army which has established itself by force in the country of another people and holds on to it for its own purposes, with the cruel clamp of oppression. But this is not the whole reply. For the question does not refer to you personally, but rather to those who sent you, to that tyrannical regime which has made you the judges of the free citizens of this country. Who is this regime?

This can be answered in the words uttered by the delegate of the Soviet Union in the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation; British rule in Eretz Israel has gone bankrupt. And that is not the opinion only of Mr. Gromyko. All the world knows that you are bankrupts in Eretz Israel, just as in America you are beggars. A Government whose officials have to sit in ghettoes — is this a Government? A Government which spends about half the budget on police purposes and nevertheless remains helpless in face of the anger of the people in revolt — is this a Government?

One could bring many facts to prove that your rule here has bankrupted, and there is no power on earth that can save it from disintegration or withdrawal. But perhaps the following fact is most characteristic. The members of your Parliament argued a few months ago that there is only one way to crush the Hebrew revolt, and that is to set up gallows in the Holy Land, to murder Hebrew prisoners. And you did it. You committed one of the basest crimes; you murdered prisoners of war! And what did you achieve? Did you succeed in frightening anybody? Did you weaken our people's urge for freedom? Did you succeed in crushing the national uprising? You know that you achieved nothing. The flame of revolt is spreading in this country and outside it. And you — you have brought only everlasting shame on yourselves by killing prisoners, which has been regarded everywhere and in every period as a crime against humanity.

In other words; even this crime did not help your rule, and your bankruptcy is *absolute*. And this being so, it is better for you to draw conclusions quickly. A regime which has failed in every sphere and in all its attemps at domination — must go.

And indeed, British bankrupts, the time has come for you to leave this country. It was ours and will remain ours. And we shall build it as a country of freedom, of peace and of progress — to eternal glory.

Your rulers feel insulted when people compare them to Nazis. When young Jews in New York paint the swastika on your flag your newspapers complain and your diplomats protest. Nevertheless you ought to think for a moment whether it is really possible to clean your flag of the swastika, which has been attached to it not by other hands but by your own.

For what does the swastika in our days represent? It represents the enslavement of peoples, the murder of masses, the cruelty of a wild beast, degeneration, corruption and many other things characteristic of the terrible moral deterioration of humanity. But above all — and this even you will admit — this unclean symbol represents the killing of Jews. Yes, the swastika will be remembered for generations to come as the noose of strangulation placed by the messengers of Satan round the necks of a whole people. It is a rule; the bearer of the swastika is a killer of Jews; the killer of Jews — bearers a swastika, if not on his lapel then inside his heart. And now, British officers, ask yourselves, what task does Britain fulfil in this generation since the destruction of the killer of Jews in Berlin? Is it not a fact that she has taken from his hand the swastika and what goes with it? Is not Britain the only State in the world which as a State — kills Jews? Are not British soldiers today killing Jews in Jerusalem and in Famagusta, in Haifa and in the Sudan, in Eretz Israel and in Europe? Is not Britain holding tens of thousands of Jews in concentration camps? Does not Britain threaten the lives of our people wherever they are to be found?

Britain — is killing Jews. That is the task you have taken on yourselves, that is the name you have given yourselves throughout the world. You will not be washed clean of it, just as Nazi Germany will never be washed clean. What use is it if you scratch the sign of the swastika off the Union Jack, off your flag? For it is not ordinary glue that attaches it to you but

something which cannot be removed. It is attached to you with blood, with the blood of our brothers, wich you have shed throughout the world, which you are continuing to shed here and outside our country.

Yes, Britain a gigantic swastika today covers you, just as the hatred which it represents has filled your heart. You have accepted a mission; to finish what your teacher Hitler did not manage to finish. Therefore, like him, so will you too leave the stage of history and you will be inscribed in history with a name that will pursue you to eternity; killer of Jews. But you will not fulfil your plans. Just as the Nazo-German swastika was smashed, so will the Nazo-British swastika be smashed. God who helped David defeat Goliath will help the bearers of the Star of David defeat the bearers of the swastika, who defile the Holy Land.

Long live the people of Israel. Long live the Hebrew Homeland. Long live freedom.

AN APPEAL TO UNO

(STATEMENT BY JACOB WEISS)

Officers of the Occupation Army,

I cannot begin without exposing the barbaric maltreatment of wounded prisoners which I witnessed when I was captured. Ashbel, Amrani, Brenner, Benado, Daar, Moscovitch, Shmukler and others had scores of bullets shot at them at short range in spite of the fact they were unarmed — for they were not among the attackers but among the escaping prisoners. But your soldiers' efficiency is still low, and in spite of the many wounds inflicted, many of them did not die immediately and were brought bleeding to the courtyard of the police station. There they were thrown on the ground — not, God forbid, on a stretcher — and they lay thus for six hours while their blood flowed like water. Dozens of beasts in the image of human beings stood around with their hands in their pockets. Their only concern was to prevent us from bringing first aid. And in fact they succeeded in thus killing Ashbel, and Brenner, and Benado, and Amrani and Nissim Levi. It is obvious that these

base murders will not succeed in frightening anybody. They will open the eyes of the people to see *whom* it is we are fighting. And if in the past you have enjoyed the advantage of a belligerent, in the future no doubt the law of retaliation will be applied; and though we shall not compete with you in the maltreatment of wounded men and in sadism, you will, for the rest, be repaid in full.

— And now as to what you call a ,,trial".

We do not recognise your right to try us, free citizens of the Hebrew Homeland, and we do not intend to take any part in these proceedings which you, in mockery and insult of the noble tradition of civilized humanity, call ,,justice".

Everything you are doing in this country is illegal. Your rule is illegal; your ,,courts" are illegal; your laws, which issue from the most totalitarian regime of all time, are illegal; and your very presence here, against which all revolt, is illegal. This country is ours, from time immemorial and for all future to come. What have you, British officers, to do with our country? Who has made you the rulers of an ancient, cultured and freedom-loving people? Who has appointed you judges over the people which gave the world the God of justice and of Righteousness when your people still inhabited the wild forests?

But your rule in this country is approaching its end. All the world knows it. And you know it too. You will not be able to stay here much longer. You have done all that cruel enslavers can do to grip the country in the shackles of slavery and to break the spirit of its citizens and rightful owners. You concentrated mighty military camps; you surrounded yourselves with scores of kilometres of barbed wire; you have spent millions on police and secret police; you have beaten, you have deported, you have threatened, you have introduced so-called laws the like of which did not exist even in Hitler Germany. And this also you have done; you murdered Hebrew prisoners, you led the best of the Hebrew youth to the gallows. And what has been the result? You have not only not broken the spirit of Hebrew resistance but, on the contrary, before your very eyes,. despite the gallows and perhaps because of the gallows, it is getting stronger and stronger, so that your Churchill is compelled to weep over his Empire, mocked and hated throughout the world because of the ,,squalid war" it is waging in the Holy Land.

In this situation, which all the world regards as the bank-

ruptcy of your rule, you were compelled to bring the problem of Eretz Israel before the United Nations Organisation. Of course your representatives did not go before the international institution with pure motives. It is not justice that they seek there, but authority to perpeuate your rule and a free hand for your cruelties. But the United Nations Organisation, in spite of the satellites of Britain sitting there, is not yet subject to the discipline of your rulers. Not all that you desired did you achieve there, or are able to achieve. And the first proof of this is the decision of the General Assembly to call both on *Governments* and on *peoples* to refrain from the use of force during the work of the international Committee on Palestine.

There is no ambiguity in this decision, seeing that your Government is the *only* Government using force in this country. It is obvious that it is she who was called upon by the General Assembly of UNO to stop threatening or using force until UNO reaches a decision. Your Government will be obliged to submit to this decision or to accept full responsibility for the breach of this decision, In this case I have no doubt that the countries who are not your satellites and who gave their names to this resolution will not permit you to make a mockery of the will of the international institution and of theirs signatures. UNO will demand that you carry out its decisions.

The peoples of the world know that to maintain military courts in a country not your own; to make alien officers judges of free citizens; and to threaten the murder of prisoners, is to threaten the use of force. Persistence in this course, which is intolerable in any circumstances, becomes, in the light of the decision of UNO, an international crime, an outrage against all the peoples who gave their cupport to his decision.

Consequently, from this place in which the decision of the peoples is being pridefully trampled upon, we call on the United Nations Organisation, on its fact-finding Committee and to all the independent States who voted for the Norwegian resolution, that they intervene and that they do not permit the British enslavers, who break the laws of humanity,. to place Hebrew citizens before a military court and to murder Hebrew prisoners. We hold your threats of murder in contempt, but we are certain that international intervention will come, now that this time, there have been placed in the scales, among other factors, the honour of humanity and the honour of many free States.

As for us — we know that there will be one result to this fight; our people will attain its freedom and its enslaver will depart from the stage of history. That is why we are composed. More than that: we are happy. For there can be no greater happiness than to give our life for a great ideal and to know, to know absolutely, that we are — directly — among those who are bringing about its fulfilment.

Listen, you British officers, and tell it to your rulers, who have been smitten with blindness and do not see the hand inscribing the great warning on the wall; tell them that there has risen to the people of Israel in this country a new generation, a generation that loves life, a generation that loves freedom *more* then life, a generation that will make the Nazo-British tyranny crumble, and will achieve freedom — even at the price of life.

The Jewish people lives. The Jewish State will surely arise.

PRINTING ERRORS

Page	Line	Written	Should be
1	Title	it's	its
4	3	strugge	struggle
		efected	erected
	22	figh	fight
5	7 (from below)	ours	our
6	1	taxe us	taxes on us
7	5	probers	proper
	10	ocurred	occurred
11	23	What Englishman	What an Englishman
	19	your	you
	32	"	"
12	20	Wo	We
13	4 (fr. below)	Rember	Remember
	3 " "	"	"
51	2	demnnd	demand
	3	thoughs	thoughts
	13	same of	same side of
	21	your	you
	2 (fr. below)	standings	standing
17	24	oppened	opened
21	12 (fr. below)	Wat	What
		the	they
22	bottom	theresore	therefore
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38	12	able control	able to control
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41	20	he	be
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50	6	teh	the
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58	13	o	and

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ALIYAH

IRGOUN TSEVAI LEOUMI

be'Eretz Israel

LA LUTTE HEBREUE POUR LA LIBERATION NATIONALE.

Documents Assortis Concernant ses
Principes et Développement,
et Illustrant ses Chemins.

Eretz Israel, Juillet, 1947

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IRGOUN TSEVAI LEOUMI
be'Eretz Israel

LA LUTTE HEBREUE POUR LA LIBERATION NATIONALE.

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et, Illustrant ses chemins.

Les documents suivants ne forment pas l'histoire de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi ni de ses luttes. Il est encore trop tôt pour présenter ceux-là. Ils constituent, pourtant, une image claire de cette foi qui inspire les soldats du l'Irgoun, et de cette force d'âme et d'esprit qui a donné jour à la grandeur comme celle de Dov Gruener et de Meir Feinstein; et des milliers d'autres qui, jeunes et avides de vivre, néanmoins sont toujours prêts à sacrifier leurs vies dans la lutte pour la liberté de leur peuple.

Les pages suivantes contiennent, entre autres, certaines déclaration et annonces faites pas l'Irgoun durant certaines phases de sa lutte, documents qui éclaircissent le fond de l'histoire du L'Irgoun ainsi que certains événements - appels, qui tous proviennent de la seule source qui fait exister l'Irgoun: la connaissance que la libération nationale et l'indépendance ne peut s'achever que sur la voie intransigeante de lutte armée contre l'opprimeur tyrannique, jusqu'à cè qu'il abandonne notre pays; la connaissance que son abstination de nous voler notre patrie et d'étrangler notre peuple peut être vaincue par notre obstination plus grande que la sienne d'être libres, par notre refus d'être dupes de ses belles paroles ou poltrons devant sa force brutale, par l'usage de tous les moyens à notre disposition pour arriver à notre but.

Suivant les chemins des Nazis Allemands, le tyran anglais qui, durant notre lutte, a réussi de mettre sa main sur les soldats de l'Irgoun, a refusé de les traiter en prisonniers de guerre. En contredisant les lois, qu'il professe de reconnaître, il a formé des "tribunaux" gérés par des officiers de l'Armée d'Occupation pour juger les citoyens Hébreux et les "condamner" à de longues années d'isolation ou - à mort.

Les soldats de l'Irgoun, "jugés" de cette manière, ont, bien entendu, refusé de reconnaître la validité des tribunaux Anglo-Nazis. Ils ont transmis leur lutte dans les tribunaux même et y ont prononcé des declarations eclaircissantes les raisons de leur guerre et les droits dus aux soldats hébreux. Quelques-unes de ces déclarations, dignes de la grande tradition des martyrs revolutionnaires de tout temps et de toutes nations, forment une part de la brochure présente.

La première a été faite par Amnon Moskovitz, une des "accusés" dans le "procès des Vingt" - vingt jeunes hommes du village de Shuni, condamnés en Octobre 1945 aux longs termes de prison pour "possession des armes".

LE DEVOIR DE SE REVOLTER

Déclaration faite par Amnon Moskovitz
devant la Cour Martiale

Bientôt vous allez me condamner à de longues années de prison. Vous allez me priver de la chose plus chère dans la vie d'un homme civilisé: la liberté. Ce droit dont la source est la force brutale, vous oblige ou moins à un devoir d'humanité: vous devez savoir qui est celui que vous jugez, les mains de qui vous voulez lier, à qui est-ce que vous imposez ces souffrances physiques et morales.

Les details biographiques de ma vie et de celle de mes camarades, les autres accusés, ne vous diront rien. Nous sommes de jeunes Hébreux comme il y en a à Eretz Yisrael par milliers. Chacun d'eux aurait pu être à notre place, car vous savez bien que nous ne sommes pas les premiers et sûrement pas les derniers qui avons été pris de la forteresse d'Acre pour paraître devant vous pour retourner de nouveau, pour longtemps, dans ses cellules obscures. Pour ce but, si vous voulez connaître l'accusé hébreu qui attend votre decision avec indifférence et avec calme, vous n'avez pas besoin d'examiner ses papiers ni son age, ni même sa culture, mais son âme, ses convictions, sa croyance et ses idéals.

Nous sommes les fils d'une certaine famille. Dans la mésure où elle pousse en Eretz Yisrael c'est une famille Hébreue mais pas exclusivement Hébreue. C'est une famille universelle par son essence. La durée de son existence est l'eternité; son espace vitale, tout le globe terrestre; le secret de son existence c'est sa foi; son sort - la souffrance; son bonheur, le sacrifice; son ennemi - l'oppression; son drapeau - la liberté; et son nom quel est-il? Elle s'appelle la Résistance. Oui, Messieurs, nous somme les fils de la grande famille de la Résistance Hébreue et humaine. Nos ancêtres spirituels sont partis du petit village de Modiin pour se soulever contre un puissant empire qui pretendait imposer sa force et son esprit au peuple des prophètes; nos ancêtres

sont sortis des rochers, pour combattre un autre empire et ont laissé, de cette lutte, deux monuments éternels: Jodephet et Massade; ils sont aussi parmi ceux qui dorment leur sommeil éternel parmi les décombres de Bethar; ce sont les insurgeants de Bar-Kochba et les élèves de Rabbi Akiva qui ont uni d'une façon indivisible le livre et l' épée. Ceux-la sont nos pères spirituels Hébreux. Et quand à nos frères spirituels, ils se trouvent non seulement dans ce pays mais partout: au delà des mers, derrière les montagnes, dans le passé et dans le présent. Leurs traces vous mèneront aux Thermopyles Grecques, à votre Runny Mede, aux Champs de Kossovo Serbes, à Yorktown d'Amerique, à la Bastille Française et aux "mille volontaires" de Garibaldi, aux partisans Yougoslaves, aux maquis français, et aux lutteurs de la Grece moderne. Partout et toujours vous les rencontrerez - ceux dont nous sommes fiers d'être frères d'armes et frères d'âme.

Il fut un temps - comme il nous parait loin dans nos jours où l'egoisme dégoutant règne - où les membres de cette famille s'entr'aidaient comme le font de frères veritables: le Français Lafayette, le Polonais Pulaski, l'Italien Garibaldi, se sont battus pour l'Independance Américaine; l'Anglais Byron, s'est battu pour l'Indépendance de la Grèce où il a trouvé sa mort. Et du temps de Mazzini on vit s'organiser non seulement la "Jeune Italie", mais aussi la "Jeune Europe" qui unit tous les peuples avides de liberté, opprimés par maints tyrans, mais dont l'ennemi commun était L'oppresion.

Mais ce n'est pas l'appui mutuel entre les combattants des deux pays différents, qui constitue le fait particulier de cette famille de la résistance humaine. Quelque chose d'autre determine sa veritable nature malgré les différences d'époque, de lieu et d'origine. C'est l'ésprit. C'est cet Esprit invincible de résistance au mal; c'est l'éspirt qui se revolte même contre des forces énormes, c'est l'ésprit immortel de l'insurgance, qui tend aux plus hautes aspiration malgré les sacrifices, la souffrance et la persecution. Et c'est cet ésprit éternel, j'ose vous le declarer, qui fait tourner les roues de la civilisation humaine, c'est lui qui nous pousse à l'avant, qui nous a donné le feu et la

lumière et qui nous tire de l'obscurité chaque fois où quelqu'un - un dictateur individuel ou une tyrannie collective - aspire à nous y jeter ou nous empêche d'en sortir.

Je ne parle pas seulement des valeurs spirituelles, malgré qu'a mon avis ce sont elles qui font l'histoire. Tout le monde reconnaît, que si ce n'était pour cet éspirt de Résistance qui, par ses multiples manifestations, se transmet de génération à génération et de peuple à peuple - Hitler serai aujourd'hui le seul maître de l'Europe et peut être même du monde entier.

Mais je veux m'arrêter à une evénément dont cet esprit de résistance était la source et sans qui en ce moment-ci, probablement nous ne serious pas en vie, vous en tant que Juges Britanniques et nous en tant qu'accusés Hébreux. Cet événement, je veux l'évoquer devant vous:

Il y a de cela à peu près 170 ans, il y avait encore en Amerique du Nord treize colonies britanniques. A leur tête se trouvait un Gouverneur Anglais, et elles était régiés par les lois Anglaises. Les impôts étaient perçus par un Anglais et leurs relations mutuelles aussi que les relations entre la population indigène et immigrante étaient réglées par un agent Anglais. De quelle façon les fonctionnaires Britanniques administrait ces colonies d'Amerique, il est facile d'apprendre d'un document authentique qui date du 4 Juillet 1776 et qui dit entre autres:

Il(le roi d'Angleterre) a refusé d'approuver les lois primordiales et nécéssaires pour assurer le bien être général.

Il s'est efforcé d'empécher l'agrandissement de la population de ces colonies en s'opposant aux lois de naturalisation des étrangers; en refusant d'approuver des lois qui tendaient à encourager l'immigration et en multipliant les obstacles à l'acquisition des terrains.

Il a rendu les juges dependants de sa seule volonté.

Il a formé un nombre considerable de nouveaux bureaux, y envoya un tas de nouveaux fonctionnaires dans l'intention d'opprimer la population et d'avaler les produits de son travail.

Il a fait des efforts avec l'aide d'autres, pour nous soumettre, à une legislation qui est etrangère à notre constitution, et qui n'est pas reconnue par nos lois, en ce qu'il a donné son appui aux actes juridiques sans valuer légale:

A fin de maintenir parmi nous de fortes formations militaires.

A fin de les défendre par des procés dérisoires contre la peine de mort due pour assassinats commits par eux contre la population de ces colonies.

A fin de couper nos relations commerciales avec les autres parties du monde.

A fin de nous frapper des impôts que nous n'avons jamais acceptés

A fin de nous priver de notre privilège de paraitre devant des tribunaux des jurés.

A fin de nous bannir au délà des mers, pour être jugés pour des crimes imaginaires."

J'ai attiré votre attention sur ces faits, parce-qu'ils demontrent clairement que de même qu'il n'y a qu'un seul chemin de lutter pour la justice et l'indépendance, ainsi il n'y a qu'une seule voie d'oppression. Les paroles ci-dessus ont été écrites il y a presque deux cents ans, à Philadelphie. Mais on pourrait autant les écrire aujourd'hui encore, à Jerusalem, car tout ce que Jefferson a incriminé contre vous peut être dit par un Juif. Mieux encore: un representant du peuple Juif pourrait y ajouter une longue liste d'abus, d'oppression et de meurtres. Non seulement vous êtes coupable des meurtres d'Avraham Stern, Avraham Amper et Itzhak Jak, assassinés par l'officier Morton qui n'a même pas été traduit devant un de vos tribunaux dérisoires (mais, ayant été, au contraire élevé dans son rang, a seulement été forcé de s'enfuir d'ici en peur de la vengéance de la jeunesse Hébreue). Je ne parle pas seulement de ces meurtres ni de l'assassinat du jeune Asher Tartner de Haifa, mais aussi et surtout du meurtre inoui dans l'histoire humaine: de la mort de six million Juifs, assassinés par vos lois.

Mais retournons aux colonies Anglaises d'Amerique. Après ce que leurs habitants se rendirent compte que votre pouvoir constituait un pouvoir d'oppression, ils ont décidé de se soulever, armes en main, afin d'établir leur propre gouvernement. Cette lutte, son devéloppment et son aboutissement sont connus. L'une des étapes principales fut Yorktown où votre général Cornwallis, a du capitulé devant l'insurgé Washington.

Mais supposons pour un instant que Conrwallis aurait reussi à prendre prisonnier Washington, Jefferson, Lée, Benyamin Franklin, Adams, Taylor et tous ceux qui signèrent la Declaration de l'Independance et incitèrent le peuple à la révolte ouverte contre vous. Il y aurait eut naturellement un tribunal de guerre pour juger tous ceux qui ont osé se soulever contre vos lois, et qui ont pris les armes contre votre pouvoir. Il y aurait alors eu un procès de vingt ou cinquante personnes, et ces personnes, sans aucun doute, auraient été condamnées pour 5,10,15,20 années de prison. On aurait mentionné dans l'histoire de votre pays - si on s'en souvenait en général, que quelques "criminels" americains qui ont tenté de se soulever contre votre gracieux gouvernement, ont reçu la punition que leur était due et, comme Churchill a proclamé il. y a quelques mois: on aurait crié: En avant, Britania, vive la cause de la liberté.

Réflechissez pour un instant, Messieurs les Juges, à cette possibilité. Ses conséquences ne sont pas simples. Si les choses se seraient passées ainsi, votre Gouverneur siègerait encore à New York et nous aurions dans le meilleur des cas un dominion britannique dont le developpement et la population ne depasseraient pas, comme le montre l'experience, ceux du Canada. J'ai l'impression que tout Anglais aujourd'hui tremble et frissonne rien qu'à y penser, parce que, Messieurs les Juges, dans ce cas vous seriez finis. Car, ou bien depuis longtemps l'Empereur Guillaume aurait déjà mis fin à votre puissance mondiale et à vos progrès achevés par des générations; et il est sur que Adolf Hitler vous aurait conquis et aurait changé ce peuple qui chante "L'Anglais doit être libre ou mourir" en un peuple d'esclaves ou un peuple mort.

Ce serait aussi certainement la fin de tous les peuples, et vous ne seriez aujourd'hui les juges; nous serions déjà ensemble depuis longtemps dans un camp de travaux forcés, ou dans un tombeau. Ce n'est pas un secret que, sans les Etats-Unis, sans ses avions et ses tanks, ses armes, son industrie et ses soldats, sans tout cela qui existe grace à la victorieuse révolte Américaine contre votre oppression l'humanité libre n'aurait pas survécu. Vous voyez donc que ce qui était crime aux yeux d'un Cornwallis, était un bienfait non seulement aux yeux d'un Washington, mais aussi aux yeux du Dieu des destins, ce Dieu qui parfois sauve les petit-fils des Conrwallis par les mains des petit-fils des Washington.

Ne vous étonnez donc pas si nous avons appris des nos frères spirituels non seulement à accuser l'oppresseur mais à le combattre aussi. Ne vous étonnez pas si nous sommes imbus de cette morale remplissante les simples paroles de ce document du 4 Juillet 1776 dont le préambule dit:

"Nous croyons être une verité sans besoin de preuve, que les hommes ont été crées égaux, que le Createur leur a donné divers droits inalienables: entre autres - le droit de vivre, le droit au bonheur et le droit d'être libre. Que en vue d'assurer ces droits les hommes ont établis des gouvernements dont le pouvoir provient de l'acceptation des gouvernés; que si quelque forme de gouvernement devient nuisible à ces but, il est le droit des citoyens de le changer ou de l'abolir et de mettre à sa place un autre gouvernement basé sur ces principes, et qui serait organisé d'une façon qui, selon les gouvernées serait capable de leur assurer la securité et le bonheur. Naturellement, la prudence demande de ne pas changer des Gouvernements qui existent depuis longtemps pour des raisons futiles et passagères, et l'experience montre que l'humanité prefère de souffrir dans une mesure limitée, plutôt que de chercher d'amélieration en détruisant les formes auxquelles elle est habituée. Mais lorsque une série d'abus et d'usurpations poursuivant le même but, démontre le dessein d'imposer au peuple une tyrannie absolue, c'est le droit et le devoir des citoyens d'abolir ce Gouvernement et de nommer des gardiens nouveaux pour maintenir la sécurité de leur avenir."

J'ai cité devant vous ce préambule historique, parce-qu'il reflète presque exactement la situation en Eretz-Yisrael et notre chemin révolutionnaire. Votre gouvernment, nous a privé de tous les droits inalienables donnés à chacun par le createur. Il a privé notre peuple du droit de vivre. Par sa faute, en vertu des lois derisoires qui ont fermé les portes de notre patrie devant nos frères, des millions de Juifs ont été massacrés dans les pays damnés de notre dispersement; sur l'instigation des agents et des émissaires gouvernementaux des massacres ont eu lieu ici à quatre reprises et presque mille Juifs y ont péri; par sa faute, par sa volonté satanique des dizaines de milliers meurent encore dans des camps de concentration et camps des refugiés, sur les grand routes de l'Europe et sur ses rives. Votres gouvernement nous a volé le droit à la liberté Qu'est-ce que la liberté, qui refuse l'abri à nos frères qui implorent leur salut? Qu'est-ce que la liberté où nous ne pouvons pas developper à notre aise les ressources de notre pays suivant nos capabilités et notre science qui comme vous le savez ne sont pas pires des votres - pour faire ce pays nourrir des millions de gens heureux, comme il en était dans l'antiquité où 6 to 7 millions habitaient Eretz Yisrael. Qu'est-ce que la liberté où fonctionnaires dévorent les fruits de notre labeur et gloutonnent le jus de nos os par les impôts qu'ils imposent? Qu'est-ce que la liberté où le Gouvernment n'est pas le notre, où les lois régnant ne sont pas les notres, où les agents qui parlent au nom du pays, ne sont pas nos agents? Qu'est-ce que la liberté, où notre patrie est gouverné par une administration qui viole ses engagements et qui fait une farce de ses propres promesses? Non, Messieurs, sous votre gouvernment il n'y a pas de vie pour notre peuple. Il n'y a pas de liberté Vous nous avez privés de l'un et de l'autre comme vous nous avez privés du droit au bonheur. Comment pouvons nous aspirer au bonheur, lorsque nous voyons nos frères, nos pères et nos mères massacrés et assassinés sans pitié, rien qu'à cause d'être empechés par vous de venir nous joindre? Comment pouvons nous penser au bonheur lorsque jour et nuit nous voyons apparaître devant nous les images non seulement des crématoires et camps d'extermination, mais les phantomes de nos frères qui dans les camps aujourd'hui vivant ou se mourant, sont affamés, malades, humiliés, battus -

Ainsi: puisque votre pouvoir est devenu un pouvoir d'oppression dans le sens le plus terrible de ce mot, puisqu'il s'empare du droit de vivre des millions et leur défend la liberté et le bonheur, donc comme l'ont declaré les lutteurs américains, notre droit et notre devoir est de combattre pour abolir ce pouvoir et le remplacer d'autre, Hébreu, qui saura veiller à la securité et à l'avenir du peuple massacré. Le droit de résister l'oppression est un des droits naturels de tout homme civilisé. Vous le trouverez aussi dans l'article 2 de la "Declaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen" qui naquit des flames de la Révolution Française et que guide aujourd'hui encore la pensée de l'humanité civilisée. Celui que se sert de ce droit, non seulement il ne commet pas de crime mais, au contraire, il accomplit son devoir. Celui qui n'accomplit pas son devoir doit avoir honte de lui-même, de son egoisme et de son peur. Celui qui persecute les gardiens du devoir sacré, devrait avoir honte d'être tyrannique et vil.

Personne ne peut nous accuser d'avoir entrepris cette lutte avec légereté. Personne ne peut dire que nous n'avons pas essayé d'autres voies d'explication et d'influence morale. Durant 25 ans le peuple hébreu n'a cessé de faire appel à votre conscience, à la conscience du peuple anglais; vous nous avez dit qu'Eretz Yisrael est un pays aride; nous avons demontré qu'on peut le transformer en un jardin florissant; vour avez soutenu que nous exploitions les Arabes et que nous les chassion - ces mêmes Arabs que vous laissez exprès analphabètes, plongés dans la maladie et la misère, dans tous les pays nombreux gouvernés par vos creature et vos aides. Nous avons pourtant démontré que notre colonisation enrichit la population Arabe qui à nos côtés prospère et pourri dans les pays voisins. Aucun de vos arguments perfides et pleins de mensonges n'est resté sans réponse et sans refutation de notre part. A toute persécution, à chaque Livre Blanc nous avons répondu par un cri de detresse et par un appel à votre conscience, à votre intégrité et à vos sentiments humaines. Mais en vain. Le manque de resistance était interpreté par vous comme accord; nos supplications comme signe de faiblesse. Tout acte de votre parjure était suivi par une autre, plus abject. Tout abus était suivi d'un

autre plus humiliant; jusqu'au jour où vous avez declaré que nous ne formerons dans notre patrie jamais plus que le tiers de la population et jusqu'à l'acte que jamais nous ne pouvons oublier ni pardonner même si nous voulons être si magnanime après la formation de l'étal Hébreu - la fermeture des portes de la patrie quand nos frères étaient massacrés et exterminés.

Nos appels étaient vains. Non seulement vous les avez ignorés. Vous vous avez mocqué de nous. La preuve peut y être trouvé dans les sources Anglaises: dans les mots du grand Wedgewood qui à été considéré par vos seigneurs en Don Quichote et raconteur d'histoires, quand il vous a dit en 1942 qu'il aimerait inciter tous les Juifs du Pays d'Israel a commettre des actes de violence et à l'insurrection. Parceque - c'est ainsi qu'il a dit - ces actes sont parfois les actes de sauvetage - mais votre censure totalitaire ne permet pas qu'un seul mot de se genre atteint le peuple d'Eretz Yisrael. Dans le même discours Wedgewood a repeté ce qu'il avait dit dans son message pour la libre Amérique. Ainsi a dit ce lutteur de justice au monde obscure: "Tout d'abord les armes - ensuite la terre - et puis la liberté" et il continua, comme suit:

> "Il y a des gens qui pensent que tout sera bien quand la guerre finit; que "Struma", "Patria" et tous les meurtres ont été une nécessité pour le Gouvernement afin de ne pas irriter les Arabes dans ce moment difficile. Illusions! Les Arabes ne sont qu'une excuse; ils ne sont pas la cause. Les changements qui doivent s'effectuer, le doivent dans le sein de l'Administration Palestinienne même. C'est elle qui est interessée à prouver que la Déclaration Balfour et irréalisable, que c'est elle, l'Administration, que avait raison. Il n'y a rien à esperer du Gouvernement Anglais en Palestine. Un abîme trop profond a été creusé par les bombes qui ont détruit le "Struma". Je voulais pour mes compatriots l'honneur et la gloire d'être les restaurateur de Jérusalem, de faire justice, d'établir la liberté. Mes mots tombent en vain. Mes compatriotes ne feront pas ces choses. Je n'y peut rien. Nous devons prier l'Amerique de nous libérer de ce devoir. Il n'y a plus rien à demander de la Grande Bretagne..."

Si un Anglais a prononcé ces paroles - un des très peux nombreux qui ne sont pas tombés au piège des ruses de votre Gouvernement; si la réalité en Eretz Yisrael est telle qu'elle est, est-ce surprenant, qu'après avoir vainement appelé à votre raison, nous avons enfin eu recours à la force et demandons de tous nos frères de se soulever en révolte contre votre règne perfide? Qu'est-ce que vous avez attendu? Est-ce que vous avez pu imaginer que nous resterons passifs et allons nous satisfaire avec des larmes amères et des mots vides, tandis ce que vous nous volerez ce que nous avons de plus précieux - notre patrie? Est-ce que vous pensiez vraiment qu'on puisse maltraiter sans fin une nation grande et malheureuse? Est-ce que vous aviez l'intention de faire de nous quelque autre tribu de Zulus? Ne vous êtes vous pas aperçus que dans ce pays une génération nouvelle est née saine de corps et forte d'esprit, riche de coeurs aimants et cerveaux créateurs, ayant des mains donées pour construction et pour bataille?

Si avec toute votre intelligence tel était l'état de votre esprit, vous avez été aveugles. Vous n'avez pas prévu qu'un jour, viendrait et ce peuple, qui vous avait considérés amis et bienfaiteurs, se lévera en révolte et arrachera de vos visage le masque, et dira au monde: voici ceux qui ne veulent qu'opprimer les autres; voici ceux qui négligent leur devoirs; voici ceux qui violent la Loi internationale. Et ne faites pas semblant que cela vous est égal puisque vous avez des tanks et des avions pour proteger votre Empire et ses grand-routes. Votre propre histoire vous a instruit que quand un opprimeur blanc rencontre l'opprimé blanc en révolte, c'est l'opprimeur qui est défait. Vous l'avez vu en Amérique du Nord. Vous l'avez vu en Afrique du Sud et en Irlande qui est proche de votre île. Les Allemands, eux aussi, l'ont appris en Europe. Et vous l'apprendrez ici, en Eretz Yisrael. Nous n'avons pas d'illusions de grandeur. Nos force sont petites et peu importantes vis-à-vis des votres. Mais il y a un principe que se repète dans l'histoire: une grande force qui tend à ruiner et à subjuguer est sans importance. Une petite force qui a pour objet la liberté et la justice, est énorme.

Naturellement nous ne sommes pas entrés dans cette guerre le coeur leger. Nous savons que le chemin est difficile et nombreux permi nous tomberont. Nous regrettons ces victimes. Dans la dernière generation, notre peuple a donné un nombre de victimes qu'aucun autre peuple na jamais donné. C'est pour cela que chaque goutte de sang Hébreu est plus chère maintenant que jamais. Je vous ai dit aussi que nous appartenons à la grande famille humaine de la resistance internationale. Hélas, cette famille qui méprise la force, est obligée dans la plupart des cas de s'en servir. Elle aurait voulu manier la bêche et la plume et elle doit manier les armes. Notre famille croit que l'homme n'a pas été crée pour tuer son voisin, mais, au contraire, pour continuer avec lui l'oeuvre du Createur. Pendant les six jours de la création, Dieu a jetté les bases du monde; le reste: la découverte du feu et de l'energie atomique il a laissé à celui qu'il a crée à son image, à l'homme. Nous ancêtres et nos frère spirituels ont rêvé d'un monde de justice et de fraternité, d'un monde de paix et d'aide et d'entente mutuelle. Nous aussi ne désirons qu'un tel monde et nous voulons notre peuple d'y participer, parce que nous avons été élevés dans l'esprit des lois Hébraique et dans la tradition et les visions des Prophètes.

Malgré cela, ou à cause de cela la lutte armes en main, a toujour été la part des combattants pour la liberté. Il est vrai que l'homme n'est pas né pour tuer, mais non plus pour tuer son prochain. Il est vrai aussi qu'il n'a pas été né pour asservir son voisin, mais non plus pour être fait esclave. Et si quelqu'un se lève pour vous tuer, ou pour vous réduire à l'esclavage, vous devez lutter contre lui avec les mêmes moyens dont il se sert contre vous: le fer contre le fer; la force contre la force; le cerveau contre le cerveau; le sang contre le sang. Tel est l'impératif moral, humain et divin.

Nous agissons suivant cette prescription, laquelle sera suivie, un jour, par toute la jeunesse Hébreue. C'est pour cela que vous nous trouvez si calmes quand nous entrons la voie de souffrance. Parce qu'il est bien de lutter pour Sion et de souffrir pour Sion; et tout vaut la

peine d'être fait pour la redemption de ce peuple. Nous ne sommes pas seuls et isolés. Le monde libre, le monde honnête qui a subit les épreuves de la guerre de libération, sera à nos côtés. Il n'abandonnera pas à son sort ce peuple antique qui se regenère; qui ne veut dominer personne mais se liberer lui-même; qui n'aspire pas à détruire mais à bâtir; qui ne veut pas l'expansion mais le ressemblement; qui ne veut pas mourir mais vivre en liberté et dignité comme chaque peuple. Le monde libre - et peut-être les meilleurs de vos propres fils - nous tendra appui; le fruit de notre souffrance et de nos sacrifices sera la victoire, celle de la justice et de la verité.

Et, vous mes jeunes frères preparez vous à passer les meilleurs années de vos jeunes vies dans la Bastille d'Eretz Yisrael. Soyez fiers qu'il fut de votre sort de remplir votre devoir sacré et de suivre ce chemin historique qui fut ouvert il y a vingt cinq ans par notre grand instituteur, Zeev Jabotinsky. Rappelez vous que notre sacrifice quoique grand en lui-même n'est rien par rapport au sacrifice des millions de nos frères pour notre peuple, son existance, sa croyance et son renouvellement. Rappelez vous notre serment. Et rappelez vous encore: toute Bastille, qu'elle soit à Paris ou sur les rives de la Mediterranée, sera à la fin détruite.

Le "tribunal" militaire anglais et le monde ont entendu les raisons données par Itzhak Ganzweich, un partisan en Pologne, pour lesquelles il a joint la bataille.

LE CHEMIN DU SOLDAT HEBREU.

(Declaration de l'Accusé Itzhak Ganzweich)

Ma déclaration est strictement personnelle. Je veux vous donner quelques détails sur mon passé récent. Non parce que ces détails sont importants en eux-mêmes, mais parce qu'ils sont caractéristiques de la destinée juive et mettent en lumière le genre de rapports existant entre la Grande-Bretagne et nous. Je laisse à vous-mêmes et à votre conscience le soin de conclure.

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer, Messieurs, que je viens de la Vallée du Massacre en Pologne. Je suis arrivé en Eretz Yisrael il n'y a qu'un an et demi. Vous ne trouverez sur moi aucun signe extérieur prouvant ma lutte et celle de mes frères. Nous sommes apparus dans les ghettos en tant que combattants anonymes. Cemme tels, nous avons vécu dans les forets et attaqué les patrouilles allemandes. En petit nombre, affamés et solitaires nous avons tenu ferme contre la force militaire la plus puissante et la plus cruelle qui se soit jamais levée en Europe. Personne n'a enregistré nos actes, personne n'a reconnu nos sacrifices. N'était-ce pour ce proces et l'obligation intime que je ressens d'apparaître devant ce tribunal britannique non en tant qu'individu, mais en tant que representant du sang juif versé abondamment, en tant que représentant de l'isolement juif unique dans l'histoire, - je serais resté anonyme jusqu'à la fin de mes jours, anonyme parmi les milliers de mes camarades qui ont lutté avec moi dans la plue tragique des batailles: celle du Judaisme ensanglanté contre les criminels exterminateurs.

Après m'être présenté à vous dans mon uniforme d'honneur, mais invisible, j'ai le droit de vous demander votre attention autour de la question: Comment est-il arrivé qu'un combattant juif de Pologne se

trouve aujourd'hui non devant un tribunal allemand, mais devant un tribunal britannique? Je mets l'accent sur la seconde partie de la question, puisque, si j'avais été surpris par eux, j'aurais reçu ma portion de plomb. Ce qui importe dans la question, c'est de savoir pourquoi je me trouve devant des juges britanniques? Pour quelle raison suis-je enfermé dans un prison britannique?

Il y a un an et demi, je comptais, ensemble avec mes frères, parmi vos alliés. Nous étions, il est vrai, un allié non reconnu, un allié inconnu, mais pourtant effectif. Nous nous trouvions alors du même côté de la barricade. Vous tuiez des Allemands, nous tuions des Allemands. Vous détruisiez ses voies de communication, nous sabotions ses chemins de fer. Il est entendu que la différence quantitative entre vos opérations et les nôtres était grande. Mais, du point de vue moral, du point de vue des lois d'honneur propres à l'armée, nous étions des frères d'armes. Nous avions le même ennemi, nous le combattions ensemble chacun d'après ses possibilités. Et voilà aujourd'hui - quel changement! Vous êtes "le tribunal" et je suis "l'accusé". Vous me jugez et je reponds aux charges.

Ce fait est plein de signification. Il dit plus que tous les discours, plus que tous les livres qui ont été écrits ou qui le seront sur la tragédie juive et votre attitude envers elle.

Messieurs, je viens, moi, de "là-bas". Je viens du plus atroce des enfers; qu'est-ce que devient la belle description de Dante Allighieri devant la réalité créée par les envoyés de Satan? La véritable géhenne était là, en Pologne, au coeur même de l'Europe. C'est là que ont été brûlés vivants des millions d'hommes, des synagogues ont été changées en cimetières, des enfants ont été lancés contre les roches. Les hommes sont devenus des bêtes traquées, des êtres étranges que des forces invisibles retenaient quand-même en vie. Et qui étaient ces hommes poursuivis, asphyxiés, égorgés, jetés dans les fours crématoires? Mon père, ma mère, mes soeurs, mes frères, mes cousins, mes amis d'enfance, tous ceux que j'aimais, tous ceux qui m'aimaient.

Pouvez-vous vous représenter nos sentiments? Pourrai-je avec mes pauvres mots vous faire comprendre que devant vous se trouve quelqu'un qui a longtemps pataugé dans le sang? Quelqu'un qui a vécu durant des années, dans un cimetière immense, qui a vu de ses propres yeux ce que persone n'a vu depuis la création du monde?.

Et je sens le besoin de vous dire la vérité, Messieurs les Anglais. Je désire vous raconter ce que nous avons senti, nous, les Juifs condamnés, nous les Juifs combattants. Nous avons hai les Allemands, nous les avons hai d'une haine plus forte que la mort. Le concept "vengeance" est devenu pour nous un plan, un ordre, une sainte obligation. Nous savions qu'il était naif d'espérer pouvoir venger pour tout ce qu'ils nous ont fait, mais il nous suffisait de sentir que nous faisions quelque chose contre eux, de sentir la joie de tuer ces chiens enragés décidés à exterminer un peuple antique et à asservir le monde.

Mais les enfermés dans les ghettos ne maudissaient pas seulement les Allemands; ils maudissaient les autres également. Ils vous maudissaient. Je vous le dis franchement parce que je sais avoir le droit de parler au nom de millions de mes frères qui sont morts, avec deux malédictions: "Maudits soient les assassins, murmurèrent-ils en tombant; mais que le monde civilisé soit maudit aussi, ce monde qui nous a livrés à eux, qui n'a rien fait pour nous sauver, pour sauver au moins nos enfants.

Ainsi pensaient nos frères égorgés. Et les combattants ajoutaient une autre accusation. Jour et nuit, leurs yeux scrutaient le ciel: ils attendaient du secours; ils attendaient des armes; ils attendaient du ravitaillement. Nous n'avions aucun doute que vous étiez en mesure de satisfaire ces besoins minimes pour nous permettre de continuer à lutter dans les ghettos incendiés et dans les forêts profondes. Mais vous ne fites rien. Les héros des ghettos furent obligés de se contenter de moyens de fortune, de quelques revolvers, et de bombes primitives, alors qu'ils devaient tenir front à la puissante machine de guerre de l'Allemagne nazie. Vous avez abandonné à leur sort des hommes prêts à tout sans condition,

mais leurs mains étaient vides; alors que si nous avions été convenablement armés, nous aurions frappé l'ennemi commun avec plus d'efficacité et nous aurions pu, surtout, sauver des milliers d'êtres massacrés.

Dieu a voulu que je vive, que j'atteigne, après avoir erré longtemps par le monde, la patrie retrouvée. Mais qu'y ai-je vu? Si vous saviez comment Eretz-Israel nous apparaissait dans la profondeur de nos cachettes? Si vous saviez ce que nous ressentions à son égard au temps des horreurs! Déjà, au début de la guerre, le bruit se répandit en Pologne d'après lequel l'Etat Juif avait été créé et qu'une armée juive s'était levée. Vous penserez sûrement: une illusion ayant sa source dans un désir puissant. Les Juifs condamnés rêvaient à l'Etat rédempteur et ils imaginarent qu'il est né. Mais, d'autre part, des raisons plausibles justifiaient ces rumeurs... La guerre contre Hitler a commencé. Le peuple Juif se dresse tout entier contre son ennemi et l'ennemi de l'humanité. Notre peuple doit donc être reconnu comme allié et la Grande-Bretagne changera sa politique envers lui et aidera à la formation d'une armée nationale, d'un gouvernement juif, etc. Des rêves, ne'est-ce pas? Fata Morgana? Et cette pensée ne nous quitta pas, dans les ghettos [illegible] puants d'où partaient des prières pleines de notre foi et de notre espérance vers l'Orient, vers Sion.

Mais à peine j'ai touché le sol de la patrie, j'ai pris contact avec la réalité dans toute son horreur. Non seulement l'armée avait été un mirage, l'Etat n'avait pas été accordé mais le Livre Blanc avait toujours force de loi. Les portes de la patrie continuaient d'être fermées au rapatriement de mes frères. Je dois l'avouer au premier moment, je crus que cette réalité n'était qu'un cauchemar, ainsi que là-bas nous prîmes notre rêve pour une réalité. Avons-nous mérité ce sort? Est-ce ainsi que nous devons être payés pour le sang versé, pour nos millions de victimes? La Grande-Bretagne appartient-elle à la bande des exterminateurs? Mais telle est la réalité: Eretz-Yisrael fermée à double-tour. On peut en sortir. Y entrer? Non.

C'est alors, Messieurs les juges, que je jurai sur le sang de mes parents, de mes soeurs et de mes frères de ne pas avoir de repos jusqu'à ce que les portes de la patrie seront ouvertes ou brisées, puisque (je compte parmi les peu nombreux qui sont venus ici) ceux qui sont restés là-bas dans la prison immense, dans l'enfer, se comptent par des centaines de millier. Je me suis plus d'une fois demandé: Par quoi ai-je mérité d'être sorti vivant? En quoi suis-je meilleur des millions de mes frères pour n'avoir pas été exterminé comme eux? A cette question, je n'ai trouvé qu'une seule réponse: Si Dieu a voulu que j'arrive à bon port, Il m'a sûrement choisi pour être le messager de ceux qui continuent de vivre de l'autre côté de la muraille, pour que je lutte en faveur de leur délivrance, le leur avenir. Autrement, ma vie n'a aucun sens ni aucun contenu. Si cette mission qui est sacrée non seulement à mes yeux mais aux yeux de tout honnête homme, Juif ou Chrétien, si cette mission, dis-je, est considérée par vous comme un crime - vous auriez prouvé, une fois de plus, que la tragédie juive n'a pas pris fin, ainsi qu'aucune expiation ne suffira pour repayer le pêché de vos gouvernements d'avoir aidé et de continuer à aider à l'extermination de notre peuple.

An autre "accusé" parmi les "Vingt" était Yehuda Lemberger. Dans sa déclaration détaillée et illustrée il a placé les Anglais dans leur propre place - sur le banc des accusés.

LE PROCES DES DIRIGENTS DE LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE

(Declaration de l'accusé Yehuda Lemberger)

Le régime d'occupation vous a authorisés à nous juger et à nous tenir emprisonnés. Il s'agit là d'une autorisation uniquement formelle puisqu'elle provient du fait que vous vous êtes emparés de ce pays par la force. Par conséquent, il n'y a aucune rélation entre ce tribunal et la loi internationale. Si nous devions nous baser sur la véritable justice, nous aurions dû changer de place et de fonctions. Je ne m'adresse pas, par ces mots, aux juges en tant que personnes. Ils font ce qu'ils ont reçu l'ordre de faire. Je fais allusion à ceux qui vous ont mandatés, à ceux qui ne sont pas présents dans cette salle, mais dirigent ces procès de Whithall et s'érigent en juges, en accusateurs. Ce sont eux qui doivent se trouver sur le banc des accusés; ce sont eux qui sont coupables d'avoir passé outre à la mission qui leur a été confiée, d'avoir employé la force et participé au massacre de millions.

J'ai dit: changer nos places, mais je n'ai pas précisé. Si les dirigeants de l'Angleterre qui vous ont envoyé pour nous juger se trouvaient sur le banc des accusés, ce ne sont pas nous qui les aurions jugés. Le crime qu'ils ont commis entre plutôt dans la juridiction internationale. Le tribunal devrait donc être formé par les nations diverses. C'est là une revendication basée non sur la force brutale, mais sur la force de la conscience. Cette exigence prend sa source dans cet esprit moral qui a permis à un grand Français, Emile Zola, d'accuser les juges de Dreyfus, le gouvernement qui les avait nommés et les forces politiques qui les soutenaient. Au nom de cette même force morale, nous exigeons la formation d'un tribunal international avec la mission de juger les dirigeants britanniques pour leur participation dans l'extermination de six millions de Juifs, hommes, femmes et enfants.

Notre réclamation est juste. Bientôt se tiendra le procès des dirigeants de l'Allemagne nazie, les responsables directs de la dernière guerre mondiale et de l'anéantissement de grandes masses de nôtre peuple. Mais, dans tout manuel de droit, vous trouverez l'article qui châtie non seulement l'assassin, mais aussi ses acolytes, même si l'aide de ces derniers n'a pas été directe. Et je vous prouverai que les chefs de l'Angleterre ont aidé effectivement les nazis dans l'extermination du Judaisme européen. Je vous prouverai que, quoique l'Angleterre ait lutté contre l'Allemagne - et il fut un temps où ce peuple a éveillé l'admiration de tout homme libre alors qu'il combattait seul contre une armée de sauvages, ivres de conquête - quoiqu'elle ait stigmatisé les quislings au sein des peuples soumis, dans le domaine de l'extermination des Juifs, l'Angleterre fut une collaborationniste évidente et aida nettement les assassins nazis durant toutes les années de guerre. Il serait donc juste qu'immédiatement après le procès des bêtes sauvages, de Goering et de Ribentrop, vienne le second procès international, celui de leurs acolytes - les dirigeants responsables de l'Angleterre.

Soit dit en passant, ce n'est pas là une réclamation nouvelle. Elle a été présentée il y a quelques mois par le Colonel Patterson qui, comme vous le savez, n'est pas Juif. Il est anglais. Dans la première guerre mondiale, il fut le Commandant de la légion Juive et apprit, en participant à cette expédition non-réussie, quelles sont les qualités du Juif nouveau qui part en guerre, même sur un front étranger, pour la sauvegarde de son peuple et de sa patrie. L'aide-de-camp de Patterson était le capitaine machot légendaire Yossef Trumpeldor. Et il est bien que vous sachiez de quelle façon ce héros Hébreu accepta d'aller, à la tête des soldats d'Yisrael et des expulsés d'Eretz Yisrael, pour combattre les Turcs et verser son sang pour la cause commune. Oui, pour la cause commune, parce que Trumpeldor reçut l'assurance officielle d'après laquelle la victoire sur les Turcs serait la victoire du peuple Hébreu, qui redeviendrait libre et récupererait sa patrie. Trumpeldor lui-même rapporte dans son journal les négotiations qui précédèrent cette promesse:

"Nous ne voulûmes pas être parmi les conducteurs de mules et nous n'acceptâmes pas de combattre n'importe où on voulait nous envoyer. Nous informâmes catégoriquement: notre désir est de combattre et seulement sur le front d'Eretz Yisrael. Nous lutterons pour Eretz Yisrael et sur son sol. Nous conquerrons chaque pouce de la patrie d'où nous avons été exilés par force. Nous libérerons la patrie. L'idée nous était chère et compréhensible à tous ceux qui avaient été chassés du pays. Nous informâmes de ces desiderata le général qui nous fut envoyé à Alexandrie de la part du Commandant en Chef Maxwell du Caire, afin d'entrer en contact avec nous:

'Nous voulons nous battre chez nous.'

Mais le général était aussi un diplomate et dans une grande réunion décisive qui fut tenue dans l'atmosphère étouffante d'un barraque, il s'exprima, dans ces termes:

'Le peuple anglais parle par ma bouche en toute amitié au peuple Juif. Cette amitié se continuera certainement dans l'avenir en Palestine Juive. Désirez-vous presser la main qui vous est tendue ou la repoussez-vous?'"

Messieurs, j'ai rapporté devant vous cette longue citation pour vous prouver que, confiant en l'assurance donnée au nom de votre Commandant en Chef dans le Proche-Orient, Trumpeldor qui renouvela la tradition de l'héroïsme en Yisrael, accepta d'aller combattre, non en Eretz Yisrael, mais pour Eretz Yisrael. Trumpeldor pressa la main qui lui fut tendue en amitié pour le peuple juif dans un Palestine juive. Trumpeldor exécuta ses obligations. Le "Zion Mule Corps" fut formé et, comme le témoigne Patterson, rendit de bones services dans les conditions les plus difficiles, Mais qu'est-il arrivé avec la promesse britannique? Elle a été donné en 1915 et d'autres engagements la suivirent: la Déclaration Balfour, des déclarations ministerielles, des articles dans le "Times", le Mandat international, etc. etc. Résultat? Le peuple Juif devrait imiter les Français qui ont publié un Livre Jaune sur les relations avec l'Allemagne et sur la responsabilité de celle-ci dans la guerre. Le recueil des documents français commence par le chapitre: PAROLES D'HONNEUR, cette liste des promesses qui furent violées par Hitler et ses adjoints. Les Juifs aussi devraient publier un Livre Jaune ou Noir et commencer par relever tous vos engagements d'honneur violés souvent par ruse, souvent par force, et de rigueur fait nul.

Patterson, l'officier anglais qui commanda, non seulement le régiment de Galipoli, mais aussi ceux qui furent organisés par Zeev Jabotinsky et qui participèrent efficacement à la conquête où à la libération - comme nous pensâmes alors - d'Eretz Yisrael à l'ouest et à l'est du Jourdain, Patterson aussi avoue que les engagements britanniques ont été piétiné. Il souligne surtout que de cette conduite de la Grande-Bretagne envers le peuple Juif, Eretz Yisrael et la Société des Nations, qui lui confia le Mandat sur la Palestine, Hitler, Mussolini et le Mikado ont déduit qu'il est possible de violer des engagements et de passer outre la loi internationale. Cette conduite fut peut-être l'un des facteurs qui provoquèrent le grand massacre mondial et, par suite l'Angleterre prit part dans l'extermination des Juifs par les soldats de Hitler et de Himmler.

Tel est le grand "J'accuse" de Patterson qui demande comme Emile Zolà en son temps, d'amener vos hommes au pouvoir devant un tribunal et de les juger comme criminels de guerre. Emile Zolà lutta en faveur d'un seul homme, alors que Patterson exige que soient jugés les responsables directs et indirects de la mort de six millions d'homme, parmi lesquels un million et demi de petits enfants.

Ma revendication n'est donc pas nouvelle. Elle est juste. La place des auteurs du Livre Blanc, la place de ceux qui ont fermé hermétiquement les portes d'Eretz Yisrael, la place des responsables du naufrage du "Struma" qui transportait des rescapés dans leur patrie, n'est pas dans le monde des honnêtes, pas à Westminster et pas à Downing street; leur place est ici, au banc des accusés.

Il m'arrive parfois de me demander: pourquoi ne recherchent-ils pas eux-mêmes un jugement? Est-ce que le coeur britannique s'est tellement endurci? Et serions-nous arrivés à une telle déchéance de l'esprit humain? Seraient-ils à tel point ignobles, ces gens qui ont de leurs propres mains jeté dans le feu des millions de nos frères et entendirent sans y payer attention les cris des incinérés vivants? Ne ressentent-ils vraiement aucun remords, aucun regret? Si nous parlons de responsibilités du point de vue des sentiments humains, les véritables coupables

ce sont eux. Il serait étrange de prétendre: les Nazis sont les coupables! Mais les Nazis ne commettaient pas de pêchés humains. Les Nazis ne sont pas des être humains. Si un animal sauvage s'attaque à un village paisible et dévore les hommes, les femmes et les enfants, le tiendrions-nous coupable d'un crime? Nous chercherions plutôt à savoir où se trouvaient les chasseurs avec leurs fusils de chasse. Pourquoi n'essayèrent-ils pas d'oncercler la bête ou d'évacuer au moins les habitants du village? Et si on nous dit que les chasseurs ont intentionnellement attendu que la bête ait terminé le carnage, pour la tuer ensuite, nous pourrons dire - et vous accepterez sûrement, Messieurs, ce point de vue - que leurs mains ont versé ce sang.

Si un bateau fait naufrage en pleine mer et lance un S.O.S. répété et si des vaisseaux de guerre ou des bateaux marchands refusent de lui porter secours, que direz-vous? Que la mer est coupable d'avoir englouti les naufragés ou que, plutôt, le grand coupable est le Commandant ou le Capitaine qui pouvait les sauver et ne le fit pas? Vous êtes un peuple de marin, Messieurs les Anglais, les lois de navigation vous sont bien connues. Pourriez-vous prétendre qu'un tel capitaine ne serait pas un pécheur dépourvu de tout sentiment humain, un meurtrier, un criminel?

Qu'un incendie se déclare dans une maison où se trouvent des femmes et des enfants, et un homme - se mette à regarder les flammes avec indifférence jusqu'à ce que la maison avec son contenu humain se transforme en cendres et seulement après, il commence à gémir? "Mon coeur est plain de compassion pour ces pauvres malheureux!" Ne verriez - vous en cet homme un être vil, qui ne serait jamais accepté dans un club? Le concept "gentleman" a vu le jour en Angleterre. Que diriez-vous, gentlemen, d'un tel homme?

Ces comparaisons ne sont pas exagérées. Au contraire, nous sommes en face de quelque chose de plus grand q'une obligation humaine élémentaire, quoiqu'elle soit suffisante pour condamner ceux qui ne l'ont pas respectée. Notre accusation concerne un devoir clair et précis, une obligation dont vous avez été chargés ou que vous avez accepté de plein

gré. Votre conduite ressembla à celle de ce chasseur en train d'assister, dans la jungle, au festin du tigre; ou à celle de ce capitaine fumant sa pipe avec nonchalance alors que les naufragés lancent leur S.O.S.; ou à celle de Néron qui fredonne des chansons d'amour à la lumière des flammes dévorant des milliers. Ce pays, pouvait et était destiné à sauver nos frères exilés en danger de mort. Celui qui y domine ne peut être comparé au voisin qui entend dire qu'il y a un incendie dans la même rue; il a du être le pompier qui, dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, doit affronter le danger, se hâter et sauver, et sauver et sauver. Et si le pompier ne fait pas son devoir, s'il aide à la propagation du sinistre, s'il empêche les autres dans l'oeuvre de sauvetage, il est un criminel.

Cette accusation qui est celle de tout le peuple hébreu contre les dirigents de la Grande-Bretagne est basée sur des faits, des preuves et des documents. Je ne pourrai pas vous les soumettre aujourd'hui. Des jours entiers, peut-être même des semaines, ne suffiraient pas pour vous présenter toutes les charges qui pèsent sur vous. Je me limiterai par conséquent aux principales qui sont assez flagrantes pour prouver aux yeux de tous que le crime a été commis en pleine conscience et avec préméditation et que les responsables sont les politiciens britanniques.

Je commencerai par la période d'avant-guerre. Hitler dominait déjà en Allemagne. Les lois de Nuremberg avaient été mise en force, les Juifs d'Allemagne enfermés dans des camps de concentration, assassinés, exilés, l'Autriche occupée, Prague "protégée". Près d'un million et demi de Juifs se trouvaient déjà dans les griffes des nazis entre la vie et la mort. Leur sort vous était clair des informations publiés par les journalistes internationaux. Vous ne prétendrez pas d'ignorer la tragédie qui se jouait au coeur même de l'Europe. Neville Chamberlain parla à ce sujet devant le Parlement. Il dit: "Ce qui est arrivé à Vienne après qu'elle a été occupée par les Nazis fait prévoir ce que sera, après la chute de Prague, le sort des Juifs de Tchécoslovaquie." Vous saviez alors très bien qu'un million et demi d'hommes vivaient dans une maison en flammes et que le sinistre tendait à se propager et à atteindre d'autre millions.

En 1937-1938, vos politiciens n'avaient plus aucun doute que la guerre contre Hitler était inévitable. Ils perçurent alors qu'après l'avoir aidé à s'armer, après lui avoir permis de changer le Traité de Versailles en un chiffon de papier, après avoir toléré les persécutions contre les Juifs d'Allemagne et l'occupation de la Tchécoslovaquie, le péril les menaçait eux-mêmes. Cela les poussa à signer une alliance avec la Pologne et ils décidèrent, cette fois-ci de se battre. Tel était l'avis général à Londres au lendemain de la chute de Prague et du discours de Chamberlain à Birmingham.

De même que vous saviez alors que la guerre était imminote, vous étiez aussi au courant des forces en présence. Vous étiez sûrs que là, en Pologne, rien n'arrêterait les tanks allemands et que ceux-ci bien vite conquereront leurs voisins faibles. En d'autres termes: vous saviez, d'une façon certaine que, sous peu, la majorité des Juifs d'Europe se trouveraient sous la hache du bourreau. Je souligne: sous la hache du bourreau et non sous la botte de l'oppresseur. La différence est importante et tout le monde la comprenait. Les peuples d'Europe ont été asservis par l'Allemagne, exploités par elle et versèrent leur sang dans la lutte contre l'envahisseur. Mais ces peuples savaient qu'après les ténèbres viendrait un soleil, qu'après l'amputation du bras criminel régneraient de nouveau la lumière et la vie. La situation par rapport à notre peuple était autre. Ce qui l'attendait, ce n'était pas l'asservissement provisoire et passager, mais l'extermination physique. Ce n'était pas là un secret. Tous les lecteurs des journaux pouvaient en témoigner. En 1936 déjà, dans un discours au Reichstag, Hitler termina par ces mots: "Une deuxième guerre mondiale signifierait l'extermination absolue des Juifs en Europe."

Je conclue donc sur ce point: Bien des années avant cette guerre, vous saviez qu'elle devait éclater. Vous deviniez la chute des pays d'Europe où vivaient des millions de Juifs, candidats à l'anéantissement par les envahisseurs criminels. Vous saviez tout cela et vous avez été prevenus par les leaders Juifs de l'approche du désastre. Vous avez entendu le cri des masses juives dans de milliers de réunions publiques: Vers Zion! Vers Zion! Parce que l'instinct d'un peuple vivant et

persécuté, l'instict juif éternel, leur disait qu'ils se trouvaient au bord d'un abîme. Qu'avez-vous fait alors, durant ces années décisives? Vous avez fermé les portes d'Eretz Yisrael; vous avez envoyé à Evian l'antisémite connu Winterton pour qu'il dise qu'il n'y a plus de place en Eretz Yisrael pour les Juifs. AU TEMPS OU SUR TOUS LES MURS D'EUROPE DES AFFICHES CRIAIENT: MORT AUX JUIFS! VOUS AVEZ SUSPENDU ICI L'ECRITEAU: DEFENDU D'ENTRER! PASSAGE INTERDIT AUX JUIFS! En Mai 1939 - souvenez-vous de cette date! - vous avez publié un Livre Blanc et prévenu qu'Eretz Yisrael ne deviendrait jamais une patrie des Juifs mais une "Palestine" contenant six cent mille habitants Juifs. Et les autres? Que devien - draient tous les millions de nos frères auxquels a été accordé la promesse de les aider à reconstruire leur Foyer National? Votre réponse a été: aux fours crématoires! A la mort! Ainsi se termina le premier acte de l'épouvantable tragédie. Ainsi fut exécutée la première partie du crime horrible.

Le deuxième acte commença immédiatement après. La guerre éclata. La Pologne fut conquise. Les Balkans occupés. La majorité des Juifs d'Europe se trouvaient dans une souricière. L'épée de Damoclès ne menaçait plus notre peuple; mais s'était déjà abattue sur lui. L'Extermination commença. Le sang juif coula à flots. Quelques Juifs essayèrent alors de s'échapper de cet enfer et d'atteindre la patrie. Ils s'embarquèrent sur des bateaux délabrés et voyagèrent sur une mer parsemée de mines puisque là, sur les terres maudites, une mort certaine les attendait alors que sur le pont aux planches pourries, l'espoir demeurait "d'arriver à port sauf". Deux de ces vaisseaux atteignirent les côtes de ce pays, mais votre flotte puissante arrête "l'ennemi". Vos bateaux de guerre, canons prêts, escortèrent les "Milos" et le "Pacific" jusqu'au port de Haifa. Un communiqué officiel qui figurera en bonne place dans les annales de notre peuple et qui dans les vôtres devra être enregistré comme un acte d'ignominie fut alors publié par vous: Au début de ce mois, deux bateaux portant 1771 voyageurs juifs ont été arrêtés non loin des côtes palestiniennes et amenés au port de Haifa. Il y a lieu de considérer ces hommes comme des immigrants illégaux. Le gouvernement de Sa Majesté

accorde toute sa sympathie aux réfugiés des pays se trouvant sous la domination de l'Allemagne. Il est cependant responsable d'administrer le pays et doit veiller à ce qu'on ne passe outre les lois existantes. Plus encore: il voit dans le renouvellement de l'immigration illégale un fait susceptible d'empirer la situation dans le pays et de constituer un grave danger pour les intérêts britanniques dans le Proche-Orient. Pour toute ces raisons, le gouvernement a décidé de ne pas permettre aux voyageurs du "Milos" et du "Pacific" l'entrée dans le pays, mais de les transférer dans une colonie britannique ou ils resteront jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, quand on décidera de nouveau où ils seront envoyés. Il sera décidé alors sur le lieu où ils seront envoyés. Le gouvernement n'a aucune intention de les laisser en permanence dans la colonie où ils seront transférés, ni de permettre leur établissement dans ce pays. Le gouvernement userait le même moyen à l'avenir dans les cas où d'autres groupes réussiraient à atteindre le pays dans l'intention d'y pénétrer illégalement."

Tels sont les termes du communiqué. Et maintenant, permettez-moi de l'analyser. Ce communiqué a sûrement atteint l'Europe, c'est-à-dire les Juifs des pays occupés par les Allemands et les Allemands même, qui régnaient déjà ou régnèraient bientôt. Vous avez dit à ces Juifs: n'essayez pas de quitter l'Europe. Cela ne vous servira à rien. Si même vous réussissez à traverser la mer, nous ne vous permettrons pas de pénétrer dans le "Foyer National". Nous vous enverrerons dans une vaste prison (sur l'ile de Saint-Maurice, les tranférés vécurent dans des conditions de prisonniers) et à la fin de la guerre, on va décider sur votre lieu de séjour. Dans les pays ténébreux de la dispersion, la nouvelle passait des bouches aux oreilles: il n'y a plus de secours! La route vers Eretz Yisrael est fermée. Ce fut là une poussée vers l'abîme. La deuxième vint en toute hâte. Les Allemands aussi entendirent votre disposition humanitaire et ils comprirent, croyez moi, sa signification, comme il convient. Vous avez dit à ces assassins: "le sort des Juifs ne nous intéresse pas. Faites d'eux ce que vous voulez ! Nous ne les laisserons pas entrer en Palestine. Ils doivent rester où ils sont. Notre blocus de l'Europe concerne les Juifs également. Ils ne passeront pas. Faites votre travail!" En troisième lieu, vous devez sûrement savoir

qu'en logique, il existe un système de déduction du contraire (A contrario). Suivez un moment ma pensée: quelle déduction peut-être tirée du communiqué déclarant que l'arrivée de rescapés Juifs à un moment où leur vie est en jeu est suceptible de constituer un grave danger pour les intérêts britanniques dans le Proche-Orient? Cette déduction ne peut-être qu'une: "les intérêts britanniques" exigent que les Juifs restent en Europe, dans le grand abattoir hitlérien! C'est de cette seule façon que vous avez compris l'intérêt de votre pays et vous avez tout fait pour que le monde fut mis au courant de votre point de vue. Vos politiciens eurent et ont encore aujourd'hui impudence d'exiger que cet intérêt - celui d'acolytes criminels - soit reconnu comme un intérêt légitime, un intérêt de la démocratie, un intérêt contre lequel il est défendu de se soulever. Il n'y a pas donc lieu de s'étonner si le Congrès Juif Mondial, constitué non pas par de Juifs extrêmistes comme nous (puisque, à vos yeux, tout Juif qui veut vivre est un extrêmiste dangereaux) a envoyé un télégramme de remerciements au Roi de Suède qui a aidé au sauvetage des Juifs d'Europe, et n'a pas fait de même pour le Roi de Grande-Bretagne. Le Roi de Suède a mérité la reconnaissance de notre peuple; son gouvernement a grandement participé à l'oeuvre de sauvetage. Et notre peuple n'est pas ingrat. Tous ceux qui lui ont prêté l'aide même minime ont une place d'honneur dans son histoire. De même que le télégramme du Congrès Juif Mondial disait: "Merci, petite Suède!" - il disait en même temps: "Je t'accuse, Grande Bretagne! A ta disposition se trouvait une flote maritime puissante et une flotte aérienne. Tu dominais les mers. De milliers de chemins t'étaient ouverts et tu gouvernais sur le pays d'Yisrael. Tu pouvais par conséquent sauver des millions, mais to les as condamnés à l'extermination." Ce fut là le deuxième acte de la tragédie: Par vos soins, le blocus contre les Juifs d'Europe a été complet.

Et alors commence l'acte troisième. Les premières nouvelles sont vagues: on parle de "commissions d'extermination" de "deportations vers une destination inconnue". Enfin la situation s'éclaircit dans toute son horreur. Au centre de l'Europe, sur la terre de Pologne, furent érigées des usines de mort. Chaque jour, des milliers d'hommes, de femmes et

d'enfants y furent anéantis. Vous saviez cela d'une façon précise mais, durant des mois, vous avez gardé le secret. Après, vous prétendiez que les nouvelles étaient exagérées, que la chose était impossible. Sous ce nuage de fumée créé par vous, Himmler continuait sa sinistre besogne et détruisit les deux premiers millions de nos frères. En cet temps, on vous proposa de faire au moins quelque chose; de bombarder les camps d'extermination organisés par les Allemands d'après toutes les règles de la technique allemande. Votre réponse fut: "Que Dieu nous garde de le faire; nos bombes pourraient atteindre les Juifs malheureux qui se trouvent à Trablianka et à Aushvitz." Merveilleux humanitarisme, n'est-ce pas? Les camps d'extermination continuèrent donc à opérer et les Juifs polonais, orgueil du Judaisme mondial, furent complètement anéantis.

Mais il y avait des Juifs en Hongrie, en Roumanie. Et ceux-ci vous suppliaient à temps, avant la dissolution des gouvernements satellites, avant que la gestapo régnait ouvertement: "Evacuez-nous! Amenez-nouz dans notre patrie!". Et ils n'étaient pas les seuls à plaider. Il existe des documents prouvant que les gouvernements respectifs ont également désiré de faire sortir les Juifs et vous envoyérent même des émissaires à cette fin. Le tout dépendait de votre consentement de permettre le passage vers Eretz Israel. Vous avez refusé. - "Les intérêts britanniques" exigeaient que les Juifs de Hongrie et de Roumanie eux aussi fussent livrés à Himmler. Et vous avez arrivé à votre but. Un an après l'extermination en Pologne était conclue, la fiole amère était aux lèvres de ceux qui persistaient dans l'exile de Hongrie et de Roumanie.

Le chapitre de Turquie est également connu et des documents là-dessus existent aussi: La Turquie était prête à donner passage à tout Juif qui réussirait à atteindre ses côtes, à condition, s'entend, qu'il pût se rendre en Eretz Israel. A plus d'une reprise, on s'adressa à vous d'Ankara en vous demandant: Donnez-vous des visas d'entrée pour ces Juifs? Le refus fut net. Et la Turquie ferma ses portes devant nous. En mars 1944, seulement vous avez informé la Turquie que vous permetteriez l'entrée des Juifs dans les limites exprimés dans le Livre Blanc, en accord avec le nombre mensuel y determiné et avec toutes les

restrictions prévues. Rien que quelques centaines se sont alors sauvées.

Voici l'historique de la collaboration anglaise dans les crimes des Allemands. Je vous ai présenté l'acte d'accusation contre vos politiciens pour un crime épouvantable, commis consciemment et avec préméditation, et dont le résultat fut la mort par asphyxie, incinération, tortures indescriptibles de six millions de Juifs. Six millions? Etes vous capables de concevoir ce que ce chiffre veut dire?

Et ce n'est pas la fin. Le quatrième acte commence avec la libération des pays occupés, immédiatement après la fin des opérations militaires en Europe. Des Juifs y vivent encore, des rescapés, des ombres errant parmi les tombes sans hier et sans aujourd'hui et sans demain. Ils sont hais par les populations de l'Europe sans exception. Ils ne peuvent plus y vivre, y respirer et ils veulent se rendre à Zion. Mais qu'en faites-vous? Vous les enfermez dans des camps de concentration, dans les camps nazis et vous les transférez par force dans les pays de haine. Mr. Emerson, porteur de l'humanitarisme britannique, espère que les conditions terribles dans lesquelles vivent les Juifs dans ces camps, les obligeront à rentrer dans leurs pays d'origine - pourvu qu'ils ne viennent pas en Eretz Israel. En conséquence de cette décision politique, quelques dizaines de milliers de Juifs sont morts d'entre ceux que Hitler n'a pas eu le temps d'exterminer.

Et vos politiciens supposent qu'après la fin du quatrième acte, commencera le cinquième: celui du "reppatriement" juif en Pologne, Allemagne, Belgique, Roumanie, etc, reppatriement dont l'éternelle signification est la dispersion juive et la continuation des tueries. Et après, tombera le rideau. Les Juifs continueront à flotter entre la vie et la mort et vous perpétuerez votre domination en "Palestine".

Et pourtant, Messieurs, le rideau ne tombera pas. Sur la scène, la jeunesse juive est apparue, cette jeunesse qui a dans ces veines le sang de ceux qu'on a exterminés, cette jeunesse qui, à chaque instant entend la voix des millions Juifs à travers les âges: Ecoute Israel, Le Seigneur est notre Dieu, le Seigneur est UN! Cette jeunesse qui ne craint pas la

mort et est disposée sacrifier sa vie pour sauver ceux que vous n'avez pas réussi à exterminer; cette jeunesse qui a redressé son dos dans la vieille patrie s'est armée non seulement de Loi, mais aussi de Fer.

Cette jeunesse ne se taira pas. Eretz Israel opprimée par vous, Eretz Israel fermée devant nos frères sera une plaie ouverte dans votre corps... Nous lutterons partout et de toute façon.

Le rideau n'est pas tombé et il ne tombera pas. La guerre du peuple Hébreu vient seulement de commencer.

David Kirpitchnikoff, un autre des "Vingt", présentat les raisons d'ordre légal de s'insurger contre l'oppression.

LA LOI JUIVE CONTRE LA LOI D'OPPRESSION.

(Declaration de David Kirpitchnikoff)

Dans ce procès ainsi que dans les autres du même ordre, le tribunal fait son possible pour dresser les obstacles sur le chemin de l'éclaircissement du problème entier, en prétendant que les affaires politiques se trouvent au-delà de sa compétence, ainsi qu'en disant que le fait seul contenu dans la charge sera considéré par lui.

Cette attitude est essentiellement fausse et ne possède aucune base dans la loi elle-même, ni dans la pratique législative, ni dans les dissertations scientifiques. Le rôle d'un tribunal n'est pas borné a l'enregistrement des faits. Ce travail est celui de la police. Si un tribunal devait se satisfaire avec l'énumération des données, la procedure légale ainsi que le témoignage personnel d'un accusé durant le procès, serait superflus. Une investigation secrète, sans faire ouie aux partis, rien qu'en prenant compte des épreuves factuelles, suffirait complètement.

Mais, si la Justice de nos temps demande des precès publics dans la présence de l'accusé, il en est parce qu'elle ne prend pas en considération les données tels quels, mais la calpabilité; parce qu'elle ne se propose pas de trocquer la punition pour la charge - mais elle approfondit les aspects psychiques et la personne de l'accusé ainsi que son passé et les motifs qui l'ont poussé vers l'action commise par lui. Le tribunal doit non seulement s'arrêter sur la question si et de quelle façon l'action commise par lui a été produite, mais donner réponse à la question: quel homme est l'inculpé? Est-il bon ou mauvais? Est-il propice ou nuisible à la société? Ses motifs - sont-ils vils ou nobles? En un mot, le tribunal doit non seulement s'occuper des faits, mais décider sur le sujet de culpabilité subjective. Et rien qu'après avoir éclairci ce côté du problème, peut-il prononcer un jugement juste.

Considérant les aspects ci-dessus, je tâcherai d'expliquer devant vous la question entière, et j'espère que vous m'accorderez votre patience pour m'écouter jusqu'à la fin.

Quoique nous sommes ici pour répondre devant un tribunal pour nos actions, et sommes chargés de plusieurs crimes très graves, nous ne nous considérons pas coupables. Cela peut vous surprendre, mais, néanmoins, il en est ainsi. Notre conscience d'être innocents est d'un ordre spécial. En général une telle conscience résulte de l'assurance de l'accusé qu'il n'a pas du tout commis l'action inculpée, et l'accusé étant un citoyen respectant les pouvoirs de son gouvernement, accepte les idées sur la légalité et l'illégalité professées par le prosécution. Dans notre cas, il nous est complètement égal si les faits décrits par l'accusation ont vraiment été commis ou non. Plus que cela: nos idées sur la légalité et l'illégalité ne sont pas identiques avec celle de la prosécution - elles leur sont absolument contraires. Il est sans la moindre importance si la prosécution a prouvé que un seul ou chacun d'entre nous avait sur lui des armes, comme la procédure le demande en vue d'établir le rôle de chaque accusé dans l'action commise, avec exactitude et données particulières sur chaque accusé séparément.

Ce qui compte, c'est notre idée sur la loi et la justice. Notre conscience et notre connaissance des loi nous disent qu'il est le droit et le devoir de chaque Juif au Pays d'Israel d' être armé pour se défendre et pour lutter contre l'oppression. Voilà pourquoi les faits en lumière dans ce procès nous sont indifférents. Parce que, même si'il était prouvé que les crimes ont été trouvées sur chacun de nous, ce fait, selon nous, ne constituerait pas un crime, mais un devoir d'honneur. Cette opinion ne vous est pas nouvelle. Mais son importance a plus de valuer que ses raisons. Vous êtes des Anglais qui jugent les Juigs dans leur patrie. Vous êtes aussi des juristes et on vous a instruits du temps de vos études que les normes juridiques proviennent des idées sur le bien et le mal dans un société en question. Les normes juridiques ne sont pas de caprices ni de désirs d'un administrateur; elles ne sont pas de lois éternelles. Elles forment l'expression des opinions d'une société sur le Bien et le Mal.

Vous, les Anglais, vous vantez vous du fait, que plusieurs lois qui en théorie sont obligatoires dans votre pays, n'ont plus aucune empreinte sur la vie des Anglais, parce que les intérêts protégés par elles ou bien les affaires reglées par elles, ne sont plus compatibles avec les idées de liberté et d'égalité en Angleterre. C'est vous, les Anglais, qui avez determiné, quand le roi Charles I fut éxécuté par Cromwell, qu'en cas de collision entre l'opinion des masses et du gouverneur quant au bien et au mal, juste et injuste, - c'est l'opinion populaire sur la loi et ses mesures qui va l'emporter. Ainsi, quand vous venez juger les Juifs au pays d'Israel, vous devez prendre en considération la conscience sociale de justice sur cette terre juive. Si vous choisissez un autre chemin, sachez donc que nous refusons de vous accorder le droit de nous juger; nous repoussons vos normes juridiques, rogardées par nous comme moyens d'oppression et d'humiliation.

Les procès d'auparavant et les explications fournies par les accusés dans les cas du même ordre, ont démontré l'opinion que existe dans les esprits des Juifs: l'opinion que dans les conditions présentes créées par vous chaque Juif est permis et même obligé d'être armé. Et si cela vous déplaît, s'il vous est impossible de supporter l'idée même d'un Juif armé, vous n'avez qu'à vous blâmer, qu'à blâmer votre gouvernement qui est le coupable. Quant à nous, nous sommes seulement arrivés aux conclusions. Nous ne nous considérons pas d'être responsables et vous tâchez en vain de nous le faire.

Après avoir démontré la différence entre la justice conçue par l'Hébreu et la loi Anglaise en Eretz Israel, et après avoir conclu que l'abîme entre les deux est insurpassable, il est clair qu'il nous faut approcher un autre problème. La science et l'histoire nous apprennent qu'en cas de conflit entre deux principes d'ordre légal, c'est toujours le plus ample qui l'emporte. Ainsi la question se pose - lequel de deux principes possède une plus ample mesure - la loi anglaise en Eretz-Israel ou la perception de justice du peuple Juif? Je voudrais répondre à cette question d'une manière objective et froide.

C'est avec fiérté que nous nous disons être Juifs. Nous sommes les fils d'un des plus antiques peuples du monde et nous possédons une tradition de vie nationale de quatre mille ans. Nos ancêtres ont créé une culture qui fut le guide de l'humanité. Ils ont formé les fondements d'égalité et de justice, comme l'a mentioné Churchill dans sa lettre à l'Editeur du "Jewish Chronicle" - "une fois encore, le temps venu, il (le Juif) verra la victoire de ces principes de justice que ses ancêtres ont glorieusement appris au monde." Dans cette epoque-là personne n'a encore entendu parler d'Angleterre et les habitants de cette île menaient une existence barbare et sauvage. Vous ne devez pas avoir honte d'être plus jeunes que nous, mais vous devez rougir qu'une peuple jeune traîte un peuple antique avec cruauté, parce que ce dernier a hésité trop longtemps d'user la force contre la force. - Nous vous avons donné la Bible, qui fut ce pivot de votre civilisation et culture. Les traces de ce que nous avons achevé se révèlent dans la vie quotidienne des Anglais. Nos conquêtes spirituelles ont été adaptées par les besoins Anglais. Cela non plus n'est pas une honte. C'est même une grande qualité de savoir apprendre et de surpasser son vieux maître. Mais c'est une honte éternelle que de traîter un peuple antique comme vous le faites - de le decevoir, de lui mentir, de le subjuguer. - Nous appuyons si fort sur ce point de notre fiérté nationale non pas par vanité, mais par le désir de vous faire comprendre que votre idée sur les "aborigines" _ les "natives" à laquelle vous êtes habitués dans vos colonies, cette idée qui est la base de vos relations envers les peuples gouvernés par vous - nous est etrangère. Notre suprématie culturelle, notre passé historique, nos achèvement spirituels et nos lois religieuses, nous donnent le droit de dire que les catégories juridiques créées par la nation Hébreue appartiennent à un niveau de principes très élevé si on le compare avec les concepts légaux de votre adminstration. Si même votre règne était humain et juste, nous aurions exigé que la suprématie de l'idée hébreue sur le droit soit reconnue. Et d'autant plus maintenant, quand, comme tout le monde le sait, votre administration est devenue un régime d'occupation usant les méthodes d'oppression et d'avilissement, ce qui ne demande même pas de

preuves, et ce qui probablement sera encore mentionné d'une façon plus détaillée durant ce procès. - Ainsi donc, si un Anglais veut juger un Juif au Pays d'Israel, il doit faire compte des idées juives sur la loi, et ces idées nous disent que tout Juif ici est libre d'être armé pour se

et pour défendre son peuple, c'est-à-dire pour lutter contre votre administration qui s'empare de nos droits essentiels. Si alors les armes étaient trouvées sur nous, ce qui n'est pas le case si même nous étions arrêtés en les usant, nous ne serions pas coupables.

D'une façon brève il faut aussi passer sur la question de la punition. Il existe diverses opinions à ce sujet, mais celle qui semble emporter dit que la peine devrait être de nature pédagogique et purifiante et que son but est d'améliorer le caractère du pécheur. Donc, nous posons la question: quelle serait la punition qui pourrait nous influencer pour le mieux? Sans être courbés, ce qui résulterait de nous sentir coupables, nous ne pouvons pas changer. Et si nous ne nous sentons pas coupables, si au contraire, nous sentons que vous êtes injustes, comment pouvons nous être courbés? D'où donc peut venir le changement bénéficiare? Selon nous et selon chaque Juif, ce que nous avons fait, était bon, était bienvenu, était sacré. Il faut donc conclure que de ce point de vue, une punition n'achèverait aucun but. Passons aux autres aspects de la peine légale. Quoique la science des loi combat la punition en telle qu'intimidation, les tribunaux britanniques au Pays d'Israel souvent appuient sur le point de créer frayeur en prononçant des verdicts sévères. La question se pose: qui est-ce que vous voulez effrayer? Notre jeunesse militante? Vous mêmes, vous n'y croyez plus. Chaque jeune Juif qui prend une part active dans une organisation militaire, avant de la joindre a profondément considéré tout les pros et les contres, pour savoir s'il est prêt au travail sousterrain et aux punitions et aux souffrances. Celui qui pârait devant vous est une membre d'organisation. Elle est basée sur le service volontaire. Tout le monde connait vos tribunaux et vos punitions et s'y est preparé avant de paraître ici. La peine imposée ne peut pas l'effrayer et n'atteignera rien.

Vous avez le droit de s'attendre que les punitions serviront d'exemple pour les autres. Mais nous avons le droit de vous dire: vous vous trompez si vous le croyez. Un jeune Juif d'Eretz Israel a le choix de vivre comme vous le voulez ou de joindre une organisation militaire. S'il choisit le chemin qu'il lui épargne les souffrances plysique il se condamne aux souffrances d'âme. Le ressentiment de l'esclavage, oppression, humiliation le domine. Les journaux chaque matin lui apportent les nouvelles terribles sur ses proches en Europe. Et si'il est un homme qui pense, il ne peut pas se sauver de la honte devant sa vie paisible quand ses frères et soeurs périssent en Europe, et quand dans sa patrie, des étrangers en uniformes et armés des bâtons et des revolvers attacquent les citoyens dans les rues. Le cinéma et le livre empirent encore cet état d'âme. Les livres lui décrivent la bataille héroique des mouvements de la résistance contre l'Allemand en Europe. Les livres lui disent que la lutte contre l'oppresssion est louable et qu'elle est le devoir de chaque homme digne d'être homme. Dans le cinéma il voit le "Pour qui sonna la cloche" et un pont sauté en l'air et l'organisation du sabotage et la bataille des patriotes avec l'envahisseur. En école on lui apprend l'histoire. Il voit et il comprend que tous ont fait de même et que sans cela le monde serait plongé dans les ténèbres et le barbarisme. Peu à peu il perçoit ce que la valeur de vie éternelle. Les noms des juges de Socrate ont été longtemps oubliés. Si on s'en souvenait, ils seraient les symboles d'avilissement et de bassesse. Mais Socrate est immortel, non sulement pour la force de son esprit, mais pour avoir usé ses idées en vie, pour ne pas avoir fui quand il le pouvait pour avoir pris le poison de sa propre volonté. Parce que Socrate était sur que, quoique le poison terminera sa vie à lui, il va aussi finalement terminer le régime d'ignorance et de bassesse. Et la même histoire se repète avec Galileo, avec Giordano Bruno, qui par leur mort vaincurent la mort.

Votre règne verse sans cesse de flots nouveaux d'huile sur le feu de la révolte. La violation de nos droits à la municipalité de Jérusalem, la chasse soudaine dans les rue d'une ville, la commission d'enquête sur les ventes de terrain dans les zones défendues - comme dans la Russie des

Tsars. La spoliation s'accrue et s'aggrandit. Le détresse s'empire. Le désir de se libérer de la torture d'âme pousse en force. Le chemin à joindre la lutte est ouvert. Parmi les combattants soudainement la détresse passe; un idéal, une croyance s'érigent. Malgré les souffrances physiques, malgré la persécution sans fin - la vie est pleine de valeur, l'homme sait pourquoi il existe et pourquoi il est prêt à mourir. Il devient libre et indépendant. Il n'envie plus les héros de l'histoire, il n'a plus honte en face de leurs phantômes. Devant un membre d'une organisation militaire les portes d'une existence vigoureuse sont ouvertes vers une bataille glorieuse et juste, vers le sacrifice magnanime et vers une conscience pure de faire du bien. Il se débarasse de questions humiliantes de quel droit il vit quand sa famille a été anéantie sauvagement. Il n'envie plus ceux qui ont le privilège de pleurer leurs morts à un enterrement. Il n'envies plus un fils qui suit les funérailles de son père, qui connait le lieu de son tombeau, qui prie et allume les cierges au jour d'an de sa mort. Les exploits héroiques effacent les images de Maydanek et de Treblinka, où les chemins étaient pavés des cendres humaines, où des boutons étaient produits des os de nos frères, et des mattelas et coussins - des chevelures de nos soeurs.

Et la silhouette du policier anglais se dessine plus et plus clairement, et la pensée résonne dans le cerveau: si nous avions commencé notre lutte plus tôt, nous aurions pu abolir les obstacles sur la route des Juifs et des millions seraient sauvés et en vie...

Et pour tout ça, votre punition n'effrayera personne. La torture morale infligée par vous est de beaucoup plus épouvantable et plus horrifiante que la plus dure souffrance physique.

Pour finir: votre chemin choisi ne vous menera nulle part. Les persécutions et les peines n'achèveront pas leur but, et les punitions ne serviront pas d'exemple. Vous n'avez qu'un moyen: c'est la voie dure de vérité et de justice. De faire justice est votre devoir. Rendez nous notre patrie, donnez satisfaction pour le mal inhumain infligé à ceux qui encore subsistent, faites expiation pour le péché mortel envers les victimes massacrées, parce que c'est votre main armée qui leur a defendu le secours.

Menachem Binder, un soldat et l'Irgoun, pris prisonnier avec 30 autres camarades durant une retraite d'un exploit au Sud du pays, demandait durant le "procès" de Juin 1946 les droits accordés d'habitude aux prisonniers de guerre. L '"accusateur" anglais, d'une façon spécifique, s'est satisfait de la replique que le "tribunal" ne possédait de compétence quant à ce problème.

DROITS DE BELLIGERANTS DE L'ARMEE DE LA RESISTANCE.

(Declaration du soldat Menachem Binder)

Les armes que votre acte d'accusation enumère ne furent pas saisies sur nous. Si elles étaient dans nos mains, elles ne se trouveraient pas en votre possession en ce moment. Nous mêmes ne serions pas assis devant vous. Si nous étions en effet en possession de ces mitraillettes et fusils,une de deux choses se serait produites: ou nous aurions pu nous frayer un passage à travers les rangs de vos soldats malgré que le nombre d'assaillants était cent fois plus elevé que notre nombre, ou bien nous aurions été tués tous dans cette bataille inégale en abattant le plus grand nombre possible des votres dans l'engagement désesperé. Une autre eventualité n'existait pas. C'est un fait incontestable - et nous le soulignons maintenant non pour en tirer un avantage quelque ce soit, mais pour établir la verité, ainsi que pour l'histoire - que toutes les armes furent trouvées après que nous étions déjà entre vos mains, la plupart entre nous blessés par vos balles, et saignants. Les armes furent trouvées loin du lieu où nous fûmes faits prisonniers.

(Entre parenthèse j'aimerais appuyer sur le point que l'accusateur fait arreur, envers ses concepts à lui, quand il nous charge d'avoir "été armés". D'après la charge l'expression "en possession d'armes" devrait être employée. Quant à nous, la différence est négligible, et il nous est égal la quelle des deux vous usez, aussi bien que je n'ai pas l'intention d'intervenir dans la marche de ce procès, et je fais cette remarque rien que pour être précis.)

La captivité ne portenullement atteinte à notre dignité de soldats et de combattants juifs. De toute façon, si vous me permettez une

comparaison incomplète, je dirais que notre defaite peut être comparée à la chute de Tobrouk ou à la réddition de la célèbre base de Singapour... Je dois par contre constater que la conduite de vos soldats au moment où ils nous ont fait prisonniers fut loin d'être digne de l'honneur militaire. Je ne veux pas m'arrêter sur le fait qu'ils ont maltraité nos blessés en les couvrant d'injures et de coups. Cela fut sans doute une décharge des sentiments de haine accumulés dans leurs coeurs. On ne peut pas, il semble, rien faire contre les instincts, même qu'ils soient abominables et malgré qu'un homme cultivé devrait connaître l'art de les maîtriser. Je fais tout spécialement allusion à l'action bien preparée des illustres soldats britanniques qui avait été executée avec précision allemande. Il nous ont pris tout objet d'une valeur quelconque: argent, stylos, montres, porte-monnaies, etc. Ils ont egalement requisitionné tous les petits objets qui nous sont chers non pour leur valeur monétaire, mais surtout pour leur valeur sentimentale. Il s'agit de souvenirs que nous avions reçus de nos parents et de nos amis. Est-ce juste de dérober ces objects aux combattants blessés, ensanglantés, ayant soif, au moment de leur capture? Qui a appris aux soldats de Sa Majesté l'art du pillage?

Le fait que nous avons été faits prisonniers même qu'il soit douloureux, ne nous déshonore point, tandis que les conditions dans lesquelles vos soldats nous ont capturés les désohonorent ainsi que leur uniforme. Ce n'est pas une conduite digne de soldats. C'est une conduite de brigands de grande route.

Notre captivité a également une autre aspect. Pour la première fois vous avez fait prisonnier une unité militaire juive au complet et qui fait partie de la force armée juive qui vous combat et qui déclare publiquement qu'elle continuera à vous attaquer jusqu'au bout; c'est à dire jusqu'au moment où cette force elle même serait totalement anéantie. Vous traduisez cette unité en justice conformement à vos lois ordinaires ou plutôt extraordinaires, comme si elle n'était pas composée de soldats, membres de l'armée indépendante de la résistance, mais comme s'ils étaient des délinquants ordinaires. Où est la logique d'une action pareille?

Je me borne, de propos délibéré, à la question de logique, même qu'il serai possible de faire appel à la justice et aux sentiments humains qui inspirent chaque homme cultivé d'ôter son chapeau devant les gens qui auraient pu rester en paix chez eux, dans leurs appartements bien chauffés, entourés de leur bien-aimés, mais qui ont été poussés par le devoir envers leurs frères et leurs compatriotes et ont préferé s'exposer au danger et de sacrifier même leur vie, menés par un pur idéalisme. Bien qu'on aurait pu demander aux quatre gentlemen, que les mots "Liberté" et "Démocratie" ne les quittent certainment jamais, qu'ils traitent avec dignité les combattants de la liberté même que le sort les a dressés les uns contre les autres, - je n'insisterai point sur cet aspect de la question. L'expérience m'a enseigné que les arguments bien reflectés qui ont été bons pour le dix-neuvième siècle ne font plus aucune impression de nos jours. Il est par consequent inutile de faire appel aux sentiments humains qui n'éxistent peut-être plus dans notre époque, l'époque cruelle de Hitler et de Bevin. Il vaut mieux s'adresser à la logique, à la pure raison, aux considerations de "perte et profits", car s'il existe quelque chose qui pourrait influencer ceux qui vous gouvernent, c'est la seule consideration qu'ils peuvent comprendre. Donc, Messieurs, commençons notre construction logique sur la base fondamentale que voici: Il existe dans ce pays une force juive indépendante et bien armée qui lutte contre vous et votre gouvernment. La guerre menée par cette force est une guerre de libération, une guerre d'une nation opprimée contre son oppresseur, la guerre d'un pays occupé contre l'envahisseur. C'est pourquoi cette guerre est juste, et tous les peuples qui ont eux-mêmes combattu pour leur liberté contre un oppresseur intérieur ou un envahisseur extérieur, doivent reconnaître ce fait.

Or, vous ignorez cette force, et ses membres ne sont pour vous que des "terroristes", et ceux qui exécutent ses plans militaires ne sont que des "criminels". Ceci n'est pas, Messieurs, une approche nouvelle au problème. Les nazis allemands (il faut que je souligne "allemands" car il y en a , à mon regret, dans le monde beaucoup de nazis en dehors des Allemands) ont baptisé "terroristes" tous les combattants du maquis

en France, ainsi que les partisans de Tito, les combattants de Pologne et les insurgés de la Slovaquie et de la Grèce. Les mêmes propos d'infamie et d'injures ont été tenus de tout temps par les despotes, qui desiraient a ainsi discréditer les combattants idéalistes ainsi que leur cause. Comme vous le savez, Messieurs, les propos injurieux n'ont pas aidé beaucoup aux Nazis dans leur lutte contre les combattants de la liberté dans les pays de l'Europe occupée. Ses peuples opprimés consideraient leurs fils combattants, comme leurs émissaires, et ils les soutenaient de tout leur coeur. Les autres pays ont reconnu que les armées de la résistance se trouvaient dans la position des armées quasi-regulières ayant les mêmes droits que les soldats en uniforme. Ils ont même forcé les Allemands de respecter les droits des armées de la résistance. En cas de refus ils menacèrent d'user des répresailles. Il est intéressant de noter que les Allemands qui d'une façon générale violaient ouvertement toutes les lois internationales, ont accédé à cette demande et ont reconnu si non officiellement mais de toutē façon de facto les "droits de belligerants" de la résistance européene.

Sur la base de ces précedents qu'il soit permis d'exiger de vous au moins ce qui a été réconnu par les nazis allemands. L'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi a demandé, il y a deux ans, que les forces armées juives soient reconnues de facto et de jure en tant qu'armée de la résistance à laquelle des droits des belligerants seraient accordés. Nous sommes d'avis que toutes les parties interessées en tireraient profit. Nous croyons aussi que l'avantage pour vous est même plus grand que pour nous. Nous, sommes, après tout, preparés à tous les sacrifices puisque nous luttons pour notre pays et pour assurer la vie de nos enfants. Mais vous, dans votre lutte contre nous, vous vous êtes engagés dans la mauvaise voie compromettant vos relations internationales, vous deshonorant sans cesse. D'autre part ce petit pays qui signifie pour nous la vie n'est pour vous qu'une petite fraction de 40 millions de kilomètres carrés se trouvant sous votre domination. Notre empressement à sacrifier tout dans cette lutte ne peut par conséquent être comparé à votre empressement à faire des sacrifices. Notre résistance peut être comparé uniquement à

la résistance des Russes ou moment où ils ont défendu leur sol natal contre les envahisseurs allemands, où à votre résistance dans le cas où les armées allemandes auraient réussi à mettre pied sur les côtes de votre pays. Cet expressement est unique et aucun danger ne serait en état de l'affaiblir.

Si donc, Messieurs, vous continuez votre politique de l'autruche, si vous continuez à ignorer le fait qu'une force bien organisée s'oppose à votre domination dans ce pays, une force qui est consciente de sa mission nationale et historique et qui est soutenue non seulement par les six cents mille citoyens juifs de la patrie, mais également par tous les 11 millions de nos compatriotes dans le monde entier, et comme vous le dites "last but not least" par l'opinion publique de tous les pays libres (si vous contestez cette allégation, vous n'avez qu'à lire une peu dans les journaux américains, française et autres); si vous continuez d'une façon aveugle et par routine bureaucratique de considérer des combattants juifs faisant partie des organisations différentes, commes des délinquants ordinaires qui peuvent même être envoyés à la potence commes des criminels, alors je crains, Messieurs, que le résultats d'une attitude pareille ne manqueraient pas d'être très graves. Vous abolirez ainsi dans cette lutte, qui gagne toujours du terrain, les lois de guerre reconnues par les nations civilisées les lois de guerre, que nous nous engageons à respecter dans le cas où vous les respecterez aussi. Mais, Messieurs, si nous voyons que le sang juif n'a pas de valeur alors, comme nous l'avons annoncé il y a deux ans, le sang anglais n'aura non plus de valuer, et la guerre entre nous prendrait un cours qu'on ne pourrait pas prévoir. Vous vous rappellez certainement que pendant les années de notre lutte, nos comarades ont à plusieurs reprises desarmé vos soldats et vos agents de police; des dizaines de vos soldats et de policiers furent capturés par nos gens, et après qu'ils se sont rendus, aucune main ne se leva contre eux et vos prisonniers furent liberés aussitôt la tâche de nos comarades accomplie. Même dans ce cas il n'y a pas d'égalité netre nous, car vos soldats ont été nos prisonniers durant quelques heures seulement, tandis que nous, lorsque nous tombons dans vos mains, nous passons dans vos prisons et camps de concentration de longues années. Cet avantage est du aux conditions spéciales que nous

ne permettent pas encore de tenir longtemps vos soldats prisonniers. Il est possible que ces conditions changeront et cette inégalité disparaîtra. De toute façon il est évident que la vie d'un prisonnier est sacrée, on n'y touche pas; tout comme il est defendu de s'acharner contre les prisonniers, les tourmenter ou refuser de satisfaire leurs besoins humains. Mais que se passerait-il si vous levez votre main contre les soldats juifs capturés par vous? Croyez vous que les combattants juifs passeraient simplement à l'ordre de jour? C'est évident qu'ils seront contraints de tirer des conclusions de cette attitude. Dans vos considérations, Messieurs, n'oubliez pas une chose qui est d'une importance capitale dans les conditions existantes: Les soldats d'Yisrael qui combattent, croyent profondement que dans le cas où cette lutte ne leur apporterait pas la victoire voulue, il n'y aurait plus d'existence où avenir pour eux mêmes, pour leurs fils et leur peuple. Il ne faut pas prendre ces choses à la legère. Telle est la situation dans laquelle nous nous trouvons. Nous sommes les fils du siècle de Maidanek et de Treblianka. Nous n'avons pas d'illusions. Nous savons très bien ce qui sera notre sort dans le cas où nous n'établissons pas notre état qui pourrait nous défendre du point de vue militaire et politique. Nous sommes par conséquent préparés à tout eventualité. La guerre que nous menons est une guerre de vie et de mort pour la nation juive; aucun danger ne nous arrêtra et aucun sacrifice ne pourrait nous intimider.

Je vous ai parlé en toute franchise parce que cette cause n'est pas seulement la mienne et celle de mes camarades qui se trouvent dans cette salle, mais elle concerne également des milliers et des dizaines de milliers de personnes, anglais et juifs, qui pourraient être les victimes de votre aveuglement, de votre attitude discriminante envers les combattants d'une nation que lutte pour assurer ses droits. Si vous méditiez attentivement sur ces faits, vous arriveriez également à la conclusion que vous devez reconnaître de jure et de facto l'armée de la résistance juive en lui accordant tous les droits légaux et ce qui s'en résulte.

L'approche "objective" des "juges" anglais ayant été mise en lumière par une remarque typiquement nazie du Président du "tribunal", le soldat de l'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi - Haim Louster, un des Trente et Un, a exprimé ses avis.

ALLEZ VOUS EN CHEZ VOUS!

(Declaration du soldat H.Louster)

Ma déclaration ne sera qu'une interpellation. En prison, une information m'est parvenue, qui fut transmise par le poste émetteur secret de l'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi, disant que vous, Monsier le Président, avez prononcé dans une assemblée d'officiers le paroles suivants:

"Il est dommage qu'on n'a pas fait avec les Juifs de Palestine ce qu'on a fait avec les Juifs d'Europe. J'aurais pu alors quitter ce pays maudit et rentrer chez moi en Angleterre".

Ne vous étonnez pas, que vos paroles soient parvenues à la résistance juive. Je ne puis pas garantir d'avoir transmis vos propos avec une précision absolue, mais je crois que leur teneur est exacte. Il faut que vous sachiez, que la résistance juive est munie de beaucoup d'oreilles et de beaucoup d'yeux. Elle entend et voit des choses dont vous ne pourriez jamais vous imaginer qu'elles puissent atteindre , ceux qui vous combattent.

Vos paroles, Monsieur le Président, necessitent une analyse detaillée ainsi qu'une discussion approfondie. Vous n'êtes pas a la fin du compte, un officier ordinaire ou un fonctionnaire subalterne du gouvernement. Vontre position est assez élevée, peut-être même qu'elle est une des plus hautes dans ce pays, car dans vos mains se trouve la balance de la justice - autant qu'il existe une justice britannique, - et vous decidez parfois de la vie humaine. C'est pourquoi je prends au sérieux, l'opinion que vous avez émise en présence de vos camarades et amis, et pense que chaque juif fera de même. Il est nécessaire que je l'examine.

Je veux commencer par la fin. Vous avez classifié ce pays comme "terre maudite". C'est une expression non moins stupéfiante qu'injurieuse. Jusqu'à présent nous étions habitués à ce que tout le monde appelle notre pays "Terre Sainte", car cette terre est en effet sainte aux yeux de dizaines de millions de personnes qui sans distinction de réligion et de race la considèrent comme source d'inspiration divine et comme centre de la doctrine monothéiste. Sur la base de ce fait la Commission d'Enquête Anglo-Américaine - ou plûtot ses membres anglais - ont decidé de déclarer que les intérêts du Christianisme en Palestine sont d'une grande importance et qu'il faut pour cette raison y assurer votre pouvoir, le pouvoir des anglais Chrétien. Si cela est vrai, comment expliquerez-vous, Monsieur, que vous, Anglais et Chrétien, appelez ce pays "Terre Maudite"?

Il se peut, et j'arrive à cette conclusion sur la base de la première partie de votre déclaration caractéristique, que dans vos yeux la Terre Sainte fut convertie en Terre Maudite, parce que les Juifs l'habitent, parce que les Juifs, tout comme leurs ancêtres, veulent hériter cette terre. C'est une drôle d'idée. Il est évident pour tout le monde que cette terre est devenue sainte aux yeux de l'humanité grâce aux Juifs. C'est eux qui ont détruit, il y a deux mille ans les idoles de paiens, et c'est eux qui ont apporté ici la parole de Dieu du Mont Sinai. On ne doit pas de même oublier que les premiers fondateurs du Christianisme sont sortis des rangs de notre peuple et que l'arbre du Christianisme qui a poussé des branches dans tous les pays du monde, a été planté et a grandi sur notre sol.

Si malgré tout vous êtes d'avis que les Juifs ont transformé la Palestine en terre maudite, je me sens obligé de vous poser une autre question. Vous avez évidemment le droit de hair les Juigs, vous n'êtes pas le seul dans ce monde qui nous haisse; mais si vous haissez les Juifs, comment votre conscience humaine vous permet-elle d'accepter la position de juge des Juifs? Il parait que dans chaque mannuel de droit il est clairement indiqué que si un juge ou un des membres du tribunal ait pour une cause ou l'autre une opinion régative préconçue sur l'inculpé, il est

de son devoir de demander qu'on le remplace. A mon avis, Monsieur, vous étiez obligé d'agir de la sorte. Nous considérons tous ce tribunal d'être illégal; mais il est d'autant plus evident qu'on ne peut pas reconnaître un juge qui expose publiquement son aversion personnelle envers le peuple entier dont inculpés sont les fils.

Il y a pourtant une phrase dans vos déclaration, qui a notre entière approbation. Rarement nous sommes d'accord, n'est ce pas? Il faut par conséquent enregistrer ce fait dans le protocole et aux yeux de l'opinion publique. Nous approuvons de tout coeur votre idée que vous devez rentrer chez vous, revenir chez votre famille en Angleterre. Nous l'approuvons pour une double raison. Tout d'abord nous apprécions beaucoup les sentiments de nostalgie, le désir de rentrer à la maison. Ce sentiment vous dever le savoir, est planté dans nos coeurs depuis presque deux mille années. Combien nous avons voulu rentrer chez nous pendant toutes les années de notre dispersion! Nos prières, nos rêves, nos implorations se sont concentrés sur le jour quand Dieu nous remenera dans notre pays. Nos aieux ont chanté sur les rives de Babylon "Quand Dieu renversera la captivité de Sion, nous serons dans un rêve". Oui, dans un rêve, parce qu'il n'exite pas un bonheur plus grand que le retour à la maison paternelle. Et il n'y a pas en effet de différence si vous rentrer d'un palais ou d'une barraque, d'une contrée magnifique ou d'une"terre maudite", du voisinage de bons gens ou comme il nous est arrivé de parmi de meurtriers. Ce qui importe vraiment c'est de rentrer au foyer. Et c'est ce que nous voulons. Il est évident que cela ne peut être notre affaire à nous seulement. Nous sommes parmi les heureux qui avons réussi à rentrer chez nous, mais il y en a des millions de nos frères qui désirent la même chose. Peut-on leurs refuser ce droit? D'autant plus que ce sont des gens qui ne possèdent même pas une maison provisoire, puisque leur maison construite sur un volcan fut totalement détruite ensevelissant sous ses décombres tous ceux qui leurs étaient chers, vivants ou morts.

En effet, Messieurs, veuillez comprendre, si vous êtes encore en état de comprendre que tout le problème auquel même notre procès est lié, consiste dans le retour chez elles des masses qui sont privées d'une maison.

Elles ne rentrent pas pour la seule raison que vous ne le leur permettez pas. Parceque vous leur refusez ce droit qui est si naturel, si clair, si impératif pour vous, Monsier le Président, à ce point que vous êtes disposé à maudir et blasphémer même des idées sacrées quand vos supérieurs ajournent votre retour chez vous. Si dans cette attitude se cache un égoisme d'un type spécial, je regrette de ne pouvoir le classifier autrement qu'égoisme vil, il faut en tirer certaines conclusions. Il parait que tant que votre désir ne sera pas satisfait et vous, ainsi que tous vos camarades qui gouvernent notre pays, ne serez pas rentrés chez vous, notre peuple sera empeché de rentrer chez lui. Mais, Monsieur, vous êtes libre de vous en allez! Et non seulement vous! Prenez avec vous tous vos soldats et policiers, tous vos fonctionnaires, qui eux aussi ont sans doute le désir de rentrer chez eux. Rentrez chez vous et restituez nous le pays que vous nous avez volé. Vous savez très bien que nous le prendrons et il sera à nous comme il a été toujours. Vos chefs militaires qui ont témoigné devant la commission mixte d'enquête, n'ont pas laissé de doute sur ce point: le pays sera à nous, mais notre pouvoir n'aura pas pour but d'exploiter qui que ce soit ou de convertire le pays en base militaire. Nous gouvernerons pour accomplir une mission elevée, une mission de la Providence, une mission humanitaire. Nous rapatrierons des millions de personnes qui n'ont pas d'existence et d'avenir sans ce domicile. Vous voyez donc que dans ce cas, nos désirs intimes sont identiques. Si vous rentrez chez vous, nous rentrerions chez nous, et alors il n'y aura certainement aucune raison de troubler la paix entre nos deux peuples.

Faites le, au nom de la paix, allez vous en et rendez nous notre foyer.

Et maintenant, Monsieur, permettez moi d'analyser brièvement la première partie de vos paroles. Vous avez exprimé votre regret, qu'on n'a pas fait avec les Juifs de la Palestine ce qu'on a fait avec les Juifs d'Europe. Parlons ouvertement: Vous savez exactement ce qu'on a fait en Europe: on a jetté nos frères en masse dans les chambres à gaz et on les a exterminés d'une manière infernale. Et vous, Monsieurs, vous voulez que la même chose se repète dans ce pays. Très intéressant et très

instructif! Et vous vous rendez certainement compte que cette fois ci ce ne seraient pas les Allemands qui asphyxieraient des millions d'hommes, femmes et enfants; cette fois ci il foudrait employer les mains de vos frères anglais qui prèchent la Bible et la fraternité des Nations et la démocratie. Il me semble que vous êtes preparé à charger vos compatriotes de cette mission, et vous avez l'espoir qu'ils l'accompliront. Vous avez peut-être raison, Monsieur; il se peut qu'ils seront prêts à le faire, non moins que l'ont été les Huns "civilisés". Mais vous, Monsieur, et tous les votres devez savoir que:

Vous ne le verrez pas se réaliser, non, décidemment non!

Vous ne réussierz jamais à introduire le peuple de ce pays dans les camps d'éxtermination sans payer un prix terrible de sang. Cela fut possible là-bas seulement, sur le sol maudit de notre dispersion, sur le sol vraiment maudit d'exil qui a privé nos compatriotes de force de résistance morale et physique, qui les a désarmés parcequ'ils avaient foi dans les idéals de l'humanité. Seulement là-bas cela était possible et même là-bas le Lion de Judah s'est réveillé et a attaqué au dernier moment les abominables meurtiers en abattant des milliers d'entre eux. Mais ici, la chose ne peut même pas commencer. Nous sommes ici sur notre terre. Elle nous a rendu la force juvénile des Macchabéens. Elle nous a ordonné de prendre une fois de plus les armes, et de la libérer par notre sang, de la même façon que nos ancêtres, les conquérants et libérateurs, l'ont fait. Elle a resuscité en nous les héros de Massade et Jodephat, elle nous a donné une force nouvelle, elle nous appelle de profundis: "Levez vous et luttez pour moi et pour mon peuple qui fut banni de son pays."

Nous avons répondu à cet appel, Messieurs, l'appel de la mère, la mère-patrie.

Suivent maintes déclarations de l'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi prononcées dans certains moment depuis l'été de 1945. La première a été faite en Juillet 1945 quand la Labour Party l'a emporté aux élections.

NOUS DONNERONS A LA LABOUR LA CHANCE DE TENIR SA PAROLE.

La Labour Party a pris pouvoir en Grande Bretagne. Avant de l'achever, ce parti a promis de rendre Eretz Israel au peuple d'Israel comme pays indépendant, où tous ceux qui le désiraient, pourraient s'établir. - Cette promesse ne nous donne pas une garantie que nos buts nationaux seront réalisés. Le peuple juif, expérimenté en souffrances, est expérimenté en déceptions. Les personnalités et les partis d'opposition politique ont fait maintes promesses et engagements durant les vingtcinq années écoulées; mais, en saisissant le pouvoir, ils ont oublié leurs paroles et continuaient les méthodes qui mènent au dérobement de notre pay et à la destruction de notre peuple. Ces expériences, pour lesquelles le peuple juif a payé avec six millions vies humaines, nous ont appris, que rien sinon une vraie guerre d'indépendance ne mènera les facteurs politiques internationaux à se mouvoir et n'apportera pasla restauration de notre peuple subjugué et massacré. - Cette conclusion historique est claire. La lutte dans laquelle la militante jeunesse nationale est engagée comme une avant-garde, n'est pas poursuivie a fin d'obtenir des declarations amicales ni des decrets. La lutte continue pour l'achèvement du but essentiel: l'établissement du règne juif sur la terre juive. La lutte ne cessera pas avant que le but soit atteint. C'est pourquoi, malgré, les menaces de toutes parts, nous n'avons pas posé nos armes, et durant les jours derniers, nos opérations ont été particulièrement amples. - Pourtant, en face d'un gouvernement dont tous les membres, en tels que membres d'un parti, ont signé le programme de retour des Juifs à Sion et de l'établissement de l'Etat Juif, nous considérons qu'il est de notre devoir en pleine responsabilité et bonne volonté, de lui donner la chance de nous fournir de preuves s'il se propose de continuer sur la voie de tout autre Gouvernement Anglais - voie de déception et de mensonge - ou bien s'il a l'intention de remplir sans délai ses promesses faites publiquement et solennellement.

Dans l'état ou se trouve notre peuple, un lapse de temps très court seulement - quelques semaines et pas des mois - est nécéssaire pour se rendre compte si les paroles de ce gouvernement seront confirmées par les actions, ou bien si les illusions tragiques du peuple juif une fois encore seront deçues d'une façon qui de nouveau, et cette fois-çi, finalement, demanderait de nous:

UNE LUTTE, UNE LUTTE SANS REPIT, UNE LUTTE JUSQU'A LA VICTOIRE!

Le 29 Juin 1946, une contre-attaque anglaise fut déclanchée contre le peuple juif. Elle vint au moment où toutes les trois organisations militaires juives clandestines procédaient forces jointes dans leur lutte. L'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi a réagi immédiatement par un appel et un plan d'une unité nationale complète, par le projet d'un gouvernement nationale et d'un quartier général national auquel l'Irgoun Tsevai Léoumi alors, comme avant et comme désormais, serait prêt de se subordonner.

MOBILISATION NATIONALE.

L'arrestation des chefs du Yishouv n'est qu'un pas dans la guerre d'extermination poursuivie méthodiquement et brutalement par le régime anglais sanglant contre notre pueple. Cet acte d'aggression a été précédé par beaucoup d'actions hostiles qui ont abouti à la destruction d'un tiers de nos frères, qui nous ont aménés au bord d'un abîme et qui n'ont eu qu'un seul but: De mettre fin aux aspirations d'indépendance juive, - de nous voler notre patrie pour toujours, - de nous transformer, comme aux pays de dispersion, en poussière et de nous faire disparaître de la terre. La main tyrannique de l'ennemi - ce maître de Hitler ainsi que son héritier - s'est levée contre nous. L'existence du peuple est en jeu.

Nous n'avons pas d'autre moyen que la lutte. En ce moment-ci l'hésitation est un crime, le délai et le recul sont de péchés mortels. En ce moment le peuple entier - a Sion et aux pays lointaines de l'exil- doit se lever et s'abattre sur le tyran cruel, s'insurger de toute façon et par tout moyen jusqu'à ce que l'ennemi succombe.

En face de l'aggression anglaise qui prétend d'être une mesure d'ordre public et de loi, le peuple juif, le seul maître de ce pays, doit immédiatement former des institutions réprésentatives nationales, de par droit, à voire:

a)Un gouvernement provisoire juif - le gouvernement légal du pays, qui combattera le régime d'occupation anglaise jusqu'à sa chute.

b)Un conseil national suprême - un parlement du peuple juif et du Pays d'Israel, ayant à promulguer des lois, à imposer les devoirs et à donner des ordres.

c)Une publication de la Déclaration d'Indépendance et Liberté Juive - un fondement de la constitution du pays, dont les principes seront la liberté, l'égalité et la justice sociale pour tous les citoyens et habitants du pays.

d)Des tribunaux juifs de justice - et un boycott des tribunaux anglai.

e)L'echiquier du peuple Juif; tous les impôts payés par nous doivent y parvenir, et le paiement d'impôts à l'envahisseur doit être défendu.

f)L'armée unie de libération juive, qui prétera serment de ne pas poser les armes avant l'établissement de notre état indépendant.

g)Le quartier général militaire qui proclamera la mobilisation générale de tous ceux capables de combattre, et qui formera un régime intermédiare pour gérer la vie quotidienne en ce temps de crise et mènera le cours de la lutte.

h)Un appel aux centres de dispersion pour se rallier au plus vite au secours de Sion luttant.

i)Un appel aux pays du monde - aux Etats Unis, à l'Union Soviétique, à la France, à tous les peuples libres pour demander leur appui dans la bataille juive de libération.

Ainsi - et ainsi seulement - nous deviendrons une nation combattant l'envahisseur de notre pays - et cesserons d'être une "communauté"

persécuté par ses maîtres qui "imposent la loi". Ainsi - et ainsi seulement - le peuple juif va surgir et vivre et briser les chaînes d'esclavage.

Les demi-mesures doivent prendre fin. Levons le drapeau de révolte! Unissons nos effort, joignions nos mains, regardeons nos fins d'un oeil clair, ayons foi dans nos croyances. C'est le tyran cruel, l'aggresseur perfide qui nous a donné le choix: Guerre de libération - ou destruction. La liberté - ou la mort.

Il s'est passé ainsi, que l'ordre du jour circulé par le Nazi Général Barker à la fin de Juillet 1946, n'est pas demeuré uns ecret et a devoilé la vraie nature de ceux qui commandent les armées d'occupation de Sa Majésté. Cet ordre fut publié par l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi pour le bénéfice du public.

A LA CONNAISSANCE DU PUBLIC.

Ordre de jour du Général Barker aux
Officiers et Soldats
du 26.7.46.

Nous portons à la connaissance du public juif et du monde civilisé le texte complet de l'ordre du jour du Commandant-en-Chef Nazo-Britannique des armées d'Eretz Israel.

"La Communauté juive en Palestine ne peut pas se dégager de la responsabilité de la longue série d'actes d'horreur qui atteint son comble avec l'explosion des bureaux du Gouvernement situés dans l'Hotel "King David" laquelle causa de graves pertes en vies humaines. Sans l'aide active ou passive accordé par le public juif aux groupements terroristes, responsables des actes criminels, les coupables auraient été decouverts. De ce fait les juifs du pays ont luer part de culpabilité.

Je suis fermement decidé à leur faire subir une punnition et leur faire ressentir des sentiments de mépris et de dégoût provoqués par leur conduite. Nous ne devons pas nous laisser entrainer par cette

sympathie hypocrite qui nous a été exprimée par leur dirigeants et leurs corps representatifs, non plus que par les protestations d'après lesquelles ils déclarent n'être pas responsables des actes des terroristes puisqu'ils n'ont aucune influence sur eux. Je repète que si le public juif avait sincèrement voulu mettre fin aux crimes, il y aurait réussi en collaborant avec nous. Conformément à ce qui precède, j'ai decidé qu'à parti de la réception de la présente, tous les lieux d'amusements, les cafés, les restaurants, les magasins et les maisons juives seraient défendues d'être fréquentés pour les membres des forces anglaises. Aucun soldat britannique ne doit entretenir des relations avec des juifs et les relations de service seront limitées autant que possible. Je comprends que ces mesures créeront des difficultés aux soldats, mais je suis sûr que si mes raisons leur sont expliquées, ils comprendront leur devoir et puniront les juifs de la façon à laquelle cette race est le plus susceptible: en touchant à leur bourse, ce qui manifestera nos sentiments d'horreur à leur égard."

L'avertissement suivant, n'ayant pas été pris en considération par le régime de barbarisme anglais, qui n'a pas hésité à flageller un soldat juif âgé de seize ans, - fut par conséquent suivi par une flagellation de représailles subie par un officier et deux sous-officiers anglais.
Les flagellations anglaises ont pris fin.

AVERTISSEMENT!

Un soldat hébreu, fait prisonneir par l'ennemi a été condamné, par une "Cour Martile" illégale britannique, à la peine himiliante de flagellation.

Nous prévenons le Gouvernement d'Occupation de ne pas éxecuter cette punition qui est contraire aux lois de l'honneur militaire. En cas contraire, tout officier de l'armée britannique d'occupation en Eretz Israel sera passible d'une peine similaire de 18 coups de fouet.

Décembre, 1946.

IRGOUN TSEVAI LEOUMI (N.M.O.)
be'Eretz Israel.

Les aspirations de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi aux bonnes et amicales relations avec les citoyens arabes d'Eretz Israel, ont été répétées à plusieurs repreises à eux ausi qu'au monde entier. Dans une proclamation spéciale publiée en 1945au langues Arabe et Hébreue, ces aspirations ont été exprimées d'une façon précise. Malgré la terreur maintenue au pays par des "leaders" arabes incités par les Anglais et nominés par eux-mêmes, il y a eu beaucoup de signes quant à une réponse de bienvenu aux coeurs arabes à l'appel de l'Irgoun. Ce qui suit est l'appel en question.

A NOS VOISINS ARABES.

La jeunesse hébreue entrainée au combat, a declauché sa lutte de libération dans la patrie. L'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi be'Eretz Israel avec les milliers de ses membres est en guerre contre le gouvernement perfide qui a pour but d'anéantir les visions éternelles du grand peuple hébreu. Cette guerre pour l'indépendance, qui ne vient que de commencer, va s'accroître en ampleur et en violence. - Cette guerre n'est pas dirigée contre vous. Nous ne vous considérons pas comme ennemis. Nous voulons être bons voisins avec vous. Nous n'avons nul désir de vous nuire ni de vous enlever la terre sur laquelle vous demeurez. Il y a assez de place en Eretz Israel pour vous, vos enfants, vos petits-enfants, et pour les millions de juifs qui n'ont d'autre place sur terre que ce pays. Le Gouvernement hébreu vous assurera une pleine égalité. Les langues hébreue et arabe seront les langues du pays. Il n'y aura pas de discernement entre Juif et Arabe dans l'admission aux postes et traveaux gouvernamentaux. Les endroits sacrés de l'Yslam seront placés sous la tutelle de vos représentants. Le gouvernement hébreu facilitera l'éducation des masses arabes et il n'y aura pas d'analphabètes au pays de la Bible. Il n'y aura pas d'épidémies dans vos villes et villages. Les salaires seront au niveau européen. Votre agriculture sera développée. Vous bâtirez des maisons à la place des tentes. L'électricité et l'eau parviendront partout où vous vivez. L'Etat hébreu sera notre maison commune et il y aura paix et bon voisinage entre lui et les états arabes.

Le gouvernement perfide ne le veut pas. Il fait tout son possible pour semer entre nous les grains de querelle, pour vous inciter contre nous et nous contre vous, en vue de s'assurer le role d'un arbitre suprême, en vue de vous laisser dans la stérilité du désert et les ténèbres de l'ignorance, et d'abandoner nos frère à la détresse de périr en exil. Mais nous ne prêtons pas l'oreille aux mots rusés de trahison. Et nous en avons donné des preuves. A Ramallah, centre Arabe, nous nous sommes emparé du poste émetteur central malgré se proximité de la grande forteresse policière - et nous n'avons pas touché les habitants arabes de cette ville. Nous avons agi armes en main à Jérusalem et à Haifa, mais nous ne les avons pas tournées contre les Arabes. Il en était ainsi dans le passé et cela continuera désormais.

Mais vous aussi, vous devez éviter de suivre les conseils trahisseurs. Ne levez pas votre main contre les Juifs et leur propriété. Parce que si vous le faites en dépit de vos intérêts personnels et nationaux, nous serons forcés de frapper cette main avec nos armes. Et vous mêmes ainsi que le monde entier avez déjà appris la force de la jeunesse hébreue.

Tout dépend de vous et de votre prudence. Si vous le voulez, et si vous n'écoutez pas les mauvais conseils, paix et amitié règneront toujours entre nos deux peuples dans ce pays. Nous batirons cette Terre Sainte ensemble; ensemble nous profiterons de ses fruits et de ses richesses; ensemble nous veillerons à son développement industriel et agronome; ensemble nous suiverons le chemin des peuples libres du monde vers une vie juste, libre, honorable et heureuse.

Voisins Arabes, nous tendons notre main envers vous en amis et en frères. Ne la rejettez pas.

L'appel suivant a été présenté aux diplomates des Etats Unis, de l'Union Soviétique et de la France durant la conférence de Moscou en Janvier 1947, où ces diplomates ont conféré avec les réprésentants de la Grande Bretagne.

APPEL A LA CONFERENCE DE MOSCOU.

Les représentants des puissances victorieuses se sont réunis à Moscou pour établir - selon ce qu'ils disent - une paix durable.

Mais la paix est indivisible.

Ce principe a été etabli dans la ville-même où cette conférence internationale a son siège, et la réalité en a démontré la vérité.

La paix n'est pas divisble. La liberté n'est divisible non plus.

Les ministres des affaires étrangères des Etats Unis, de l'Union Soviétique et de la France doivent savoir, qu'il n'y as pas de paix en Eretz Israel, pas plus qu'il y n'y a de liberté. La paix y est troublée par l'armée d'Occupation britannique, qui a transformé notre pays en une base militaire et en un grand camp d'oppression; la liberté - et le droit même de vivre - nous est enlévé par le gouvernement illégal du conquérant Britannique. A la lumière de l'expérience de notre génération, il vaut bien de rappeller aux représentants des grandes puissances, que la guerre et l'oppression en Eretz Israel menacent de mettre en péril la paix du monde et la liberté des peuples.

Nous appellons, donc, au nom de notre peuple qui mène une lutte pour sa liberté contre un oppresseur agressif et cruel, aux ministres des affaires étrangères des Etats Unis, de l'Union Soviétique et de la France, qu'ils prètent l'attention à la situation en Eretz Israel et qu'ils mettent cette question à l'ordre du jour de leurs déliberations.

Par égard pour la paix et la sécurité, par égard pour la liberté des peuples et pour la justice internationale - on doit forcer la Grande Bretagne:

a) A retirer l'armée d'occupation britannique d'Eretz Israel occidentale et orientale.

b) A abolir le régime illégal d'occupation britannique - directe en Eretz Israel occidentale et indirecte en Eretz Israel orientale.

c) A remettre le gouvernement d'Eretz Israel dans les mains d'une représentation démocratique du peuple hébreu - d'un gouvernement hébreu provisoire - qui réalisera le rapatriement de nos compatriotes qui aspirent de retourner dans leur patrie, et qui organisera des élections libres pour le parlament et le gouvernement de notre pays, qui représenteront tous les citoyens du pays, sans différence d'origine ou de religion.

Ce sera la solution d'un des problèmes les plus douloureux de l'humanité entière; ce sera l'assurance de la paix et du progrès social en Eretz Israel et le Moyen Orient; ce sera la fin de l'oppression et de la guerre dans ce pays historique, qui mettent en péril la paix du monde.

Il est dans votre pouvoir, Messieurs les représentants des Etats Unis, de l'Union Soviétique et de la France, de le faire. Faites-le par égard pour la paix durable, pour l'établissement de laquelle la conférence de Moscou s'est réunie, après la guerre sanglante et terrible, qui a coûté notre peuple depourvu de souveraineté six millions de victimes.

Appel aux nations du monde, radiodiffusé en français, anglais, russe et italien par le Poste clandestin de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi, le 21.8.46.

NE VOUS ASSOCIEZ PAS AU CRIME -
AIDEZ LES REFUGIES D'ISRAEL!

L'oppresseur Nazo-Britannique a fait le blocus de notre patrie. C'est le blocus le plus cruel de l'histoire humaine. Il n'est pas dirigé contre le ravitaillement de l'ennemi en matières premières ou en materiel de guerre. Ce blocus est dirigé contre des êtres humains - contre des hommes qui durant de longues années ont combattu la tyrannie naziste; contre des hommes qui par miracle se sont echappés des mains de leurs exterminateurs; contre des hommes auxquels rien n'est resté sur terre sauf la Patrie - la Patrie qui doit leur rendre la raison de vivre, et remplacer les êtres chères qui ont étés fusillés, asphyxiés et enterrés vivants.

L'oppresseur Nazo-Britannique veut vous faire complices du crime et vous invite à l'aider dans la condamnation des survivants de notre peuple décimé. N'y vous prêtez pas.

Vous avez combattu durant des années contre un oppresseur cruel, et avez appris que la Liberté est indivisible tout comme la Paix. Lorsqu'un peuple tombe en esclavage, le tour d'autres peuples viendra par la suite. Notre combat donc est votre combat et notre Victoire votre Victoire. Aidez - donc nos frères qui retournent à leur Patrie unique! Donnez-leur passage à travers vos frontières, donnez-leur refuge durant leurs longues peregrinations! Montrez-leur le chemin vers les rives! Mettez à leur disposition les moyens de transport.

De cette manière vous aiderez la justice à triompher du mal, la liberté à emporter sur l'esclavage, et la victime à vaincre le meurtrier. Vous aiderez ainsi non seulement notre peuple, mais vous-mêmes et votre avenir.

Dans l'effort de briser l'âme du peuple juif et de l'influencer à devenir dénonciateur des groupes militantes clandestines, l'envahisseur Anglais décrèta au commencement du mois de Mars 1947 que la grande portion du pays se trouvait sous "loi martiale", dont le but immédiat était d'isoler les centres Juifs l'un de l'autre ainsi que du reste de la terre, ainsi d'étrangler la vie economique juive. Pourtant ni l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi ni le reste de la population a pris peur. L'Irgoun a declenché une série d'attacques de vigueur et d'ampleur comme les objectives anglais n'en avaient auparavent éprouvé de semblable. Et la population n'a pas reculé. Après deux semaines, la loi martiale fut honteusement abolie. L'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi publia alors le communiqué suivant:

POURQUOI LA LOI MARTIALE A ETE ABOLIE?

L'oprresseur a été forcé d'abolir la loi martiale parceque:

1)L'Angleterre a peur des complication internationales. L'Union Soviétique et la Pologne pourraient demander, que la question de loi martiale étant introduite en temps de paix dans un pays qui est formellement sous la tutelle internationale, soit discutée par le Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies.

2)Les coups reçus par l'ennemi des mains de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi malgré l'imposition de la loi martiale, ont rendu ce moyen complètement ridicule.

3)Un amerture menaçant de révolte a apparu dans les rangs de l'Armée d'Occupation, dont les patrouilles et les encampements étaient exposés incessamment aux attacques de l'Armée de la Résistance.

L'ennemi a subi une défaite.

L'ennemi a du reculer.

Mais nous ne chantons pas encore notre hymne victorieux. Nous ne luttons pas pour l'abolissement de maints decrets. Nous sommes en guerre pour libérer notre patrie, pour repatrier nos frères, pour établir notre état. Pour achever ces buts, nous lutterons jusqu'à la victoire.

Et nous nous appuyierons sur toute la population, qui durant le temps d'épreuve a montré qu'elle est digne de sa liberté.

Des ténèbres de notre bataille souterraine nous envoyons un salut aux plus affligés de notre peuple, qui durant les cruelles souffrances, ont prouvé leur volonté et courage.

Soyez forts et soyez braves, nos frères - la victoire ne se fera pas attendre.

A la veille de l'arrivé de la Commission Spéciale pour la Palestine auprès desNations Unies, en Juin 1947, l'Irgoun a publié un avertissement pour prévenir ses membres de la tentative inévitable de l'Angleterre de les intimider et de les épier. Les membres de la Commission se sont persuadés ensuite à quel degré bien fondé a été cet avertissement.

VOUS N'ETES MENACES QUE PAR LES ESPIONS ANGLAIS,
MESSIEURS LES MEMBRES DE LA COMMISSION.

La Commission d'enquête des Nations Unies doit arriver dans notre pays dans quelques jours. En se basant sur l'expérience obtenu durant le séjour ici de la commission Anglo-Américaine, on peut être certain que le régime d'occupation Nazo-Britannique dirigera vers ses participants et leurs aides un déluge d'histoires horrifiantes sur les attentats préparés contre eux par les "terroristes". Ostensiblement, en vue de les "protéger" des agents Anglais encercleront les représentants des onze nations pour ne pas leur permettre de faire un seul pas sans être "gardés". - Le but de ces histoires d'horreur et de ces "moyens de sécurité" est clair. Bartley Crum, un des membre de la commission Anglo-Américaine l'a même décrit dans son livre. Il savait bien que ni lui ni n'importe quel de ses collègues ne se trouvait pas en danger. Il savait bien que la seule raison de séparer les visiteurs du monde par une horde de chiens bi-pèdes prétendant d'être "gardiens", était la volonté de l'occupant de représenter les conspirateurs juifs comme une bande de brigans sans buts politiques;

tandis que le désir de suivre tous les pas des membres de la commission - n'était qu'un désir commun de tous les régimes totalitaires, d'épier les mouvements de tout visiteur qui aimerait voir les choses de ses propres yeux. - Il n'y a aucun doute que ce spéctacle honteux se répètera cette fois-ci. Nous nous voyons ainsi obligés de faire savoir même avant l'arrivée de la Commission, que ses membres n'ont rien à craindre de notre part. Nous sommes certains qu'ils n'ont même pas besoin de cette assurance pour se sentir en sécurité. Ils savent sans aucun doute, que tout plan de leur nuire ou d'importuner leurs aides ou d'endommager leur places de travail, nâquit dans les têtes des provocateurs Anglais, et que les membres de la résistance juive, qui ne combat que son ennemi britannique, sait comment on respecte les viciteurs. Nous publions donc cette annonce rien que pour les faire savoir d'avance que les agents et les policiers qui les entoureront, ne seront pas là pour assurer leur sécurité, non ménacée par personne, mais pour épier leurs mouvements, contacts, lettres et ce qui s'en suit. Les membres de la commission doivent se garder des yeux d'argus et des doigts agiles des agents britanniques de sécurité.

Quant aux conditions générales au pays durant les travaux de la Commission, elles dépendent de ce que si la Commission, en telle que représentante des Nations Unies, sera capable d'imposer l'autorité des Nations Unies sur le régime d'occupation anglaise quant à la décision de l'Assemblée Générale. Si la Commission parvient à défendre l'emploi de force contre les repatriants et les prisonniers de guerre Juifs, ainsi que dans tout autre circonstance, elle parviendra automatiquement à défendre les attacques de la Résistance. Si, néanmoins, durant le séjour même et le travail de la Commission l'ennemi continuera de forcer son chemin contre la decision des Nations Unies, il serait le devoir de la résistance d'user la force contre la force.

La clé répose aux mains de la Commission elle-même.

Le nom de Dov Gruner a fait histoire. Il est devenu le symbole de patience et d'heroisme - le cymbole de la lutte juive pour sa libération. Cette histoire d'un simple soldat qui est demeuré ferme en face de la force et des menaces d'un Empire, cette hisoire de son comportement héroique et de sa calme noblesse dans l'ombre de la potence, ont fait tréssaillir le monde. La façon misérable, dont les meurtriers Anglais l'on assassiné est le symbole de la différence entre leur but avilissant et la grandeur des aspirations des lutteurs Juifs. Quand on a informé Dov Gruner de son exécution imminente il envoya une lettre au Commandant-en-chef de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi, où il dit avec simplicité: - "Si j'avais à donner ma vie de nouveau, je ferais encore ce que j'ai fait."

Nous publions ici les mots de Dov Gruner, adressés au "tribunal" militaire anglais que l'a"condamné" à mort.

VOTRE MAIN SERA COUPEE

Je ne reconnais pas votre droit de me juger. Ce tribunal est dépourvu de fondement légal puisqu'il fut formé par une norme qui en elle-même est contraire à la loi. - Vous êtes venus aux pays d'Israel ensuite d'une obligation envers les nations du monde. On vous avait confié le devoir de réparer l'injustice la plus grande qui ait jamais été faite à un peuple. L'injustice de l'exil du peuple juif qui a fait de ce peuple la victime de massacres et de persecution. La confiance qu'on vous a montrée ainsi a été la seule raison morale et légale de votre présence sur ce sol. Vous avez trahi cette confiance - vous l'avez trahie brutalement et avec une perfidie diabolique. Vous avez fait de votre obligation solennelle rien qu'un bout de papier, et vous l'avez déchiré de vos propres mains. Quoique vous ne l'avez pas exprimé en paroles, vous avez agi comme le Chancelier allemand Bethmam-Hollweg qui a dit en 1914 "Qu'est-ce qu'un traîté international? Rien qu'un bout de papier. Y-a-t-il raison de se quereller pour lui?" En général vous avez appris beaucoup des Allemands. Ou bien, il se peut que ce sont les Allemands qui ont appris de vous. En tout cas sous un point de vue vos intentions sont identiques: l'anéantissement de mon peuple. Parce que vous le savez très bien, trop bien, que de nous enlever notre pays, que de fermer ses portes, aboutira à une

attacque incessante sur les vies des millions d'hommes, femmes et enfants - de mon peuple. Malgré cela, ou pent être exactement à cause de cela, vous vous êtes obstinés à transformer ce pays en base militaire, une de plus - et de le voler de ce peuple qui n'a que cette place, lui donnée par Dieu et par l'histoire. Cette histoire a été sacrée par le sang des générations - ce pays arrosé par le sang et la sueur de ses fils dévoués, a porté fruit.

Dès que vous avez passé outre l'obligation si solennellement entreprise envers notre peuple et notre terre, vous avez vous même résigné du droit de vous trouver ici. Et si vous êtes des juristes, Messieurs, vous vous souvenez certainement de ce principe légal classique: si la raison pour laquelle une loi a été promulguée, cesse d'exister, la loi elle-même cesse d'exister aussi. La raison par laquelle la loi internationale vous a placés ici pour administrer le pays a été d'un ordre tout à fait différent des buts dans lesquels vous avez forfait vos obligations. Cette raison - c'était la création de l'Etat Juif sur la terre de nos ancêtre, ce qui est clairement énoncé même dans le Mandat de La Ligue des Nations. Je dis "même" là-bas, parce que je connais le contenu de ce document et je sais combien les politiciens voulaient créer des definitions modérées dans ce mandat signé par 52 nations, - et les politiciens savent donc très bien comment s'y prendre aux expressions ambigues et contradictoires. Pourtant, malgré leurs efforts il n'ont pas réussi à rendre ambigués les deux stipulations qui sans même une trace de doute determirent le caractère de l'obligation confiée a vous.

Une de ces provisions reconnaît le rapport historique entre le peuple juif et le Pays d'Israel; la seconde declare qu'il est de votre devoir de restaurer notre demeure nationale. Je n'ai pas besoin d'expliquer ce que veut dire qu'il y a une rapport historique entre un pays et un peuple. Que veut donc dire le mot "restaurer"? On ne peut restaurer que quelque chose qui a existé dans le passé et a été détruit. Qu'est-ce que donc a existé dans ce pays au passé? Jettez un coup d'oeil dans ce livre devant vous, la Bible, et vous le saurez. Mais vous vous êtes moqués, ou avez essayé dans votre arrogance de vous moquer des promesses

divines, ainsi que dans votre assurance vous avez piétiné le traîté international signé par votre pays et les autres pays du monde. Ainsi donc rien n'est resté de la base légale de votre règne qui ne se fonde maintenant que sur la force brutale. La bayonette et le régime de terreur portent le nom de loi. La loi est écrite par les pointes des bayonettes, c'est elles qui l'ordonnent, c'est elles qui l'imposent en dépit des droits de l'homme, en dépit de la volonté de la population local, en dépit de la jurisdiction internationale. - Voilà pourquoi je ne puis pas réconnaître votre droit de me juger. Ce principe aussi nous a été légué par la Rome des antiques: personne ne peut enduire une autre personne de plus de pouvoir qu'il n'a lui même. Et puisque tout votre règne n'est qu'une occupation illégale, il ne peut donc vous donner le pouvoir de me juger, ni de juger n'importe qui dans ce pays subjugué. Quand un régime devient régime d'oppression, il perd les aspects de légalité. Il est alors le droit, le devoir même des citoyens, de le combattre et de l'abolir. C'est pourquoi la jeunesse hébreue lutte et continuera de lutter, jusqu'à ce que vous abandonnerez ce pays et le rendrez a ceux qui sont ses maîtres - les Juifs. Sachez-le: il n'existe pas au monde de force qui puisse rompre la liaison entre le peuple d'Israel et son seul pays. Quiconque ose de l'essayer - risque d'avoir sa main coupée et la malédiction divine de tomber sur lui et le suivre partout et toujours.

Mordekhay Alkoshi, un des 3 soldats de l'Irgoun faits prisonnier en possession de fouets destinés pour représailles en suite de la flagellation d'un soldat juif de 16 ans, a été pendu ensemble avec ses deux compagnons, Eliezer Kashani et Dov Rosenbaum, et avec Dov Gruner. Avant d'être jugés, tous les trois ont été sujets aux tortures et humiliations du genre fait notoire par les Nazis Allemands. Voici sa déclaration devant le "tribunal" qui l'a jugé.

COMMENT L'ANGLETERRE TRAITE LES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE.

(Declaration de M.Alkoshi)

Je veux dire quelques mots sur la façon dont les soldats de l'Angleterre civilisée traitent les prisonniers de guerre juifs. I want the whole world to know qu'en même temps où on s'y est pris - je ne sais à quel degré - à dénazifier l'Allemagne, une nazification de la Grande Bretagne et de ses forces est en course de se faire. En voilà des preuves: - Après ce qu'on nous a capturés sur la route près de Lydda, un de nos camarade, qui a été blessé d'une façon légère, est mort quand il s'est trouvé entre les mains des soldats anglais. Quant à nous, on nous a transportés sous une pluie de coups, dans un de vos camps militaires et pris dans une chambre isolée. Les soldats anglais se mirent à arracher de nos corps nos habits, non pas avec leurs doigts mais avec de rasoirs. Nos habits furent déchirées - et notre peau aussi. Nous étions frappés sur nos têtes et sur tout le corps avec les crosses. Nous saignions abondamment. Mais les soldats n'étaient pas satisfaits. Ils nous ont sortis de la chambre, nus comme nous étions et ils nous ont faits courir autour du camp, tandis que les autres soldats nous regardaient et riaient. Nos jambes ne nous soutenaient pas et nous sommes tombés. Ils nous ont soulevés, ordonnés de courir de nouveau, et battus. Après ils nous ont retournés dans la chambre. Ils ne nous donnèrent pas d'habits, mais des draps. A plusieurs reprises un des sadistes entrait et enlevait les draps de nos corps nus, tressaillants et saignants. Le matin suivant les tortures recommencèrent. Ils nous arrachaient les cheveux et nous commandaient de balayer le parquet avec. Ils ont versé de l'eau sale sur nous à trois reprises et nous ont fait de nouveau courir nus autour du camp. Ensuite ils se

sont interessés de notre santé. Nous fûmes conduits chez un médecin militaire. Après nous avoir regardés, il a demandé à vos charmants garçons: "Voulez vous vous amuser avec eux encore un peu?" - Ils le voulaient, bien sur. Et à l'ordre du docteur, un collègue des médecins de Belsen, on nous a reconduits au camp, où les coups, les tortures et les humiliations recommencèrent.

Voilà, Messieurs les officiers anglais, quelques uns de vos traits. C'est le monstre qui se réveille parmi les défenseurs de l'Empire. Je vous ai décrit comment vous traitez les prisonniers. Etes vous donc surpris que ce n'est pas seulement du mépris que nous éprouvons pour vous, mais une assurance de plus en plus profonde que vous devez disparaître comme Adolphe Hitler a du disparaître? Une armée qui fait ce qu'elle nous a fait, n'est pas une armée. Ce n'est qu'une bande dégoutante dépourvue de sentiments humains et de dignité humaine, une bande qui est un danger pour la civilisation.

Nous avons décidé d'enlever cette saleté Nazie de la terre sacrée et aucun sacrifice ne sera trop grand pour accomplir cette tâche historique qui nous a été confiée non seulement par notre peuple affamé de liberté, mais par tout l'humanité civilisée.

Quelques heures avant qu'ils devaient être pendus par les Anglais dans la prison de Jérusalem en Mai 1947, Meir Feinstein, un soldat de l'Irgoun, et Moshe Barazani (des Lutteurs pour la Libérté d'Israel), se sont faits sauter en l'air dans leur cellule. Voici la declaration faite auparavent par Meir Feinstein, à ces juges.

OFFICIERS DE L'ARMEE D'OCCUPATION.

Ce que vous voulez établir dans ce pays qui a été destiné a porter la lumière au monde - c'est le régime de la potence. Dans votre mechanceté stupide vous croyez que ce régime brisera l'âme de notre peuple pour qui le pays entier est devenu une potence. Vous vous trompez. Vous allez apprendre que vous vous trouvez en face de fer durci par le feu d'amour et de haine - amour pour la patrie et la liberté, haine pour l'envahisseur et le tyran. C'est du fer ardent. Il ne se brisera pas. Il brûlera vos mains.

A quel point donc êtes vous aveugles, tyrant Anglais? N'avez-vous pas encore aperçu en face de qui vous vous trouvez dans cette lutte qui n'a pas eu de précédent dans l'histoire humaine? Croyez-vous que vous nous effrayerez par la mort? Mais nous avons, durant de longues années, entendu le cliquetis des roues des camions dans lequels nos frères, nos parents, les meilleurs d'entre nous ont été conduits vers un massacre dont l'histoire une connait pas d'exemple. Nous nous demandons chaque jour de nouveau: Qu'y a-t-il donc de valeur en nous qui manquait aux millions de notres? Qu'elle est l'importance de notre vie? Comment est-il que nous n'étions pas avec eux durant les jours d'horreur et moments de mort? Et à toutes ces questions la conscience ne nous donne qu'une réponse: Nous n'avons pas été accordés un autre sort rien que pour vivre dans des conditiosn d'esclavage et d'oppression pour attendre une nouvelle Treblinka. Nous sommes vivant pour assurer la vie, la liberté et l'honneur pour nous-mêmes, pour notre peuple, pour nos enfants et nos petits-enfants pour toujours. Nous sommes vivant pour ne pas permettre la répétition de ce qui s'est passé là-bas et de ce qui se passe ici, et de ce qui peut se passer sous votre règne, règne de mensonge, règne de sang.

Donc, vous ne nous effrayerez pas. Nous avons appris - et à quel prix de sacrifices qui étaient en vain! - nous avons appris qu'il y a une vie qui est pire que la mort et une mort qui est meilleure que la vie. Et si vous n'avez pas encore compris le phénomène de l'existence d'un peuple qui n'a rien à perdre sauf les chaînes d'esclavage et la perspective d'un Maidanek nouveau, c'en est une preuve que Dieu Tout Puissant vous a faits aveugles pour vous faire abandonner le théatre de l'histoire humaine, comme tous ceux qui ont tenté de détruire le peuple éternel. L'Assyrie et le Babilon, la Grèce et Rome, l'Espagne et l'Allemagne vous ont precédé - et vous suivrez le même chemin. C'est une loi qui ne connait pas d'exception.

Voilà ce que j'ai voulu vous dire, Officiers Anglais, à vous et à ceux qui vous ont envoyé ici. Quant à moi, je n'ai rien à ajouter sauf ce que mon camarade vous a dit: Je suis prisonnier de guerre et je demande d'être traîté en tel.

Au moment-même où la publication présente est en train d'être éditée, dans la cellule des condamnés à mort de la prison d'Acre, trois soldat de l'Irgoun Tsévai Léoumi se trouvent après le "verdict" passé sur eux en suite de l'attacque du 4 Juin 1947 - contre cette fortresse, attacque qui pour la première fois dans l'histoire a fait succomber les murs de ce que les Anglais ont transformé en Bastille du Pays d'Israel. Des dizaines de prisonniers de guerre juifs ont été libérés dans cet assault décrit même par l'ennemi comme un chef d'oeuvre stratégique.
Les trois prisonniers, Avshalom Haviv, Meir Nakar et Jacob Weiss savaient très bien à quoi s'attendre à la fin de leur "proces" mené par les barbares anglais.
Nous publions ici les declaration faites par eux devant le "tribunal". Le premier, Avshalom Haviv en premier lieu s'exprima sur la traîtement des prisonniers par les "soldats" anglais.

LA LESSON D'IRLANDE.

(Déclaration de Avshalom Haviv).

Officiers de l'Armée d'Occupation, après ce que votre intelligence et votre courage ont été incapables de défendre la Bastille du Pays d'Israel, une chance aveugle vous a permis d'être victorieux de quelques prisonniers en fuite et de nous dont les munitions se sont épuisées. Cela vous a donné la possibilité de satisfiare votre sadisme et votre complexe d'infériorité. Vos soldats se sont comporté selon les meilleurs exemples nazis. Ils ont tirés sur les blessés prostrés au sol, ils ont refusé l'aide médicale durant des heures entières. Ils s'y ont pris à moi d'une façon tout à fait spéciale. Ils me menaçaient de mort, ils m'ont noué une corde au cou, ils m'ont battu avec les crosses de leurs fusils, ils m'ont donné de coups de pied aux parties les plus délicates de mon corps. Quand je me suis évanoui, ils m'ont ressuscité avec l'urine mêlée du sable et de mon propre sang. Je ne vous dit pas cela en vertu de me plaindre. Jamais, que Dieu m'en protège, je ne me plaindrais pas devant vous. Mais les peuples du monde entier doivent savoir l'horreur des actions commisses dans ce pays par les bêtes sauvages anglaises. -

J'espère que vous avez connaissance de l'histoire sanglante de votre règne en Irlande. Vous vous rappelez probablement que là aussi vous vous êtes emparés d'un petit pays et d'un peuple cultivé par moyen de ruse et de force, sous l'excuse des actions religieuses, sous le masque d'ordre et de loi. Vous vous rappelez probablement que là aussi vous explotiez la sueur du peuple travailleur et semiez des grains de discorde entre classes en vue de maintenir vo re règne. Et quand les fils de l'Irlande surgirent contre vous, quand la résistance irlandaise commenca sa lutte, vous fîtes tout pour noyer la révolte dans un déluge de sang. Vous avez érigé des potences, vous avez assassiné dans les rues, vous avez chassé en exil, vous êtes devenus fous et avez cru dans votre folie que la persécution brisera l'âme revoltée des Irlandais libres, l'âme revoltée qui est un don divin de chaque homme digne de ce nom. Vous vous êtes trompés. La résistance irlandaise s'accrût. Le sang des lutteurs et des martyrs consolidait le peuple autour du drapeau d'indépendance, jusqu'à ce que vous étiez forcés de reculer en laissant des taches et des souvenirs de sang qu'il est impossible d'extirper. La libre Irlande vit en dépit de votre volonté.

Vos politiciens arrogants stupéfient de leur ignorance. Je ne parle pas seulement de Bevin qui a fait la découverte étonnante qu'il y a au monde 4,000 millions d'hommes. Je parle aussi de ceux d'entre vous qui savent au moins qu'il y a à present sur terre à peu près 2,000 millions d'hommes. Ils sont tous d'une ignorance parfaite. Ils sont tous aveugles. Ils n'ont pas appris les deux principes fondamentaux de l'existence, et il ne les sauront jamais. Ces principes sont - les expériences de l'histoire et la connaissance de l'âme humaine.

Si vous étiez plus sages, o tyrants anglais, si vous saviez profiter de l'histoires, des exemples irlandais et américains vous suffiraient pour comprendre qu'il vous faut vous en aller au plus vite de notre pays enveloppé du feu sacré de la révolte qui non seulement ne se diminue pas, mais s'accroît après chaque goutte de sang versé par vous dans cette guerre. Vous sachiez alors combien profondes ont été les paroles avertissantes prononcées par Bernard Shaw en 1916, du temps de la révolte irlandaise, quand vos bourreaux ont assassiné 4 prisonniers de guerre irlandais. Bernard

Shaw est un Irlandais qui est devenu écrivain anglais, qui a joint votre culture et vit parmi vous. Il a eu pourtant le courage de vous dire: - Je suis d'avis que ces hommes qui ont été tués de sang froide après être pris, ont été des prisonniers de guerre, et qu'il a été très mal de les assassiner. Un Irlandais qui a recours à la force pour libérer sa patrie, ne fait rien d'autre qu'un Anglais aurait fait si par malheur son pays était envahi et soumis par les Allemands. Le fait qu'il sait que ses ennemis ne respecteront pas ses droits s'il l'attrappent, et qu'à cause de cela il lutte avec une corde autour de son cou, augmente son risque, mais augmente aussi sa gloire aux yeux de son peuple et du monde entier qui admire les patriotes. Les Irlandais tués à présent vont joindre les Irlandais martyrs du passé, et les héros de Pologne, de Serbe, de Belgique, et rien au monde ni au ciel ne peut le changer...

Voilà les mots d'un homme sage considéré d'être un cynique - mots qui prononcés il y a 30 ans sont vrais aujourd'hui jusqu'aux points sur les "i". Et si ceux qui vous gouvernent étudiaient l'histoire des guerres d'indépendence comme nous le faisons, s'ils méditaient sur les conclusions à tirer des mots de Shaw et des développements bien connus qui ont suivi l'assassinat des prisonniers Irlandais - ils abandonneraient certainement l'idée de briser la révolte d'un peuple insurgé par moyen de la potence et de l'axe. Mais, comme je l'ai dit, ils sont aveugles, et ne peuvent rien apprendre. Et qui sait? Il se peut que cet aveuglement a été imposé sur vous par le Seigneur comme un fléau pour vous punir, le temps venu, de tout ce sang et toutes ces larmes causées par vous dans notre pays et au delà des mers?

Mais ce n'est pas seulement la leçon d'histoire que vous n'avez pas appris. Vous n'avez pas, non plus, fait connaissance de l'âme humaine. Il vous semble qu'un nombre de soldats armés et de vieilles ruses vous permettra de retenir votre pouvoir sur un pays révolté dont les peuples sans exception reconnaissent en vous des envahisseurs semant discorde et exploitant sans fin. En voilà une erreur énorme. Votre force ni votre perfidie ne peuvent résister longtemps contre l'âme humaine, l'âme libre insurgée. L'âme peut créer des miracles. Elle continue sa lutte, sa révolte et son élan, même si vous lui enlevez son corps instable. Mais vous, prêcheurs des

idées raciales, vous qui vous regardez comme les maître suprême et les autres comme êtres inférieurs, vous dont la vanité vous a rendus insensées, vous no pouvez rien savoir sur l'âme d'homme libre, prêt à donner sa vie pour être libre.

Ainsi il n'est pas surprenant que vous avez failli de comprendre l'âme de la nouvelle génération hébreue. Vous demandez - "Comment se fait-il que ces Juifs que nous prenions pour des lâches, qui ont été victimes durant des siècles, se révoltent contre notre règne, combattent nos soldats, se moquent de nos ordres, et plongés dans l'ombre de la potence, méprisent le mort qui les attend? Comment se fait-il qu'à cause de ces Juifs il nous faut nous sauver dans des ghettos bien clos, où non plus nous ne sommes pas saufs?"

Vous êtes surpris, n'est-ce pas? Et pourtant la chose est bien simple. Les aspects spirituels de notre génération ont été determinés par deux facteurs: par le sol même de la patrie et par la catastrophe de nos frères en exil. Le sol sous nos pieds nous a rendu la vigueur, a renforcé nos muscles, encouragé nos coeur, ensoleillé notre avenir et nous a pratiquement retournés à la tradition que notre peuple a gardé dans son âme depuis des siècles: la tradition héroique des Maccabéens et de Barkohba. Et la catastrophe qui a frappé à l'exil nous a appris que nous luttons non seulement pour la liberté mais pour la vie même. Elle nous a appris que l'esclavage prolongé remonte à l'anéantissement de notre peuple. Elle nous a appris que si nous ne prenons pas notre destin dans nos propres mains, nous serons exterminé; qui si nous ne luttons pas, nous serons détruits. C'est pourquoi il n'y a pas de peur dans nos coeurs. Oui, Messieurs les officiers, ceux qui se trouvent devant vous, non seulement dans cette salle mais le pays entier, n'ont pas peur de vous. Qu'est-ce que nous avons à craindre? Peut la mort faire trembler les fils d'un peuple dont des millions ont péri sans raison et sans but dans une sombre nuit? Quand nous pensons à nos frères massacrés - et nous en pensons toujours - nous sommes heureux qu'il nous a été donné non d'être écrasés comme eux, mais d'avoir le privilège de lutter pour notre patrie, de vivre sur son sol, d'écrire un chapitre glorieux de notre histoire, et de laisser

pour les générations qui suivront un héritage, non de lâcheté et de massacre, mais de courage et de guerre pour l'indépendance.

Vous, tyrans anglais vous ne comprendrez jamais l'âme des gens libres qui vont vers la mort comme l'on fait Dov Gruner et ses camarades - avec un chant de triomphe sortant de leurs coeurs pleins de foi et d'amour. Et vous ne comprendrez jamais que moi, un jeune Juif, regardant la mort en face, j'élève mon âme vers Dieu et je le remercie pour m'avoir donné le privilège de la souffrance pour mon peuple et pour mon pays, et je prie avec ces mots sublimes: "Loué soit le Seigneur Roi de l'univers qui nous a gardés en vie et nous a permis de voir ce jour."

LA FAILLITE ET LA BASSESSE ANGLAISE.

(Déclaration de Meir Nakar.)

Officiers Anglais, nous nous demandons sur cette place: qui sont ceux qui se trouvent devant nous? Vous vous êtes nommés juges. Nous savons pourtant que vous n'êtes pas juges, mais officiers d'une armée ennemie d'occupation qui s'est établie par force aur le sol d'ur autre peuple et tient à y rester en vue de ses buts, en usant oppression comme moyen. Mais ceci n'est pas la réponse entière. Parce que la question n'a pas rapport à vos personnes, mais plutôt à ceux qui sont vos mandataires, à ce régime tyrannique qui a fait de vous les juges des libres citoyens de ce pays. Qu'est-ce donc que ce régime?

On peut ici répondre par les mots prononcé par l'envoyé Russe à l'Assmblé Générale des Nations Unies: Le règne anglais au Pays d'Israel a fait faillite. Mr. Gromyko n'est pas le seul qui le pense. Tout le monde le sait que vous failli ici ainsi que vous n'êtes que des mendiants en Amérique. Un Gouvernement qui dépense la moitié de son budget sur les besoins policiers et malgré cela est impuissant en face de la rage du peuple revolté - est-il donc un gouvernement?

On pourrait émumérer maintes preuves de votre faillite ici et de l'impossibilité de vous sauver devant la défaite. Il suffirait peut-être de n'en donner qu'une: les membres de votre parlement ont prononcé il y a quelques mois leur avis qu'il n'y a qu'un moyen d'écraser la révolte juive dans ce pays - d'ériger la potence sur la terre sainte, d'assassiner les prisonniers hébreux. Et vous l'avez fait. Vous avez commis un des crimes les plus vils: vous avez tué des prisonniers de guerre. Quel a été le résultat? Etes vous arrivés à effrayer quelqu'un? Avez vous affaibli la faim de liberté de notre peuple? Avez vous écrasé la révolte nationale? Vous le savez bien, que vous n'avez rien achevé. Le feu de la révolte s'accroît ici et ailleurs. Et vous n'avez que vous couverts d'honte éternelle par le meurtre des prisonniers, ce qui a toujours été et partout considéré comme crime contre l'humanité.

Ainsi donc: même ce crime n'a pas renforcé votre règne et votre faillite est finale. Cela étant ainsi vous devriez en conclure au plus vite qu'un régime qui a failli en tout dans ses tentatives de dominer - doit s'en aller.

Oui, frauduleurs anglais, le temps est venu de vous en aller. Ce pays était à nous et il sera à nous. Et pour la gloire éternelle nous le bâtirons en liberté, en paix et nous le ferons progresser.

Vos politiciens se sentent offensés quand nous les comparons aux Nazis. Quand les jeunes juifs à New York paintent le svastika sur votre drapeau, vos journaux se plaignent et vos diplomates protestent. Vous devez refléchir pourtant s'il y a possibilité de laver ce signe de vos drapeaux, puisque vous l'y avez marqué de vos propres mains.

De quoi donc le svastika est symbole de nos jours? De l'esclavage, du meurtre, de cruauté, de dégéneration, de corruption et d'atures traits spéciaux de l'humanité pourrie et devergondée. Mais surtout - comme vous mêmes l'admettrez - ce symbole maudit représente l'anéantissement des Juifs. C'est comment il restera dans la mémoire des générations: comme le noeud de la corde placée par les envoyés du Satan autour du cou de notre peuple. Il en est ainsi: celui qui porte le svastika sur son drapeau - est assassin des Juifs. Celui qui est assassin des Juifs - porte le svastika, sur, si non sur son drapeau, alors dans son coeur. Et maintenant, officiers anglais, demandez vous mêmes la question - quelle tâche donc remplit la Grande Bretagne depuis la fin du monstre de Berlin? N'est-il pas vrai qu'elle a été de ses mains le symbole? N'est-il pas vrai qu'elle est le seul pays au monde qui en tel que pays, en tel que nation organisée, assassine les Juifs? N'est-il pas vrai que les soldats anglais aujourd'hui tuent les Juifs à Jérusalem et à Famagusta, à Haifa et au Soudan, au Pays d'Israel et en Europe? N'est-il pas vrai que l'Angleterre tient des dizaines de milliers de Juifs dans les camps de concentration? N'est-il pas vrai qu'elle menace la vie de nos frères n'importe où elle les trouve?

La Grande Bretagne est la meurtrière des Juifs. Voilà la tâche dont vous vous êtes chargés, voilà le nom qui vous est donné par le monde.

Vous ne vous en débarasserez pas, non plus que l'Allemagne jamais ne pourra se purifier. Vous n'acheverez rien en effaçant le svastika et votre drapeau. Il n'y est pas peint par une teinture ordinaire, mais par quelque chose qui est plus fort: par le sang de nos frères, versé par vous partout et que vous continuez à versé ici et ailleurs.

Oui, Grande Bretagne - un svastika énorme répose sur ton sein, et dans ton sein une haine existe attachée au symbole infâme. Tu as accepté la tâche de finir ce que Hitler n'a pas eu temps d'achever. Et comme lui tu seras forcée de disparaître et comme lui tu demeureras à toujours sous le nom d'assassin des Juifs. Mais tu n'arriveras pas à tes fins. Comme le Svastika des Nazis Allemands fut écrasé, ainsi sera le votre.

Le Dieu qui a aidé David à vaincre Goliath, aidera les porteurs de l'Etoile de David à vaincre les porteurs du svastika qui souille la Terre Sainte. Vive le peuple d'Israel! Vive la patrie des Hébreux! Vive la liberté!

UN APPEL AUX NATIONS UNIES

(Declaration de Jacob Weiss.)

Officiers de l'Armée d'Occupation, il m'est impossible de commencer par rien d'autre que par l'accusation contre le traitement barbare dont j'ai été témoin quand on m'a fait prisonnier. Ashbel, Amrami, Brenner, Benado, Daar, Moscovitch, Shmukler et d'autres ont été tirés dessus de proche quoiqu'ils n'étaient pas armés du au fait qu'ils n'étaient pas parmi les assaillants mais parmi les prisonniers en fuite. L'efficacité de vos soldats pourtant n'est pas grande et malgré les blessures reçues, beaucoup d'entre ces hommes ne sont pas morte immédiatement et on les a apportés saignants dans la cour de la police. On les a jettés sur la terre - oh, non, jamais sur des civières - et les a laissés commeça durant six heures, leur sang coulant comme de l'eau. Des dizaines de bêtes sauvages en guise d'hommes se tenaient autour, mains en poches. Leur interêt se bornait à ne pas nous permettre de nous approcher emportant aide. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont tué Ashbel, Brenner, Benado, Amrani et Nissim Levi. Il est évident que ces meurtres vils n'effrayeront personne. Ils feront seulement voir clair le peuple qui sont ceux contre qui il lutte. Et si au passé on vous a accordé les privilèges des combattants, dans l'avenir sans aucun doute des représailles devront être appliquées, et quoique nous ne saurons pas rivaliser avec vous en maltraitant les blessés, quant au reste on vous paiera de votre propre monnaie.

Maintenant quant à ce que vous appelez le "procès": Nous, les libres citoyens de la patrie hébreue, ne reconnaissons pas votre droit de nous juger et nous n'avons pas l'intention de prendre part aux procédés de ce que vous appelez "justice", mettant au ridicule et insultant les traditions nobles de l'humanité civilisée. Tout ce que vous faites dans ce pays est illégal. Votre règne est illégal. Vos "tribunaux" sont illégaux. Vos lois nées du régime le plus totalitaire de l'histoire, sont illégales. Votre présence ici, contre laquelle nous luttons, est illégale. Ce pays est à nous depuis toujours et pour toujours. Qu'est-ce que vous avez à faire ici, vous Anglais? Qui est-ce qui vous a nommés maîtres de peuple

antique, cultivé et aspirant à la liberté? Qui est-ce qui vous a donné le droit de juger une nation qui a présenté au monde le Dieu de Justice au temps où vous viviez encore dans les forêts sauvages?

Mais votre règne ici s'approche à la fin. Le monde le sait. Et vous le savez aussi. Vous ne pourrez plus rester ici longtemps. Vous avez fait tout votre possible pour encercler de chaines d'esclavage ce pays et pour etrangler l'âme de ses citoyens et maîtres véritables. Vous avez érigé des camps militaires en force. Vous vous êtes entourés avec des kilomètre de fil barbelé. Vous avez dépensé des millions sur la police et les services de sécurité. Vous avez battu, chassé, menacé, vous avez introduit des normes inconnues même dans l'Allemagne Hitlérienne. Et vous avez encore assassiné les prisonniers de guerre juifs, vous avez conduit l'élite de la jeunesse hébreue à la potence. Quel en a été le résultat? Non seulement vous n'avez pas brisé la résistance juive, mais, au contraire devant vos propres yeux et malgré ou bien à cause de la mort menaçante, cette résistance s'accroît de jour en jour, et même votre Churchill est forcé de pleurer sur son Empire, dont le monde se moque et se rit en suite de cette guerre dégoutante que la Grande Bretagne mène dans ce pays.

Dans cette situation que tout le monde comprend d'être la faillite de votre règne au Pays d'Israel, vous vous êtes vus forcés de porter le problème devant les Nations Unies. Vos envoyés n'ont pas approché cette organisation mondiale pour des raison pures, cela se comprend. Ils ne demandent pas la justice, mais le droit de perpetuer votre règne ici et de faire à votre gré avec la crauté habituelle. Mais les Nations Unies, quoique les créatures anglaises y ont leur place, ne sont pas encore sujettes à vos ordres. Vous n'y êtes pas encore arrivés à tout ce que vous auriez voulu et vous n'arriverez pas. Et la première preuve de cet état des choses est l'appel adressé par l'Assemblé Générale aux peuples ainsi qu'aux gouvernement demandant de ne pas avoir recours à la force durant les travaux du Comité International pour la Palestine.

Il n'y a aucun double-entendre dans cet appel, étant donné que votre gouvernement est le seul qui use la force dans ce pays. Il est évident que c'est à lui que l'Assemblé Générale a pensé quand elle a formulé

son appel de s'abstenir des menaces ou d'usage de force avant que la decision des Nations Unies soit prise. Votre gouvernement devra s'y soumettre ou bien accepter toute responsabilité pour l'ignorer. Dans ce cas dernier, je ne doute pas pour un instant, que les nations qui ne sont pas vos satellites et qui ont signé le document international, ne vous permettront pas de se moquer de la volonté de cette institution mondiale et des signatures de ses membres. Les Nations Unies demanderont que vous vous conformez à leur décisions. Les peuples du monde savent que de maintenir des tribunaux militaires dans un pays qui n'est pas le votre, que de juger les citoyens libres par des juges militaires étranger, que de menacer de mort les prisonniers de guerre - remonte à l'emploi de force. De continuer cet état de choses, intolérable en lui-même, devient dans la lumière de l'appel des Nations Unies un crime international et un outrage envers tous les peuples qui ont supporté cet appel.

Par conséquent, de cet endroit où la décision des nations est arrogamment piétinée, nous nous tournons à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a sa Commission d'Enquête et à tous les états qui ont voté pour la résolution norvégienne, avec la demande d'intervenir et de défendre aux tyrans anglais passant outre les lois de l'humanité, de traduire devant un tribunal militaire des citoyens hébreux de d'assassiner les prisonniers de guerre juifs. Nous méprisons les menaces anglaises, mais nous sommes surs que l'intervention internationale viendra, que cette fois-ci se trouvent en jeu l'honneur de l'humanité et l'honneur des Etats libres à côté d'autres facteurs. Quant à nous, nous savons que cette lutte prendra fin en liberté de notre peuple et en disparition de son tyran. C'est pourquoi nous sommes calmes. Plusque cela: nous commes heureux. Parce qu'il n'existe de bonheur plus grand que de donner la vie pour un grand idéal et de savoir, de savoir pour sur, que nous sommes parmi ceux qui réalisent l'achèvement de cet idéal.

Ecoutez moi, officiers anglais, et repetez mes mots à vos supérieurs, à ceux qui sont aveugles et ne voient pas la main qui écrit au mur les mots avertissants: dites leur que dans ce pays une nouvelle génération est poussé dans le peuple d'Israel, une génération qui aime la vie, qui aime la liberté plus qu'elle n'aime la vie, une génération qui brisera la tyrannie Nazo-Britannique et qui établira l'indépendance même au prix de sa vie.

LE PEUPLE JUIF VIT. L'ETAT JUIF SURGIRA POUR SUR.



FIGHTING JUDAEA

THE BATTLE CONTINUES IN THE COURT-ROOM
(The Trial of 31)

מכון ז'בוטינסקי
תל-אביב

Declarations of I. Z. L. soldiers before the British Military "Court" in Jerusalem during the collective trial which took place on June 1946.

Issued by the Irgun Zvai Leumi b'Eretz-Israel (N. M. O.)

DECLARATION TO THE BRITISH MILITARY "COURT" - by Gad Sulam

Representatives of the disintegrating British Occupation Regime,
Officers of the retreating British Occupation Army!

During the past year, there have appeared before you, tens of Hebrew young men, soldiers of the Hebrew Army of Liberation. They refused to recognise your authority. They saw in you the servants of an illegal regime which was doomed to final liquidation, and they warned you - even in the shadow of the gallows - that the day was not far-off when you would be forced to leave this country.

You probably scoffed at their prophecy in your unclean hearts. You no doubt thought then: Is it possible that we might have to leave this country - a land of Gold and oil? Where is the power that can force us out?

The prophecy of our tortured brethren is about to become a fact. All your efforts to break the spirit of resistance of our nation have not availed you. You sent our heroes to the scaffold; you murdered women and children. You declared Martial Law in order to starve the masses. You concentrated in this country many divisions of your Army. And you brought in thousands of policemen - from the ranks of Mosly and of the type of Farran - the very same Farran who tortured his victim - a youth like myself - until he died and that - with the aid of your rulers and "judges" - criminal cowards like himself - erased the clues of his crime and "acquitted" him with the aid of a miserable institution, which insults the very conception of law and order by calling itself a "court".

All the cruel and terrible acts you committed in our country, such as the torture of prisoners and the murder of wounded dying prisoners - as was the case at the approaches to Acre - did not help you. You did not frighten the Hebrew youth. The Hebrew nation did not retreat.

On the contrary. The hatred of the barbaric enemy, the cruel enslaver, increased, and the desire grew to throw off his grip even at the cost of the most precious possession, even at the cost of life itself. My comrades, the soldiers of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, warned you against these inevitable consequences of your rule of bloodshed. You paid no heed to their warning. You thought you were dealing with what, in you arrogance, so typical of Colonial exploiters, you term "natives"; you thought you were dealing with Jews from the diaspora, whom it is permissible to torture, as did Hitler: without punishment. You were wrong. A new generation has arisen here in Israel. A generation without fear. A generation in whose heart there is the consciousness that there are things in life more important than life itself; a generation which has decided to be free or die; a generation which has grown up on its home soil; whose courage has sprung forth to life from the blood of the heroes of Israel of days gone by and out of the ashes of millions of tortured and massacred, whom you, British enslavers, killed together with your teacher, Hitler.

It is therefore not surprising that you did not succeed in breaking our spirit and subjugating our souls, despite all the rude strength at your disposal. Our struggle against you continued and increased. And you were forced to retreat. Your rulers announced that they had no alternative but to evacuate Eretz Israel. True, it is an open secret that even behind this announcement there lurks a plot and you will yet make many manoeuvres in an effort to maintain your hold on our country and exploit it. But you will not be able to maintain your bankrupt rule much longer. Your regime is inherently no longer real. Everybody recognises that it is in the process of dissolution and eagerly awaits the day when your soldiers and policemen will no longer be seen on our streets and highways, in our towns and villages. That day is not far off. Thus, I a Hebrew soldier in your captivity, have but three things to say to you:

First - I do not recognise your right to try me,

Second - True, I was taken prisoner in an Arab vicinity, but it was not to an Arab stable that I was leading my camel.

Third - and this is most important - Why do you still maintain your courts - military and otherwise? You have announced your withdrawal. Go therefore back to your own country! Good-bye and may we not meet again!

October 29, 1947.

... Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! many are they that rise up against me. Many there be which say of my soul, there is no help for him in God. Se-läh. But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory and the lifter up of mine head. I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill. Se-läh. I laid me down and slept. I awaked; for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people, that ahve set themselves against me round about. Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.
Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people.
Selăh.

I N T R O D U C T I O N:

With this dignified prayer, in which the grief of the persecuted mingles with faith and hope, opened the Jewish military unit, captured by the enemy after a night of fighting, its trial before a so-called British "military court" in Jerusalem.

Theirs was an unprecented trial, but one that created a precedent. This time there did not appear before the British officers appointed to pass judgement on Jewish youths persons accused of carrying arms, or individual possessors of arms, or, "accused" men defending themselves in some manner or other. Before the court appeared a Jewish military unit, inspired by a collective fighting spirit even after they had become prisoners of war, even while they were standing in the shadow of the gallows... This spirit found its expression in many forms, one of which was their external appearance: military uniforms of a simple gray without badges of rank or any other emblems except one - the emblem of the Jewish people, in whose name and for whose cause they had joined the fight, for whose cause they were imprisoned and on whose behalf they faced as prosecutors and accusers those who wanted to take their lives. Another expression of their spirit was revealed in the "stormy incident" - as other writers put it - when all the thirty accused men rose to their feet like one man protecting like a live wall the eldest among them - from the brutal hands of the British police constables. The courtroom was filled with British soldiers and policemen, who did not hesitate, of course, to aim their guns at the dock of the prisoners in an unambigous threat... The youths, however, who had faced death often enough, sat down only when told to do so by their comrade in defence of whose honour they had risen.

However, over and above all these scenes, external as well as incidental, there was one scene in the proceedings which was so impressive that it did not only penetrate into the hearts of the disinterested observers - foreign correspondents and representatives of foreign broadcasting services, but even into the brains of the British "prosecutor" who of course, was far from disinterested... All the speeches and all the behaviour of these youths expressed their soldierly feeling, the feeling that there is a Jewish army in the Jewish homeland; that this army - like every other national army - fights for and defends its people; that this army is aware of its mission and aim; that this army knows the rules of warfare and to the same extent as it is ready to follow them it is ready to force the enemy not to violate them or, in the case they are violated - to apply the usual law of retaliation.

Hence the self-explanatory statement that British officers, belonging to the occupation army, are not entitled to "judge" captured Jewish soldiers; hence the self-explanatory demand that the soldiers of the military unit should be considered as prisoners of war. It was this display of the feeling of Jewish sovereignty that compelled the prosecutor, for the first time in the history of trials in this country - to adduce arguments against the claims of the accused in order to prove that the British military court did possess the competence of jurisdiction over the 31 accused men. The prosecutor reminded them that the same military court had tried also Polish, Greek, British, Arab soldiers, etc. As for the demand to accord the Jewish soldiers the status of prisoners of war, the prosecutor did not refute it as such but argued that the court was not competent to make a decision to that effect.

The trial had attracted the attention of all the world. Millions of Americans followed the proceedings as reported over 218 radio stations; scores of millions read about them in their newspapers. For, indeed, this was an unusual trial even in our unusual days. Actually it was not even a trial at all, but a minor battle - a battle between the fighters for freedom and the representatives of oppression, between the clear understanding of a mission and the dull-wittedness, between readiness to bring the supreme sacrifice and the hatred of despots and murderers - a battle - or, more precisely, the continuation of a battle, which had been interrupted on an ill-starred day somewhere on the shore of our sea. From the development of this peculiar "battle" the other peoples came to know the character of the new Jewish generation brought up on the soil of the homeland, and they paid tribute, some in sincere sympathy and others while grinding their teeth, to the invincible spirit of the people of the Lord.

Blessed be the youths who had the good fortune to stand up for the glory of their people: happy the nation that can call its own such sons and soldiers.

I am a Hebrew and a soldier!

By prisoner Menachem Shiff.

Gentlemen,

When a man has to face a court, or an institution so-called, which threatens to take his life, the gravity of the matter, if not the legal basis of the institution, demands that he present himself; saying who he is, where he comes from, what he wants and what views he has, why he left the ordinary paths of life and why he should have approached the orbit of the gallows; why he does not recognise the legal status of his judges to pass judgement on him; what it was that he believed in, regardless of whether he had to expect a long life or whether this was to be his last appearance in public; what motives he had that encouraged him to imperil his very life?

To the first question I have a simple and short answer: I am a Jew. I am a son of that ancient nation which thousands of years ago emerged from the obscurity of history, reaching this country, its Land of Promise, through seas and deserts and battles, establishing in it a flourishing state, making fruitful not only the fields of this country but also the idea of man and the universe. The Jewish state lay at the crossroads of international routes, a fact that explains its importance and its curse to this very day.

It was for this reason that from time to time conquerors and invaders intruded into this country, laying waste its towns and leading away into exile its kings and inhabitants. For many centuries this struggle continued between a small and yet great people and powerful empires that mounted and disappeared from the stage of history. Often it would appear to the other peoples that our state had fallen never to be resurrected. But nevertheless, it did rise to its feet again and again, resuming its war and preferring to die standing erect than to eke out a miserable life on its knees.

At the end of that epoch, after the fall of the last bastion of Bar-Kochba's rebels - or, rather earlier, when our Temple was destroyed, our people began to wander through all the countries of the world. These migrations are unexampled in the history of mankind. Traces of these migrations can be found in every country, but all these traces are those of blood shed in the name of religion or nationalism, in the name of economy or politics, in the name of the revolution or counter-revolution, in the name of racialism, or hatred or envy. This bloodshed, following our migrations like a shadow, has gone on for almost two thousand years. Now the Jewish people has decided to return home, its exiled sons come to it in their thousands from all over the world, while its sons in the homeland are waging, as in ancient times, the sacred war for their people, their country and their faith.

I gave you this short outline, Gentlemen, not in order to take up your time or to boast of belonging to a nation that preceded your people in the creation of sovereign institutions and a great civilisation. I did so because I want to explain to you the difference in our points of view as a result of which, in spite of the present situation, we do not regard you as judges and ourselves as accused, nor try to please you, nor worry about our personal future or life. This is, of course, something unusual and if there is any explanation for it, it is just that difference of which I have spoken. Our perspectives are not the same. It is true that you are sitting on the elevated chairs of the judges while we are sitting on the low bench of the accused, but I am nevertheless convinced that we see the matters involved in this collective trial, the relations between the people of Israel and England as well as the future of this country, from a level higher than that upon which you are seated. You see the relations between the physical forces of a great power, though no longer the greatest but still a great power, and those of a people having just now lost six million sons. Yours is a calculation of aeroplanes and ships and guns that you have got and we have not, and you compare this calculation with the number of rifles and machine guns and grenades possessed by the Jewish people. For you the result of such a comparison is clear enough: the Jews will be defeated, or exterminated, since, as Frederic the Great put it, "God is always with the stronger battalions". But I should like to tell you that you are mistaken, that your calculations are unfounded, while, as Churchill once said, there is a strong basis in the faith that lives in our hearts. Is this imagination? Is this mysticism? No, Gentlemen: it is neither imagination nor mysticism but a historical perspective that I have because I am a Jew and which you have not because you - are you.
We saw the Assyrian conqueror and his downfall; we saw victorious Babylon and its decline, the kingdom of the Seleucids and its ruin; we saw also how the Roman Empire went to pieces. All this we did see and - we live. Therefore we have not the slightest doubt that, whatever the outcome of the war between us may be, you will certainly not be the victors and all your victories over the people of Israel will be so many deadly blows to yourselves before history.

But when I say "I am a Jew" I have not yet said all. I should add at once that I am a soldier, a Hebrew Soldier. You are probably surprised to hear this as you have not yet heard of a Jewish army but only of Jews fighting in alien armies.

At best, you have heard of the Jewish Brigade within the British army which you have managed to disband because in your eyes it committed a terrible crime in helping too generously the remnants of our people, who in their effrontery wish to live in spite of the wish of your rulers who would have preferred that they had shared the fate of our six million dead.

Nevertheless, Gentlemen, there is a Jewish army, an independent Jewish army, serving the Jewish people alone, and I as well as my comrades here are proud of serving in this army, of fighting in its ranks and following its banner. It is true that this is not a regular army, it has no uniforms and does not recruit its soldiers on a compulsory basis. But for precisely this reason this army is so dear to us. We volunteered to serve in its ranks, we joined it of our own free will with the full knowledge of the dangers involved for those who belong to this army; no one forced us; no one enticed us. We went to enrol for service in its ranks because an inner voice told us: Rise and liberate your country!

Yes, Gentlemen, - our army has accepted the task of liberating this country from your rule or any other rule, and to return it to the Jewish people as its property for ever. Our army does not conceal this aim from you or any other factor in the world. On the contrary, we state our task quite openly. For we think that you have made yourselves the masters of our country by different means, by force and cunning, by making promises and by breaking them again, and it was particularly the aspirations, the claims and the credulity of our own people that you took advantage of in order to reach your aim. Our parents trusted you and gave you the mandate over Eretz Israel. They refused France and the U.S.A., they yielded their fundamental right of managing the affairs of their country themselves, they empowered you to act for them because they had put their trust in you. This is why they did not set up an army but built - built wonderful things. This is why they did not amass arms but collected money to invest in their constructive work, in the firm belief that under your protection and with your help, they were laying the foundations of the rebirth of the Jewish State.

And you deceived them. You simply deceived them. You invented all sorts of formulas, found all sorts of excuses and justifications, all of which amounted to just one thing: the people of Israel was to remain in the countries of the Diaspora, to which one more was to be added: the Land of Israel, under British or British-Arab rule. Our parents were naive and the price they had to pay for their naivety is so horrible that no human mind can grasp it even. Suffice it to make one simple comparison: you, a people of 45 million have lost in the second world war three hundred thousand lives, while we, a people of 17 million, have lost twenty times as much as you have: six million lives, six million lives.

We have drawn our conclusions from the bitter experience of our parents. We realise that no power in the world will ever save us from destruction if we ourselves do not do so; nothing will liberate us from slavery if we do not free ourselves. On these basic assumptions was created and built up the Jewish army, the liberation army whose task it is to return to our people that without which it cannot live: its homeland and its independance.

You see therefore, that the Hebrew army is not a "private" army as your Prime Minister says, but it is an army created by the sovereign will of the People of Israel, which does not want the lands of foreigners nor the charity of foreigners nor the pogroms made by foreigners, but wants to obtain the right accorded to every nation, however small and weak: the right to a homeland, to self-determination, and an independent Government. Therefore, the Jewish army cannot be "illegal" as your rulers say. For the foundation upon which this army was built is the law that is recognised by all the peoples of the world, the law for which two world wars had to be fought. An illegal act is done by him who breaks this law; a legal and moral act is done by those who fight for its maintenance and realisation.

Therefore not we are the breakers of the law but your rulers, they who play havoc with the rights of man, of the citizen and human society. And if we fight against them, then we are doing our duty, our duty towards our own people and our duty towards free people everywhere.

And as a soldier of the free liberation army I have the honour of telling you on behalf of all my comrades that the officers of the army of the enemy have no right of jurisdiction over us and that according to the principles of international law we are prisoners of war, whose status is safeguarded by well-known international agreements.

And another thing let me tell you and my people: as happy as I was to fight for my people and my country so happy am I now to suffer for them. For suffering too, when it is borne for one's faith, is a kind of war. And history teaches us that from these sacrifices grows on the ruins of tyranny the tree of liberty.

This tree we planted with our blood: we are happy that we could do so.

The status of a recognised Underground Army

By prisoner Menachem Binder.

Gentlemen,

The arms enumerated in the indictment were not found in our hands. If they had been in our hands they would not today be in yours. Nor would we be sitting here, for that matter. For if our hands had really held those two Bren-guns and the tommy-guns and rifles then only one of the following two things would have happened: either we should have broken through the columns of your soldiers although they had surrounded us at the rate of 100 to1, or all of us should have fallen in this unequal battle, killing in the desperate battle many of your soldiers. There was no third possibility. But it is a fact which we stress not for our own sake but for that of truth and perhaps for the sake of history - that you found all those arms only after we had been capturedby you, after most of us had been hit by your bullets and were bleeding from our wounds. And you found it very far away from the place where we were taken prisoners by you.

(By the way, I should like to point out that the prosecutor was not correct in referring in the indictment to " bearing of arms", which he should, according to his own conceptions have defined as "possession of arms". We do not think there is a great difference between these terms and we do not care which of them you use, nor do I want to interfere in the management and proceedings of this trial; but I made this remark for the sake of precision alone).

The fact that we ahve been captured under these conditions does not detract in the least of our honour as Jewish soldiers and fighters. At any rate, if you permit a somewhat incomplete comparison, it does resemble the fall of Tobruk or the surrender of your famous Singapore.... Still I have to state emphatically that the conduct of the soldiers who captured us was far from being soldierly. I shall not mention that they misbehaved in words and with their fists against wounded men, which may be considered as an outburst of their feelings of hatred against us. Perhaps one cannot complain of such an outburst of instincts however shameful, though civilised people ought to be able to control themselves. I refer mainly to the intentional action of enlightened British soldiers which they carried out with German thoroughness.

They took from us almost all that had some value: money, fountain pens, watches, money bags, etc. They just "liberated" many trifles which we liked not for their financial but rather sentimental value. In general those objects were souvenirs or gifts which we had received from our relatives or friends. Is it fair to take such things from wounded people, bleeding and thirsty people who have been taken prisoners of war? Who taught His Majesty's forces to loot like this?

I think that the fact that we were taken prisoners, however painful in itself, does not humiliate us, while the conditions under which this happened are a stain on the honour and uniform of the soldiers who captured us. Their behaviour was not soldierly, but reminded one of the behaviour of highwaymen.

However, this matter has another aspect, too. This was the first time that you captured a Jewish military unit, forming a part of the Jewish forces fighting against you and declaring openly that they would fight against you till the end: that is, until you hand over to the Jewish people the rule over its country and homeland, or until it is destroyed completely. Such a fighting unit you bring to trial in accordance with your usual, or, rather, unusual laws, as though these people were not soldiers, members of an independent underground army but ordinary breakers of the law. Is there any logic in such an attitude?

I state this problem intentionally as a problem of logic only. For though it is certainly possible to bring up the question of justice and human feeling that should compel a civilised man to take off his hat to people who could have lived quietly in their comfortable homes together with their beloved ones but who recognised their duty towards their brethren which demands from them to endanger and even to sacrifice their lives which they do in pure idealism, although, I repeat, one might expect from four gentlemen who probably day in day out have the words "freedom" and "democracy" on their lips that they display an attitude of respect towards men fighting for freedom even if their fate made it necessary for them to fight against one another. But I shall not discuss <u>this</u> aspect of the matter. Experience has taught me that such an "old-fashioned" argument which was perhaps appropriate in the nineteenth century doesn't make any impression. It is therefore not worth while appealing to feelings that probably no longer exist in our times, the times of large-scale cruelty, the Epoch of Hitler and - Bevin. It is better to appeal to logic, cold reasoning, calculations of profit and loss, because if there is anything that can influence your rulers, I think that these are the <u>only considerations</u>.

Thus, Gentlemen, let us build our logical construction on one basic assumption. This basic assumption is that in this country there exists an independent, adequately armed Jewish force fighting against you, i.e., against your rule. The war waged by this armed force is a war of liberation, the war of an oppressed people against its oppressors, of a people whose homeland has been stolen against those who stole it. Therefore, this is a just war and this justice must be admitted by all those peoples who ever stood in battle for their freedom, against oppressors in their midst or foreign oppressors.

However, you do not want to recognise this force and the members of the Jewish army called "terrorists" by you, while those who carry out its military plans you regard - or pretend to regard - as criminals. Gentlemen, - this is not a novel attitude. The Nazis - the German Nazis as I must point out, because I regret that there are still many Nazis in the world who are not Germans - the German Nazis called "terrorists" the French Maquis and the partisan fighters of Tito and the fighters in Poland and the rebels in Slovakia and Greece, etc. This, then, is a very old term of abuse, used by all tyrants against the fighters for freedom, with the intention to cast a shadow on the idealism of the fighters and their struggle.

However, as you know, Gentlemen, these names of abuse did not help the Nazis, who employed them against the fighters for freedom in the countries of occupied Europe. The oppressed people themselves regarded their fighting sons as fighters for their own cause and they supported their struggle wholeheartedly while the other countries recognised the underground armies as semi-regular armies entitled to the same rights as soldiers in uniform. They even compelled the Germans to respect these rights of the various underground armies. If the Germans refused to do so they were threatened with retaliations. It is interesting to note that the Germans, who generally proudly trampled underfoot every international law accepted this demand and recognised, officially or practically, the belligerent rights of the European underground.

On the basis of these precedents, and since from you one should be able to demand at least what was demanded from the German Nazis, the I.Z.L. demanded two years ago to recognise the fighting Jewish forces practically and theoretically as underground forces possessing the rights of belligerents. In our opinion this demand is in the interest of all concerned. It would even seem that it is to a great extent more in your interest than in our own. After all, Gentlemen, we are prepared for everything, for every sacrifice. We fight for our country and the life of our children, while you in your war against us have let yourselves in for some very unpleasant business, which complicates your international relations, staining your honour in every respect; while, on the other hand, this small country, which for us is all, is for you only a tiny part of the 40million square kilometres at your disposal. One can, therefore, not compare our readiness to sacrifices in this war with your readiness to sacrifices. Our determination can be compared only to that of the Russians in their defence against the German invaders of their homeland, or to the determination you would have displayed had the German armies succeeded in landing on the shores of your homeland. This is a particular kind of determination not to be weakened by any danger whatever.

If, therefore, you do continue with your ostrich policy and prefer not to face the fact that against you stands in this country an organised force, fully aware of its national and historical mission, a force backed not only by six hundred thousand Jewish citizens in the Jewish homeland but by eleven million Jews all over the world, and, finally, or, as you say, "last but not least" - by <u>public opinion in all free countries</u>;(if you should like to examine this thesis you may study a few American, French or other newspapers;)if you continue in your blindness and bureaucratic obstinacy to regard the Jewish fighters and their organisations as ordinary law-breakers whom you can even hang like criminals, then, Gentlemen, I am afraid that the results of such an attitude are bound to become very grave indeed. By your very attitude towards our ever increasing struggle you are bound to liquidate all the laws commonly accepted in warfare, and which we are prepared to respect, provided, of course, that you too commit yourselves to act in accordance with them. But, Gentlemen, if these laws are indeed abandoned and if we realise that Jewish blood can be shed wilfully, there can be no doubt, as we told you two years ago, that British blood too will not be spared. Then the war between us will really develop according to lines that actually neither you nor we can know at present. I ask you to remember that in the course of our war there were numerous cases when our comrades disarmed your soldiers, your police constables, capturing dozens of your soldiers and police. It is true that after your men had surrendered they were not harmed but were released after our operations had been completed. Actually not even these facts can be considered as strictly equivalent because your soldiers were held by us for some hours only while we, once we fall in your hands, have to spend long years in your prisons and concentration camps. This inequality is due to the fact that under the particular conditions of our war we are not yet in a position to hold your soldiers in captivity for a longer time.

Perhaps this conditions willchange and this inequality will be eliminated. In any case, it should be perfectly clear that the life of a prisoner should be "taboo":it should be safe, he should not be abused or tortured or refused to satisfy all his needs as a civilised man. But what is going to happen if you discriminate against Jewish soldiers who fell in your hand? Do you think that the Jewish armed forces will pass over this in silence? It is obvious that they will arrive at their conclusions from your treatment and there can be nodoubt that they will do so, because you should not forget in all your calculations, Gentlemen, that under the present circumstances there is one thing of paramount importance: the soldiers of Israel fight in the profound conviction that if they do not succeed in this war there will be neither life nor future for them, their children and their people.You should not take this too lightly. This is our situation. We are the generation of Maidanek and Treblianka. We have no illusions.We know very well what fate is in store for us - all of us - if we have no state of our own, capable of protecting us in military as well as political respect.Therefore we are ready for every necessity, for every necessity. For indeed the war that we are waging is a matter of life or death, a war for the survival of the Jewish people, and no dangers can hold us back, no sacrifices frighten us.

I have told you all this frankly and openly because this matter does not concern merely myself or my comrades here in this courtroom.It concerns thousands and ten thousands of people - English as well as Jews -who may be the victims of your blindness, of your treating as criminals the fighters of a nation struggling for its rights. I think that if you consider well what I have told you you too will reach the conclusion incumbent upon you to recognise theoretically and practically the Jewish underground forces as possessing full combatant rights with all that this status im-

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Indictment of the tortured Jewish people
against treacherous England.
By prisoner Baruch Shindler.

Gentlemen,
You accuse us of carrying or possessing arms. I am not obliged to reply to this accusation because I do not recognise the right of your rulers to forbid Jews to carry or to use arms in their Homeland, just as I do not recognise the right of your judges to pass judgement on them for this matter.As regards my basic attitude it is perfectly clear and I do not intend to conceal it from you: every Jew in his homeland has the duty to carry arms, to train himself in their use and to employ arms in the sacred war for liberation of his Homeland. Moreover, our countrymenin the Diaspora, too, have the duty to undergo military training in order to prepare themselves for the war against those who deprive them of their country and expose them to extermination. I am sure that after all that the Jewish people, disarmed for two thousand years, has experienced, my brethren in the Diaspora know exactly as well as we here in the country of our forefathers what is incumbent upon them in these cruel times.

When, therefore, you make your calculations in your secret cabinet meetings as to the war potentials of the Jews on whom you have declared war you should not only take into account the 600.000 Jews in the Land of Israel with the extaordinarily high percentage of youths among them who are fit for military service but all the eleven million Jews who survived the wave of destruction that came over our people all over the world.All of them will rise against you in due course because they feel that it is their war, and that without a reborne State they too - and certainly their children - can have neither existence nor future.IImillion, Gentlemen,who include hundreds of thousands who fought in the battles of the second world war, are in a position to raise strong armies.I am sure that they will do so if necessary. There are some precedents for this in our history When Juda revolted in the days of Rome, she was immediately joined by all the essential centres of the Diaspora and the fire of the revolt against the oppressor flared up not in the Land of Israel only but in all the neighbouring countries as well. It is true that our brethren in the Diaspora possess also other means of fighting you in the field of economy. A boycott against British goods, organised by all the Jews in all the countries of the world - and it will be organised against you as it was organised against Nazi Germany, from whom you have inherited your attitude towards the Jewish people - such a boycott will weaken your economic position which is already unstable enough. But I am sure that apart from economic retaliations we shall be able to witness the unification of a dispersed people around the banner of liberty, around the banner of their war for liberation.Then not only thousands but tens and hundreds of thousands will rise against you everywhere, well trained and confident that they will fight indefatigably until you return to their people what you have stolen from them.

If, therefore, the front is to expand on such a vast scale, it would be a pity to waste time on such a trifle as the possession of a few automatic and non- automatic fire -arms. We had better direct our attention to the relations between our peoples, between the Jewish people and your people, as these relations which grew particularly strained during the recent decades, actually established this front and widen it more and more until, perhaps, they will leave their imprint on the history of the world.

In dealing with these relstions it would be rather strange were I to confine myself to a stupid, arbitrary,bureaucratic indictment which contains one subject only:the carrying of arms without permission of those you think entitled to give such a permission. When we deal with these relations we must draw up and disclose before the whole world an indictment containing many paragraphs: the indictment of the Jewish people, being exterminated and deceived, against the treachery and tyranny of murderous England. Indeed - we, the soldiers and representatives of the Jewish people, accuse England of crimes for which it will have to answer before an international tribunal:

I. We <u>accuse England of the crime of the breach of confidence</u>.In 1917 England promised the Jewish people to exert all efforts to assist it in the achievement of the Jewish"Zionist aspirations".Though this pledge was in advance worded in an ambigous form, indicative of the premeditation of one who intends to evade its implementation, it was manifest to all what the meaning of the Jewish "Zionist aspirations " which formed the subject of the Balfour Declaration, really was. These aspirations had but one meaning,which was known to all your serious politicians: to Lloyd George and Balfour, to Churchill and Smuts, to Cecil and Amery: a Jewish or Hebrew State on both sides of the River Jordan. On the strength of this promisethe Jewish people believed in you, helping you to defeat the Kaiser's Germany, and admitting you not as a conqueror annexing the Land of Israel but as the Mandatory over our country, entrusted with an international mission. This confidence you have violated and broken.

Instead of endeavouring to help the people of Israel to realise its aspirations you did your utmost to interfere with the realisation of the aspirations of our people.

2 We accuse England of the crime of the violation of international Law. Although you drew up the text of the Mandate you endeavoured, as is the custom of your insidious policy to introduce definitions permitting of various interpretations, and to add "glosses" abolishing the principal obligations, etc., the Mandate of the League of Nations nevertheless imposed upon you several definite duties which you have never fulfilled. You undertook to promote the repatriation of the Jews to their homeland. Instead of doing so, you have systematically limited it until it has ceased almost entirely. You undertook to promote the close settlement of the repatriated Jews. You undertook to make available for them Government land not required for public purposes. Instead you have frustrated every attempt at settlement in Transjordan - even when your satellite agreed to Jewish colonisation in Transjordan. You have enforced land laws based on racial discrimination, which were known before only in Czarist Russia and Nazi Germany. And above all, you undertook in the preamble of the Mandate to help in the "reconstruction" of the National Home of the people of Israel and to "reconstruct" can refer only to what existed before. In other words, you undertook to return the complete territory of the Land of Israel to its legitimate owner, the People of Israel, as its Homeland and independent State. Instead of doing so, you stole the country in order to keep it for yourselves, confining to a Ghetto, the part of our people that in spite of your intentions did succeed in reaching and settling in its Homeland, giving it a status that is no better - and in certain respects, even worse - than the status given to Jewish minorities in certain countries of the Diaspora.

3 We accuse England of the crime of instigation to anti-Jewish massacres. In order to obstuct us, in order to become the masters of this country under the mask of a supreme power enforcing peace in our country, you incited against us our Arab neighbours, with whom we actually have no conflict since we regard them as citizens with equal rights of our independent State, citizens who will enjoy rights, and social progress to an incomparably higher degree than under your regime of exploitation and instigation or under the rule of your satellites in Transjordan, Irak, or any other country. This unnatural and unjustified conflict is your work and was brought about by the foulest methods of agents-provocateurs. In this criminal work of instigation participated your governers, from Bells and Storrs to Spears, as well as your military commanders, from the days of the military occupation of this country down to Mr. Glubb Pasha, who-as could not be expected otherwise - was given a high decoration for his instigation; in these activities participated also your ministers and journalistes, to say nothing of your petty agents - Government officials and mercenaries of your secret police who tour the villages and call upon the Arabs to "start". As a result of this instigation much blood has been shed in this country. Hundreds of Jews, men, women and children, were killed, many thousands were wounded, fields were set afire, settlements which had been built up under great sacrifices and with the toil of our pioneers were laid waste.

Your criminal propaganda of hatred actually continues to this very day. It would probably have led to renewed attacks against Jewish Settlements, but in the meantime an armed Jewish force has risen in this country, whose efficiency could be seen by the Arabs throughout the years of our fight against you and your rule. Therefore our neighbours are not in a hurry to be taken in by your provocations and all attempts by your agents to spur them on to attacks against us have so far been in vain. But you will not easily renounce the spectacle of a Jewish-Arab war, that you would greatly enjoy since it would give again the possibility of appearing as the supreme judge who stands for justice and is "beaten" by both of the parties to the conflict.

Therefore you have brought to our country your agents, who during the war were Nazi agents, and made of them the leaders of the Arab population. When even these agents failed to involve the Arabs into attacks that would be sheer suicide for them, you brought to Syria the notorious gaent and instigator who for two years served the death machine of the Nazis. You deny of course that you brought him to the frontiers of our country and for this purpose you staged the comedy of a search aboard the transport ship "Devonshire" in Port Said. But whom did you take in with these manoeuvres? A certain writer speaking of the Nazi gangsters said with regard to Goebels that though he was very cunning this fact did not help him so much since everybody had come to know him. I think that this is true also with regard to your wire-pullers. They are very cunning but all their cunning no longer helps them once the whole world has succeeded in exposing it. All the world knows who it was that needed the Jerusalem Mufti in the vicinity of the Land of Israel; all the world knows who helped him to "escape" from France. All your efforts of covering up this matter are of no avail to you: you brought him, you brought the Mufti in order to kindle up the fire of a war between Jews and Arabs, the fire of a war that was to help you to cook your soup. I do not know wether this man will succeed in achieving what his relative, Jamal Husseini, could not bring about. But if he does, if the Arab population is coaxed into attacks which are completely unjustified and whose results will be frightful, first of all for the Arabs themselves, then all the world will know that you caused the catastrophe, that you were interested in it, that you incited the Arabs and succeeded in doing so.

4. We accuse England of the crime of being an accomplice to mass murder

Ever since the day of Hitler's arrival to power you did all in order to prevent European Jewry from escaping the dangers of extermination prepared by the Nazis. It took Hitler six years to win Germany; the war against Nazi Germany took another six years. During those twelve years it would have been possible to save millions but you barred their way and compelled them to remain on the vulcano. Your aim was clear: you needed the disappearance of the greatest possible number of Jews in order to diminish if not eliminate entirely the number of people claiming their Homeland, in order that you could, without difficulty, become the masters of our country for good, arguing that actually there are no Jews left who desire to return to the Land of Israel.

In those years the late President Roosevelt made an attempt to help the refugees of our people by bringing at least part of them to our country. This was the hopeless attempt of the Evian conference. The attempt failed only because you wanted it to fail. To the Evian conference you intentionally sent Lord Winterton, the notorious anti-Semite, his instructions were very clear: he was to inform the representatives of the nations participating in the conference that in the Land of Israel there was not room even for one Jew more.

Anyone who wishes to know in what troubled waters fish your hypocritical politicians, should recall with what sort of arguments you justified, throughout those years, your policy of closing the gates of our country. There was a time when you declared that the economic conditions of our country did not permit large-scale immigration. But after Jewish initiative had proved that it is the main source of the absorptive capacity of this country you arranged a pogrom and declared that security conditions -i.e., the "political conditions" - did not permit mass immigration. Then the war broke out. You immediately produced a new argument why the Jews could not be admitted into their country: among the Jews to be repatriated there might be - and this is what you really dared to say "German agents". This argument was abandoned when the total extermination of the German Jewry began. Then you argued that it was again impossible to bring Jews to their country because you could not spare transport for the rescue of the victims of the Nazi massacres because you needed all vehicles and ships in order to achieve victory over Germany.

When victory came and Hitler was defeated, when all your former argumentation was abolished by life itself you returned to your old arguments with regard to the political conditions, the resistance of the Arabs, the economic difficulties,etc. In these excuses and subterfuges which vary from time to time, every impartial observer can see all the hypocrisy and mendaciousness that you used throughout the years deciding the fate of our parents, our sisters and brothers. This is how you helped Hitler, directly as well as indirectly, in wiping out millions of Jews; this is how you lent a hand to the greatest and most dreadful crime of all history.

5. We accuse England of the crime of murder of defenceless people. Apart from participating in the murder of millions Jews carried out by Hitler and his gangsters, you murdered and killed with your own hands Jewish citizens who strove to reach the shores of their Homeland; you murdered without trial Jewish citizens in their Homeland - the details of these crimes are sufficiently known. I confine myself to quoting names which are inscribed in red letters with the blood of our martyrs: Struma, Patria, Mauritius, Haifa, Tel-Aviv, Sudan.

6. We accuse England of the crime of permanent violation of the rights of Man and Citizen. Our land you have turned into a prison. You have issued emergency laws placing every Jewish citizen in the shadow of the gallows. You are confining hundreds of citizens in concentration camps and prisons without ever bringing them to court. And if your courts acquit someone, the secret police appears without delay and places him under detention for many years, on the basis of special regulations. You have subjected our press to a totalitarian and provocative censorship. Your secret police, your constables and soldiers tyrannise and terrorise peaceful citizens. In defiance of all laws you have enforced a regime of oppression, terror and despotism.

7. We accuse England of the crime of economic exploitation. Instead of developing this country and raising the standard of life of its citizens you exploit the population of our country in the most impudent manner and hamper in this way its possibilities of development. You exact ruinous taxes from the Jewish citizens of this country. The immense bureaucratic machinery, mostly composed of youngsters from England who have no business here in our country sits like a leech on the body of the civilian population. You bring into our country British companies and grant them privileges enjoyed by no other company in our country. You prevent the productive exploitation of the natural wealth of our country - such as oil -in order to protect your profits derived from undertakings abroad.

8. We accuse England of depriving a whole people the right to live. The right to live is the first right of every human being. You deny this right to our peole - our whole people - since without a Homeland it is not only unfree - and freedom too is one of the first things a man needs - but without a Homeland it cannot continue to live: exactly this - to live. Till this very day our brethren are being slaughtered in Europe; till this very day hundreds of thousands of Jews sit in concentration camps, while the wave of destruction has not only failed to show any indications of abating but, on the contrary, is on the rise all over the world. In your country too the Jews are exposed to the danger of destruction, Nor is this anything new. Already Lord Derby - as reported in the book of the ambassador, Henderson - spoke towards the end of the first war of a massacre (a night of St. Bartholomew?) against the Jews of Great Britain. And now? Does not Bevin head the Jew -baiters? Our indictment against you is not yet complete. I could have added much to the paragraphs I quoted. But I do not think that this is necessary. The paragraphs which I have ennumerated, though dealing with them only ina few words, suffice to expose you before the world as traitors and despots, liars and instigators, international criminals inflicting catastrophes on other peoples and the world as a whole.

Therefore I stand here before you and tell you, in the shadow of the gallows - repent of your sins! Do penitence! Pray for mercy for yourselves, for your crimes have become insufferable.

An interpellation

By prisoner Chaim Luster.

Gentlemen,

In my statement I will confine myself to an interpellation. While I was in prison I heard that the clandestine radio of the I.Z.L. broadcast an announcement to the effect that you, Mr. President, said in a meeting with other officers: What a pity one has not done with the Jews in Palestine what one did with the Jews in Europe. I could then leave this damned country and return home to England.

You must not be surprised that these words reached the Jewish Underground movement. It is true that no guarantee can be given as to the precision of the words actually used but it would seem that their sense has been reported correctly. And you surely know that the Jewish Underground has many ears and many eyes, and sees and hears things that you never dreamed would reach those who fight against you.

As a matter of fact, Mr. President, your words stand in need of a detailed analysis and thorough discussion. After all, you are not an ordinary officer or an inferior official of your government. Your position is very high, it is perhaps one of the highest in this country, since in your hands lies the scepter of justice - if one can speak of British justice, and the fate of human beings is sometimes subject to your decision. Accordingly I accept this opinion and, I am sure every Jewish citizen does the same - which you stated in front of your friends and acquaintances, very seriously indeed. I think it worth while considering these words.

Allow me to begin with the end: this country you chose to call a "damned country". You surely admit that this expression is no less amazing than it is insulting. Hitherto we were accustomed to the whole world calling our country the "Holy", since it is sacred to hundreds of millions of people regarding it, regardless of race or religion, as the source of divine wisdom, and the centre of monotheism. It was on these grounds that the Anglo-American Inquiry commission - or, rather, its English members - found it possible to announce that Christianity has a very great interest in the Land of Israel, and therefore they thought it necessary to leave you as rulers in it, you, the Christian English people. But if so, how can you explain that you as an Englishman and a Christian call the holy country a "damned country"?

It is not (?) - and I arrive at this conclusion from the first part of your very suggestive statement - because in your opinion the Holy Land became a "damned country" because the Jews live in it, or because the Jews want to possess it as did their ancestors. This opinion, too, is strange and surprising. For everyone knows that if this country did become a holy country in the eyes of mankind this happened precisely thanks to the Jews They destroyed thousands of years ago the idols of the heathens, they brought to this country the word of the Lord from Mt. Sinai. Nor should it be forgotten that the founders of the Christian religion too were the sons of our people and that the tree of Christianity whose branches now extend over all the countries of the world, was planted and grew up in our country.

But if you are nevertheless of the opinion that the Jews turned the Land of the Lord into a "damned country", I have to ask you another question. You have, of course, the right to hate us - you are not the only one in this world who hates us - but if you hate the Jews how does your conscience allow you to assume the function of a Judge of the Jews? I think that all legal books contain a passage stating explicitly that if a judge or any member of the jury has, for some reason or other, a hostile attitude to the accused, it is his duty to ask to be released from his function. I think you ought to have done so, Sir.

We think that all this jury is illegal,but still less can a judge be recognised who openly admits his personal hostility against the accused as members of a certain people.

However, in the continuation of your words there is a passage to which we agree wholeheartedly. It is splendid, isn't it, that we should agree with one another. Therefore, this fact should be recorded by the minutes of the proceedings and by public opinion. We certainly agree to your opinion that you must return home to your family in England. We agree to your for two reasons. First of all, we highly appreciate your feeling called nostalgia, a man's longing for his home. This feeling, you should know, has been alive in our hearts for two thousand years; Oh, but how did we yearn for our home! All our prayers, all our dreams, all our consolation were directed to the day on which the Lord would bring us back to our home. When the Lord brought back the Jews to Zion , our forefathers sang by the rivers of Babylon, we were like men in a dream. Yes, like men in a dream. For there is no greater happiness than to return home, home. Therefore there is no difference whether you return home from a palace or from a hut, from pleasant surroundings or from a "damned country", whether you return from good people or, as happened to our nation, from people who want to murder you. The main thing is - to return home. And so all our desire today is to return home. But, of course, this does not apply to us alone. We are happy that we succeeded in reaching our home, but like us, there are millions of our brethren, who want to return home too. Can they be denied this right? Particularly since these are people who have not even got a temporary home, because the homes they built on the volcanos of the Diaspora have been destroyed completely, burying in their ruins alive or dead all those who were near and dear to them. You should really understand, Sir, and Gentlemen, if you still can understand, that the whole matter, which has caused our trial too, is nothing but the return home of millions without a home. They do not return for the sole reason that you do not allow them to return, because you deny them this right, which as far as it concerned you, was so clear and natural and so imperious, that you are even ready to curse and desecrate sacred ideas when your superiors postpone for some time your voyage home. If there is in such a mentality a certain egoism - I regret but I have no other name for it but foul egoism, this mentality has also certain implications. It would seem, and this is something decided by you - that so long as your wish is fulfilled and you and your colleagues rule our country, you cannot return home and our people cannot return to its own home. And if so, Sir, you are perfectly free to return home! And not only you alone. Take along with you all your army and police, and all your officials , who too probably should like to go home. Return home and give us back this country which you have stolen from us. You know that we shall take it and that it will be ours as it once was. Your military commanders who appeared before the Inquiry commission left no room for doubt on this score. This country will be our again, only we will rule it not in order to exploit it or in order to opress others, or in order to make of it a military base against others; we will rule this country in order to carry out our great mission, given to us by Divine Providence, a mission for mankind as a whole; we shall bring home millions of people who unless they have this home have no prospects of survival, no future. Thus you see that in this case the desires of our hearts meet: if you return to your home, we too will return to ours and then there will surely be no reason to break the peace between our two peoples.

Do so! For heaven's sake - go home and give us back our home!

And now, Sir and Gentlemen, permit me shortly to analyse the first part of your words. You expressed your regret that one did not do to the Jews in Eretz Israel what was done to their brethren in Europe. Let us speak openly: you know, of course, Sir, what it was that was done to the Jews in Europe: they were put in the thousands into gas chambers and were murdered under infernal agonies.

And you would like the same thing to happen in this country as well. Very interesting!Very instructive! And you surely realised that this time it would not be the Germans who massacred millions of men and women and children, but this time, in order to carry out this mass murder, it would be necessary to use the hands of your brethren, the English, who have the Bible on their lips and preach democracy and the brotherhood of man. And apparently you are prepared to assign this task to your brethren, to your people, and you surely hope they will fulfil it. Perhaps Mr. Chairman, you are right. Perhaps they will be no less ready to do so than the "civilised" (Jerries?)". But this you and all of you should know:You shall not live to see this! No, no, no! You will never succeed in bringing the inhabitants of this country to extermination camps without resistance, without an enormous price that you will have to pay with your own blood.This was possible only there, in the damned countries of the diaspora, truly damned, on that soil of the Exile that robbed our brethren of the physical and spiritual will of resistance, which had led them to be completely defenceless,because of their naive belief in the image of man that you have - only there it was possible and even there the Lion of Judah roared and went to fight in the last moment against the foul murderers and killed thousands of them. Here, however, this is not possible at all, here we stand in our country.Our country has given us the youthful vigour of the people of Hasmoneans. Our country commanded us to take up arms again and to redeem it with our blood,as our forefathers once redeemed it with their blood,its ancient conquerors and liberators. Our country has revived in us the heroes of Mazada and Jodefeth. It has given us strength, it calls us from the depths:rise and fight for me and for the People that has been led away from me into exile.

We have heard our country's voice, Gentlemen, for it is the voice of our mother, the voice of the motherland.

The real causes of the trouble

By prisoner Benjamin Kaplan.

Gentlemen,

As we insist on the principle of the honour of soldiers, we think that it would be a mutual insult against our honour as soldiers if we recognised you as judges and ourselves as accused. Though we call you 'judges' we nevertheless do not forget for a moment that you are wearing the uniform of officers of a country fighting against the People of Israel. Furthermore, we do not forget that though you address us as 'accused' we are actually prisoners of war belonging to the Jewish people, which is at present at war with Great Britain.

Sincerity and frankness are considered the first virtues of a soldier. Thus, also we have been compelled to attend these proceedings in order to take part in the trial against us we can by no means agree to the function of accused forced upon us nor will we confine ourselves to the factual evidence relating to the case as demanded by the prosecution. The factual evidence of our case in itself neither explains nor discloses nor states anything at all. We therefore do not wish to discuss to what extent the prosecution succeeded in establishing the correctness of its basic assumptions, as demanded by legal proceedings.Experience has taught us that even the courtroom may become a Battle-field for you on which England fights against the Jewish people.

It is not always the legal principle of establishing justice that decides on this battlefield, but, quite on the contrary, in most cases justice bows her head to the requirements of an emergency situation. Therefore we consider it as our duty as soldiers to tell you frankly what we think of this trial and to show you what we regard as the principle matter in this case.

You will probably have no objections, Gentlemen, if we speak out aloud here what is usually not admitted openly and what people generally endeavour to hush up. The center of gravity in our case lies in the strategical and geographical situation of our country. It is this fact that induced England to carry on a campaign of conquest against our people.

The means of communication by air and land have again raised the importance of the ancient route crossing our country and leading to all parts of the globe. The interest you took in the fate of the people of Israel and the feeling of sympathy for its national aspirations you stated in the past, all derived from the wish to penetrate on the back of the Jewish people into this vital vein of your Empire. You needed some certificate, serving you as a pretext to justify your penetration to the country east of the Suez, just as, with the help of the gold of the Rothschilds and the Jewish brains of Disraeli you acquired the Suez canal against the will of many inhabitants of your islands. The persecuted Jewish people did not want to consider you always and everywhere as intriguers pursuing only selfish aims. It regarded you as decent partners. Under the influence of your fine declarations, in spite of the decline of your star during the Boer war, our people thought that it was the English fairness in business attributed to you that had motivated your declarations.

Gentlemen - we will not speak of the immense profit Great Britain gained in the past thanks to this state of the affairs. Your statesmen like Lloyd George, Balfour, Smuts, and others admitted openly that the pledges made to the Jewish people to help us in the reconstruction of our country were a compensation and a token of gratitude for all the help given to England by the Jews during the first World war. However, men like Lloyd George, Smuts and Wedgewood obscured reality and resulted in the Jewish people going an icorrect impression of the real men responsible for British politics.

Who these men really are is admitted by Winston Churchill in his book on the leading men of his time. In the chapter on Asquith not only one must be liquidated how the latter decided after he had become Prime Minister to liquidate some of his political friends who were not convenient for his purposes. To Churchill's question why he was doing so, Asquith answered: "The most important quality of a Prime Minister is to be abutcherer". A characteristic answer, one should say. Let us examine it in the light of the situation in our country, in this part of the world.

In our opinion, Gentlemen, there is room enough for dozens of millions of people in the Near East, while there is room enough in our country for the repatriation of millions of Jews. These countries were the granary of the inhabitants in the times of the Romans. The expulsion of the Jews, the wars, the numerous conquests and the particular gift for destruction of the chance inhabitants of our country have turned into a desert a country that once flowed with milk and honey. Nowadays, thanks to the care of the Jews, the country is being reborn. Our country is ready to receive, to clothe and feed all those Jews knocking today at its gates. Our work of reconstruction may become a miracle of human creativeness, leading to peace and abundance. However, to make this miracle come true, it is necessary to have more qualities than those of a butcherer. Or, rather, one must not be a butcherer at all. When the executioner looked at our country, strange things began to happen in it. As officers you surely know the theory of the great strategical importance assigned to the mentality and mood of the inhabitants destined once to become an arena for the operations of war.

But even this theory permits different points of view: a human point of view - and that of a butcherer. The butchers were shocked to see what progress and civilisation the Jews were bringing with them to the Near East. They preferred ignorance and stagnation to reign in an underpopulated territory euphemistically referred to as " the picturesque Orient". They preferred to support Arab rule and enabled scoundrels and good for nothings to do what mischief they wanted, without ever punishing them.

The Kurds, the Armenians and the Assyrians were destroyed - with the connivance of the British to such an extent, that there is no one left among them to rise and to ask: England - what about your pledges?But for the book written by the Jewish writer Franz Werfel, what would the world know about Musa-Daigh? 'Reuter' would have hushed up the true events in a maze of lies and the event would have been lost to the world of truth.

According to the point of view of the butcherer, the theory of stategy demands to win the"sympathy of the coloured people" in the territories on the way to India by means of the policy of "divide et impera" by delivering up all the peoples inhabiting those countries to the fangs of one of them.

For strategical reasons England decided not to enable the Jews to return to their homeland, which it tries to steal fromthem, in order to transform it into a British military base. This, Gentlemen, is the true reason why you are performing the function of 'judges'while the Jewish youth,the soldiers of our nation appear here as 'accused'.

The illusory belief in a "better England" than that of the 'executioner' has by now gone for ever. The victory and the subsequent policy of the Labour Party,and the Foreign Secretary , Bevin, have done away with what may have remained, of that illusion. Now the Jewish people as a whole sees beyond any doubt that the "New England" too is prepared to do, with the help of its ally and former accomplice of Hitler - the Mufti of Jerusalem - what the "old England" had accomplished with the help of those same Arabs in the case of the Kurds, the Armenians and the Assyrians after the first World War. England wants to exterminate the Jewish people For this reason our people has decided to take up the arms. This war continues and will not come to a close as long as you bar the only way of rescuing our people.

A great man, a Jew, once said: "People think that the Jew is as weak as a match. But 17 million matches have power enough to set ablaze the whole world." Through your fault six million Jews were slaughtered.Eleven million Jews only survived. But today our inflamability is infinitely greater than it was at the time those words were spoken. Do not think that on the grave of our hope, on the grave of the Jewish people, you will be able to set up your military base.

The earth will burn under your feet and you shall not be able to predict wither the sparks of the conflagration will fly and what other conflagrations will incinerate your own houses . Your economy possesses many inflamable points. There will be no victory for you in this war. The cessation of military operations and the occupation of the country of the enemy, usually indicative of the end of a war, will not spell victory for you in this war.Our Homeland has been occupied by you. You have amassed in it armed forces and military equip ment in perfectly ridiculous amounts.But nevertheless - this war continues. You have entrenched yourselves in fortresses and behind barbed wire and pill-boxes: but you are not the masters of this country, you cannot rule it - because we - the Jewish people do not want you to.The Jewish people with its eleven millions, scattered all over the world is in a position to extend help in human material and equipment to the Yshuv, the advance-guard numbering 600.000 of the Jewish people in its Homeland.Your entrenchment in our country will meet with much greater difficulties than those faced by the Roman Empire. This entrenchment will cost you much, both in losses of life and war materials. As traitors, as breakers of international commit ments, as the oppressors of our people you shall not survive here.

Our people you will not liquidate as you succeeded in doing with the Kurds, the Armenians and the Assyrians. You incited and let loose against them the forces of destruction for you hoped to rid yourselves of your pledges which you never had the intention to make good. This was also your hope with regard to Hitler whom your Mufti served. You wanted that Hitler should massacre the Jews inEurope. You speculated that with the disappearance of our brethren the eternal pressure of the masses of the People of Israel against the closed gates of its Homeland would equally disappear. This is why you permitted the death machinery of the Nazis to operate undisturbed and mercilessly. But your plans have gone wrong. In spite of all your calculations the survivors of destruction try with in creased force to reach their homeland.

The Jewish people sees in Great Britain the real guilty party in all these catastrophes and disasters, and so long as you stand as an obstacle between us and our salvation we shall fight you.

Od lo avda tiqwatejnu -
(Our hope is not yet lost)

By prisoner Dvora Kalfus.

Gentlemen,

After you sentenced the two Jewish youths, Ashbel and Simchon, to death, both of them rose, stood at attention and sang, inspired with an enthusiasm you will never understand, our Jewish national anthem, Hatiqvah. The B.B.C. reported this fact, among others, while it was giving in a few short sentences to the world at large a picture of proud unyielding Jewish fighters who receive a death sentence with a song on their lips. You cannot deny that this is an amazing scene and though I do not know what impression it made on you, I do know that in these dark days of cowardly brutality, their stand and conduct could fill the heart of every free m with a renewed faith in man, in individualism and the values of human morality.

However, your radio did not content itself with reporting the fact as such: faithful to your general line it found it necessary to add some comment of its own, giving the statement the following text:" The two sentenced men, sang in the courtroom the so-called Jewish national anthem". The B.B.C. did not say simply: "the Jewish national anthem" but the "so-called national anthem". I wish to explain now why I dwelled on the term employed intentionally by your radio, and what the connection is between this fact and this trial. I shall bring another fact, equally instructive, which is also connected , though not formally but in essence with our trial, or rather, with the circumstances that led to our trial. The fact in question was published in one of the official statements of your Government: A British destroyer stopped on the open sea , apparently in accordance with the universal law of the pirates, a ship carrying refugees, Jews on their way to repatriation, Jews, who in spite of you, were returning to their Homeland. When your naval officers went aboard the ship they saw a flag hoisted on the mast of the ship. That was our flag, the blue-white flag of the Jewish people. However, your officers reported and your official statement repeated and published that the flag was "an unknown flag".

In these two characteristic facts is actually contained all the meaning of the war between you and us; these facts also explain perhaps better than all our speeches the political background of our collective trial here. You English neither recognise our national anthem nor our flag. And since there is no nation without a flag and a n anthem of its own, it follows from your attitude that you do not recognise the Jewish people either. In other words, in this respect you indentify yourselves with Adolf Hitler. He too argued that the Jewish people is not a people but a conglomerate of inferior creatures. His conclusion was: to exterminate us. You, Gentlemen, accept Hitler's basic assumptions; during the war you even assisted him in carrying out his conclusions. Now you are ready to continue along these lines and to transform the eleven million Jews, who survived, and who, in your opinion have neither a national flag nor a national anthem, that is not the image of a nation, which in turn implies that they have not the image of a man - you are prepared to transform them into candidates for extermination camps, precisely as you assisted the Nazis in putting six millions of our brethren into those camps.

This is your plan: to carry out this plan, or, rather as a result of this plan, you have robbed us of our country and it is your wish that we should continue to wander amongst the peoples, without a Homeland of our own, without a flag or, without "an unknown flag", without a national anthem or, without a "so-called anthem", and in your villainy - and I should add, in your stupidity, you assume that we are going to acquiesce in all this and will prefer the existence of a respite granted to slaves sentenced to death , to a war that though it may cost the loss of human lives will lead to the concentration of our peoples in its land with its own flag, recognised by all nations as the flag of a free and independent people. Your scheme, has, of course, been frustrated completely and the main reason is that we have not yet lost our hope -yes, Gentlmen, we have not lost our hope - od lo avda tiqvatejnu!

If after centuries of persecution and massacres and humiliation and squalor we have lived to be and to see Jewish soldiers with arms in their hands for the liberation of their homeland - then we have not yet lost our hope.

When after I9hundred years have passed since the quelling of Bar Kochba's revolt we have lived to see another revolt of the sons of Juda, distinguishing themselves by the heroism of Bar Kochba's rebels, then our hope is not yet lost.

If after the terrible slaughter of six million Jews we have not been weakened but, on the contrary, won, increased faith in the eternity of Israel and its soon rebirth in its homeland, then our hope is not yet lost.

Our hope is not yet lost..... Do your rulers with their obstinate hearts and their dumb minds realise what this song means to us and to millions of our brethren? Do they know by whom and where this song was-song? Yes - the Jewish heart sang this song for two thousand years; the Jewish youths sang this song when they went into battle and returned from the fight. But apart from this ,do you know who had these simple and great words on their lips? I will tell you: when the foul Nazi murderers pushed our teachers, our brethren and sisters into the death waggons, then our martyrs sang "Hatiqvah".

When those who were our nearest and dearest were lining up in the cemetery facing the graves they themselves had dug - they sang Hatiqvah.

When the best of our peoples, our sages and scholars, our elders and our tiny children marched in their thousands to the gas cells - they sang Hatiqvah. To return to this land of our forefathers were the ir last words sent by the pale lips of millions of Jewish martyrs, and "towards the east" they raised their eyes , before they left this world for ever.

And such a song hallowed more than any other anthem in the world, with blood you call "the so-called anthem"? You shall know, Gentlemen, we, the sons of Israel, will fight against you, until the hope has come true of the millions who were slaughtered because of you; you together with your confederate Hitler, did not recognise their anthem, did not recognise their flag, because you had stolen their homeland. In this war of liberation our nation is being created anew and it will force you to recognise it and its right to a homeland and symbols, of independence which are accepted symbols in all civilised countries. And you, too will recognise the Jewish people: voluntarily or not, but recognise it you will, and then, only then there will be normal relations between Israel and other peoples. Then any naval officer who will look at a ship that sailed past his own, and perceive the flag will say: Oh yes, this is a Hebrew flag. On the mast I can see the flag of the Land of Israel. When on that day one of you will hear the Hatiqvah he will stand at attention and salute the anthem of a free people just as we, the soldiers of Israel, will salute the anthem of another nation. This day will come - and we give our hearts for this day.

He will live in our hearts for ever

By prisoner Chaim Ander.

Gentlemen,

I should like to remind you that apart from us, 31 captured soldiers, in this courtroom you should, according to your laws, have brought to trial another Jewish youth. Then this trial would have been called in the history of our people not the trial of the 31 but the trial of the 32. However, this youth can no longer be reached by your hands: you cannot fetter his hands with handcuffs, you cannot put his body behind prison walls This youth is on our lists as one of our ranks - but he is no longer alive.

One of the hundreds of bullets that your machine guns spit at us hit our young brother, Avner Ben Shem . Seriously wounded he collapsed. But it would have been possible for you to save his life. There can be no doubt that had he been given appropriate care - appropriate for an injured man, appropriate for a prisoner enjoying recognised rights, he would be here today; among us, sharing our sufferings and our hopes. But this was not to be. No medical treatment worthy of the name was given to our injured friend. His condition deteriorated while he was in our hands , and he breathed out his pure soul. This is not the first time that youths young Jewish fighters having fallen in your hands wounded or sick have perished in your prisons through the physical and spiritual agonies inflicted on them. This is what happened to Asher Tratner, a pupil of a Haifa secondary school, who was shot in the hip while pasting a pamphlet on a house wall, and whose wound, though relatively slight, led to his death Why? Because instead of sending the wounded boy into a hospital you sent him to a filthy dark cell in Acre prison and chained him on his bed of agony. For many days and nights the boy was compelled to wipe off with his shirt the blood and matter trickling from his wound. The result was that blood poisoning set in, and it was only after his condition had become hopeless that he was transferred from Acre to Haifa - after all, he had been arrested in Haifa - and he was sent to a hospital where his leg was amputed.

But the operation came too late - and the youth - almost a child - the only son of his parents, died. You should compare this treatment which you accord to our people captured by you to the treatment given to the British officers captured and taken prisoners by us. I read in the news·papers the report by your officers who were released after a few days. One of them had been wounded with a stick when he tried to resist his captors: He received good treatment, his wound was bandaged by a nurse, hewas looked after by a doctor, and was even given the assurance that the circumstances under which he had been injured would be investigated and if it should be found that he had offered no reason for the use of physical force against him, the soldier responsible would be punished. Your officers were released healthy and unscathed, because they had been held by really civilised men, by soldiers who respect·the laws relating to the treatment of prisoners taken by belligerents.

With you, however, people fall ill with dangerous stomach diseases; people confined by you suffer from tuberculosis; in your prisons the prisoner's body is weakened through the bad food you give him. And if your plans do not succeed completely and the treatment given to the prisoner does not lead to his death, he is frequently rendered an invalid for the rest of his life.

For these reasons, Gentlemen, we demand that an end be put to this sort of treatment.These conditions cannot be tolerated any longer, conditions under which our blood is shed by your fault - not only in the countries of the Diaspora, not only on the battle-field, but even in imprison.ment, where the life and health of prisoners ought to be safe. Learn from those who fight against you! Treat those whom you capture as they treat those of you taken·prisoners by them!

Our young brother Avner Ben Shem, is no longer your prisoner. He has been freed before you sentenced him. He has not been brought to trial by you; he faces today the judge of the world. But even though his body is not with us today, his soul is here in this courtroom, and with the spiritual ear that is given only to idealists who are prepared to sacrifice their·lives for a good cause, we hear his voice speaking to us from heaven, from spheres as sacred and pure as the bright firmament: Do not be afraid, my brethren! Go your way of suffering proudly and hopefully for it is worth it. It is worth fighting for our Zion, it is worth suffering for it, and it worth·even to die for it.

May the memory of our brother, Avner Ben Shem, be blessed for ever!

The Verdict.

The illegal court in contravention of the basic law of humanity, sentenced 30 of the Hebrew soldiers, including one girl, to 15 years penal servitude each,and one of them , Benjamin Kaplan to life imprison ment.

The sentence having been announced, all the fighters rose to their feet and sang the national anthem of hope and redemption.

Without entering into a discussion of this case we have, first and foremost, to refute the legal character of this trial. In our opinion, Gentlemen, you have no legal basis that would entitle you to function in these proceedings as judges, while the case contained in the indictment is not subject to the jurisdiction of a court composed of British army officers.
You will agree, Gentlemen, that the description of the facts in the case, given by the prosecution, is more in keeping with a declaration of war by the High Command than apt to serve as a subject for a trial.
We are, therefore, satisfied that the matter described by the prosecution, is a military operation; hence, as a person involved in a military operation I cannot be tried by any court.
It is our wish to establish that the Jewish People is in a state of war with Great Britain. In this war Great Britain is the aggressor. England has forced this war upon the Jewish people by its illegal policy. Our Homeland is not a British Crown Colony. Great Britain does not represent our souvereign rights. The British rule in our country, apart from being illegal in historical respect, was clearly limited in the first paragraph of the Mandate over the Land of Israel. The rule over this country was entrusted to Great Britain not as the souvereign of this country but as the Mandatory power; not unconditionally but subject to the implementation of the pledges given to the People of Israel. Paragraph 28 of the Mandate provides clearly for the termination of the Mandatory rule in our country at the expiracy of the Mandate.
Paragraph 17 of the Mandate over the Land of Israel clearly forbids the use of the territory of this country as a military base by the Mandatory. Moreover, paragraph 26 of the Mandate commits the Mandatory to submit to the judgment of an international court in case of controversy with any member of the League of Nations with regard to the interpretation or implementation of the clauses of the Mandate. It is obvious that such controversies with another power may arise through the illegal use of the Land of Israel as a military base. According to the provisions of the Mandate the only military force permissible to be stationed in this country is a small garrison, recruited from the local population and having the character of a police force. The clause forbidding the use of the Mandated territory for military purposes as well as the stationing of British forces in this country automatically preclude, even from a merely juridical point of view, any jurisdiction or competency whatsoever to be exercised by the military authorities with regard to the inhabitants of the Mandated territory.
In the second place, the bearer of the sovereign rights over this country is the Jewish people; paragraph 5 of the Mandate over the Land of Israel commits the Mandatory power to protect the integrity of the boundaries of the country as laid down in the Mandate. In opposition to the law your authorities did violate the integrety of the territory of the Land of Israel. Four-fifths of its territory were handed over to a Bedouin of the Hashemite family, who was banished from his country, Hedjaz, and who is employed by you as a puppet in order that this puppet should sign with you an illegal lease contract of part of the Mandated territory to be used as a British military base.
The laws made by you deny us the freedom of conscience. Every Jew is bound by his conscience to aid every Jew who may knock on the gates of his Homeland at any time, but you put our newcomers behind barbed wire and violate the sacred feeling of brotherly love. Your illegal laws forbid Jews to follow the voice of their conscience and to admit newcomers into their houses. Your legislation, enacted by you in this country, humiliate the Jews and discriminate against them, turning them into second-class citizens even in their own Homeland. Your acts at the Wailing Wall insult our religious feelings and violate the principle of the freedom of religion. You discriminate with the greatest consistency against our language. You are the source of unrest and disturbances in this country. You press the slaughter knife into

the hands of our neighbours and promise them that they will not be punished. You incite them to pogroms and to massacres against the Jews. Our country has become for you a subject of economical exploitation. The fruit of our toil and labour is reaped by you. You strangle our trade, our industry and our agriculture.

The first steps in your war against the Jewish people were made by you a long time ago. Your battle-ships and military aviation guard the frontiers of our country not from preoccupation for the integrity of its territory but against the remnants of European Jewry. It is the task of our mobile and mechanized forces to hunt down those who succeeded in escaping from your Navy and aviation and reached the shores of our country. In this manner you have changed from a mandatory power who was admitted into our country with our consent into a conqueror whom we are not at all prepared to tolerate any longer. In view of the fact that you have broken international obligations and treaties and that you oppress our people and sentence it to extermination in its Homeland as well as in the Diaspora, a purpose which you want to achieve by the use of brutal military force, there is sufficient cause to state that England is in a state of war with the People of Israel.

The people of Israel does what every nation must do when it fights for its survival. The sovereign Jewish people in its Homeland has revived independent armed forces whose uniforms have the honour to wear. It is the duty of the armed forces of the Jewish people to resist your aggression with arms.

You cannot refute this fact by pointing to the Jews who still continue to have relations with you although there is a state of war between us. The phenomenon of quislings and traitors is sufficiently known from other peoples and there is no logical reason demanding that our people should be completely free of it. There was even an old French marshal, enjoying many prerogatives and a very good reputation, who succombed to this disease and aided the enemy. Doriot, one of his ministers, collaborated with the Gestapo. But the French people, in spite of the official treaty of surrender did not surrender and fought under the leadership of De Gaulle and in the ranks of the underground army.

The Jewish people, however, never signed a surrender. On the contrary, every act of oppression on your part meets with our protest. However, after our protests proved ineffective and you increased your oppressive measures the Jewish people was forced to take up arms against you. We are soldiers of the regular Jewish armed forces. In battle we wear our uniform and soldierly ethics and honour guide our actions.

As we were captured as a regular military unit we are not subject to the jurisdiction of any law-court. We are prisoners of war and not criminals brought to justice. International law demands the recognition of belligerents; it does not apply to more than the relations between belligerent peoples, it establishes the relation between a belligerent people on the one hand and non-belligerent peoples on the other hand. The recognition of a certain people as a belligerent implies the obligation for other peoples to repsect the laws of neutrality with respect to belligerent peoples. Although Japan did not declare war on China after the attack on K. ...., the two peoples were practicall, belligerents and their soldiers had to comply with the laws of such an emergency situation. The trade of neutral countries with them was determined by the laws of negotiations with a belligerent people.

However, the recognition of the Jewish people as a belligerent does not depend on the will of you, the English! It is not logical and contradicts the spirit of the law that the recognition of an attacked people as a belligerent should be made subject to the will of the aggressor. The question of the treatment of the soldiers, captured in the act of aggression, as well as accusations against them for having complied with their highest national duty in the ranks of the armed forces alarmed for the defence - these matters do not depend at all on the will of the aggressor.

It was not easily and frivolously that the Jewish people decided to take up arms. We are aware of the British strength of the British military forces. But on the other hand we realise that the fighting ancestors of the British bequeathed to the generations after them only their material possessions and not their spirit. The England of today rids itself of its obligations and strives only for its own comfort and complacency, for the sake of which it sacrifices friend after friend and breaks solemn obligations. One of the victims of England - and perhaps the principal victim - is our people and its homeland. British treachery has cost us already six million dead. Imagine, Gentlemen, what had happened had we fought against British aggression immediately after your first act of treachery and had been prepared to sacrifice six million lives in that war, whom we lost all the same - because we did not fight. What do you think would then the results have been and who would then have been the victor?

Today when owing to your treachery the danger of extermination hangs over the eleven million Jews who survided destruction and actual extermination threatens over one million Jews in Europe, we are firmly resolved to resist you by force. The results of this war cannot be foreseen but we are sure that in this war England will be isolated. It will obtain no assistance while the Jewish people will be supported by the whole freedom-loving civilised world. On England will be concentrated all the hatred that accumulated all over the world in the war against Hitler. We shall be an example for all the peoples groaning under the British yoke. Any victory over us will give England no honour but will involve its decline. The whole world will wonder and ask: How infernal must have been the villainy of England that the Jewish people, which for two thousand years did not rise in arms was driven to fight against England?" We shall set in operation against you one very dangerous weapon - the Jewish brains. No one can estimate and predict the war potential of eleven million Jews scattered all over the world. Nor can anyone foresee what centres of resistance will flare up and with what energy the war against British treachery will be fought world. Hence, the Jewish people has great chances for success in its war against English oppression.

This will perhaps help you to understand that staged trials are bound to miss the mark and are completely superfluous. Nor is there any novelty in such trials. The Japanese did the same after their treacherous attack on Pearl-Harbour. They brought before a military court martial the American pilots who bombed Tokio. Their diabolical plan did achieved precisely nothing, on the contrary, it merely aroused indignation throughout the civilised world. The brutality of the Japanese aggressor was sufficiently known to the civilised world and their treacherous attack on Pearl-Harbour was too evident for anyone to be fooled by a staged trial before a military tribunal. No one believed the Japanese lies.

You probably saw the film "Flight over Tokio". (?) Fate wanted that one of the American pilots brought before the military court in Tokio should be a Jew, Greenbaum, a New York advocate. You remember how this Jew Greenbaum defended the international law and international agreements. A prisoner of war, the accused declared, cannot be brought before any military tribunal of the enemy on a charge for having participated in war operations.

Let me sum up, Gentlemen. You have no right to accuse us for an action that your superiors demand from you as officers and which in itself is a tradition handed down from generation to generation.

We are not connected with Great Britain through oppression or obedience. We are sons of the Jewish nation fighting for its liberty, which was treacherously deceived and attacked by Great Britain. According to the law and to international treaties you are not allowed to set up in our country emergency courts and to apply military procedure in such courts. A

court set up in defiance of the law is illegal. The xxx case dealt with in the indictment is not subject to the jurisdiction of any law court except a xx tribunal of the Jewish army which may pass x judgment in cases of non-compliance with xhexdutiexxofxJewish military duties. We are prisoners of war and demand to be given the treatment of prisoners of war in accordance with the laws of warfare and the Treaty of the Hague. (Haag?). Any decision to the contrary merely adds to the long record of the abuse of law by the British. However, the spirit and xx efficiency of the Jewish fighter it will not break. We have our faith and xxx our hope. So may the Lord help us.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to quote a passage from a document which, I think, is well known to you. The passage reads as follows:..... (quotation to be inserted).

I am sure that as educated Englishmen you recggnized the document from which I quoted even while I was reading, as the Magna Charta Libertatis of 1215. Now m you may ask: What connection is there between that document and this trial? Allow me to give the answer.

Your forefathers, Gentlemen, were very clever. They realised -- and there was nothing strange in that - with what sort of man they had to deal. They knew that though John Lackland was forced to sign the scroll, either he himself or his advisors or governors would wish and try to whittle it away in the course of time. Therefore they secured for themselves in advance certain measures of reacting against such a deceitful plan and the King was compelled to include these measures in his written pledge. Thus a strange thing happened: activities that are illegal owing to their very character, such as infringements on the status of the King, the occupation of his estates, war against his institutions etc., became legal through what was a kind of "tolerated revolution". It would seem that your ancestors had no alternative; they must have felt as Wallenstein when he said "I know my Pappenheimers".

Our fathers were less clever. They received the Balfour Declaration from you, welcoming it enthusiastically in all their meetings as the Magna Charta Libertatis of the Jewish people. They trusted you implicitly and had no doubt that you would be sure to implement the obligations written in your "scroll". It is difficult for me to state exactly what the origin for this childish credulity may have been - but perhaps the answer is quite simple. We just did not know you, having only heard of you, vague things - of your democratic institutions, the freedom that reigns in your country, your friendship for the peoples of Europe, etc. Be this as it may, our fathers did not deem it necessary to include a clause in the Balfour Declaration providing for the reaction of the Jewish People in case your governors broke the pledges made to us, and tried to frustrate them. This is why, for the past twenty years, our people contented itself with sending those "four barons", who tried, to the best of their ability, to explain to you the "grievance and to ask you to mete out justice". And since you have only one place for such pleadings - the waste-paper basket under one of the tables in your Colonial Office, these delegations were ineffective, their pleading was in vain, and from one act of betrayal you went on to the next, and from one act of liquidation to another, still greater than the former.

But human reaction is bound to come under any circumstances, whether he whose breach of confidence caused that reaction chooses to call it "illegal" or whether the potential breaker of faith commits himself in advance to recognise such reaction as "legal". Therefore, Gentlemen, you should not be surprised that our people has grown tired of sending to you delegations of "barons" and that Jewish Palestine as a whole has decided to struggle against you, the breakers of confidence, against you who have trodden your own commitments under foot, and to attack you by whatever means possible until you make good the grievance and hand over this country, the house of our life and the crown of our head, to its only legitimate owner - the People of Israel.

מכון ז'בוטינסקי
שימול

English

- The Hebrew Struggle for National Liberation
  A selection of documents.

- Fighting Judaea, The Battle continues in the Court-Room
  (The Trial of 31)

- Declaration to the British Military „Court",
  by Gad Sulami

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French

- La Lutte Hebreue pour la Liberation Nationale.
  Documents

Spanish

- Declaraciones de los soldados del Yrgún Tzevai Leumí