

Implementation of U.N. Assembly Resolution

Introduction

Less than twenty-four hours after his victory speech, after midnight on 8 November 1956, Ben-Gurion went on national radio to announce that in reply to a note received from President Eisenhower (who had been reelected for a second term barely forty-eight hours earlier) the Government of Israel had announced its willingness to withdraw its forces from Egyptian territory occupied in the course of the campaign of the previous week, as soon as arrangements had been made for the introduction of the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) whose establishment had been decided by the U.N. The pressures, information and misinformation which had brought about the *volte face* were not revealed at the time. In any case, it was a bitter pill for Ben-Gurion and no less for the IDF and its commanders. In the broadcast it was emphasized that the decision to withdraw came as a result of U.N. resolutions and in compliance with the wishes of the U.S., and not in response to the Soviet threat, which was rejected in a note to Bulganin which Ben-Gurion read out at the same time.

When almost a week later the IDF had not yet commenced its withdrawal, the leader of the Communist Party asked for the floor for a motion urging speedy evacuation, while a member of Herut, in another motion, appealed for the opposite course of action.

Sitting 187 of the Third Knesset

14 November 1956 (10 Kislev 5717)

The Speaker, J. Sprinzak: We now proceed to motions for the agenda. Proposal no. 267 is moved by MK Sneh.

M. Sneh (Maki): Distinguished Knesset, the Communist Party regards it as urgently necessary to place on the Knesset's agenda the political problems arising from the implementation of the U.N. Assembly resolution, which was passed unanimously with the exception of the Israeli representative, that the occupied areas of Egypt be evacuated and the IDF units withdrawn to behind the armistice lines. The Government has itself proved the need for an additional political debate, because the Prime Minister's broadcast statement of November 8 cancels and contradicts the important announcement included in his speech of November 7. The situation has changed, the Government's attitude has changed, it is

therefore necessary to hold a new political debate in the plenum of the Knesset.

So much for the formal argument. With the Speaker's permission, I will add a few reasons concerning the subject itself. The Government's action in launching a military attack on Egypt on October 29 caused unimaginable damage to the State of Israel, its international standing and its security:

A. The attack presented Israel as an aggressor in the eyes of the world, both West and East, and no tricks of information-will help here because Israeli forces invaded Egyptian territory.

B. The attack presented Israel in the eyes of the Asian and African peoples, in the eyes of all the nations fighting to be freed from the yoke of foreign colonialism, as the avant garde of colonialism in the Middle East...providing the excuse and forging the path for the imperialist aggression of the rulers of France and Britain against Egypt....

C. The attack blocked the way to the peace we desire with the Arab peoples...because on the basis of acts of conquest by Israel and its partnership in colonialist aggression, and on the basis of seizing something by force and creating a *fait accompli*, no one will conduct peace negotiations or take declarations of being ready for peace seriously....

Consequently, we think that in order to cleanse Israel's name of the stains of aggression and serving Anglo-French colonialism, and in order to clear the path to Israel-Arab peace and the security of our country, the IDF should withdraw in full from the occupied territories, thereby ending the unfortunate military escapade and abandoning the policy of attaining aims by force. We must implement the U.N. resolution forthwith, because that is, first and foremost, the highest national interest of Israel, its security and its entire future in this part of the world.

...There are many worrying indications that the rulers of France and Britain intend to undermine the U.N. resolution on various pretexts, and this may lead to a widescale conflagration in the region. Political wisdom in Israel, national responsibility in Israel, obliges us to remove our country from this dangerous cycle, detaching the network of Israel-Arab relations completely from the other, alien network of the forces of colonialism against Egypt and the other Arab countries....The first step in this is to restore the situation on the Israel-Egypt border to what it was, namely, to withdraw from the Sinai desert and the Gaza Strip, clearing the way for a stable peace settlement with our neighbors and solving all the disputed issues on the basis of a mutually-acceptable agreement, and taking into account the just national rights of all the peoples involved in the dispute.

The rulers of the colonial powers seek to embroil Israel in participating in the continued adventure. The French Foreign Minister is inciting Israel not to evacuate the Gaza Strip, and official Israeli

spokesmen are also speaking in that vein. The *New York Times* reports from Jerusalem that there is not yet complete readiness to withdraw even from the Sinai desert. Elements within the American Administration are attempting to divert Israel's military forces toward Jordan. All this means new and terrible dangers for the people and the State of Israel.

It is not the withdrawal from occupied territories which is the disaster but the actual invasion and conquest, while withdrawing Israeli army to Israeli territory will save us from disaster. It is not territory which Israel needs but understanding, agreement and peace with the neighboring peoples, and the retention of the Sinai or Gaza foils the chances for understanding, agreement and peace.

The present Ben-Gurion Government has adopted Herut's approach that those areas of Palestine which are outside the State of Israel are "conquered areas of the homeland" and must be "liberated." This ignores the existence of the Palestinian Arab people of one million individuals, disregards the bitter fate of homeless refugees and overlooks its right to national existence in part of Palestine. Only by recognizing that right, only by resolving all the problems on the path to a mutual agreement, will our nation be saved from the tragedy of war and will our country attain the security it needs in order to assure the State of Israel a shining future. We call on the Knesset to forge a new path for Israel, a path of peace, national independence and the brotherhood of nations.

M. Argov (Mapai): Without going into the details of MK Sneh's verbal assault and distortion of the facts, I propose that we remove the motion from the agenda.

...

The Vote

Those in favor of MK Argov's proposal	76
Those against	3

(MK Argov's proposal to remove the motion from the agenda is adopted.)

The Government's Reply to the U.S. President's Letter

The Speaker, J. Sprinzak: We now proceed to motion for the agenda number 268. I give the floor to MK Ben-Eliezer.

A. Ben-Eliezer (Herut): Mr. Speaker, Knesset members, last Wednesday the Knesset spontaneously burst out singing *Hatikva*, reflecting the

nation's pride in the victory of its heroic army and its unity behind its fighting sons and their mighty battle, which was to bring them peace. At that meeting the Prime Minister issued an important political statement in which he said, amongst other things: "On no condition will Israel allow foreign forces of any kind on its territory or on territory occupied by it." The Prime Minister added: "The Armistice Agreement with Egypt is dead and buried, and will not be revived." These phrases, which were part of the Prime Minister's overall statement, were approved by the Knesset and became its decision.

A night and day passed, and at midnight the nation, which had endured the battle heroically, received information which astounded it. The Government announced a completely different policy, an unexpected turn, and by virtue of the decision the Prime Minister told the President of the U.S.: "In view of the U.N. decision regarding the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Egypt and establishing an international force, we will gladly withdraw our forces when the necessary arrangements are made with the U.N. in the Suez Canal area." Thus the Knesset's decision was completely ignored, without its being consulted. This statement, which was interpreted by the Secretary-General of the U.N. as Israel's agreement to unconditional withdrawal, means, at any rate, that the Israeli Army will be replaced not only by what is called "U.N. forces" in the areas occupied by Israel, but that these may be replaced in turn by the regular and so-called irregular forces of the aggressive enemy, whose sole aim is to attack and kill. Thus the situation of insecurity and constant danger is liable to return.

The fate of the Sinai, which was conquered in our war of defense, must be decided in a peace agreement, in accordance with international practice, as has been determined time and again in wars between nations. This policy would further the chances for peace with Egypt. The announcement of the unconditional withdrawal of our forces means, albeit inadvertently, that we accept the false claim regarding Israel's aggression, as was expressed even today by Moscow's agents, who are Nasser's associates. Withdrawal of this kind perpetuates the state of war and the danger of its acceleration, not only on the southern front but on the other fronts too.

The objective of the campaign was to attain peace, not to perpetuate war. We found no justification for the sudden abandonment of the declared position of both the Government and the Knesset in what we heard from the Prime Minister a few hours before the midnight broadcast. The events of the following three days merely verified our view.

The army won on the battlefield—the Government retreated in the battle of nerves.

The U.N. resolution, the message from the U.S. President and Bulganin's letter, as well as those threats and rumors, were all before the Government prior to its statement in the Knesset. When it sent our

army into battle, the Government should have been aware of the political battle which awaited us. But it has not been able to withstand the first test. By crumbling in the face of the first pressure it merely invites additional pressure.

The danger of active intervention by the forces of Communism alongside our enemies was greater before the Sinai Campaign. It was weakened partly by the destruction of the forces of the Egyptian enemy in the Sinai. This danger threatens more now that the possibility that it will return to the bases of its aggression has been mooted.

Israel does not want to be a prey to Communism and its allies-cum-servants, like Korea or Hungary.

The Government failed in its duty to convey to the U.S. government and public opinion in the free world the danger confronting Israel and the peace of the whole world, and who its enemies and allies are. It is still not too late to do that.

Israel cannot be browbeaten by the threats of governments which declare that they are hostile to us, nor by those which say they are our friends. Israel is fighting a defensive war for its life. And if it withstands the political campaign, with all its moral force and with the sense of justice in its right to exist, as it withstood the military campaign, it will find friends and even allies.

While the Government must make it patently clear that there will be no discussion with anyone about the liberated parts of the homeland, it must reinforce, not abandon, the attitude that the fate of the occupied areas will be determined around the negotiating table at which a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt will be discussed.

During the last few days the impudence of the Egyptian tyrant has reemerged, and he acts as if he were the victor, trying to adapt the U.N. resolutions to his needs and plans, and proving that his plans to attack Israel some other time are still in effect. In these circumstances the Government must reexamine its last, misguided step and return to its correct policy position. There is no need for panic. We are still strong. By the unity of the nation and the diaspora, by winning friends for our just cause, we will endure in the battle for the freedom, welfare and security of the nation.

Mr. Speaker, in order to achieve this we bring the problem before the Knesset for debate.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, D. Ben-Gurion: Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, I did not reply to the words of the representative of the Israel Communist Party, who volunteered to repeat, with a nonsensical addition, the content of the letter sent by his highness, the Chief Minister of the Soviet Union, Gospodin Bulganin, because I have already answered that letter, and the Knesset Member can read it and find the Government's reply to what he said.

M. Sneh (Maki): But you removed it from the agenda, why are you talking about it?

The Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, D. Ben-Gurion: I am sorry that MK Ben-Eliezer said certain things which he does not know to be mistaken, as well as certain things which he knows are mistaken.

I will first of all answer his parliamentary point as to why the Government did not consult the Knesset before answering the U.S. President. He should have asked why the Government did not consult the Knesset before embarking upon the Sinai Campaign. That was a far more serious matter, and he knew about it before the battle began. Thus, the parliamentary question he submitted to me now is neither honest nor fair.

On November 7 I informed the Knesset of the sequence of events which forced us to eradicate the nests of Egyptian murderers in their bases in Sinai, and on the Government's behalf I set out the essential policy lines involved in this campaign. Both before and after the event I was in contact with all the party groups in the Knesset, in both the Coalition and the Opposition, namely, with all the party groups which I know are not Nasser's agents or the agents of a foreign empire which uses the fascist tyrant—

T. Toubi (Maki): Which defend peace and have no common language with you.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, D. Ben-Gurion: —or the agents of a foreign empire which uses the fascist tyrant in Egypt for its objective of controlling the world.

On November 8, the day after the Knesset sitting about the Sinai, I also met with the leaders of all those party groups and told them what was happening both in the region and throughout the world, and about various requests which had been made of us by important persons and bodies. I kept them informed before the action began and after it ended, that is, on October 29 and November 8, of matters which in my and the Government's view should not be published, for the public good, but of which we felt it our duty to inform the heads of the party groups in the Knesset which are loyal to Israel's security.

On the night of November 8 I broadcast the following statement to the nation: "Yesterday I informed the Knesset of the circumstances and motives which obliged us to take extensive and vigorous military steps against the Egyptian *fedayeen* bases scattered throughout the Sinai desert. When the action began a special meeting of the U.N. Assembly was called to discuss the worsening situation in the Middle East. While our army was destroying the nests of murderers in Sinai, the armies of France and Britain were trying to seize the Suez Canal. The Assembly decided to demand a ceasefire of all the sides, and on 3 November we

told the Secretary-General of the U.N. that as far as we were concerned there was a ceasefire, and that ceasefire has been maintained till now.

The Special Assembly did not limit itself to a ceasefire and, on the advice of the U.S. government, passed two more resolutions with an overwhelming majority: one demanded that England and France immediately withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory and that Israel withdraw all its forces to behind the armistice lines determined in the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949; the second resolution concerned the establishment of an international U.N. emergency force. Those two resolutions were transferred to us in full this morning by the Secretary of the U.N.

I also received two letters, one from the head of the government of the Soviet Union, Mr. G. Bulganin, and one from the President of the United States, Mr. D. Eisenhower.

This evening I summoned the leaders of all the party groups in the Knesset—apart from the Communists—and informed them of what was happening around us, at the Assembly and in our relations with the various Powers, as well as of the line which the Government intends to take. The cabinet met twice today, and after receiving a full briefing on the situation reached a decision whose nature you will hear in my letter to President Eisenhower.

I will now read out to you the letter from Mr. G. Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister:

Mr. Prime Minister,

The Soviet government has already expressed its complete condemnation of the armed aggression against Egypt by Israel as well as by England and France, which constitutes a direct and open violation of the constitution and principles of the U.N. At a special, urgent session of the Assembly, the vast majority of countries in the world also condemned the act of aggression against Egypt, and called on the governments of Israel, England and France to end the military actions forthwith and withdraw their invading armies from Egyptian territory. All peace-loving mankind bitterly condemns the base acts of the aggressors, who violated the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Egypt. Disregarding this, the government of Israel, acting as a tool in the hands of outside imperialist forces, continues in a senseless escapade, provoking all the peoples of the East who are fighting against colonialism and for their freedom and independence, and all peace-loving nations throughout the world.

Such actions of the Israel government reveal the truth behind its false declarations of Israel's love of peace and desire for peaceful coexistence with the various Arab countries. Through those declarations the government of Israel sought merely to reduce the alertness of the other nations while it prepared a treacherous attack on its

neighbors in accordance with foreign wishes and acting on orders from outside.

The government of Israel is playing with the fate of the world, with the fate of its own people, in a despicable and irresponsible way. It is sowing hatred of Israel among the peoples of the East to such an extent that this cannot fail to leave its mark on Israel's future and raises doubts about Israel's very existence as a state.

Since it is vitally interested in the preservation and assurance of peace in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is currently taking steps in order to stop the war and restrain the aggressors.

We propose that the government of Israel reconsider its course before it is too late and end its military actions against Egypt. We call upon you, the parliament, the workers of Israel and the entire Israeli nation, to end the aggression, stop the bloodshed and withdraw your troops from Egyptian territory.

In view of the situation which has been created, the Soviet government has decided that its ambassador in Tel Aviv should leave Israel and return to Moscow forthwith. We hope that the government of Israel will understand and evaluate this warning of ours in the right light.

(signed) G. Bulganin

After consulting with all the members of the Cabinet, I sent the following reply to Mr. Bulganin today:

Mr. Chairman of the Ministerial Council,

I received your letter of November 5. I read it very carefully, and I note with regret that some of the contentions in it are based on incorrect and incomplete information which has reached you.

For more than two years the Egyptian ruler has organized a special force, known as the Fedayeen, to penetrate our country secretly and murder inhabitants: workers in the fields, travellers on the roads and people in their homes. At first those bands operated from areas held by Egypt, such as the Gaza Strip. Recently he organized these groups of murderers in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, and the lives of our farmers on the borders are subject to daily attacks by these murderers. At the time of the Suez crisis the actions of these groups stopped, but over the last three weeks they increased.

An order dated 15 February 1956 and issued by the commander of the Third Egyptian Division in Sinai, Major-General Ahmed Salem (as the attached photostat copy reveals), says, amongst other things: "Every commander must prepare himself and his men for the inevitable battle against Israel, with the objective of attaining our supreme aim, namely: the destruction of Israel in the shortest possible time and by the cruellest and most brutal battles."

In violation of the U.N. Charter, the Egyptian ruler organized an economic boycott of Israel. He deprived us of navigation rights in Suez and the Straits of Eilat. For the last five years he has disregarded the Security Council's decision regarding freedom of navigation for Israeli ships in Suez. After the Security Council again forbade any overt or covert discrimination regarding navigation in Suez, on October 13 this year, the Egyptian ruler announced that the discrimination against Israel would continue. Two weeks ago he made a military alliance with Jordan and Syria which was directed against Israel.

Consequently, the action we took at the end of October was necessary for self-defense, and was not undertaken in accordance with the wishes of others, as you were told. In response to the request of the U.N. we ceased firing, and for several days there has been no armed clash between us and Egypt. Yesterday I informed the Knesset on behalf of the Government of Israel that we are ready to embark immediately on direct negotiations with Egypt for a stable peace and cooperation, without any preconditions or compulsion. We hope that all peace-loving countries, especially those which have friendly relations with Egypt, will exert all their influence on that country to bring it to peace talks without further delay.

Finally, I must express my amazement and regret at the threat to Israel's welfare and existence contained in your letter. Our foreign policy is dictated by our essential interests and our aspiration for peace, and no foreign element has or will determine it. As a sovereign state we chart our course for ourselves, and we share the aspirations of all peace-loving nations in the world for relations of peace and justice in our region and in the whole world.

(signed) David Ben-Gurion

The letter President Eisenhower sent to me yesterday, but which I received only today, reads as follows:

Dear Prime Minister,

As you know, the U.N. Assembly has arranged a ceasefire in Egypt, and Egypt, France, the United Kingdom and Israel have agreed to it. A U.N. force will be sent to Egypt in accordance with a decision on this matter by the Assembly. That body has demanded that all other foreign forces should leave Egypt's territory, and especially that Israel's troops should withdraw to the armistice lines. The decision regarding the ceasefire and the withdrawal of forces was submitted by the U.S. and was approved by a large majority in the Assembly. Statements attributed to your government to the effect that Israel does not intend to withdraw from Egypt's territory, as demanded by the U.N., have been brought to my attention.

I must tell you quite frankly, Mr. Prime Minister, that the U.S.A. views those statements—if they are true—with grave concern. Any decision of that kind by Israel's government could undermine the urgent efforts being made by the U.N. to restore peace to the Middle East, and could lead to the condemnation of Israel as violating the principles and instructions of the U.N.

I trust that top priority will be given to the restoration of peace and the withdrawal of foreign forces, apart from those of the U.N., from Egypt. After that, vigorous new steps will be taken within the framework of the U.N. to resolve the basic problem which has led to the current difficulty; the U.S. has submitted two proposals to the U.N. Assembly which are intended to achieve the said aims, and it hopes that that they will be implemented when the present emergency situation is over.

I do not need to assure you of the deep interest the U.S. has in your country, nor to remind you of the various foundations of our policy which are intended to help Israel in a variety of ways. It is in connection with these that I ask you to accept the decisions of the U.N. Assembly which refer to the current crisis and to inform me immediately of your decision. It would be highly regrettable to all my compatriots if, in a matter as serious as this which affects the whole world, the State of Israel were in any way to injure the friendly cooperation between our two countries.

With the very best wishes, sincerely,

(signed) Dwight D. Eisenhower

After a deep and exhaustive discussion in the Cabinet, I sent the following reply to the U.S. President this evening:

Mr. President,

I received your letter only this afternoon, the delay being due to a fault in the communications system between your State Department and the U.S. embassy in Israel.

We gladly accept your announcement that a U.N. force has been sent to Egypt, in accordance with the relevant resolution of the U.N. Assembly. Neither I nor any authorized spokesman of the Government of Israel has said that we intend to annex the Sinai desert. In view of the U.N. decision regarding the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt and the establishment of an international force, we will gladly withdraw our troops as soon as the appropriate arrangements are made with the U.N. regarding the stationing of an international force in the Suez Canal area.

Although an important part of our objective was achieved as a result of the Sinai Campaign, and the *fedayeen* gangs and the military bases which planned and guided their activities were destroyed, we must reiterate our urgent demand that the U.N. oblige

Egypt, which has always stated that it is at war with Israel, to abandon that position, end the policy of blockade and boycott, cease sending bands of murderers into Israel's territory and, in accordance with its commitment to the U.N. Charter, live in peace with all the members of the U.N. and sit down to direct peace negotiations with Israel.

On behalf of my Government, I would like to convey to you our gratitude for mentioning the deep interest the U.S. has in Israel and for its support for our country. I know that what you said came from your heart, and I would like to assure you that you will always find Israel ready to make its own modest contribution, alongside the U.S., to the endeavor to reinforce justice and peace in the world.

In gratitude and with all good wishes,

(signed) David Ben-Gurion

I cannot conclude without saying a few words to my comrades in arms, to all the soldiers and officers of the IDF: you fulfilled the nation's mission, as usual, with supreme valor, and whatever the outcome of the political battle with which we have been confronted and which has not yet ended, let none of you think that your heroic deeds and the self-sacrifice of your friends who fell in battle were in vain. We had three main aims in the Sinai Campaign:

1. To destroy the forces which constantly sought to overcome us; 2. To liberate the area of the homeland which had been seized by the invader; 3. To ensure freedom of navigation in the Straits of Eilat and the Suez Canal. For the moment only the first, and main, aim has been achieved, but we are confident that the other two will also be attained in full.

We do not know what will happen to the Sinai desert. In my statement to the Knesset yesterday I deliberately—not inadvertently—omitted to mention that great problem. We had no doubt that we would face a combined military and political attack, and nobody knows yet if either of them has ended and in what way. We confronted difficult trials at the time of the War of Independence too, and although we did not get all we wanted, we have never achieved more in our entire history than we did then.

Only short-sighted people fail to see how much we have achieved now, even though the battle is not yet over. There is no power in the world which can deprive you of your great victory, and Israel after the Sinai Campaign is not the same as it was before it. There is a great historical reward for your deed, and I believe that our nation will be worthy of it."

These words concluded my broadcast to the nation.

As you heard, I ended the broadcast by telling the IDF that we had three main aims in the Sinai Campaign, and for the moment only one of them had been achieved in full, namely, the destruction of the bases of the murderers who planned to destroy Israel. The other two aims still

exist, but I cannot yet say that they have been achieved in full. Time will tell.

In the same broadcast I also said, in contradiction to the two previous speakers, that in my address to the Knesset of November 7 I did not say a word about the future of the Sinai desert. I did that deliberately, not out of carelessness, for reasons which I will not reveal here. As a result the Cabinet could inform the President of the U.S., and the Foreign Minister could inform the U.N., without contradicting what I had said in the Knesset, that no representative of the Government had talked of annexing the Sinai to the State of Israel.

I would also like to tell the Knesset that the following day, November 9, last Friday, there was a meeting of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee—where it is possible to discuss matters which the security of the state precludes from making public—and a discussion was held there in the wake of the Government's decision and the broadcast. I note with satisfaction that apart from the Herut party group, all the party groups, both Coalition and Opposition, approved of the position reflected in the reply to the U.S. President. The Government stands behind that reply, and also approved of the reply the Foreign Minister gave to the representatives of the U.N. on the same subject.

I have heard many haughty words, both here and elsewhere. I am sometimes surprised at the fact that the Jews, who are a clever nation, fail to realize that they have heroes, conquerors of nations, who strike fear into the hearts of the Great Powers: England, Russia and America; who set historical borders without shedding one drop of blood, merely by uttering words. And yet that clever nation fails to hand them the reins of power, even though those people are the scions of a dynasty which, they claim, is destined to rule, because they contend that God Himself has chosen them to rule.

I would like to tell MK Ben-Eliezer and his friends that I am not prepared to compete with them in patriotism, or heroism, or good deeds for Israel, or in the other matters they occupy themselves with.

From an ancient sage I learned what courage is. He said that courage is a certain kind of knowledge, namely, knowing when to be afraid of something one should be afraid of and when not to be afraid of something one need not be afraid of.

Y. Bader (Herut): Spinoza thinks otherwise.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, D. Ben-Gurion: No, my learned friend, I did not quote Spinoza this time.

We maintain that the public debate of these matters will not be to the benefit of the nation and the state. Without a doubt there will be another discussion in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, even though there has already been an initial discussion in that Committee after the

Government's decision. We think, however, that it would not be politically wise or beneficial to discuss these matters now.

I move that we reject the proposal of the distinguished Herut Knesset Member, Mr. Ben-Eliezer.

The Vote

Those in favor of the Prime Minister's proposal	66
---	----

Those against	13
---------------	----

(The Prime Minister's proposal is adopted.)