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Jewish Agency, Arab material, 1948-1950.

BRITAIN VIOLATES UN BAN ON ARMS SHIPMENTS TO PARTICIPANTS IN PALESTINE WAR

A Statement Released on December 14, 1948 at the UN Session
in Paris by the Israeli Information Service

Hector McNeil, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, stated in the House of Commons on December 13, 1948 that the British Government had "meticulously observed" the embargo on arms and war equipment to the countries of the Middle East. There is no doubt that this statement is fully in accordance with the facts as far as Israel is concerned. There is, as well, no doubt that Britain has supplied various kinds of war equipment to the Arab countries during the periods of the Palestine truce -- i.e. between June 11 and July 9, 1948, and from July 18 to date.

Reliable information reaching official Israeli quarters from various sources proves that Egypt, Iraq and Transjordan have received a considerable amount of British arms during the last six months. Some of the more striking examples of British violations of the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations are given herewith:

1. During the truce and prior to the middle of October, 20,000 rounds of six pounder ammunition, 5,000 rounds of twenty-five pounder ammunition, and approximately 2,000 to 3,000 rounds of larger than twenty-five pounder ammunition were supplied by Britain to the Egyptian army. Egypt is known to have requested an additional British supply of heavy and medium artillery ammunition which may have been supplied in the meantime.

2. During the month of August, British naval authorities in Egypt sold small arms ammunition to the Egyptian army.

3. After the Egyptian army requisitioned a large number of airplanes belonging to the Egyptian MISR Airlines, Britain sold eight Vikings to MISR Airlines. This was done after the Egyptian company found itself unable, owing to the embargo on the supply of arms to the Middle East, to secure from the United States replacements of airplanes easily useable for military purposes.

4. There is reason for strong suspicion that after Glubb Pasha's visit to London last August, certain types of equipment of a British medium artillery regiment which had been evacuated from Palestine to Misrata in Tripolitania, was transferred to Egypt for use in the Negev operations.

5. On June 6 and June 17, respectively, the SS Bardistan and SS Derryheen arrived in Basra, Iraq, from the United Kingdom and landed British war equipment.

6. At a secret meeting of the Iraqi Parliament on September 14, the Prime Minister informed the house that the British military authorities had delivered to the Iraqi army surplus U.S. war materials, which they controlled in sufficient quantities to equip an armored brigade.

7. On July 5, 20 British "Fury" fighter bombers equipped with special bombsights and 25 pound bombs landed at Rashid airfield in Iraq. They were piloted by Iraqis who had been specially trained in Britain to fly these planes.

8. In August a number of British "Fury" aircraft which had been held camouflaged on Mosul airdrome, reached Mafrag in Transjordan, for delivery to the Iraqi airforces.

9. When, late in August, the Iraqi airforces had to curtail their activities because of shortage of gasoline, the RAF in Iraq supplied them with fuel from their own stores on a lendlease basis.

10. British equipment unloaded at Basra, Iraq, during the month of August included thirty 25 pounder guns, 160 cases of rifles, 15 gun tractors and 30 mobile wireless stations with their spare parts.

11. During the truce the SS Corinthus and SS Luristan unloaded British small arms and small arms ammunition at Basra.

12. During the month of August, the No. 9 British base ordnance depot in the Suez Canal Zone supplied ammunition to the Arab Legion. This ammunition was secretly shipped to Aqaba and then airlifted to Amman, Transjordan.

13. Large quantities of arms from the United Kingdom, including 2,000 rifles, reached Amman during the month of October.

... is just the
... in other countries. In most countries the capital came first
and labor, attracted by jobs, came later. In Palestine a labor society was
formed first and it is that labor society which is presently inviting and
helping a parallel development of capital.

NY TIMES CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON ISRAELI TREATMENT OF ARAB POPULATION

New York, March 4, (Palcor)--- The social and economic benefits accruing to
Arabs who elect to remain in Israel were detailed today in a dispatch from
New York Times correspondent Gene Currivan from Tel Aviv. Commenting on
the Arab evacuation of the Falluja area to Arab controlled parts of Palestine,
Mr. Currivan says that if these people had been aware of what the Israelis
have done and plan to do for their Arab fellow-citizens, they would not have
been "so easily stampeded into leaving the country."

"Mosques have been restored, religious courts are again opera-
ting and their archives re-assembled under a special committee working for
the restoration of the holy places," Mr. Currivan writes. "There is a sub-
committee for Arab food control, which gives preference to Arab merchants
serving Arab areas. In the Beersheba area, at the top of the Negev desert,
where Bedouin tribes have been constricted and prevented from indulging in
their seasonal nomadic wanderings, there is another committee that supplies
staple foods to them. Ten consumers cooperatives have been organized in
towns as Jaffa, Acre and Lydda. Four dollars and fifty cents daily are
being paid to Arab workers, against the previous scale of one dollar and
sixty cents. There are social welfare programs operating now, and hospital
clinics set aside for Arabs with Arab and Israeli doctors working side by
side. There is an ambulance service to remote Arab sections, and mobile
clinics that reach every distant Arab farm. Six thousand Arab children are
attending fifty-five schools under a budget of almost \$250,000. Jaffa has
its own Arabic newspaper and the Israeli radio station transmits Arab news
items and programs daily."

President Weizmann on Jerusalem

President Chaim Weizmann, at the dinner given in his honor on Saturday, made clear Israel's position on the problem of Jerusalem, and also indicated that "a harmonious solution can swiftly be secured with international consent."

Dr. Weizmann asked that the international community understand "the direct and inescapable responsibility which Israel bears and exercises in the daily life and administration of Jewish Jerusalem." But he also pledged Israel "to insure full security for religious institutions in the exercise of their functions; to grant the supervision of the holy places by those who hold them sacred; and to encourage and accept the fullest international safeguards and controls for their immunity and protection." This is less than the separate international administration for Jerusalem and its environs, which was projected in the original Palestine plan of the United Nations Assembly, and which was repeated in later directives. There are many who will regret that the U. N. was unable to establish this neutral control at the outset, and so avert the fighting which raged in Jerusalem, the siege and counter-siege of the Holy City. However, the suggestion of Israel's President does offer the elements of a practical compromise.

Religious institutions would be left in the hands of their founders; the holy places in New and Old Jerusalem would be under the immediate control, in Dr. Weizmann's words, "of those who hold them sacred." And some form of U. N. commission, with headquarters in Jerusalem and a sufficient staff, could be made available to see that the rights of all religions were fully maintained. Doubtless, the task of carrying on this system, and co-ordinating it with Israeli and Arab secular administration of the divided city, would be delicate. But it is doubtful whether the complications would be much greater than those involved in full U. N. control of the Jerusalem area. In any case, good will and good sense could make the plan work, and no international arrangements are proof against the lack of these qualities.

New York World-Telegram

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1949.

Arab Refugees

By Eleanor Roosevelt

I was interested to read in one of our metropolitan papers the other day a plea that we insist that the new state of Israel pay for resettlement of the Arab refugees.

No one who served at the U.N. session in Paris last fall will forget the impassioned plea of the British in behalf of the humanitarian objective of immediate relief for these refugees and their final settlement. This plea met with great sympathy and the United States was among the nations which pledged a great part of the funds to be used for these purposes.

In this newspaper article the writer, who says she has just returned from several months in the Near East, intimates the Arabs were driven from their homes. It is odd that she did not happen to find in Israel the many communities in which the Arabs remained and are quite happy living side by side with the Jews and even taking part in the government of the

community. This fact makes some of us wonder why the Arab refugees ran away from a "danger" which was certainly no worse than the danger they took themselves into.

* * *

There was a time when perhaps the best solution would have been for these people to return to Israel. However, now with the great influx of Jewish immigration from Cyprus and central Europe, the Arabs probably will be better off if the funds already in hand are used to resettle them in some of the Arab countries where there are vacant lands that need people to work them.

The article is very hostile to the new state of Israel. It seems regrettable that this whole problem cannot be examined in an entirely objective and calm manner in the same way that the negotiations for the armistices have been carried on. The people in those troubled areas should not be the target of too much criticism; they must make the decisions that seem to them wisest.

* * *



Mrs. Roosevelt.

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*** Thursday, June 12, 1941

Arab Refugees

The Arab-Israeli Conference at Lausanne is so deadlocked that there has been a suspension of talks till the delegates get fresh instructions. The air is full of recriminations. The Arabs insist that the Israelis are ducking the United Nations resolution of last December 11 which said that the Arab refugees should be permitted to return to their homes and that this should be facilitated by the Conciliation Commission. The Israelis retort that the December 11 resolution is not so restrictive. They say—and they are right in so saying—that the refugee problem was made all of a piece with a peace settlement, but that the Arabs will talk about refugees but not about a peace settlement. The effort to promote a meeting of minds seems to have put the Conciliation Commission in a state of exhaustion and exasperation.

In the meantime the condition of the refugees seems to be worsening, and this is of concern to civilized society. There have been few tragedies in history comparable to the enforced deprivation of domestic ties of millions of people by the war and by the subsequent transfer of populations. This applies to Arabs no less than to Jews and to the *Volksdeutsch*. Contrary to what some Israeli spokesmen say, many of the Arabs in Palestine were attached to their homes in Palestine, and they want to go back there. It doesn't matter to most of them, contrary to what used to be said during the hostilities over Palestine, whether sovereignty is Israeli or Arab. Indeed, they may have a preference for the new sovereignty of a people who have made Palestine thrive and prosper. Some of them used to work in the orange groves, and, with Israel short of such workers, would be helpful to reconstruction in the new state. However, the Israelis cannot be sure of the allegiance of all the refugees. Obviously there is a security or a fifth column problem involved so long as a technical state of war continues to exist. And it is by no means alleviated by the "second round" talk of the Arab press or by the Bevin decision to resume arms shipments to Arab countries.

The prospect of a general settlement will recede if the present recrimination is maintained. The key to Arab willingness to talk peace is said to be some serious move by the Israelis to repatriate the refugees. But they have made not one move, but several. What are they? On the record there are two: first, an offer to reunite broken families, and, second, an offer to take responsibility for the 250,000 refugees cooped up in the Gaza strip, about 20 miles of coastline 4 miles deep, in return for that strip. In addition, in principle they have agreed to validate the property rights of the refugees and to unfreeze their bank accounts. Are these not serious offers while the war is still in a state of suspense? This is certainly the appearance they give, though they were tardy in coming forth, and the acknowledgment of property rights applies neither to urban homes nor to uncultivated land.

It would seem to us that since multilateral negotiations seem to have had no promising results, bilateral negotiations should be encouraged, and might begin with the issue with Egypt over the Gaza strip. Here is the locus of the greatest concentration of the refugees. Since Egypt and Israel came to an armistice when their representatives were brought together at Rhodes, why not let them try to come to a peace agreement between themselves. There is no subject except that of the refugees which justifies any comprehensive negotiations. Pressure in this direction, however, presupposes a united Anglo-American policy in the Middle East based upon live-and-let-live and forward-looking development that, unfortunately, still seems to escape the diplomacy of both countries.

FROM HANSARD
(24 April, 1950)

MIDDLE EAST

(Armaments)

Mr. Harold Davies asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what total amount of arms of all kinds it is proposed to supply to Egypt this year; and what total amount of arms it is proposed to supply to Israel in the same period.

Mr. Ernest Davies: Arms have been and will continue to be supplied to Egypt in accordance with our obligations under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance, and in accordance with the country's defensive requirements. It would be contrary to usual practice to reveal the quantities which have been or will be supplied. As regards Israel, no parallel obligations exist. There are at present no arrangements in view for the supply of military equipment from the United Kingdom to that country.

Mr. Harold Davies: Is my right hon. Friend aware that this policy seems rather to upset the entire Middle East peace policy, and, secondly, will he say whether jet fighters have been supplied to Egypt recently?

Mr. Davies: Instead of supplanting the possibilities of peace in the Middle East, it is considered that the policy being pursued is directed towards that end. The answer to the second part of the supplementary is that there have been a few jet planes provided.

Mr. Mikardo: In view of the fact that the Egyptian Government is abusing its power and authority in stopping British ships from passing through the Suez Canal on their lawful occasions, is not the case that under our Treaty obligations we are giving the Egyptians the wherewithal to defy her Treaty obligations to us?

Mr. Sydney Silverman: Will the Under-Secretary explain how a supply of arms to Egypt can promote peace in the Middle East, when Egypt, at the same time, is refusing to negotiate any kind of peace treaty or allow any other Arab State to do so?

Mr. Davies: Because we are providing arms for Egypt in accordance with our Treaty arrangements, and with a view to assisting her to have sufficient to maintain her internal security and her own self-defence.

Mr. Mikardo asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how many Lincoln Bombers and how many Centurion tanks have been supplied, and how many it is proposed to supply, to Egypt.

Mr. Ernest Davies: It would not be in accordance with usual practice to supply detailed information of the kind required. A limited quantity of armaments, including some armoured fighting vehicles, has been supplied to Egypt, and further quantities remain to be delivered in accordance with our Treaty obligations to that country. No Lincoln bombers have been supplied and none are in prospect.

Mr. Mikardo: As my hon. Friend has said in answer to an earlier Question that these arms are supplied to Egypt for internal security, can he now say whether these bombers and tanks are required by the Egyptians to stop the bazaar quarrels in Cairo and the strike of camel drivers at the Pyramids?

Mr. Davies: I think my hon. Friend has unintentionally misrepresented me. I said that arms were required for internal security and for defensive purposes. It is understood that the aircraft in question are required mainly for non-operational purposes such as training, air-sea rescue and reconnaissance.

Mr. Jenner: Against whom is this defence required?

Mr. Fernyhough: Would not the cause of peace in the Middle East be better served by refusing to supply any countries there with any arms?

Mr. Davies: There was a ban on the supply of arms to the Middle East imposed by the Security Council, who have raised that ban.

Mr. Hamilton: Have the Egyptian Government paid for any of these arms?

Mr. Jenner asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what amounts have been paid to Great Britain for armaments, since August, 1949, by Egypt, Persia, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi-Arabia, respectively.

Mr. Ernest Davies: It would not be in accordance with usual practice for His Majesty's Government to give details of the the sums spent by foreign Governments on the purchase of military equipment in this country, particularly since many of the orders involved are the result of confidential contracts between the Governments concerned and British manufacturers.

Mr. Jenner: How much is this costing the British taxpayer? What use is there in continuing to supply these arms, unless it is for the purpose of irritating the Middle East? Does not my hon. Friend realise that this is a provocation to some of these countries to attack other peaceable countries in the Middle East?

Mr. Davies: As payment has been made on all orders in which His Majesty's Government are interested this is not costing the British taxpayer anything.

Mr. A.R.W. Low: Has payment in fact been made, or have there been deductions from sterling balances that grew up during the war?

Mr. Sydney Silverman rose -

An Hon. Member: Answer.

Mr. Davies: That is another question, of which I should want notice.

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Sidney Marshall.

Mr. S. Silverman: On a point of Order. I am sorry if I am wrong, Mr. Speaker, but I understood that you called me to ask a supplementary question. I hope that I am not to be deprived of doing so merely because I gave way to my hon. Friend in order to permit him to respond to the shouts of "Answer".

Mr. Speaker: There must be a limit to supplementary questions. I did not see the hon. Gentleman rise, and I went on to the next Question.

Mr. Silverman: I did rise, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: We will pass on to the next Question.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

2210 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
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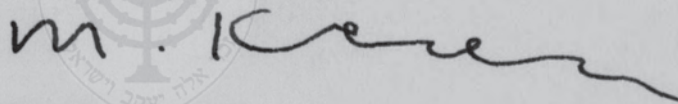
April 25, 1950

Dear Dr. Silver:

Attached please find the promised memorandum. It is done, of course, in a hurry and I was not even able to read it over. I just ask you, therefore, to excuse mistakes in typing or dictating which might have occurred.

I will call you in the course of the evening and should it be necessary, I am only too glad to see you tonight and add my explanations.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH
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Sincerely yours,


Moshe Keren

Dr. Aba Hillel Silver
Roosevelt Hotel
Washington, D. C.

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enclosure

April 25, 1950

SUMMARY ON ARAB RE-ARMAMENT

1. Almost simultaneously with the end of fighting in Israel, the defeated Arab states launched a re-armament program which gradually acquired momentum both in respect of quality and quantity of arms involved. Foremost among the Arab states is Egypt which spent almost one-third of its budget for the year 1949-50, that is, 50,000,000 Egyptian pounds (almost \$150,000,000) for the purchase of heavy armament and the establishment of an arms industry. The arms acquired are of offensive character. They include great numbers of heavy tanks, bombers, about 100 jet fighters, guns of all calibres, naval craft, etc. The chief supplier for these arms is Great Britain, but other European countries, including Germany, have also sold both arms and armament factories.
2. The offensive character of the re-armament is shown, too, by the reorganization which is undertaken at the same time in most of the Arab armies. Again, Egypt is foremost. She is establishing an armored division in formations suited primarily for attack. Syria is forming an armored brigade; Jordan, an armored regiment.
3. It cannot be denied that this feverish re-armament and reorganization constitute a very serious threat to the security of Israel. Israel's land frontiers are extremely extended as is its seashore. It is very vulnerable both to land attack and maritime blockade. The narrow strip of slightly more than ten miles which connects the northern and southern parts of the country can easily be cut.
4. The Arab re-armament must be seen, too, in connection with the policy of the Arab states. A continued propaganda of hatred and implacability is flooding the Arab countries and inciting public opinion. Not only present radio but officials of high standing took and take part in this propaganda. It might be mentioned in this connection that the former Mufti of Jerusalem, the notorious ally of Hitler who has just been revived from political oblivion by the Arab League, sent a circular letter to the Arab communities of the United States a few months ago, admonishing them "to resume the fight".
5. Not only the propaganda but the policy of the Arab states show how remote they are from any sincere wish of peace. They have constantly declined to enter into direct negotiations with Israel although the Government of Israel has made this offer repeatedly. They have persistently evaded the efforts of the Palestine Reconciliation Commission to negotiate settlements. Moreover, they have in the last session of the Arab League in Cairo, succeeded in intimidating and frightening the only Arab ruler who appeared to be ready for peace, Abdullah of Jordan, into an interruption of his negotiations with the Israeli Government which showed until then all signs of success. Through the threat to exclude every state which is making a separate peace with Israel from the Arab League, they tried to bind Abdullah's hands for the future.
6. In spite of the Armistice, the Arab states have continued their measures of blockade and economic warfare. Iraq has refused to re-open the pipeline to Haifa; the Suez Canal remains closed to the shipment of oils, war materials and immigrants into Israel. Needless to say, no exchange of fruits, no passing of frontiers by tourists between Israel and the Arab states takes place as yet.
7. Seriously perturbed by this ominous combination of re-armament and refusal of peace, the Israel Ambassador, in a letter to the Secretary of State dated February 13, 1950, applied to the Government of the United States, "that an end be put to the armaments race in the Middle East and that the unchecked flow of arms to the Arab countries be stemmed". At the same time, he requested "that the Government of the United States lend its assistance to enable Israel to acquire in the United States those legitimate means of self-defense urgently needed for her security". This letter still remains without reply.

8. At the same time, American public opinion has become increasingly aware of the danger to peace and stability created by the re-armament of the Arab states. The first to direct his attention publicly to this fact was Congressman Javits, who wrote a letter on December 28, 1949, to the Secretary of State. This letter was answered by the Secretary of State on January 16, 1950, and the arguments brought forth in this reply have been repeated since on numerous occasions by the Department of State and by the Secretary himself. In his reply to Congressman Javits, the Secretary of State sanctions the sale of arms to the Arab states. His arguments are:

1. The belicose statements and warlike pronouncements "may well have been made for the purpose of domestic consumption".
 2. According to the information available to the Government of the United States, no "serious measures are being taken for preparation of renewal of hostilities".
 3. The sale of arms by the British Government are in fulfillment of treaty arrangements which bind Great Britain to Iraq, Jordan and Egypt.
 4. The security of the Middle East area is of great importance to the West, and it is desirable that these countries obtain from reliable and friendly sources such arms as they may need for their legitimate security requirements.
 5. The U.S.A. Government is opposed to an armament race in the Middle East. Arms shipments should be limited to those necessary for the purpose of maintaining internal law and reasonable requirements of self-defense.
 6. Should danger of a renewed war arise, "the United States Government would be quick to use all its influence in an attempt to prevent such an eventuality both within the United States and outside".
9. It is doubtful whether these arguments withstand criticism.
1. The belicose propaganda is in line with the warlike policy of the Arab states. It, therefore, cannot be taken lightly, and the continuous incitement of public opinion makes it almost impossible for the Arab Government to change its policy.
 2. The very fact of the re-armament can be interpreted only as a preparation for a second round. The Arab states are on the record as having attacked Israel two years ago.
 - 3-4. Great Britain is under no obligation to furnish such ultra-modern armament as jet planes and Centurion planes which have been developed since the conclusion of the Second World War. These arms are, of course, of no avail against the aggression of a major power and the record of the Arabs during the last World War as well as the latest pro-Soviet statements of highest ranking Arab leaders show that the Arabs cannot be relied upon as allies of the "West".

5. The armament race is already taking place in a one-sided manner. It is obvious that the arms acquired are not needed for "maintaining internal law and order". They are not required either for self-defense as the Arab states are in no danger of attack, and the offensive character of the re-armament shows that defense is not the real purpose.
6. Israel cannot, of course, trust its security to the good intentions of the United Nations or the United States. Bitter experience has taught it that the mills of the Security Council grind very slowly, and it is very doubtful whether the influence of the United States Government is great enough to prevent the renewal of the war, if it should suit the Arab leaders. In any case, no Government can rely upon such flimsy and indefinite promise of intervention.

10. In addition to its application to the United States, the Government of Israel has tried to purchase arms from Great Britain. This application was officially refused under the pretext that Great Britain could not sell arms to Israel as long as there is no peace between her and the Arab states. The fact that there is no peace does not prevent Great Britain from selling arms freely to the Arabs, and its refusal to supply arms to Israel as long as no peace has been concluded is nothing less than a premium for the Arabs not to enter into negotiations, because as long as the present situation persists they are sure that Israel will get no arms from Great Britain. The obstinacy of the Arabs is, therefore, directly encouraged by His Majesty's Government.

11. Bevin's latest statement in the House of Commons went even further than that. He praised the collective refusal of the Arab Governments not to conclude peace. He defended the refusal of Iraq not to open the pipeline although this refusal is against the direct interests of Great Britain herself. He even acquiesced in the closing of the Suez Canal to oil shipments even though an international principle vital to Great Britain is involved. His inveterate inclination toward the Arab point of view, and his ill-concealed dislike for Israel shown by his grotesque remark that Haifa was originally allotted to the Arabs, cannot but encourage the Arabs in their implacability and diminish the hopes for peace and stability of the Middle East.

12. It must be regretted that the American policy of openly sanctioning the British sale of arms to the Arabs is unconsciously becoming a tool of the Foreign Office. It is beyond doubt that the United States Government is sincerely interested in peace in the Middle East and that the quietness and stability of this region is one of the major aims of its policy, but by its passive acquiescence of Great Britain's intrigues, it helps to defeat its own purpose, and in keeping this vital area in prolonged turmoil and crisis.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

2210 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Hudson 4100

April 26, 1950

Dear Dr. Silver:

Here is the second copy you asked for. At the same time, I enclose a memorandum prepared by Mr. Lourie on the same subject which might give you some additional points of interest. I must, however, ask you to return this memorandum of Mr. Lourie's as I have no spare copy. If you are interested, I will have a copy made for you.

Sincerely yours,

Moshe Keren

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

M. Keren

WRHS

Dr. Aba Hillel Silver
Roosevelt Hotel
Washington, D. C.

mk/arg
Enclosures

April 27, 1950

Mr. John Sherman Cooper
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Cooper:

It was a pleasure to see you yesterday and to have had a chat with you. I trust that you are feeling more comfortable and that your back is giving you less trouble.

I am enclosing herewith a brief memorandum on the subject which we discussed. The Arab states, especially Egypt, are rearming. Great Britain has refused to supply arms to Israel. Our own government has, so far, maintained a similar attitude. This, of course, feeds Arab intransigence and delays the conclusion of peace treaties between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. It encourages hopes for "a second round" and for the resumption of hostilities, which certainly our government does not want nor the government of Israel.

Our country was the first to recognize the new state of Israel. The American people overwhelmingly approved the re-establishment of the state of Israel. Certainly everyone in our country is eager for peace in that part of the world. The rearming of Arab states and the refusal to supply arms to Israel are certainly not conducive to the conclusion of peace. Quite the contrary. It feeds the desperate hopes of the intransigents among the Arabs and those who refuse to reconcile themselves to the existence of the state of Israel.

I send you all my good wishes.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

From New York Post
May 2, 1950

TO BE FRANK

By Dr. Frank Kingdon

The ways of the British Foreign Office are always a wonder to watch in much the same way as it is fascinating to see a wily real estate operator acquire extra lots by the use of dummies to conceal his own interest. Fascinating, but not endearing.

The dummy in the present case is called Abdullah, an intriguing little chieftain who managed to get control of a country containing about 350,000 wandering Bedouins which the kindly Foreign Office equipped with a well-trained fighting force called the Arab Legion. The Pashas commanding this army were British, on the British Army payroll, up to and including the onomatopoeic Glubb Pasha. In the books of the Foreign Office, the Bedouins were nothing. Glubb was a desert expert, the Arab Legion was a valuable frontier force, and Abdullah was a King and no people know better than the British how useful a king can be, provided he takes guidance with docility.

The real estate for which the Foreign Office had a hankering was called Palestine. The obstacle was an obstinate people who refused to hand over the deed. Instead, they drove out the British bailiffs and then beat back the neighbors the British set on them. The only force in the neighborhood left in shape to make life uncomfortable for the people who would not surrender was the Arab Legion.

It moved across the Jordan and possessed some of the land including the Old City of Jerusalem. The Foreign Office still had the idea it might drive the embattled defenders of their farms and cities into the Mediterranean. When this dream was exploded, Abdullah, under orders, called for an armistice. His idea was to draw a long breath and recuperate for the final drive to the sea.

His only difficulty turned out to be that the people of the land got their breath first, and when he renewed his attack, they struck with such force that he knew he could not even hold the Old City. Seeing his peril, the Foreign Office jumped to his aid with a pious appeal to the United Nations to intervene, and fighting stopped with the little chieftain still holding both sides of the Jordan and still in Jerusalem.

The Foreign Office now was in a quandary. It clung to the idea of controlling Palestine, but in the glare of the United Nations it could not be quite crass enough to tell Abdullah to announce that he would at once annex what he had occupied by force. So it instructed him to be patient, until the sagacity of Whitehall had figured a more seemingly respectable procedure. They finally evolved the impeccable device of a referendum which, strange to relate, resulted in the people of the land watched by his army asking to be included in his kingdom. With this vote to support him, he annexed the land he occupied.

This done, the Foreign Office approved his action and accorded him full recognition as king, undoubtedly by the grace of God. At the same time, having their puppet well established on the borders of Israel and in possession of the Old City, they extended full recognition to the government of Israel also.

The net outcome is that the Foreign Office is back in Palestine with an army it controls on Israel's most exposed border and dedicated to assuring that Israel shall not enlarge its territory. Not having been able to prevent Israel from coming to birth, the Foreign Office has compromised by keeping it within range of its guns.

From the
JTA Daily News Bulletin
May 2, 1950

EGYPT DEFINITELY ARMING FOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST
JEWISH STATE, MILITARY COMMANDER SAYS

BEERSHEBA, Israel, May 1. (JTA) -- The nature and quantities of weapons presently streaming from Britain to Egypt leave no doubt about Egypt's offensive intentions, Brigadier Yigal Allon, former commander of the Israel armed forces in the Negev, southern part of Israel, declared today at a reception given for military correspondents.

Brigadier Allon said that defense of the Negev can be organized only by establishing a close network of Jewish settlements in that part of the country, which borders on Egypt.

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SUGGESTED FORM FOR RESOLUTION ON ARMS

WHEREAS it is known from reliable sources that arms of a quality and quantity indicating intended use beyond the purpose of internal security are being supplied to the Arab states in the Middle East, most particularly to Egypt, by Great Britain; and

WHEREAS this Arab rearmament by Great Britain has the acknowledged approval of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS at the same time, Great Britain has denied Israel arms for its defense; and

WHEREAS the Arab League has proclaimed its intention to organize a united economic and military front of all Arab states against the struggling State of Israel; and

WHEREAS we are convinced of the genuine concern of the United States for the peace and security of the Middle East;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we _____
(name of organization)
in meeting in _____ do call upon the
(place) (date)
United States to implement its proclaimed concern and desire for peace in the Middle East by providing Israel with arms to defend itself thus lending its strong influence to the maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

MEMORANDUM ON REARMAMENT OF MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

The Security Council embargo on the shipment of arms to the Middle East was lifted in August, 1949. Since that time the British Government, with the approval of the United States Government, has been shipping arms in considerable quantities to the Arab countries. According to authoritative sources, these shipments have included jet planes, heavy tanks, four-engined bombers, submarines, destroyers, corvettes and heavy artillery.

These large shipments of arms to the Arab countries have caused considerable apprehension in many quarters which view such action as a prelude to the resumption of warfare in the Middle East. At best, it has made exceedingly difficult the signing of final peace settlements to replace the existing armistice arrangements between Israel and the Arab States. Arab leaders who have found it difficult to acknowledge defeat at the hands of Israel are threatening a "second round" against her. Their reluctance to make a just and final peace treaty grows in direct proportion to the amount of war potential which they receive almost daily from Britain with American approval.

During the past months many segments of American public opinion have registered their strong disapproval of the policy of our Government in sanctioning the British action and for our own willingness to provide the Arab States with war materiel, while denying such materiel to Israel despite its request for such arms. In defending this policy, Secretary Acheson has stated:

1. Arms are being supplied by Britain to the Arabs in line with existing treaty arrangements;
2. These arms are solely for keeping internal order;
3. The Arab States must be armed to resist aggression in the Middle East;
4. The U. S. Government is unable to act favorably on the Israeli request because of the shortage of such materiel and because of our own treaty arrangements with other countries which must receive priority.

Even a cursory examination of the above statements reveals their superficiality:

1. Whenever the interests of world peace are paramount, treaty arrangements between individual countries have been brushed aside. The same treaty arrangements in existence today between Britain and the Arab countries were in existence in 1948 when the United Nations ordered an arms embargo to the Middle East. There was no valid reason why that embargo could not have been continued until the peace treaties were signed. There is no valid reason today for not re-imposing that embargo.
2. The type and quantity of arms being delivered to the Arab States hardly substantiates Mr. Acheson's claim that those states are being armed solely for keeping internal order. The heavy military budgets adopted by the Arab countries also belie this contention.

3. If, as is claimed, the Arab States are being armed by Britain and the United States to resist foreign aggression, presumably the Soviet Union, why should the same argument not apply to Israel? Is it not equally important to keep the Soviets out of Israel? How long could the Arab States be expected to resist the Soviet Union once it had gained a foothold anywhere in the Middle East? The sober fact in the situation is that no amount of arms supplied to any or all of the countries of the Middle East could hold off the Soviets for any length of time once it has launched a major attack.

It may be appropriate also to remind those who shape our foreign policy of the unreliability of the Arabs as allies in time of crisis. During World War II it was the Jews alone in the Middle East who fought side by side with the democracies while the Mufti and his cohorts were actively aiding Hitler.

4. The American Government in the past has made it a policy of responding to the appeals of those democratic countries which may be threatened by foreign invasion. Now that Israel has asked for such help, why is it that our Government suddenly finds itself short of the necessary war equipment and has decided to grant priority for this equipment to other countries?

The foregoing brief review and analysis leads us to one conclusion: the forces in Britain who are interested in prolonging chaos and confusion in the Middle East - and unfortunately those forces seem to have gained the upper hand in our State Department - are bent on the resumption of warfare between Israel and her neighbors. They thereby mistakenly hope to salvage the position of the foreign business interests which they represent as well as the position of the tottering Arab rulers which this last-ditch effort is meant to bolster.

An aroused American public opinion can yet avert this threat to the well-being of the millions of people in the Middle East as well as erase the sore spot which may yet involve the world in a global war of destruction.

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5/3/50

SUGGESTED FORM FOR WIRE TO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, SECRETARY OF STATE ACHESON,

SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVES

WE _____ RAISE OUR
(name of organization, place, date)
VOICES IN PROTEST AGAINST APPROVAL BY UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH POLICY OF ARMING ARAB STATES
AND ITS REFUSAL OF ISRAEL'S PLEA FOR DEFENSE ARMS
STOP IN FACE OF ARAB WARLIKE THREATS AND ARAB
LEAGUE ORGANIZING OF UNITED ECONOMIC AND MILITARY
FRONT AGAINST STRUGGLING STATE OF ISRAEL WE SHARE
OUR STATE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN MIDDLE EAST BUT VIGOROUSLY ASSERT THAT
ONLY BY PROVIDING ISRAEL WITH ARMS TO DEFEND ITSELF
CAN THE PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST BE SUCCESSFULLY
MAINTAINED STOP WE CALL UPON YOU TO USE YOUR GOOD
OFFICES TO THIS END STOP

PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale-Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Hashomer Hatzair
United Labor Zionist Party

426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONFERENCE TO PROTEST STATE DEPARTMENT'S ARAB ARMS POLICY

- - -

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL CHARGES STATE DEPARTMENT SUBORDINATES ITSELF TO BRITISH INTERESTS IN MIDDLE EAST

- - -

New York, May 3 -- The American Zionist Council, official spokesman for all American Zionist parties, will convoke a national conference in Washington to protest the rearming of the Arab states by Britain and our government's conduct in this matter.

In making this announcement today, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Council chairman, declared that his organization "will use all legitimate methods at its disposal to bring about a reversal of the position taken and maintained by the State Department." To this end the Council will seek the cooperation of all friends of Israel in the United States -- Jews and non-Jews alike.

Mr. Lipsky charged that "for all practical purposes our State Department may be regarded at this time as a partner in a cabal of states" which has its center in Cairo. These states are determined to recover "positions lost in the United Nations" and are interested not in maintaining peace in the Middle East, but in maneuvering for control in the affairs of that area.

Our State Department's role, said Mr. Lipsky, in the struggle for power in the Middle East is becoming increasingly obvious: through its defense of the

(more)

arming of the Arab states; through its failure to take seriously the recent war council of the Arab League, which has ruled out peace negotiations with Israel by any Arab state; through its attitude of indifference to Israel's request for arms, which has been taken under "advisement"; and through its constant reassurance that there is no threat to peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Lipsky expressed the Council's view that "the leaders of our foreign policy have been maneuvered into a position of giving Britain the lead in Middle Eastern affairs and of backing to the hilt, without reservation, the anti-Israel policy of the Foreign Secretary of the British Government."

It is in protest against this policy that the American Zionist Council is mobilizing its forces and is calling its national conference in Washington in support of the people of Israel. The American Zionist Council has directed its constituents to secure the effective cooperation of all friends of Israel in the emergency which now exists with regard to rearmament of the Arabs. Zionist groups throughout the country have been requested to reserve June 4th and 5th for the national conference in Washington, D. C.

MAY 5 1950

May 3, 1950

A spokesman for the Embassy of Israel today confirmed that his Government had received no final answer to its application for licenses to purchase defensive arms in the United States. He said "We are naturally gravely concerned as during the past three months since we first approached the United States Government on this matter, Arab rearmament has been moving ahead at a very rapid pace. In that connection it is very strange to read the alleged claims of military experts that Israel is stronger than the Arab States. While, for example, Israel has been unable to purchase a single jet plane, Egypt during the first three months of 1950 received more than 25 bringing its total to 48 with another 22 ready for delivery. According to such an authoritative source as Mr. Churchill, the total number of jet planes to be sold to Egypt is 110.

"Also, during this period, although the United Kingdom is under no treaty obligation to Lebanon and Syria, it has been sending new military equipment to those countries, thus completing the ring of armaments around Israel.

"Under these circumstances, we who are surrounded by armed belligerence find no defensive armor in the complacency of military experts who say that the Arabs will not attack us. Let the Arabs first make peace before they are given the weapons to resume their war.

"It is clear that peace in the Near East is not promoted by a one-sided policy which places powerful arms at the disposal of the states which went to war to destroy Israel, which still demand that Israel give up some of its territory, which in defiance of international law carry on every type of economic sanction such as the closing of the Suez Canal and which persist in a refusal to make peace with Israel.

"Neither equity nor peace is served by arming countries which maintain an attitude of bitter hostility while simultaneously withholding defensive arms from the country threatened by that hostility and eager to overcome it by peaceful and good neighborly relations."

May 4, 1950

Ambassador Eliahu Elat
Embassy of Israel
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ambassador:

I received the enclosed letter from Mr. John Sherman Cooper this morning which I thought would interest you. Mr. Dulles likewise wrote me: "I have read the memorandum you left with me about Arab Rearmament and the British help to Egypt. I am discussing this situation with officers of the Department."

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

MEMORANDUM ON REARMAMENT OF ARAB STATES

On the 11th August 1949 the Security Council of the United Nations abandoned all previous restrictions on the sale and purchase of arms to the states of the Near East. Israel opposed this course as premature, arguing that peace settlements between the Arab States and Israel should be concluded before restrictions were abolished. The United States, however, supported Great Britain in opposing this argument. The Security Council's embargo was lifted. The USA has clearly assumed both formal and moral responsibility for the consequences of that action.

2. These consequences have been grave. They may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Great Britain has supplied to the Arab States, and especially to the strongest of them, Egypt, large quantities of military, naval and aerial armaments of the most modern types. These include jet planes, both bombers and fighters, tanks, heavy guns and warships. —
The military balance as between Israel and the Arab States has been radically changed.
- (b) Great Britain refuses to supply arms to the State of Israel until Israel is at peace with the Arab States. On the other hand, Great Britain refuses to make its arms supplies to the Arab States dependent upon their achieving a peace settlement with Israel.
- (c) The USA has supported the supply of arms by Britain to the Arab States and has resisted the suggestion that these supplies should be stopped pending an Arab-Israel peace settlement.
- (d) On the other hand, the USA has not authorized the purchase by Israel of defensive arms enabling that country to meet the threat involved in the arms newly acquired by the Arab States.

3. These consequences have only to be stated for their lack of equity to become immediately obvious. It would be difficult to defend such an unbalanced policy before any public opinion concerned with principles of abstract justice. The disquiet ex-

pressed by many sections of American opinion, is therefore, both understandable and creditable. The policy which ensures that the Arab States shall receive arms while Israel shall not becomes still more indefensible in the light of the following facts:

- (a) Military operations between Israel and the Arab States in 1948 were initiated by the Arab States and not by Israel. This is clear from the impressions of Arab leaders themselves and from the speeches of US representatives in the UN who described the Arab invasion as "aggression of an international character". Egypt attempted to destroy the State of Israel and seize its territory, whereas Israel has clearly entertained no aggressive intentions towards Egypt at any time. Nevertheless the effect of US policy is that Egypt shall receive arms and Israel shall not.
- (b) Israel has persistently attempted to meet the Arab States for the purpose of negotiating a peace settlement. The Arab States, while claiming far-reaching concessions from Israel in advance, still refuse to negotiate a peace settlement. The leading powers in the Arab League, and especially Egypt, not merely refrain themselves from reaching a settlement with Israel; they also exert heavy pressure against Jordan whenever it attempts to make peace. The effect of US policy is, therefore, that we approve of the despatch of arms to states which refuse to sign a peace settlement with their neighbor, while we effectively deny such arms to that neighbor who has been so recently attacked, and is so patently threatened.
- (c) Israel has formally declared that it is prepared to renounce under a peace settlement any territory beyond its present borders. On the other hand, the Arab States have put forward and never renounced the most far-reaching territorial claims against Israel affecting the greater part of the territory of that State. We, therefore,

give arms to those who have expansionist ambitions while withholding them from those who are prepared to conclude a peace settlement based on guarantees of mutual non-aggression.

(d) While Israel leaders in all their utterances constantly educate their own public in the doctrine of peace with the Arab world, Arab leaders, and especially royal circles in Egypt, continue to inculcate the idea of a war of revenge. This is no reason why the US should favor the Arab countries rather than Israel as the recipients of heavy armament.

(e) The good faith of the US is involved. In defending American action in the Security Council, our representatives stated first, that only armaments required for minimum defense needs should be sent to the Arab States; second, that together with the lifting of the embargo, there should be an abolition of all blockade practices establishing during the war. Neither of these conditions have been fulfilled. Arm supplies to the Arab States are formidable, and not minimal. The Arab States still maintain their blockade of Israel, including the closing of the Suez Canal.

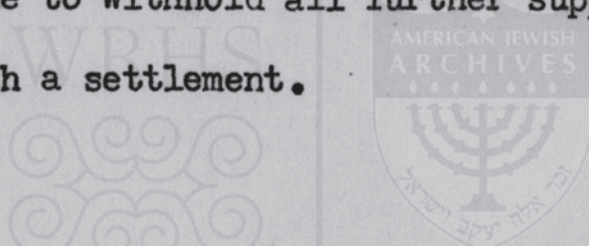
5. In the face of heavy Arab rearmament, Israel is obviously forced to rearm as best it can. The result is that the resources of the Middle East are all being squandered on armaments and are not available for social and economic improvements. If this situation continues, the same conditions which undermined democracy in the Far East seem likely to prevail in the Near East, and with the same effects.

6. Efforts of US spokesmen to reassure Israel that its security is not threatened do not sound convincing. The position is that Israel is surrounded by neighbors which refuse to make peace, which heavily rearm, which maintain a blockade, which engage in hostile propaganda and which maintain expansionist claims against Israel. It seems far-fetched to suggest that a State in that position should not regard its security as being under dire threat.

7. Even if it is true that the Arab States have no intention at present to attack Israel, a feeling of definite military superiority may well give them that intention. Therefore, to the extent that the US permits a disparity to grow between the military resources of the Arab States and those of Israel, it may effectively, though unwillingly, prejudice the chances of peace.

8. Conclusion

- (1) Since the Arab States, especially Egypt, have already received large arms supplies, Israel should be actively helped to improve its own defenses to an extent commensurate with recent Arab rearmaments.
- (2) Insofar as the Western Powers have been responsible for this Arab rearmament, it becomes all the more incumbent upon them to ensure that the Arab States negotiate a peace settlement with Israel. It would be reasonable to withhold all further supplies until they agree to reach such a settlement.



[1950]

MEMORANDUM ON REARMAMENT OF THE ARAB STATES

I

1. The Arab countries are now acquiring heavy arms which far exceed the necessities of defense or internal order. Even before the Security Council voted to lift the arms embargo on August 4, 1949, there were reports of an extraordinary arms program in Egypt. As soon as the embargo was lifted, these reports were confirmed.

2. The 1949-50 budget approved by the Egyptian Parliament is fixed at 187,457,280 Egyptian pounds, with income estimated at 157,827,500 pounds. Part of the deficit is to be financed from funds provided in 1948 under "a special unexpended allocation" for the Egyptian army.

3. One-third of this budget -- the extraordinary sum of 162,000,000 (\$178,560,000) -- is for rearmament.

4. Thus before the lifting of the arms embargo on June 9, 1949, the United Press reported that England had decided to lift the embargo and on June 18, 1949, the Manchester Guardian commented:

"The decision of the British Government to renew her supply of arms to the Arab countries, while Lausanne talks are carried out, sounds like a threat."

5. On September 4, 1949, after the arms embargo was lifted, the Beirut Broadcasting Station announced:

"During the Palestinian war an arrangement had been made to purchase several war ships. The embargo detained the sending of the ships. Now, the embargo being lifted, the ships are due in Egypt. One ship is harbored in Malta and is ready to leave for Egypt. Three other ships are still in British ports and will be leaving for Egypt soon."

6. On October 17, 1949, the London correspondent of El Misri reported:

"A British source indicates the arms purchase of Egypt in Britain to be worth the sum of IL15,000,000."

7. Ten days later, October 27, 1949, the London Daily Telegraph said:

"It was announced here today that the Egyptian Government has approved the purchase from Britain of sixty-one military aircraft. This total is stated to comprise forty spitfire models, nine Halifaxes and twelve DH-113 night fighters, which were regarded here as a new type and hardly considered yet in the production stage. Egypt has a military mission at present in Britain. Spitfires are already in extensive use in the Egyptian Air Force which is cooperating today with the RAF in a major exercise for the defense of the Suez Canal. The prospective purchases from Britain are part of a plan approved in May to spend about 53,000,000 pounds sterling on military equipment, including an armoured division and an auxiliary air force. The Egyptian Government's intention to establish a factory in Egypt for the manufacture of 'fighter or Spitfire' planes and the agreement for this having been reached 'with a foreign government' were announced in the Senate here in July by the Minister of war and Marine Haydar Pasha. The proportion of the cost of the aircraft from Britain that may be assigned against Egypt's sterling balances is not mentioned."

8. On October 31, 1949, the Overseas News Agency reported from London that the Egyptian airplane purchases include Vampire Mark Third fighters which have a range of 1080 miles, maximum speed of 580 miles, top ceiling of 37,000 feet, and equipment of four canons. Another type of plane purchased by the Egyptians -- the Venom -- is still on the secret list, but is reported to be superior to the Vampire Jet.

9. This was confirmed on November 14, 1949, when the New York Times in a dispatch from London reported that an Egyptian purchasing mission had recently visited Britain and contracted with the DeHaviland Aircraft Co., Ltd., for a substantial order of jet fighter planes of the latest and swiftest model. It was unofficially reported that the mission had contracted for five full squadrons of Vampire jet planes with all the necessary parts and spares -- perhaps 75 or more -- at a cost of about IL30,000 each. These are to be developed by early 1951.

10. On November 13, 1949, the New York Post reported in a dispatch from

London that the Egyptian purchasing mission was placing orders for \$45,000,000 worth of artillery, jet aircraft, infantry equipment, and sea torpedo craft.

11. On November 18, 1949, the New York Compass reported in a dispatch from London that the Egyptians had signed a contract for immediate delivery of three more frigates from the British Navy, bringing Cairo's purchases up to six warships -- three of which had been delivered. These ships, built between 1941 and 1943, have two 4-inch guns and ten anti-aircraft guns, and are equipped with an anti-submarine weapon. Three ships delivered to the Royal Egyptian Navy have a displacement each of 1,470 tons, carrying six 4-inch guns and ten smaller guns. They have a complement of 180 men.

12. On January 25, 1950, a spokesman for the Government of Israel in Tel Aviv said that the Egyptian Government was also purchasing submarines, large quantities of tanks and artillery, as well as tens of thousands of automatic rifles, much of this in the form of American war surplus in Europe.

13. Egypt is not the only country involved in this rearmament program. On September 6, 1949, Emir Arselan, Lebanese Defense Minister, was quoted by Reuters to the effect that Lebanon had recently received from five to ten training planes from England, and that another shipment was expected by the end of the month. On January 10, 1950, the Beirut Arabic Radio reported that 20 aircraft had been sent from Egypt to Syria and another 20 would be sent shortly.

14. The Middle East Broadcasting Station announced on October 6, 1949:

"The Syrian Government is contacting the British aircraft manufacturers in order to buy from them airplanes. The Syrian Government also intends to send to England Syrian pilots to learn to pilot the jet airplanes."

15. On November 6, 1949, the United Press reported from Washington that Middle Eastern countries -- Saudi Arabia and others -- had approached the United States for military aid and were seeking to participate in the

\$1,314,000,000 military assistance program.

16. Manifestly, equipment of such range and striking power, as well as the armament plant recently purchased by Egypt from Germany, France, Sweden and Italy, are intended for more than internal order and security. While it is conceded that there may be internal unrest in Egypt -- the inevitable consequence of poverty -- the people are unarmed. Jet planes and tanks, destroyers and submarines are not needed to subdue them.

II

17. It will be recalled that when the Security Council voted to lift the arms embargo on August 4, 1949, there was widespread concern lest an armament race develop in the Near East. Israel's representative, Aubrey S. Eban, told the Council:

"If the restraints imposed by the Security Council are entirely lifted and large-scale rearmament becomes the policy of Arab States, the Near East must become the scene of an armaments race. We ask ourselves whether the newly won peace is already so stable and so firm that it could easily survive the strains of that competition. The Security Council must take the responsibility of answering that question. For our part, we have no hesitation in saying that the most elementary prudence requires the maintenance of the Security Council's present arms policy. It is because we regard the armistice agreements as a highly notable and significant achievement that we urge the utmost caution on behalf of their preservation.

"The fact that the truce observer machinery is no longer to exist does not prevent the Security Council from affecting the arms policy of Member States by a clear moral directive. Such an authoritative ruling by the Security Council would of itself, by the influence which it would exert on the arms supplying States, insulate the Near East against the worst dangers of an armaments race.

"In urging the clear expression of the Security Council's mature judgment, my delegation is conscious that this policy also conforms with the general welfare of the Near East. We do not profess to understand how, in the

existing social and economic conditions of that area, any government can voluntarily wish to apply the greater part of its resources to the purchase of lethal weapons. The stability of democratic institutions throughout that region can be assured not by competition in the purchase of arms, but by cooperation in the tasks of social and economic development. This is the general doctrine which Israel upholds with respect to the needs of its regional environment. If the acquisition of arms is to be the main pursuit of all governments in this area, then in all questions arising between Israel and the Arab States the security consideration is bound to assume undue weight. In these circumstances we feel that there is nothing to be lost and much to be gained by calling upon member States to maintain the existing policy of the Security Council with respect to the supply of arms."

18. Members of the Security Council shared Mr. Eban's apprehension and there was general agreement that care and restraint must be exercised in the Middle East to prevent large-scale rearmament.

19. The representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Terrence Shone, said:

"In this connexion, there is one matter to which Mr. Bunche referred briefly, and to which Mr. Eban referred at greater length this morning, and on which I should like to make a brief statement. I refer to the supply of war materiel. In this connexion, I would again emphasize what I believe is well known to members of this Council: the great respect which my government has paid to the requirements of the truce resolution (S/723), despite our treaty obligations to Arab States. We are anxious to fulfil our engagements to them. This, of course, does not mean that we wish anything in the nature of an arms race, to which Mr. Eban made allusion, to develop in the Middle East or anywhere else. Far from it. Any supplies of arms which we may send would be for the internal security and defence requirements of the States concerned. These are legitimate requirements for any State, and, in so far as the Middle East is concerned, are indeed essential to the normal conditions which we wish to see restored. We, for our part, would not be in favour of Middle Eastern States acquiring war materiel in excess of their legitimate defence requirements, and we believe the States themselves would not wish to exceed such limitations."

20. Commenting on the statements of Mr. Eban and Sir Terrence Shone,

Acting Mediator Bunche said:

"Certainly, should an arms race develop in that area as a result of the lifting of the existing injunction, it would not serve the interests of permanent peace in the Near East."

21. But Mr. Bunche pointed out that it would be impossible to maintain the arms embargo without proper truce observation machinery. Continuing, he said:

"In the absence of a firm injunction coupled with observation machinery, the burden really seems to rest upon the States in a position to ship arms. Since there is no disarmament scheme of universal application, it would seem that the States of the Near East, as all others, would now be entitled to import such war materials as may be necessary to their national security.

"There are relatively few States in a position to ship arms in large quantities. Declarations by arms-exporting States that they would refrain from shipping heavy arms to any of the parties to the Palestine dispute in quantities clearly beyond the reasonable security needs of such parties will certainly be helpful and reassuring. In this regard I have heard with great interest the statement just made by the representative of the United Kingdom on this subject."

22. The statement of Senator Austin strongly affirmed American opposition to a rearmament race, and he properly called for concentration of interest and concern in economic development, resettlement of refugees, the raising of standards of living. He stated:

"So far as the United States is concerned, it does not intend to allow the export of arms which would permit a competitive arms race in the area. Export of arms to that area of the world should be strictly limited to such arms as are within the scope of legitimate security requirements, again as recommended by Dr. Bunche. We hope that prudence will prevail not only among the parties but among all nations of the world which are in a position to supply arms and that they will pursue a policy similar to that which we intend to pursue.

"It is essential that the resources of that area be used for peaceful purposes, for economic development, for the resettlement of refugees, and for the achievement of higher standards of living for the populations of the area. It would be tragic and wholly wrong if the resources of the area were to be dissipated in an unproductive area race."

23. Mr. Chauvel of France said:

"I do not think that any country represented here, nor any other country, has the slightest interest in unleashing an armaments race in the Near East or anywhere else."

24. These declarations surely must remain the settled policy of the great powers who are pledged to uphold the peace. Regretfully, the confidence expressed in August can no longer be justified.

III

25. It has been the hope of all friends of both the Jewish and Arab peoples that Israel and the Arab States would soon find it possible to transform their armistice agreements into final lasting peace settlements. It is the conviction of most observers -- based on the successful negotiations of the armistice accords -- that such a peace settlement can be consummated if Israel and the Arab States can engage in direct negotiations.

26. But it is clear that such negotiations will be retarded rather than accelerated if the balance is upset in the Near East, if one side is rearmed and if the interests of the people are diverted to military channels. There are still war parties in every Arab State who are eager for a second round in which they can recoup their losses, remove the stigma, and exculpate themselves from the responsibility, of their last defeat.

27. It may be argued that it is not the purpose of the Arab States to use their arms against Israel. What better evidence is available than the declarations of the Arabs themselves? They are being given the tools. They have

announced their intentions. They have no other identifiable enemy in sight. What basis is there for the belief that "the second round" is not, in fact, in preparation?

28. Thus Egyptian journalists have written freely of a renewal of hostilities despite the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, and high officials in Arab governments have made their views public.

29. On March 9, 1949, Mohammed Et'Tabi wrote in Akhar Sa'A, a Cairo weekly:

"... the armistice may possibly be permanent, the Palestine problem may possibly be settled. And such a 'peace' may be lasting, but this would be but an official peace between Governments, because the Arab peoples . . . will never make their peace with the Jews, but will continue to proclaim the blood feud between them, which they will recall each time the fate of the hundreds of thousands of refugees at the hands of the Jews be recalled. . . This the Arab people will remember to the end of time. . . until Allah sends a saviour. For a second Hitler will yet arise from among the Arab peoples and then, woe to the Jews

30. On May 14, 1949, one year to the day after the Egyptian forces had launched their unsuccessful invasion of Palestine, the Akhbar El Yom, a Cairo paper of standing in the Court, wrote:

"... The Palestine war is not yet over. Egyptian blood which drenched the soil of Palestine has laid a path along which we are in duty bound to tread to clinch the victory for which our martyrs fought."

31. A spokesman of the Egyptian Foreign Office was quoted on June 30, 1949 by the Near East Broadcasting Station as follows:

"We are still at war with the Jews even though the Egyptian Army has ceased firing . . ."

32. On September 29, 1949, the Cairo weekly, Akhar Sa'A, describing life in Israel wrote:

"This is a short account but the enemy, against whom we fought but yesterday and against whom we may still fight at any minute . . . the fight is not yet over . . ."

33. In Iraq, government leaders constantly speak the language of war. Thus,

on May 1, 1949, the Iraqi Ministry of Defense assured the people that Iraqi brigades returning from the Palestine war were coming back merely to rest and to prepare for the renewal of the Holy War at some opportune moment in the future.

34. The Foreign Minister of Iraq was reported by a Cairo daily, El Ahram, on May 4, 1949, as telling Parliament:

"We must all unite in strong opposition to Zionism in order utterly to destroy it."

35. On June 28, 1949, Radio Baghdad broadcast:

"The Jews are our enemies irrespective of how conciliatory they may be and irrespective of how peaceful their intentions. We shall never cease planning for the day of revenge, for the second round, when the Jews will be driven from our soil . . ."

36. On September 10, 1949, the same station in its English translation stated:

"The Arabs are determined to continue their struggle against Zionism to the very end. This small group of adventurers and thieves will regret they ever roused the Arab people to open conflict. . ."

37. On August 9, 1949, Dr. Fadel Jamali, Iraq's delegate to the United Nations, stated in Baghdad, according to Falastin and the Near East Broadcasting Station:

"Unless the Ministries of Education in the various Arab countries plan now to educate a new generation of active youth who will not be satisfied with words alone, there is no doubt but that the Arabs will lose the second round (of the war against Israel) just as they lost the first . . ."

38. Similar talk of a second round comes from Syria. On June 27, 1949, Radio Damascus stated:

"The Arabs have lost the first round of the Palestine war because they followed the advice of the British and the Americans. They will not be so short-sighted in the second round. . . We must increase our military strength and build a large number of ammunition factories. Then we shall be victorious and the Jews will be thrown into the sea. . ."

39. Even though the Syrian-Israel Armistice Agreement had been concluded, Al Nazzar, a Syrian daily paper, wrote on July 23, 1949:

"We would say frankly to all the Arab States and to all the Arab people now that the curtain has finally fallen on what we hope to be the first round of the Palestine struggle -- may this armistice be of short duration, during which time we may endeavour to reinforce ourselves and increase our potential in order that we may destroy the dangers which surround us before they succeed in destroying us. . . ."

40. In Lebanon, former Foreign Minister, Camille Chamoun, told the press on March 22, 1949:

"The war in Palestine will be renewed sooner or later. The Arabs cannot rely on the armistice agreements with the Jews."

41. And the pan-Arab newspaper, El-Khayat, wrote on June 16, 1949:

"We are at war with the Jews And this war will not end until either we destroy the Jewish State or the Jews succeed in cementing their borders from the Euphrates to the Nile and from the Red Sea to the Cedars of Lebanon."

IV

42. If it is not the purpose of the Arab countries to use these arms for a second assault against Israel, then one must ask why are they being rearmed at such fantastic cost? Is it the belief of the proponents of this rearmament program that the Arab States can be regarded as worthy and reliable allies of the democratic countries in the event of another world conflict?

43. Past experience answers these questions. In the second world war, Egypt remained a non-belligerent and although the country was invaded by General Rommells' forces, the Egyptian army remained passive and the defense of Egypt was left to the British Army, including thousands of recruits from the Jewish population of Palestine. It is an ironic commentary that British arms are now going to Egypt and may be used against those who were the sole

allies of the democratic forces in the Near East in the last war.

44. In Iraq in 1941, Nazi forces seized control of the government and were finally eliminated only after a show-down with the British Army. Palestine Jews took part in that action and they were active also to remove Nazi influence from Syria and Lebanon. Throughout the entire war, the Arab world remained aloof, although many of its leaders, like the former Mufti of Jerusalem, were actively on the side of the Axis and made their headquarters in Berlin.

45. Can the democratic forces regard Egypt or Iraq, or any other Arab country, as a shield of substance in the light of the past record, and in the light of Arab weakness in the war in Palestine? Although their forces and their arms far exceeded those of the nascent state of Israel, they were quickly overwhelmed in battle. Does this type of alliance fit into the mosaic of democracy's defense?

46. Quite apart from our natural feeling of sympathy for our Jewish kinsmen in Israel, we deem it our duty as Americans vitally concerned about American policy in the Near East and American defenses throughout the world to express the strongest misgivings on the military support of a dubious ally. The fact that it is Britain which is extending this generous aid should not obscure the fact of indirect American participation, for it is surplus American army equipment that is being used in many cases, and it is the United States which is today providing arms for those same countries which divert their stocks to the Near East.

47. For their part, the Arab States have an obligation to their Arab brethren who, victims of the Arab aggression against Israel, were forced to leave Palestine and who today are homeless refugees. If the Arab governments were disposed to expend their funds for resettlement projects, they would make a

constructive contribution not only toward the regeneration of a people for whose misery they are primarily responsible, but in the development of their own under-developed countries.

48. When one considers that the Arab States are called upon by the United Nations to contribute but \$6,000,000 for the relief of the Arab refugees, a tiny fraction of the money that Egypt alone is spending for rearmament, the anti-social and wasteful character of the armament program becomes tragically plain.

49. The people of the Near East must have peace. It is for the governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and other great powers to use their best efforts to ensure peace and tranquility in the Near East so that its peoples may work together to raise the living standards of the entire area. To plunge these people into an armaments race is to serve the cause of their impoverishment, debasement and destruction.

Dear Dr. Silver



E-D S

The aforesaid memorandum
might be of interest to you.
I am preparing a supplementary
one.
Regards
Eid

April 25, 1950

SUMMARY ON ARAB RE-ARMAMENT

1. Almost simultaneously with the end of fighting in Israel, the defeated Arab states launched a re-armament program which gradually acquired momentum both in respect of quality and quantity of arms involved. Foremost among the Arab states is Egypt which spent almost one-third of its budget for the year 1949-50, that is, 52,000,000 Egyptian pounds (almost \$150,000,000) for the purchase of heavy armament and the establishment of an arms industry. The arms acquired are of offensive character. They include great numbers of heavy tanks, bombers, about 100 jet fighters, guns of all calibres, naval craft, etc. The chief supplier for these arms is Great Britain, but other European countries including Germany have also sold both arms and armament factories.

2. The offensive character of the re-armament is shown too by the re-organization which is undertaken at the same time in most of the Arab armies. Again, Egypt is foremost. She is establishing an armored division in formations suited primarily for attack. Syria is forming an armored brigade; Jordan, an armored regiment.

3. It cannot be denied that this feverish re-armament and reorganization constitute a very serious threat to the security of Israel. Israel's land frontiers are extremely extended as is its seashore. It is very vulnerable both to land attack and maritime blockade. The narrow strip of slightly more than ten miles which connects the northern and southern parts of the country can easily be cut.

4. The Arab re-armament must be seen too in connection with the policy of the Arab states. A continued propaganda of hatred and implacability is flooding the Arab countries and inciting public opinion. Not only present radio but officials of high standing took and take part in this propaganda. It might be mentioned in this connection that the former Mufti of Jerusalem, the notorious ally of Hitler who has just been revived from political oblivion by the Arab League, sent a circular letter to the Arab communities of the United States a few months ago admonishing them "to resume the fight." ~~Excerpts of the letter is given in the document on this subject.~~

5. Not only the propaganda but the policy of the Arab states shows how remote they are from any sincere wish of peace. They have constantly declined to enter into direct negotiations with Israel although the Government of Israel has made this offer repeatedly. They have persistently evaded the efforts of the Palestine Reconciliation Commission to negotiate settlements. Moreover, they have in the last session of the Arab League in Cairo succeeded in intimidating and frightening the only Arab ruler who appeared to be ready for peace, Abdullah of Jordan, into an interruption of his negotiations with the Israeli Government which showed until then all signs of success. Through the threat to exclude every state which is making a separate peace with Israel from the Arab League, they tried to bind Abdullah's hands for the future.

6. In spite of the Armistice, the Arab states have continued their measures of blockade and economic warfare. Iraq has refused to re-open the pipeline to Haifa; the Suez Canal remains closed to the shipment of oils, war materials and immigrants into Israel. Needless to say, no exchange of fruits, no passing of frontiers by tourists between Israel and the Arab states takes place as yet.

7. Seriously perturbed by this ominous combination of re-armament and refusal of peace, the Israel Ambassador in a letter to the Secretary of State dated February 13, 1950, applied to the Government of the United States, "that an end be put to the armament's race in the Middle East and that the unchecked flow of arms to the Arab countries be stemmed." At the same time, he requested "that the Government of the United States lend its assistance to enable Israel to acquire in the United States those legitimate means of self defense urgently needed for her security." This letter still remains without reply.

8. At the same time, American public opinion has become increasingly aware of the danger to peace and stability created by the re-armament of the Arab states. The first to direct his attention publicly to this fact was Congressman Javits who wrote a letter on December 28, 1949 to the Secretary of State. This letter was answered by the Secretary of State on January 16, 1950, and the arguments brought forth in this reply have been repeated since on numerous occasions by the Department of State and by the Secretary himself. In his reply to Congressman Javits, the Secretary of State sanctions the sale of arms to the Arab states. His arguments are:

1. The bellicose statements and warlike pronouncements "may well have been made for the purpose of domestic consumption."
 2. According to the information available to the Government of the United States, no "serious measures are being taken for preparation of renewal of hostilities."
 3. The sales of arms by the British Government are in fulfillment of treaty arrangements which bind Great Britain to Iraq, Jordan and Egypt.
 4. The security of the Middle East area is of great importance to the West, and it is desirable that these countries obtain from reliable and friendly sources such arms as they may need for their legitimate security requirements.
 5. The U.S.A. Government is opposed to an armament race in the Middle East. Arms shipments should be limited to those necessary for the purpose of maintaining internal law and reasonable requirements of self defense.
 6. Should danger of a renewed war arise, "the United States Government would be quick to use all its influence in an attempt to prevent such an eventuality both within the United States and outside."
9. It is doubtful whether these arguments withstand criticism.
1. The bellicose propaganda is in line with the warlike policy of the Arab states. It therefore cannot be taken lightly, and the continuous incitement of public opinion makes it almost impossible for the Arab Government to change its policy.

2. The very fact of the re-armament can be interpreted only as a preparation for a second round. The Arab states are on the record as having attacked Israel two years ago.

3a. Great Britain is under no obligation to furnish such ultra modern armament as jet planes and Centurion planes which have been developed since the conclusion of the second World War. These arms are, of course, of no avail against the aggression of a major power and the record of the Arabs during the last world war as well as the latest pro-Soviet statements of highest ranking Arab leaders show that the Arabs cannot be relied upon as allies of the "West".

5. The armament race is already taking place in a one-sided manner. It is obvious that the arms acquired are not needed for "maintaining internal law and order." They are not required either for self defense as the Arab states are in no danger of attack, and the offensive character of the re-armament shows that defense is not the real purpose.

6. Israel cannot, of course, trust its security to the good intentions of the United Nations or the United States. Bitter experience has taught it that the mills of the Security Council grind very slowly and it is very doubtful whether the influence of the United States Government is great enough to prevent the renewal of the war, if it should suit the Arab leaders. In any case, no Government can rely upon such flimsy and indefinite promise of intervention.

10. In addition to its application to the United States, the Government of Israel has tried to purchase arms from Great Britain. This application was officially refused under the pretext that Great Britain could not sell arms to Israel as long as there is no peace between her and the Arab states. The fact that there is no peace does not prevent Great Britain from selling arms freely to the Arabs, and its refusal to supply arms to Israel as long as no peace has been concluded is nothing less than a premium for the Arabs not to enter into negotiations, because as long as the present situation persists they are sure that Israel will get no arms from Great Britain. The obstinacy of the Arabs is therefore directly encouraged by His Majesty's Government.

11. Bevin's latest statement in the House of Commons went even further than that. He praised the collective refusal of the Arab Governments not to conclude peace. He defended the refusal of Iraq not to open the pipeline although this refusal is against the direct interests of Great Britain herself. He even acquiesced in the closing of the Suez Canal to oil shipments even though an international principle vital to Great Britain is involved. His inveterate inclination toward the Arab point of view, and his ill-concealed dislike for Israel shown by his grotesque remark that Haifa was originally allotted to the Arabs, cannot but encourage the Arabs in their implacability and diminish the hopes for peace and stability of the Middle East.

12. It must be regretted that the American policy of openly sanctioning the British sale of arms to the Arabs is unconsciously becoming a tool of the Foreign Office. It is beyond doubt that the United States Government is sincerely interested in peace in the Middle East and that the quietness and stability of this region is one of the major aims of its policy, but by its passive acquiescence of Great Britain's intrigues it helps to defeat its own purpose and in keeping this vital area in prolonged turmoil and crisis.



Re: [illegible] [illegible]