

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 24 -

of the Western Wall for every Jew in the world, and the tremendous cultural value of the University and the Library on Mount Scopus; we informed them that we could not reconcile ourselves to the breach of our rights in these places, rights which are recognized and guaranteed in the Armistice Agreement between ourselves and the Jordan Government. We have not yet seen any sign of any activity on the part of the U.N. authorities, or any attempt to right this wrong.

Egypt, Jordan and Syria constantly violate the first and principal paragraph of the Armistice Agreements, the paragraph which is the soul of the Agreements; in addition, Egypt violates the paragraph which forbids armed forces to be maintained on the Kusseima-Abu Ageila line, and does not even permit the U.N. observers to approach this area. By their silence, the U.N. authorities condone these violations, and they tend to behave towards Israel as if this were an international area.

The Government of Israel will not submit to this unjustified tendency, which amounts to a violation of its sovereignty and is in contradiction to Article 2 of the U.N. Charter, which lays it down that "the United Nations Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members."

Perhaps there is no point in criticising the U.N. authorities for their inability to prevent the murderous attacks of Jordan and Egypt and to ensure the observance of the Armistice Agreements. The failure

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet						

- 2 5 -

of the Security Council to implement its 1951 decision on freedom of navigation- on which I shall yet have more to say - plays no small part in the helplessness of the U.N. authorities. But these U.N. authorities, which exposed every difference of opinion between themselves and the Government of Israel on matters which are not within their jurisdiction at all, have never once reported to the Security Council that the Arab Governments have for years been violating the principles and the provisions of the United Nations Charter. There is an obvious discrimination in the attitude adopted by the U.N. authorities to Israel on the one hand and to the Arab countries on the other.

The U.N. Organization is founded on principles of peace which are no less precious to us than to anyone else. It is our duty and our privilege to ensure, in so far as it lies within our power, that these principles should apply to us to the same extent as they do to the other members of the U.N. It is inconceivable that Israel should submit to discrimination: one rule for Israel and another for the rest of the world.

The first article of the U.N. Charter lays it down that the object of the United Nations is to safeguard international peace and security, and to this end collective measures have to be undertaken for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace. But we are subjected to overt and continual threats from the rulers of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The Arab press is full of these threats; and so

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 26 -

are the radio and the public speeches of the Egyptian dictator, the King of Jordan, the Syrian President, King Saud & all in concert or each by himself. But nothing is done by the representatives of the U.N. here or in another place for the "prevention and removal" of these threats.

The same article I requires "adjustment or settlement of international disputes by peaceful means". Year after year we have demanded such a settlement. We have proposed a meeting with the Arab rulers for a peace settlement, or at least for the prevention of aggression. But our voice has been the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness.

We have protested against the fact that member nations of the U.N. are organizing an economic boycott and blockade against us with the object of undermining our economy, although Article II, Para 4 of the Charter lays it down clearly that "all the members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." How is it possible to reconcile the boycott and blockade of Israel, publicly organized and implemented by the Arab states, with the U.N. Charter? And if these two things cannot be reconciled, what have the institutions of the U.N. done, or attempted to do, to safeguard our elementary rights according to the Charter, and to prevent and bring to an end the hostile activities of our neighbours?

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 27 -

Israel is anxious that the Armistice agreements should be observed in their entirety; even more: she has aspired all through these years to establish peace and cooperation with all our neighbours, in keeping with the U.N. Charter, but of course on a basis of equality and mutuality. We have not seen on the part of the Security Council and the U.N. authorities any attempt to make our neighbours honour the principles of the U.N. Charter.

And we must clearly and outspokenly tell the world and our neighbours that the Armistice Agreements have been signed between ourselves and our Arab neighbours, not between ourselves and the United Nations. They are based on mutuality. They are not binding on one side alone. If Egypt violates the Agreement, she has no right to expect that we shall observe the provisions which are convenient to her. The same thing applies also to Jordan and Syria.

This year we have made desperate efforts to preserve peace even the present shaky peace, in our region, and we are always prepared to cooperate in any attempt to establish lasting peace. But the British announcement which immediately followed the declaration of Nuri Said, the Iraqi Prime Minister,

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 28 -

designed to force on Israel a peace settlement on the basis of the 1947 Partition Plan, cannot be accepted as a step towards peace. This is a ^{attack} disguised ^{on the integrity} of our borders. I do not know ^{were} the original sources of this doubtful peace initiative, but the Government of Israel has already expressed its determined attitude to the speech of the British Prime Minister in Guildhall on this question on ⁹ 15 November 1956. We have not taken a single foot of soil from Egypt, Syria or Lebanon, and they will not receive from us a single foot of our soil. Egypt still occupies the Gaza Strip, which does not belong to her, and the Hashemite Government has taken over, without any legal right, portions of Western Palestine, and it certainly has no claims of any kind to parts of our territory. We have said more than once that frontier rectifications here and there, through mutual agreement and for the benefit of both sides, can be considered, but this plan, which has made its way from Baghdad to the Guildhall or from the Guildhall to Baghdad, to cut up the State of Israel, will never succeed, and this proposal is apparently intended only to distract the attention of the Arab world from the grave Suez problem, and to divert it towards Israel. There ^{be} may also grounds for the suspicion that the increasing intensity of Jordan's provocations on Israel's borders have no other purpose but to prepare the ground for the entry of Iraq or Egypt into Jordan.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 29 -

As for the Suez problem, which has now been placed in the centre of the international stage, there has been no change so far as Israel is concerned as a result of the Egyptian dictator's latest arbitrary step. In regard to Israel's freedom of navigation through the Canal, the helplessness of the United Nations has been obvious for several years. The Security Council, whose function it is to safeguard peace and international justice, has not done its duty or implemented its own decision on Israel's freedom of navigation in the Canal.

Article I of the Treaty of Constantinople says:

"The Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag."

"Consequently, the High Contracting Parties agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the Canal, in time of war as in time of peace."

"The Canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade."

Article X of the Treaty does, it is true, give Egypt the right to take steps to safeguard the defence of Egypt and the maintenance of public order, but Article XI immediately adds that "measures which shall be taken in the cases provided for by Articles IX and X of the present Treaty shall not interfere with the free use of the Canal".

The U.N. Charter laid it down that the United Nations were determined "to establish conditions under which justice and the respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained",

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 30 -

and in Paras. 2 & 3 of article I it is stated that the objects of the U.N. are (among other things) to foster "equality ^{of} rights" among nations. And yet in violation of the Treaty of Constantinople and the principles of the U.N. Charter, the ^Government of Egypt has imposed a blockade on Israeli ships, as well as on other ships carrying fuel and other cargoes to Israel -

not think

and deprives them of the right of transit through the Canal. In 1951 the Security Council rejected Egypt's contention that she was in a state of war with Israel; it ruled that the Armistice Agreements regime put an end to the state of war; and the Council decided that Israel has the right to free passage through the Suez Canal, and that the Egyptian Government is not entitled to violate this right. Egypt has been violating this Security Council decision for five years, and neither the U.N. authorities nor the Security Council itself have taken a single step all the time to ensure the implementation of the decision, nor have the U.N. Observers been sent to the Canal to verify whether the U.N. decision was being carried out or not.

When the Egyptian dictator suddenly decided to take the Suez Canal away from the international company, and a number of countries saw that their vital interests were affected, and Britain invited them to the London Conference to consider the Suez question, the British Government "forgot" to invite Israel, the only country which has in fact been affected for years by the Egyptian dictator's contempt for international law and the decisions of the Security Council.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref. FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 31 -

When the Soviet Union proposed ^{the} addition of a long list of countries to those to be invited, including even some that had no connection whatever with the Canal, e.g. the Government of Jordan, she too "forgot" to add the State of Israel to the list.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 32 -

The Government of Israel was unable to feel any very great excitement about the change in the ownership of the Canal, for even under the old ownership her international rights in Suez were violated, and both the Security Council and the Great Powers in the East and the West submitted to this breach of international law and this violation of the Treaty of Constantinople and the Security Council decision. The Israel Government approached the states taking part in the London Conference, as well as other states, to ensure that Israel should have the same right of navigation in the Canal as any other country. We received assurances from several Governments that Israel's right of navigation would be safeguarded by the establishment of a régime of free navigation for all the peoples. The President of the United States was asked by a journalist at the end of last month about the blockade which Egypt had been imposing on Israel shipping for seven years. To this question the President replied that of course the blockade was a black mark that had been in existence for a long time. It was most unjust, and he believed it was not in keeping with the Constantinople Treaty of 1888. In an interview given by the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, shortly before he said

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

- 33 -

that Israel ships and Israel cargoes whether she was a member of the Canal Users' Association or not, would have all the facilities in the Association.

Our Government submitted a request to the Security Council to be heard in this matter, for we are the only country whose rights were affected even before the seizure of the Canal by the Egyptian Dictator, but the Arab States, with the assistance of certain powers, carried out various manoeuvres to prevent our appearance.

The Security Council session came to an end two days ago with the adoption of six decisions which mean practically nothing after the Soviet Union has imposed its veto on the Western Powers' proposal. The first decision says that "There shall be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination". On the surface this seems to be a satisfactory decision. but I must issue a warning against mistaken optimism. This decision says less than what is laid down in the Constantinople Treaty, and though the Egyptian dictator has never repudiated that Treaty, nevertheless he has violated it so far as Israel is concerned, and has persevered in this violation even after the Security Council expressly decided five years ago that Israel is entitled to

...

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 34 -

freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal like any other country. The latest Security Council Meeting did not even condemn the violation of Israel's freedom of navigation, of which all the members of the Council were fully aware. It is our duty, therefore, to declare from this rostrum that Israel will not submit to any discrimination in respect of her sovereign international rights, and that the continuation of the arbitrary blockade which the Egyptian dictator has imposed on Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and the Red Sea straits will disturb the stability of the peace in the Middle East. International justice and peace are indivisible. And the President of the United States was right when he declared a few days ago that peace is inevitably bound up with justice. Peace and justice, he said, must be carried out together; otherwise it is not peace. The Egyptian dictator endangers the peace in the region by violating international justice.

The situation in the Middle East is being still further complicated by the Anglo-Iraqi plans to introduce Iraqi armed forces into Jordan. In April 1949 we signed an Armistice Agreement with the Jordan Government, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia which also took part in the invasion of Palestine in 1948 and were defeated, refused even to sign armistice agreements

./.

with us, and they are still in a state of war with Israel.

The entry of Iraqi forces into Jordan undermines the basis of the Armistice Agreement that we have signed with Jordan.

We have been aware for some time that the Egyptian dictator has far-reaching personal ambitions to impose his rule on all the Arab countries, as he has already imposed it by force on Egypt, and the first victim of this ambitious plan is to be the territory of Jordan. In the "good old days", when relations between Britain and Egypt were normal, the Egyptian dictator believed that he would succeed in annexing, with Britain's assistance - or at least her consent - a part of Israel's Negev, for the purpose of building a land bridge between Egypt and Jordan. Ever since the Egyptian dictator disclosed his imperialistic aims in regard to the Middle East countries, aims which are supported by external forces hostile to Britain and the Middle East, a new plan is apparently taking shape designed to annex Jordan to Iraq. A military incursion into Jordan - even if only into eastern Jordan - by a hostile state which does not even have an armistice agreement with Israel, undermines the status quo in the Middle East and constitutes a violation of the first Article of the Armistice Agreements. The Government of Israel respects the status quo, which is based on this agreement with the Hashemite

./.

- 36 -

Government. But the observance of the agreement depends on its non-violation by foreign and hostile government, and the Government of Israel will reserve freedom of action if the status quo is violated, and a foreign military force enters Jordan.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 37 -

In accordance with the Basic Principles approved by the Knesset, the Government of Israel will continue to foster friendly relations and mutual assistance with every peace-loving state, without examining its internal régime or adversely affecting the interests of any other nation. It will continue its efforts to establish mutual friendly relations with the people of Asia and will endeavour to strengthen its ties with all the countries where Jewish communities live, and with all the countries which assist in fostering Israel's security and development and enable their Jewish communities to take part in the building of the country and come to settle in it.

In keeping with these principles, the Government has adopted a series of measures for the purpose of strengthening our ties with several states - and some of these measures have been extremely beneficial, although at this moment I will not give the details. We have also made, and will continue to make, special efforts to establish ties of friendship with the peoples of Asia and Africa, which are becoming a great and steadily growing factor on the international scene, and Mr. Moshe Sharett's visit to a number of Asian countries is an important step in this direction.

It is a common saying in Israel that we are isolated. There is some truth in this saying, but there is also some falsehood. In a certain sense we are the most isolated people in the world, by our origins, history, spiritual characteristics and our status in the world and in this region. In another sense Israel has

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 38 -

friends and admirers no less than any other small people, and we enjoy the friendship and sympathy of a number of countries in Europe, North and South America and Asia, although from the formal point of view we have no allies. In addition we benefit considerably from international, political and material assistance. An outstanding example is the substantial help we have received from the United States of America, in loans and grants. And we are now engaged in negotiations with the Export - Import Bank for a large loan for irrigation purposes, and a delegation from the Bank is to come here shortly for the purpose. We must clearly understand, however, the workings of the forging of friendships and alliances among the nations.

Some countries easily acquire friends because they are great and powerful, control rich and extensive territories, and have populations of scores or even hundreds of millions. Some countries acquire friends as a result of a common religion or language, like some of the Arab countries, the countries of Latin America or the countries of Scandinavia; some countries enter into alliances because they have a common enemy or object of fear. Israel does not possess great power, tremendous wealth or broad territories; she has no common language, religion or race with any other state; and the peoples who are closest to us from the point of view of language and race are the Arab peoples which, for historical and and, I believe, temporary - reasons, are at present the day our bitterest enemies.

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 39 -

What, then, is the real basis for the acquisition of friends by Israel?

One factor is the Jewish Dispersion. The Jewish communities in some countries serve as a bond and a bridge between Israel and the country in question. There are many countries, however, where the Jews do not constitute an important political or public factor, or where there are hardly any Jews; such are almost all the countries of Asia and Central Africa. In the Scandinavian countries there are indeed small Jewish communities, but they are becoming assimilated with appalling rapidity and do not exercise any considerable influence.

Hence the attitude of the Scandinavian countries to Israel is determined on the merits of the question, as if there were no Jews living in their midst.

A common enemy may at a particular moment fulfil the function of bringing two states closer together, but this negative factor is subject to change, and no permanent foreign policy can be built on it. And in our case, almost all the Great Powers are anxious to acquire the friendship of our enemy - the Arab rulers, and some powers show hostility to Israel for the sole purpose of currying favour with the Arab states. We must clarify to ourselves what is the permanent, lasting basis on which we can found our aspiration to acquire friends and allies. There can be only one such basis: the light of our creative, liberating achievements, or capacity to be a model to other peoples, and our ability to assist backward peoples with scientific, technical and cultural guidance, without any likelihood or tendency on our part to dominate

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 40 -

others. In place of the common religion, language and race which served to cement the alliances of other nations, we can acquire friends and allies on the basis of common values, and the interests involved in these values. In so far as we have succeeded in gaining sympathy and goodwill in the world - and we have succeeded in no small measure - we have done so only as a consequence of the cultural, spiritual and social radiance of our work. Any endeavour which is in the nature of a light to the Gentiles is an emissary of our little state, which can win sympathy, friendship and goodwill for Israel.

All through the generations, and in our own day as well, we have looked upon the revival of Israel as a work of redemption, creation and peace, the rebuilding of the ruins of our homeland, the assembling of the scattered sons of our people to weld them together as a united nations, firmly rooted in the soil of the

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 41 -

land of our fathers, in the spiritual heritage of the nation throughout the generations, in the values of Israel's prophecy and in the spiritual and scientific achievements of our own day and the days yet to come; and independent nation cooperating on a basis of universal equality and partnership in the efforts of the human race towards material and spiritual advancement, liberty and equality, as human beings all of whom - without distinction of nationality, colour, religion or sex - have been created in the image of God.

That is the Messianic vision, which for thousands of years has throbbed in the heart of the Jewish people, and which - in my profound conviction - has brought us to this point, and only if we remain loyal to it throughout our lives will our historic aspirations be realised.

Our grave concerns in regard to security, which will not easily or speedily be brought to an end - and / which must have first priority, among our needs - must not distract our attention even for a moment from the positive tasks and ideals which are the soul of our Messianic vision. The development of the country and the bringing of new life to the wasteland, the absorption and the integration of the immigrants, the fostering

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 42 -

of science and scholarship, the education and the pioneering training of the younger generation, the enhancement of skill, productivity and quality in our labour, a determined struggle for economic independence - which means that we must earn our living only through our own efforts and liberate ourselves from our dependence on external aid, the removal of communal barriers and the unification of the various communities, the increase of the birth rate, and the fostering of national help, the liquidation of the slums and the teaching of the Hebrew language, the safeguarding of a minimum in the cultural and economic sphere for the whole people, the establishment of a regime of social justice and human freedom - all these are our ^{daily} dear bread; they are necessary for their own sakes and at the same time they strengthen our security and ensure the survival of the State of Israel. And it is our duty not only to implement them, but to transform them into a magnet for the entire House of Israel. This is not too difficult for us if we all arm ourselves with goodwill and bear the burdens of the State willingly; if we lend a hand to our brothers who are returning to us from impoverished exile; if we work hard and diligently and conduct our economic affairs efficiently and economically; if each one of us does his duty loyally according to his capacity and his means; if we prefer the needs of the

- 13 -

community to those of individuals and sections ; if we treat each other with respect and mutual trust: if we dare to look the difficulties and the dangers facing us boldly in the eye; if we intensify our iron determination to overcome them in a spirit of true comradeship; and, above all, if the love of Israel reigns ^{in our midst}, that wonderful source of energy which activates our dear sons and daughters who risk their lives in defence of our persons, our borders and our independence on nights of an iety, heroism and self-sacrifice.

It is our desire and our right to act, to work and to create our in/ homeland in tranquility and confidence, for we sincerely desire peace. But we must not close our eyes to the disturbing developments in our region, to the plans of the Egyptian dictator and the intrigues of the Iraqi Government, or even the undesirable ^{the} influences coming from outside/region. We must stand guard with open eyes, with good will, with foresight, with strong determination and with increased military strength. We are faced with the need for a supreme effort in the field of security, for it is forced on us by external factors and hostile forces; we may be facing fateful decisions and events. Let us stand ready and united, and the Rock of Israel will not fail us.

15 DC

V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VR1091/358

FROM
 Chancery, Tel Aviv to
 Levant Department
 No. 1011/56
 Dated October 18
 Received in
 Registry— October 22

Encloses official summary of Mr. Ben-Gurion's
 reply to the Knesset debate.

References to former relevant papers

347.

MINUTES

The only really interesting point is the
 distinction drawn between the United Nations
 and the United Nations Truce Supervision
 Organisation (page 2 of the summary of the
 speech).

UN. *[Signature]* 29/10
 FOR *[Signature]* 2/11

[Signature] 25/10
[Signature] 26/10

(Print)

(How disposed of)

A) Chancery Tel Aviv (com'd)
1012/56 Oct 18

(Action completed) (Index)

JW *[Signature]* *[Signature]*

[Signature] 6/11

References to later relevant papers

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						



British Embassy, ✓

Tel Aviv.

CONFIDENTIAL

1011/56

R 1091 358

October 18, 1956.

Dear Department,

Please refer to our telegram of October 17 in which we gave a summary of Mr. Ben Gurion's reply to the Knesset debate on political affairs.

2. Unfortunately the full text of this speech has not been published. We therefore enclose an official summary which, among other things, brings out his concern about the losses which the Israel Defence Forces have suffered in recent actions. He said in talking of the Army's methods "I, myself, think that there are a number of matters which require re-examination". It also brings out his repeated emphasis on the particular responsibility of the U.S. to provide Israel with arms.

3. However his main emphasis was on the ever present danger of an all out attack from Egypt, (as reported in our telegram under reference) and it is on this that KOL Israel and the newspapers have concentrated in their reports of the speech. Attention has also been paid to an unseemly exchange between Mr. Ben Gurion and the Herut members during the debate for which both are held responsible.

4. One interesting feature of the debate was the speech of Mr. Israel Galili, the Achdut Ha'avoda M.K. (formerly Chief-of-Staff of the Hagana) who doubted whether peace could be maintained. He said that there was general agreement that a shaky peace was better than war, but even those who once believed that it was in Israel's power to maintain this peace were beginning to realise that there were forces around Israel and the world at large which would not admit this. He said that in view of the persistent attacks upon her, Israel was not required under all circumstances to limit herself to defence within her own boundaries. He went on to declare that "Elath is our Suez", and to say that no one would blast open the way for Israel if she did not do it for herself.

5. Mr. Ya'acov Hazan (Mapam) took strong exception to Mr. Galili's implied view that war was inevitable. He said that Israel was living through a bitter peace, but this was preferable to any war because as long as it continued there was hope that it would turn into a true peace. He deplored Herut's aggressive refrain that "this is our last chance to act." Herut was fundamentally wrong, he said, because time was working for Israel not against her.

6. Mr. Peretz Bernstein (General Zionists) said that his party agreed with Mr. Ben Gurion that effective peace was preferable to actual war, and thought that the Government was right in not undertaking any military activities during the Suez crisis. He attributed U.N. failure to achieve peace in the region largely to its treatment of both sides as parties to a conflict. He said there was no conflict; there was one side which wanted to destroy the other and the other side which did not want to be destroyed.

Levant Department,

/7.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						



7. At the conclusion of the debate, the Knesset accepted by a vote of 76 - 13 the Prime Minister's statement on foreign policy and security which had been made on Monday, October 15. The coalition parties were joined by the General Zionists, Agudat Yisrael and Poalei Avodat Israel in presenting a joint resolution which was opposed only by Herut and the Communists. A Herut resolution calling for "the liberation of the complete areas of the homeland" instead of "hit and run retaliatory raids" received only the 9 votes of Herut itself. The Communist resolution, supported only by their own 4 votes, declared that Israeli retaliatory raids had supplied the British imperialists with a pretext for conquering Jordan through the Iraqi army.

8. It is interesting that the General Zionist party supported the present government's foreign policy since it has seldom done so in the past, and earlier in the year had moved rather closer to Herut. A General Zionists source has been quoted as saying that the party's vote was meant to demonstrate the nation's unity at this time and to indicate their support of the Government's stand on the problems of Suez and Iraq-Jordan. Their points of difference were on secondary problems - particularly that of retaliation. It was not that they were opposed to retaliation as such, but that they felt that a routine had developed which eliminated the element of surprise.

9. We are sending copies of this letter *(without enclosure)* to Chanceries at Amman, Cairo and UKDEL New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

Summary Of
Reply to Knesset Political Debates by the Prime Minister,
Mr. David Ben Gurion, 17.10.56

Mr. Ben Gurion expressed his satisfaction with the fact that almost all the speakers in the debate, except those of the Herut Party, agreed with the Government on the main questions.

He expressed his regret that some of the speakers had discussed the methods used in recent operations. These details could not be dealt with on the floor of the House, and the speakers had done an injustice to the Israel Defence Forces by raising them.

All these operations, he continued, had been carried out with the Government's consent (except the one which followed the murder of the three Druze watchmen, when there was no opportunity to consult the Government, and the Minister of Defence acted according to powers entrusted to him).

We can be proud of the capacity of the Israel Defence Forces, the Prime Minister continued, and foreign military experts, even if they disapproved of the operations involved, showed their admiration of the way they were carried out.

I know the details of each operation, he said, and I declare that everything humanly possible was done to minimize the number of casualties. Nobody in Israel is more deeply concerned with this than the Israel Defence Forces Command, to whom every life is more precious than fine gold. Practically all the subjects dealt with in the debate were of fateful importance:

1. Defence against guerilla warfare;
2. Defence of our territorial integrity;
3. The maintenance of the Armistice Agreements;
4. Our relations with the United Nations and the United Nations Truce Supervisions Organisation (two quite different things);
5. The danger of Iraqi incursions into Jordan;
6. Britain's plans (both those revealed and those not yet known);
7. Freedom of transit through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea straits;
8. The greatest and gravest danger: the danger of an attack by the Egyptian Fascist dictator.

There had been a number of favourable developments in the last few days, both in regard to the danger of an Iraqi troop incursion into Jordan and the Suez problem, but we must not be led into over-optimism or rely on verbal promises, for we have had many unfortunate experiences.

We were not a decisive factor in the world, but we were not a negligible quantity in this part of the world. It would not be easy to do anything in the Middle East without taking account of our views.

The Prime Minister declined to add a single word to his statement on "freedom of action" in regard to the Iraqi question. The concrete interpretation of this declaration would be determined by circumstances and by actions - our own and those of others.

Mr. Ben Gurion objected to the distinction drawn by Mr. Bernstein between offensive and deterrent arms - there was no such distinction, he said, for all arms are meant to kill. The difference was in the aim of the arms. When we said "defensive arms" we were not distinguishing between one weapon and another; we meant that we intended to use them for self defence.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 2 -

Often, however, the best way of defence was offensive operations, and when we spoke of defence that did not mean that we were going to say at home and wait for the enemy to come to us; we would carry the war over to the other side. The important distinction was that between the attacker and the one who is attacked. The defender must have at his disposal all the means of war possessed by the attacker; otherwise he could not effectively defend himself, and could not deter the enemy. "Defensive arms" did not mean inferior weapons.

We had made progress in this respect, and we hoped that we would continue to do so, but without the help of the United States to equip us so that we could deter and resist the enemy, the progress would not be sufficient. "I cannot sufficiently emphasize the gravity of the fact that our progress has not been sufficient", Mr. Ben Gurion declared.

The most dangerous enemy was still the Egyptian dictator who aimed at dominating all the Arab countries, and did not hide his intention to liquidate Israel, and the recent incident at Sdoh Boker was ominous.

We must make a definite distinction, the Prime Minister declared, between the United Nations and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. In spite of all our justified complaints against the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, we saw in the United Nations a great human institution, although it had not yet fulfilled all the hopes placed in it. More than any other nation, we wanted to increase the U.N.'s authority, and we hoped that the time would come when it would grow in strength and bring about peace.

In referring again to President Eisenhower's statement about the connection between peace and justice, Mr. Ben Gurion said that the idea had been expressed in the Bible: "Mercy and truth are met together; justice and peace have kissed each other" (Psalms, Ch. 85, V.10).

It was only through our sincere and profound devotion to peace that war has been prevented in the Middle East during the past year, and we were proud of it. But it was not a question of peace at any price. A people which was not willing to fight for its sovereignty and independence would not keep its sovereignty and independence. He recalled a previous statement in the Knesset: "We are for peace, but not for suicide".

He was sure the great majority of the people rejected the foolish advice of all those who regarded every hour as the right occasion for war, and he described the Herut proposals as "fine sounding phrases which could bring about great disasters".

We must tell the House, the Prime Minister said, that the effort to gain military strength required tremendous resources, and the effort could fail if we did not continue to supply the sources. Any ~~Foreignist~~ tendency would be disastrous. He had no words sufficient to pay tribute to the Jews of the world, who had helped us to secure the means but it would be disastrous if they relied only on them, and did not do all they could themselves.

(The above is a report of extracts from the Prime Minister's speech and has not been checked with the verbatim transcript.)

Original
PR1053/15

Levant Department

British Embassy, *MW*

Tel Aviv.

OO WIDEPTL

1012/56

KUSI 358 October 12, 1956.

Dear Department,

You may be interested to know that the Jerusalem Post in commenting today on Mr. Ben Gurion's latest speech (our telegram of October 17 and our letter to Levant Department of October 18) used the following words:

"The entire nation but for Perut (and the Communists who cannot be included in an national reckoning) are in support of the Prime Minister's policy of peace first, but not at any price.

(our underlining)

2. During the debate Mr. Ben Gurion himself ignored the Communists when talking of the opposition to his Government's policy.

3. We enclose a copy of this letter for Levant Department.

Yours ever,

ORLANDO

Information Research Department,

501 IS WING, S.W.1.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office

TO: U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN CANADA (ACTING)
 U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN AUSTRALIA
 U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NEW ZEALAND
 U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN INDIA
 U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN PAKISTAN (ACTING)

(Sent 21.34 hours 18th October 1956)

CYPHER
PRIORITY

No. 1707)
 No. 1535)
 No. 808)
 No. 2295)
 No. 1947)

R1091/360

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Addressed U.K. High Commissioners in Ottawa No. 1707, Canberra No. 1535, Wellington No. 808, Delhi No. 2295 and Karachi No. 1947.

My telegram No. 1659/1498/784/2224/1874.

IRAQ-JORDAN RELATIONS

An approach was made to the Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs on 12th October. Mrs. Meir said that the news given her could not be palatable and that the Israel Government would have to regard it as creating radical change in situation. She showed suspicion of Nuri's motives in view of his interview with "Times" on 8th October in which he said that permanent settlement between Arabs and Jews in Middle East on the basis of 1947 United Nations Resolution was urgently necessary. She was also not satisfied that the assurances given her as to the proposed size, equipment and location of Iraqi forces were specific enough. She sought to regard United Kingdom Chargé d' Affaires' reference to our obligations under Anglo-Jordan Treaty as something of an ultimatum.

2. An Israeli statement on the 12th October said that the entry of Iraq troops into Jordan would be a direct threat to the security of Israel and to the validity of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement. United Kingdom Chargé saw Mrs. Meir again on 14th October to attempt to reassure her about size and character of Iraq forces in question. He emphasised that Iraqi move must be to Israel's advantage because it would strengthen responsible elements in Jordan as against the adventurers. He also pointed out to Mrs. Meir that since Iraq troops would not be stationed in West Jordan, there could be no question of a violation of article 6(i) of Armistice Agreement (which provided that Iraqi troops should be replaced by Jordanian troops in the sector of the demarcation line then held by the former). Mrs. Meir took note of these assurances.

3. In his speech to the Knesset on 15th October, Mr. Ben Gurion made only brief reference to entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan and said that Israel retained her freedom of action. On the same/

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782					86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 2 -

same day, however, Israel Cabinet issued a statement saying that it "had heard with concern and astonishment the threat by the British Foreign Office that Britain would implement Anglo-Jordan Treaty against Israel if Israel opposed a change in the status quo in the area through the sending of Iraqi troops into Jordan". The statement went on to refer to a declaration "of the Iraqi Prime Minister and the British Foreign Office concerning the imposition of peace on Israel on the basis of the boundaries which were proposed by the United Nations in 1947, the very boundaries which Iraq itself, together with the other Arab States - and not without the support of the British Government at that time - tried to erase".

4. We have instructed the United Kingdom Ambassador in Tel Aviv to point out to the Israelis the misleading nature of this statement. It is not true that the United Kingdom Government have said they would fight against Israel if Israel opposed a change in the status quo in the area through the sending of Iraqi troops into Jordan. What the United Kingdom Government said is that they would have to honour their obligations under Anglo-Jordan Treaty if Israel attacked Jordan. Secondly, the Foreign Office made no declaration about the imposition of peace on Israel on the basis of the boundaries proposed by the United Nations in 1947. The Foreign Office statement of the 10th October did no more than re-state the view that there was urgent need for a settlement and drew attention again to the United Kingdom Government's well-known position as defined by the Prime Minister on 9th November 1955. Thirdly the suggestion that the United Kingdom Government supported the Arab States in trying to erase the 1947 boundaries is unfounded and mischievous.

5. Meanwhile, a statement has been made by the Jordanian Minister for Foreign Affairs that Jordan and Iraq are agreed to stationing of Iraqi forces near the border between the two countries. It is not proposed that Iraq troops should enter Jordan for the present.

6. You may at your discretion inform Commonwealth Governments.

Copy to:-

D. II

C.R.O.

Foreign Office

Colonial Office

Mr. Golds

Mr. Hadow

Mr. Lawrence

Mr. S.A. Bunce (7)

SOUTH ASIA AND MIDDLE EAST DEPT.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

1 repl. & below ✓

R1091/361

SECRET

JORDAN

Mr. McIntyre of the Australian High Commissioner's Office left with me this morning the attached two telegrams setting out the Australian view on Israel's attitude to the proposed move of Iraqi troops into Jordan and Jordan's complaint to the United Nations.

2. He asked if we had any views.
3. I made two immediate comments. First I said that the instructions to the Australian Minister in Tel Aviv were very broadly in line with what our own Chargé d'Affaires had been saying to the Israel Government. In particular we had made it clear that we thought it was in Israel's interests that there should be stability in Jordan and that an increase in Iraqi influence should lessen Jordan's reliance on Egypt. My second comment concerned Jordan's complaint to the United Nations. On this I said that we were not in such a hurry as the Australians seemed to be. There was a danger that the only substantive effect of the complaint would be a Security Council resolution which would merely hamper Jordan's efforts to mobilise her friends. We therefore thought that we should move forward very carefully towards any resolution.

Flag A I gave Mr. McIntyre the substance of New York telegram 878.

4. I promised Mr. McIntyre that if we had any further comments to make I would let him know. But unless you feel otherwise, I think we might leave things as they are.

Leave things as they are.
 Omit about
 20/x

E. M. Rose
 (E. M. Rose)
 October 19, 1956

MB

10/18/56

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, LONDON

INWARDS CABLEGRAM

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Despatched

2215 hrs.

18th October, 1956.

From EXTERNAL CANBERRA

No. 2410



Addressed Austnat 321 Washington 857 repeated Crotenele London (for External) 2410 saving Ottawa saving 111 Cairo saving 12 Tel Aviv (for information) saving 8. New York pass to Washington.

Your 670 - Arab-Israeli Relations.

1. The two Israeli attacks of 25th September and 11th October appear to justify serious concern, especially as second attack was made despite Secretary-General's strong condemnation of first attack in his personal message to Ben Gurion (your 561). This concern is also supported by State Department's interpretation of Israel's motives (Washington's saving 330).
2. From Western standpoint some aspects of Arab-Israeli relations stand out at present time. First we should not let another airing of question hinder progress towards a solution of Suez problem. However action to restrain Israeli's present tendencies will not reduce chances of successful western handling of Suez question with Egypt and could improve chances of satisfying Arab opinion. Second, it is clearly necessary and urgent to demonstrate to Israel that she cannot continue to indulge in reprisals which appear out of all proportion to provocation.

Distribution:

-2-

(see paragraph 1 of Washington's saving 130) relying on Western preoccupations with Suez problem to safeguard her against consequences. Thirdly in acting as she is Israel is once more a general drift towards international lawlessness exemplified by Egyptian seizure of canal and by Indonesia's repudiation of debts to Netherlands.

3. We think that it might well be put to Israel that the present trend in Israel's policy towards her Arab neighbours makes it more difficult for west to induce her to end blockade of Israeli shipping as part of settlement of Suez problem. Use of this argument will of course depend on extent to which assurances have been given to Israel that a Suez settlement providing free passage will be cost (Washington saving 152 to New York refers).

4. The above is for your background guidance. As regards handling of question in Council we feel that Council should clearly demonstrate its determination to maintain peace and security in Middle East and should avoid any impression of reluctance to hear complaints. Council should therefore proceed as quickly as possible and in public to take up complaints ascertain merits of them and take the necessary action. General Burns attendance should help Council in this and he should be asked to attend as soon as situation permits.

5. For Washington and London. Above views should be passed to State Department and Foreign Office. We would be interested in reactions.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782					86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, LONDON

INWARDS CABLEGRAM

10/10
dw

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL EX

Despatched 1615 19th October, 1956.

IMMEDIATE



From EXTERNAL CABLEGRAM
No. 2412

Addressed Tel Aviv 90, repeated London (for External)
2412 Assistant New York 392 (New York please pass Washington
359) Cairo Saving 15.

Your telegram 91.

We have considered representations made to you by
Israeli Foreign Ministry concerning present situation between
Israel and Jordan. Please speak to Foreign Ministry along
following lines

- (a) We understand that Israeli Government was given prior warning of proposal to station Iraqi troops in Jordan. It was pointed out to them at time that proposal would hold certain advantages for Israel. It is our understanding that Israel accepted this position.
- (b) Reports before us do not indicate that Iraqi troops are being stationed in Jordan although possibility is recognised that they may enter Jordanian territory should Jordan claim that she is being attacked by Israel
- (c) We reject Foreign Ministry's reference to British threats against Israel. It must surely be conceded that United Kingdom has throughout endeavoured to

Distribution :

exercise.....

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 2 -

exercise a stabilising influence in this troubled area. United Kingdom has obligations under Anglo Jordanian treaty of 1948 which it may be called upon to honour.

- (d) We do not consider that Jordanian provocation on two occasions in question justified reprisals that Israeli forces took
 - (e) It is clearly in Israel's interests that there should be stability in Jordan and we are opposed to stationing Iraqi troops there in that light. We do not consider that Israel should take too much of current Iraqi troop movements; the greater Jordan's reliance upon Iraq the less her reliance upon Egypt which represents Israel's main problem. We also see Israeli reprisals as likely to bolster prospects of extreme groups in forthcoming Jordanian elections.
 - (f) Present trend of Israeli policy will make it more difficult to end blockade of Israeli shipping as part of a solution of Arab problem. It must also cast further into background chances of reaching ultimate settlement of Arab Israeli dispute.
 - (g) Exacerbation of present situation can only react in Egypt's favour and against interests of Israel. While not unkind of general regard general position in which Israel finds itself (and they will be aware of our statements to Security Council) we cannot agree with validity of a policy of reprisals.
2. Please inform your United Kingdom colleague of above.

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VR1091/363

FROM SECRET

Sir J. Nicholls, Tel Aviv to Mr. Rose.

No. 1078/56

Dated October 17

Received in Registry— October 23

Reports on conversations with the French Ambassador to Israel. Several French Ministers are convinced that an aggressive policy by Israel would be a help to the West

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

This would seem to confirm that the French have been encouraging the Israelis to be aggressive and antagonistic.

R. Lawrence
26/6
R. Lawrence
26/6
C. L. P.
26/6
R

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)	(Index)
JB 6.11.56	10.31.57

References to later relevant papers

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

~~SECRET~~

(1078/56)



BRITISH EMBASSY,

TEL AVIV.

October 17, 1956.

R109/363

My dear Michael

My French colleague travelled in the same ship as myself from Venice, having apparently had his leave cut short because the Quai d'Orsay had heard that I was returning. As a result, he was not in the best of humours at first. But he became fairly communicative towards the end of the journey and gave me one or two snippets of information which may be of interest to you.

He told me that Begin had had quite a warm reception in Paris, and that certain Ministers had been much impressed by his arguments for the starting of a preventive war now. When I said that I hoped that this did not mean that recent Israeli reprisal raids could be attributed to French encouragement, Gilbert said that this was certainly not the case, though he thought that some Ministers might well have taken the line that a good display of aggressiveness on any of Israel's frontiers would be helpful to the West in the context of the Suez situation. I said that there did not seem to be much logic in this if the result was likely to be that H.M.G. were called on to carry out their obligations to defend Jordan against Israeli attack. Gilbert agreed, and added that a little liveliness on the Gaza frontier would be another matter altogether. He then said that Pineau had seen the Israel Ambassador in Paris two or three weeks ago, and had told him that the French Government had been much impressed by the relative calmness of the Gaza frontier in recent weeks and the restraint which Israel had been showing. According to Gilbert, Pineau had followed up this little tribute by adding "mais il ne faut pas exagérer, mon cher". Whether Tsur seized the implications of this hint and passed it on to the Israel Government, I do not know.

Yours ever,

Jack Nicholson

E.M. Rose, Esq., C.M.G.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office,
London S.W. 1.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

(1030)

Confidential

British Consulate General,

Jerusalem

October 19, 1956

After discussing with Burns the various replies received to his suggestion about civilians and refugees staying put in the event of an Israel invasion of Jordan (your telegram No.177 to me), I must plead guilty to having failed to pass on his thought correctly. He was not thinking in terms of a dramatic declaration by the Jordan Government, but of a steady policy (which would of course become known to the Israelis) of injecting into the minds of those concerned the necessity of not repeating the mistake of 1948.

2. I do not know whether you will wish to pass this on to the Jordan Government, but if you do, it might be worth while reminding them that when we were expecting a German invasion of the United Kingdom in the last war, the civil population was told, if I am not mistaken, not to move from any area the Germans might occupy temporarily. This was a measure designed to avoid embarrassing the Military, and it certainly did not imply that we expected a German victory.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Department and Tel Aviv.

(T. Wikeley)

His Excellency Sir Charles Duke, K.C.M.G.,
C.I.E., O.B.E.,
Amman.

British Embassy,

AMMAN.

October 25, 1956.

(1032/391/56)

CONFIDENTIAL

Thank you for your letter 1030 of October 19 about the idea that civilians living in the border areas of Jordan should be encouraged to "stay put" in the event of an Israeli invasion.

2. You will have seen Foreign Office telegram No. 2090 to Amman of October 18. I still do not think this idea would be very easy to put across to the Jordan Government, for the reasons given in my telegram No. 177 to you. The parallel of 1940 might help, but I should have to admit that we expected large tracts of England to be occupied by the Germans when they invaded, and this would certainly be an unpalatable thought to any Jordanian.

3. Moreover, I have little confidence myself, and the Jordanians would have less, that the Arab civilians would be allowed by the Israelis to stay or that their presence, if they tried, would impose any restraint on Israeli actions. If the Arabs were an embarrassment to the Israelis and would not leave otherwise, it seems to me that the latter would have little compunction, especially now, in massacring a village or two "pour encourager les autres".

4. I shall not pursue this idea unless further instructed by the Levant Department, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter. I am also sending a copy to the Chancery at Tel Aviv.

(C.B. Duke)

T. Wikeley Esq., C.M., O.B.E.,
H.M. Consulate-General,
Jerusalem.

R 1091/366

levant.

V

Parliamentary Question

* Mr. Arthur Henderson: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he will make a statement on the present situation on the border of Israel and Jordan.

24 OCT 1956

LA Rowley Regis

ANSWERED 24 OCT 1956

REPLY ATTACHED

Flag A

Flag B

Flags C & D

Flags E & F

Flag G

The Security Council met on Friday, October 19 to begin a discussion on a Jordanian complaint of Israeli attacks on Jordan, and an Israeli counter-complaint of Jordanian violations of the cease-fire pledge. A summary of the proceedings is given in New York telegram No. 233 Saving, and the text of Sir Pierson Dixon's statement in New York telegram No. 892. (Copies of both are attached)

2. The Security Council is due to meet again, probably on Thursday, October 25, to continue the discussion. It would be wiser not to make a statement in Parliament until the Security Council proceedings are completed.

3. The Secretary of State is almost certain to be asked in supplementary questions about the Foreign Office statements of September 13 and September 26. (Texts are in Foreign Office telegrams Nos. 758 and 803 to Tel Aviv, copies attached.) Champions of Israel have already criticised these statements as anticipating the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation's findings. That is not, in fact, the case. Statements by the U.N.T.S.O. were made on September 12 and September 26, in both cases before the Foreign Office comments were made. (Texts are in Jerusalem telegrams Nos. 320 and 347, copies attached). On the second occasion, in fact, the Israelis themselves announced the raid as soon as it had taken place (Tel Aviv telegram No. 436, copy attached).

4. There may also be some criticism of the statement made by Sir Pierson Dixon in the Security Council on October 19 when he said that "our Jordan ally has our sympathy and our commendation".

5. I submit a draft reply and notes for supplementaries.

E. M. Rose

(E. M. Rose)
October 23, 1956

A. Henderson

20/x

619/20
19 OCT 1956
XXIX
10

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

**ISRAEL—JORDAN BORDER
(SITUATION)**

10. **Mr. A. Henderson** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will make a statement on the present situation on the border of Israel and Jordan.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd: I should prefer to make no statement on the situation until the Security Council has completed its present consideration of the matter.

Mr. Henderson: In view of the recent statement by the Commander-in-Chief of the Jordan Army that British Forces were on call at an hour's notice, would he give an assurance that this country will not be involved in any military action under the Anglo-Jordan Treaty unless a clear case of major aggression has been established, based upon a report of the United Nations Observation Commission at present stationed in that area.

Mr. Lloyd: The provisions of the Anglo-Jordan Treaty would certainly not come into effect unless there had been a clear case of aggression.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

DRAFT REPLY TO
P.Q. NO. 60 BY
MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON
FOR OCTOBER 24, 1956

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd

I should prefer to make no statement on the situation until the Security Council has completed its present consideration of the matter.

h

Re July 9 att

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

Flag B

1. Sir Pierson Dixon's statement of October 19 in the Security Council

It was only natural for Sir Pierson Dixon to express sympathy with our ally in view of the heavy military attacks to which Jordan had been subjected. Sir P. Dixon was, however, only making a preliminary statement. Her Majesty's Government's views will be set out more fully later in the debate.

Flags C & D

2. Foreign Office statements of September 13 and September 26

Her Majesty's Government's views on Israeli retaliatory attacks are in line with those of the Security Council and the United Nations Secretary-General.

Both the Foreign Office statements were made after reports by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation:

(a) on September 12, the Truce Supervision

Flag H

Organisation stated that the Israeli raid on

/September 12

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

September 12 "appeared as an act of retaliation such as had been repeatedly condemned by the Security Council". Flag H

(b) on September 26, the Truce Supervision Organisation stated that a strong Israeli force had attacked a Jordanian police post on the night of September 25, supported by artillery and mortar fire. A somewhat similar announcement was also made by an Israeli Army spokesman. Flag I
Flag J

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

R109/371

Sir J. Nicholls

No. 562

October 28, 1956

D. 1.34 p.m. October 28, 1956

R. 1.59 p.m. October 28, 1956

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 562 of October 28

Repeated for information to Amman UKDEL New York
Bagdad P.O.M.E.F.
Cairo Washington
and Saving to Beirut Paris
Damascus

Your telegram No. 1025: Troop movements.

I will speak to the Foreign Minister at the first opportunity, probably tomorrow.

2. The scale of mobilization is of course now common knowledge here. Censors are stopping all references to it in Press cables, but there is always the possibility that a correspondent will fly to Cyprus to file a message from there.

3. I understand from Jerusalem that vague reports of military activities here have reached the Old City.

Foreign Office pass Immediate to P.O.M.E.F. 234, Routine Bagdad 92, Cairo 157, UKDEL New York 87, Washington 91, and Saving to Beirut 70, Damascus 66 and Paris 130.

[Repeated to P.O.M.E.F., Bagdad, Cairo, UKDEL New York, Washington and Saving to Beirut, Damascus and Paris].

ADVANCE COPIES:

Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Private Secretary
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department
Head of News Department
Resident Clerk

666666

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

En Clair

Sir J. Nicholls
 No: 569
 October 29, 1956.

D: 8.53 a.m. October 29, 1956.
 R: 9.33 a.m. October 29, 1956.

R109/372

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No: 569 of October 29
 Repeated for information to: Beirut. P.O.M.E.F..
 Amman. Cairo. Damascus. Washington. Paris.

Walter Eytan, Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave his regular short weekly broadcast in English over KOL. Zion Lagoca last night. The B.B.C. monitoring service presumably has full text.

2. Eytan took the line that it was significant that Jordan's first act after the elections had been to create an active alliance with Egypt and Syria. For Jordanian actions amounted to a "declaration of war" and the new alliance meant that "the die has been cast". The Arab States were preparing for war and Iraq would not remain idle; Israel wanted peace, but if the Arabs opened a second round the Israel response would be such as to prevent a third.

Foreign Office pass Washington as my telegram No: 93.

[Repeated to Washington].

DISTRIBUTED TO:

Levant Department.
 Eastern Department.
 African Department.
 Information Policy Department.
 Regional Advisers.
 News Department.
 Information Research Department.

JJJJJ

SECRET

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

No. 570

October 29, 1956.

D. 9.37 a.m. October 29, 1956.

R. 9.55 a.m. October 29, 1956.

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

R 1091/373

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 570 of October 29,

Repeated for information to: Amman UKDEL New York
Bagdad Paris
Beirut POMEF
Cairo Washington
Damascus

My telegram No. 552.

Further reconnaissances by my staff yesterday showed negligible military activity anywhere north of Tel Aviv. The Israel Air Force has also been thinned out in the north and concentrated in the south.

2. The general trend of movement is into the Negev, south of Beersheba, but reconnaissance south of Beersheba is being prevented by the police. Very little activity has been seen between Beersheba and the Jordan border or on the coast at the north end of the Gaza Strip.

Foreign Office pass priority to Bagdad, Cairo, UKDEL New York, Paris, POMEF, and Washington as my telegrams Nos. 95, 161, 89, 46, 238 and 94 respectively.

[Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo, UKDEL New York, Paris, P.O.M.E.F., Washington]

ADVANCE COPIES:-

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department

-0-0-0-0-0

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	line	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

V

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

No: 568

D: 8.16 a.m. October 29, 1956.

October 29, 1956.

R: 9.48 a.m. October 29, 1956.

PRIORITY

21091/374

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 568 of October 29.

Repeated for information to: Amman, Damascus,
Cairo, Beirut,
Bagdad, U.K. Del New York
And Saving to: Ankara, P.O.M.H.F., Paris,
Washington,

The Cabinet issued the following statement after its weekly meeting yesterday at which the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister are said to have reviewed foreign affairs and the security situation.

The renewal of the activities of the Fedayeen by the Egyptian authorities in the last fortnight from Egyptian, Lebanese and Jordanian territory; the establishment of a military alliance directed against Israel between Egypt, Jordan and Syria; the declaration of the rulers of the Hashemite Kingdom that their principal concern is a war of destruction against Israel; similar declarations by the rulers of Egypt and Syria; the mobilization of Iraqi forces on the borders of Jordan; all these developments have compelled us to mobilize a number of our reserves as a precautionary measure, and to safeguard the security of the borders and the border settlements.

Our people should know that the Arab armies are always mobilized because their forces consist entirely of regular soldiers, while in Israel the regular Army is small and designed mainly for the reception and training of recruits. Our defence forces consist of reserves and in order that we should not have to face inadequately defended a sudden attack from the south, north or east, it was essential to mobilize a number of reserve battalions and station them on these borders, to block any possible enemy attack and to afford us a sufficient breathing space, in case of an attack on us, to mobilize our reserve forces on which alone depends
/the defence

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

Tel Aviv telegram No. 568 to Foreign Office.

-2-

the defence of Israel.

The nation is asked to pay no attention to flying rumours and false news, which are being deliberately spread by hostile forces for the purpose of sowing panic in Israel. More than at any other time we must beware of two things of complacency and of panic. Let us stand firm as in years gone by, vigilant and confident in the justice of our cause and in our strength and knowing that the guardian of Israel does not slumber nor sleep.

Foreign Office pass Priority to U.K. Del New York and Saving to Ankara, Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 88, 92, 153 and 131 respectively.

[Repeated to U.K. Del New York and Saving to Ankara, Washington and Paris.]

XXXXX

SECRET

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

R1091/376

No. 567

D. 9.23 a.m. October 29, 1956

October 29, 1956

R. 9.50 a.m. October 29, 1956

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 567 of October 29.

Repeated for information to Paris Amman
Washington Cairo
P.O.M.E.F. Bagdad
Beirut

According to official of the United States Embassy, reports are reaching them that a great many Israelis now favour one of two theories:

(a) That Her Majesty's Government have agreed with Israel and Iraq on a partition of the zone; or

(b) That Her Majesty's Government have agreed with Israel and France to launch a concerted attack upon Egypt.

2. The main reason given for reaching one or the other of these conclusions is said to be lack of reaction by Her Majesty's Government to the mobilization which has been carried out. It is argued that change from the very sharp reaction of a fortnight ago can only mean that some such secret agreement has been reached.

3. I think it would be advisable to correct these rumours and suggest that the best method would be to play up the representations which I am about to make to the Israel Government in accordance with your telegram No. 1025.

Foreign Office please pass to Paris, Washington, P.O.M.E.F. Cairo and Bagdad as my Priority telegrams Nos. 44, 92, 235, 158 and 93.

[Repeated to Paris, Washington, P.O.M.E.F., Cairo and Bagdad].

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department

ZZZZZ

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE (SECRET) AND
WHITEHALL (SECRET) DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls
No. 575
October 29, 1956

D: 5.18 p.m. October 29, 1956
R: 5.32 p.m. October 29, 1956

EMERGENCY
CONFIDENTIAL

VR1091/377

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 575 of October 29.
Repeated for information to Bagdad, Amman, Cairo,
UKDel New York,
P.O.M.E.F. and Washington
and Saving to Paris, Damascus and Beirut.

My telegram No. 566. VR1091/371(A)

I saw the Foreign Minister this morning and spoke in accordance with instructions contained in your telegram No. 1025. Having reminded her of our obligations under the Anglo-Jordan Treaty, I said I should be glad if she could give me an assurance that no hostile move against Jordan was contemplated.

2. Mrs. Meir said, without appreciable hesitation, "I think I can give you that assurance."

3. I said that though I could readily understand some precautionary calling up of reservists, I and my foreign colleagues were at a loss to explain the scale of the present mobilization. It would cause economic dislocation such as Israel could ill afford and seemed much more far reaching than purely precautionary measures would justify. Mrs. Meir contested this on the standard lines, viz small number of troops normally [? omitted] arms, risk of a war on several fronts and dangers of Middle Eastern situation in general. Israel was not seeking military adventures, but must be prepared.

Foreign Office pass to Bagdad, Cairo, UKDel New York, P.O.M.E.F. and Washington as my Priority telegrams Nos. 98, 167, 91, 241 and 96 and to Paris, Damascus and Beirut as my Saving telegrams Nos. 132, 67 and 71.

[Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo, UKDel New York, P.O.M.E.F. Washington and Saving to Paris, Damascus and Beirut].

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary Mr. Dean
Sir I. Kirkpatrick Mr. Ross

Head of Levant
Department
Head of News
Department

4444

VR1091/368

SECRET

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls
No. 580
October 29, 1956.

D. 7.40 p.m. October 29, 1956.
R. 7.50 p.m. October 29, 1956.

EMERGENCY
SECRET

VR109/378

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 580 of October 29.
Repeated for information to Cairo

Bagdad	P.O.M.E.F.
Amman	Washington
Beirut	Paris
Damasous	U.K.Bel. New York

My service Attachés with their French colleagues were called to the Ministry of Defence this evening at 1915 hours and told that Israel forces entered Egyptian territory today.

2. An unspecified force of paratroopers had been dropped about twenty miles east of the town of Suez, and a light division had crossed the frontier on a broad front between El Auja and Eilath. It was hoped that they would link up with the paratroopers tonight.

3. The object was to reach the canal and only to fight if resistance was encountered.

4. In reply to questions, the informant said that there had been no air fighting and no loss of Israel aircraft. There had been no action against Egyptian airfields.

5. The Attachés were asked to inform no one except their respective Ambassadors, but were told that an announcement in vague terms would be made at 2130 hours local time tonight.

Foreign Office pass Emergency, Cairo, Bagdad, P.O.M.E.F., Washington, Paris and U.K.Bel. New York as my telegrams Nos. 169, 101, 243, 98, 50 and 93 respectively.

[Repeated to Cairo, Bagdad, P.O.M.E.F., Washington, Paris, U.K.Bel. New York].

ADVANCE COPIES TO:

Private Secretary	
Sir I. Kirkpatrick	Head of African
Mr. Dean	Department
Mr. Ross	Resident Clerk
Head of Levant Department	
Head of News Department	

SECRET

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

12/1091/380

No. 583

D. 10.22 p.m. October 29, 1956

October 29, 1956

R. 10.43 p.m. October 29, 1956

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 583 of October 29.

Repeated for information to Amman	Washington
Cairo	UKDEL New York
P.O.M.E.F.	Paris
Bagdad	Beirut
Ankara	Damascus

The Israel army spokesman issued the following statement at about 9.30 p.m. local time tonight.

Units of the Israel defence forces have penetrated and attacked Fedayeen bases in the Kuntilla and Ras el Nageb area and have taken up positions to the west of the Nahel road junction, towards the Suez Canal. This operation was necessitated by the continuous Egyptian military attacks on citizens and on Israel land and sea communications, the purpose of which was to cause destruction and to deprive the people of Israel of the possibility of peaceful existence.

Foreign Office pass to Washington and UKDEL New York as my Immediate telegrams Nos 100 and 95 respectively.

[Repeated to Washington and UKDEL New York].

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department
Head of News Department
Resident Clerk

ZZZZ

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

Tel Aviv telegram No.573 to Foreign Office

-2-

reliance upon a certain Power's promises. Ha'aretz said, however, that information available to the Cabinet and to Mr. Ben Gurion fully justified the mobilization, which could not lead to trouble with the big Powers provided that its object remained defensive. Herut criticized the Government for having thrown away the advantage of surprise and for having invited international pressure.

5. Lamerhav (Achdut Avoda) and Haboker (General Zionist) criticized President Eisenhower's representatives to Israel.

6. Hazofe (religious parties) criticized British hypocrisy and said that on the one hand the British Ambassador tried to induce Israel to soften her opposition to the entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan while, on the other hand, the "British organ", NEABS, yesterday called on Jordan not to cancel her treaty with Britain in view of the fact that the latter was the only Power able to defend Jordan against an Israel attack. Hence Israel must regard Britain as having openly joined the enemy camp.

Foreign Office pass saving to U.K.Del. New York No. 91
Washington No. 154, Ankara No. 93 and Jerusalem No.30.

[Repeated Saving to U.K.Del. New York, Washington, Ankara
and Jerusalem].

TTTT

SECRET

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP.

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls
No: 579
October 29, 1956.

D: 7.55 p.m. October 29, 1956.
R: 9.20 p.m. October 29, 1956.

R1091/382

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No: 579 of October 29

Repeated for information to: Paris. Cairo. Bagdad.
Washington. Amman. P.O.M.E.F.. U.K.Del. New York.

My telegram No: 570. R1091/373

Chief of Staff of United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization, General Burns, told me this afternoon that in his opinion reports of "almost complete mobilization" were much exaggerated and that so far as he could judge it could not amount to more than about 50% and probably represented not more than call-up of one reserve division.

2. Our own view is that mobilization may be more than 50% but that our information is insufficient to justify stating a figure.

3. My Military Attaché estimates that a force of about 2 divisions is now concentrated in the Negev. Southward movement from a staging area south-east of Tel Aviv still continued today however but on a diminished scale.

Foreign Office pass Paris, Cairo, Bagdad, Washington, P.O.M.E.F. and U.K.Del. New York as my Priority telegrams Nos: 49, 168, 100, 97, 242 and 92 respectively.

[Repeated to Paris, Cairo, Bagdad, Washington, P.O.M.E.F. and U.K.Del. New York]

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary.
Mr. Pink.
Head United Nations Department.

Sir I. Kirkpatrick.
Head Levant Department.
Resident Clerk.

Mr. Boss.
RESIDENT CLERK

JJJJJ

(17)

VR1091/G
383

FROM *S. E. O. Q. U. S.*
AMMAN.
 No. *1581*
 Dated *06-30*
 Received in Registry *06-30*

Egypt / Jordan
 Conversation with Jordanian officials about possible Jordanian intervention in the West Egypt / Jordan conflict.

References to former relevant papers
VR1091/62

MINUTES
 I do not understand paragraph 2.
 We may have some comfort from para 5.
 But Nubia will be under very strong pressure to help Egypt.

(Print)

(How disposed of)

Pittman
 The danger is A.A. Kewar going ahead with the joint command. *30/10*
Rumb.
30/5
Pur 30/10

(Action completed)
Wick
3/11

(Index)
[Signature]

References to later relevant papers

SECRET

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

V 1091

383

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET
DISTRIBUTION

Sir C. Duke
No. 1581 B. 10.3 a.m. October 30, 1956.
October 30, 1956. R. 10.15 a.m. October 30, 1956.

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1581 of October 30.

Repeated for information to: Tel Aviv Bagdad
Cairo Damascus
P.O.M.E.F.

RECEIVED IN U.K.
30 OCT 1956
30

Your telegram 2206. V 1091 | 626

I spoke to the Under-Secretary at the Jordan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief-of-the-General Staff as instructed in your telegram under reference at 4.30 a.m. today. I have now also seen the Jordan Prime Minister, Suleiman Nabulsi, and spoke to him similarly.

2. I added [grp undec ? the observance] there might be few if any R.A.F. camps here.

3. In speaking to the Prime Minister, I urged that neither the Jordan Government nor Jordan Army should take any hasty action to intervene. I drew his attention to the provision in our treaty for consultations. I also reminded him urgent consultations were already in progress between signatories to the tripartite declaration and that an urgent meeting of the Security Council had been called. It was therefore essential that Jordan should not further complicate the issues by intervention against Israel, and should allow time for international action to take effect.

4. The Prime Minister took notes of what I said and told me that he was about to see the Minister of Defence and Chief-of-the-General-Staff before holding a meeting of the new Jordan cabinet and discussing the situation with King Hussein.

/He

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

Amman telegram No. 1581 to Foreign Office

-2-

He referred to the recent military agreement that Jordan had entered into with Egypt and Syria. I said that there had been no previous information to or consultation with us about that. It could not alter Her Majesty's Government's position under our treaty.

5. The Prime Minister seemed to take well the points I made and said that he was glad that the new Government was in office as he considered they had the confidence of the people and were therefore better able to control the situation than another Government might have been. He appeared calm and serious.

Foreign Office pass immediate Tel Aviv 202, and priority Cairo 371 POMBF 788, Bagdad 34, Damascus 207.

[Repeated to Tel Aviv, Cairo, Rome, Bagdad and Damascus.]

ADVANCE COPIES:-

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department
Head of News Department

-0-0-0

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP.

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET
DISTRIBUTION

R109/384

Sir J. Nicholls
No: 582
October 29, 1956.

D: 9.54 p.m. October 29, 1956.
R: 10.08 p.m. October 29, 1956.

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No: 582 of October 29
Repeated for information to: Cairo, Bagdad, Amman.
Beirut, Damascus, P.O.M.E.F., Washington, Paris.
U.K.Del. New York.

My telegram No: 580, paragraph 5: Israel-Egypt.

This announcement has now been made but without giving details other than statement that Israeli troops have entered Egyptian territory and have captured some Fedayeen bases.

Foreign Office pass Immediate to Cairo and Bagdad and Priority to P.O.M.E.F., Washington, Paris, U.K.Del. New York as my telegrams Nos: 170, 102, 244, 99, 51 and 94 respectively.

[Repeated to Cairo, Bagdad, P.O.M.E.F., Washington, Paris and U.K.Del. New York]

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary.
Sir I. Kirkpatrick.
Mr. Dean.
Mr. Ross.
Head Levant Department.
Resident Clerk.

JJJJJ

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls
No. 590
October 30, 1956.

B. 10.41 a.m. October 30, 1956.
R. 10.52 a.m. October 30, 1956.

EMERGENCY
CONFIDENTIAL

12/29/1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 590 of October 30.

Repeated for information to:

POMEF	Beirut
Cairo	Washington
Amman	Jerusalem
Bamascus	UKDEL New York
Bagdad	Paris

The Foreign Liaison Office have informed the Air Attache that the Egyptian Air Force has commenced operating against Israel forces in Sinai and the Negev.

2. The Israel spokesman stressed that this aerial activity was started by Egyptians.

Foreign Office pass POMEF., Cairo, Bagdad, (all immediate) Washington, Jerusalem, UKDEL New York and Paris (all priority) as my telegrams 249, 173, 105, 102, 158, 96, and 54.

[Repeated to POMEF, Cairo, Bagdad, Washington, Jerusalem, UKDEL New York, Paris]

ADVANCE COPIES:-

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Ross
Head of Levant Department
Head of News Department

-0-0-0-0



SECRET

V

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

R1091/350

FOREIGN OFFICE (SECRET)

AND WHITEHALL (SECRET)

DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

No. 528

D. 3.46 p.m. October 18,

October 18, 1956.

R. 4.46 p.m. October 18,

PRIORITY

SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 528 of October 18.

Repeated for information to: Amman, Paris,
Bagdad, Washington,
Beirut, UK Del New York,
Cairo, P.O.M.E.F.,
Damascus, Jerusalem.

And Saving to: Ankara.

I called on the Foreign Minister last night in Jerusalem and had a long and exhausting but friendly conversation.

2. Mrs. Meir was tired and emotional and I found it difficult to deal with one grievance before she had passed on to another. Coherent account of our talk is impossible, but I think that her attitude could fairly be expressed as follows.

3. The reprisal raids were a regrettable necessity; to stop them Jordan had only to prevent violations of the cease-fire. If the Government was too weak to do this, Israel could not be expected to allow her citizens to be murdered with impunity.

4. Israel did not want [? grp omitted], with Jordan or any other country, but she could not abrogate responsibility for her own security. The entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan would be a threat to her security and would undermine the whole armistice régime. If the object was to protect Jordan against a general attack by Israel, there was no need for it. If the object was to bolster up the régime, a small Iraqi force in a relatively unobjectionable area would prove inadequate, and Israel would sooner or later find herself with large Iraqi force on her very borders. Even if Nuri's assurances and our own were sincerely justifiable, the logic of the events would force him to go beyond his present intentions. If Egypt also intervened, the chances were that the resulting Iraqi-Egyptian

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

Tel Aviv telegram No. 528 to Foreign Office.

-2-

Egyptian tension would be resolved by an agreement to turn on Israel, however far that might be from Nuri's present intention.

5. The whole project, however, seemed to the Israel Government so provocative and so dangerous that they found it very hard to take it, or the assurances given to them, at their face value. Their suspicions had been increased by a variety of circumstances, such as discrepancies between the first United States approach and our later interventions; our refusal to define a "small" force; Nuri's peace plan and our prompt "endorsement" of it; a belligerent statement put out by the Iraqi Embassy in Damascus; and so on and so forth.

6. I did my best to allay Mrs. Meir's anxieties, using all the obvious arguments. The only one with which I believe I made some impression was that if the Israel Government thought that the project was designed to provide a setting for imposition of an unacceptable peace on Israel, they were very wide of the mark; I was sure that Her Majesty's Government did not now regard a peace settlement as likely to be practical politics in the foreseeable future, however much they might desire such a settlement.

7. Comments follow.

Foreign Office pass to Bagdad 82, Cairo 148, Paris 40, Washington 87, UK Del New York 78, P.O.M.E.F. 221, Jerusalem 151 and Saving to Ankara 84.


[Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo, Paris, Washington, U.K. Del New York, P.O.M.E.F., Jerusalem and Saving to Ankara.]

XXXXXX

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref. FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet.						

R091/351

During the course of my talks with the French Ambassador to-day I recalled the attacks on Mr. Ben Gurion's speech in the Knesset. The Ambassador expressed some relief on this topic and said that he felt that in all the circumstances Mr. Ben Gurion's references to the proposed Iraqi move were in comparatively moderate terms. He did not think that words of this nature portended the use of force to forestall the arrival of Iraqi forces in Jordan. His Excellency merely added that he hoped there would be no reference of this matter to the Security Council. Though this would be less embarrassing than a war in which Britain was involved against Israel it would be extremely awkward for France. The legal argument that the Iraqi move was not an infringement of the Armistice might be a strong one but the political position would be extremely embarrassing for the French.


(Anthony Nutting)
October 15, 1956.

DISTRIBUTION:

Private Secretary
Lord Reading
Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dodds-Parker
Lord John Hope
Sir Harold Caccia
Mr. Ross
Lord Hood
Levant Dept.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

idix R 1091/353

Israel-Jordan Incidents

A note of recent Israeli reprisal raids and the incidents that are said to have provoked them is attached.

The Israelis made no statement about the first raid. In a statement issued on September 12, however, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation said that it appeared as an act of retaliation such as had repeatedly been condemned by the Security Council.

The Israelis again made no official statement about the second raid. Their press of September 14, however, was almost unanimous in referring to it as a "reprisal" or as a "punishment".

Details of the third raid were announced by an Israeli spokesman while it was still in progress. The spokesman said an Israeli armed unit had attacked and occupied a number of Jordan military positions, but did not say in so many words that the action was a reprisal raid.

Details of the fourth raid were also given immediately by an Israeli military spokesman. His statement was purely factual.

The policy of reprisal raids is not of course a new one. Its theory was explained in some detail in a lecture by General Dayan, Israeli Chief of Staff, over a year ago. The theory is that Israel cannot guard every inch of her borders and so prevent infiltrators from coming in. All she can do is to make the cost of infiltration so heavy for the neighbouring Arab states that they will be compelled themselves to take measures to stop it.

The Israelis have been at some pains to justify their recent raids. On September 14 they issued a press communique

/about the

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 2 -

about the second raid, which listed a number of incidents in which Israelis were attacked during the preceding three months, and also quoted statements by King Hussein and General Ruwar which they said contravened the spirit and letter of the Armistice Agreement (a copy of the statement is at VR 1091/284).

flag A

On September 26 an Israel Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that the purpose of the Husan attack had been to bring home to the Jordan authorities that it was to their advantage to end "aggression" against the people and territory of Israel. He added that Israel would faithfully abide by the Armistice Agreement if Jordanian attacks came to an end. (Tel Aviv telegram no. 440).

flag B

Again on October 11 they issued a statement to the press which justified the destruction of the Galgilya police post as a measure of self-defence intended to check attempts on the part of armed Jordanians to disrupt life in Israel. (Copy of this statement attached.)

flag C

The most recent defence of the reprisal policy by the Israel Government was made by Mrs. Meir in a speech on October 7. She said "If the United Nations have not the strength to force the Arabs to keep peace we will have no choice but to see to it that everyone who raises a hand against us will pay dearly for his action." She went on, "no-one can deprive us of the right to operate across the border. Crossing the border is not the prerogative of only one side". She concluded that since the United Nations had failed to control the situation Israel had adopted another system, namely punishing those responsible for the acts of their soldiers.

The Israelis justify their policy partly on the grounds of self-defence. It is relevant to recall in this connection that

/Mr. Hammarskjold

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

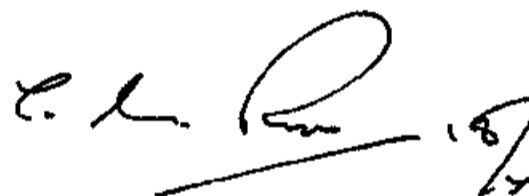
- 3 -

Mr. Hammarskjold obtained cease fire pledges from Israel and her neighbours earlier this year which were subject only to a reservation on self-defence. Mr. Hammarskjold made it clear that self-defence did not confer the right to break other articles of the Armistice Agreement (e.g. that prohibiting the crossing of the demarcation ^{line} for any purpose). And in a note addressed to the Israel permanent representative in New York on September 14 Mr. Hammarskjold specifically stated that "the action now undertaken [i.e. the second Israeli reprisal raid] cannot be considered as within the limits of legitimate self-defence in the face of the acts of violence because of which it may be supposed to have been undertaken."

It goes without saying that Israeli reprisals raids have been condemned on several occasions by the Security Council, and most recently on January 19.


(P.H. Laurence)

18th October, 1956.



1356

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VR1091/356

FROM
 Chancery, Tel Aviv to
 Levant Department
 No. 1015/56
 Dated October 17
 Received in
 Registry— October 22

Full text of Mr. Ben-Gurion's speech to
 the Knesset on October 15.

References to former relevant papers

333

MINUTES

Mr. Ben-Gurion's speech was mostly concerned with Israel's security. He said a good deal about Bedayeen. He admitted that Egypt is primarily responsible, but he accused the Governments of the other Arab countries from which Bedayeen had acted of complicity in organising them. (See underlined passages on pages 2, 17, 18 and 21). This is presumably the Israeli Government's official line.

Mr. Ben-Gurion restated Israel's position that they did not want war (see pages 6 and 13); but that if attacked they would fight to the last (page 4). He did not go quite so far in eschewing a preventive war as the Tel Aviv telegram no. 514 (-/333) implied. All he said was that the Israel Government did not accept the point of view put forward earlier this year that Egypt should be attacked before she had digested the numerous Soviet Block weapons which she had received. (See page 4).

There is the usual complaint of alleged partiality of the United Nations culminating in the allegation of "obvious discrimination" of page 25. On the other hand in this speech Mr. Ben-Gurion admitted for, so far as I can recall, the first time that the cease fire Article in the Armistice Agreement has a validity quite apart from the other Articles of the Agreement (see underlined passage on page 25). Previously the Israelis have argued that the Armistice Agreements should be considered as one whole and that if the other side contravened one Article Israel was entitled to disregard all the remainder.

The passage on Palestine settlements (page 28) is not important. It is only a prelude to an attack on Egypt for barring passage of the Suez Canal to Israeli ships and on Iraq for wishing to send troops to help Jordan. The passage on page 34 that:

"the continuation of the arbitrary blockade which which the Egyptian Dictator has imposed on Israel shipping in the Suez Canal and the Red Sea Straits will disturb the stability of the peace in the Middle East"

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)	(Index)
<i>[Signature]</i> 1955	6/1/57

References to later relevant papers



British Embassy,

Tel Aviv.

October 17, 1956.

IMMEDIATE

1015/56

Dear Department,

Please refer to our telegram No. 514 of October 15 giving a summary of Mr. Ben-Gurion's speech to the Knesset that afternoon.

..... 2. We enclose a copy of the full text.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Levant Department,

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

STATE OF ISRAEL
Government Press Office

Address by

The Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion
in the Knesset
on Monday 15 October, 1956

Before all else, I must pay tribute, in grief and mourning in love and reverence, to the fallen of the Israel Defence Forces, who have given their lives during the last few weeks, to defend our security and to show our enemies that the blood of our people cannot be shed with impunity in their own country.

To the mothers, fathers and relatives of these fearless fighters I send my profound and sincere sympathy in their hour of mourning. For your grievous loss there can be neither consolation or recompense. The memory of your beloved and sacred sons will shine in Israel's history as a symbol of devotion, heroism and love of Israel.

Members of the Knesset,

I had intended to present a comprehensive review which would cover the Government's activities in the field of economics, education and health, but I am sure that at such a time the debate would be concentrated entirely on political questions, and I have therefore decided to restrict myself on this occasion to a political review. A separate survey of the other subjects, to be followed by a separate debate, will be given on a later date.

The year 5716 has marked a turning point in our security position and in the international situation in the Middle East. The year began with the Czech arms transaction, which provided the Egyptian dictator with a copious flow of heavy arms of all types - fighter and bomber planes, artillery, heavy tanks, destroyers

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 2 -

and submarines - from the Soviet bloc, and ended with the Suez Canal crisis. According to Soviet bloc spokesman, all this has been done solely for the purpose of serving the interests of peace in the Middle East and strengthening the independence of the Arab peoples, but the result in practice has been to increase the tension in this region and in the whole world. Israel's danger has immeasurably increased, for the Egyptian dictator, like the other Arab rulers, has never for a moment interrupted his feverish preparations for a Second Round against Israel, although from time to time he pretends to be a lover of peace when speaking to foreign journalists and representatives of the United Nations. But when during the past year one of the Great Powers, followed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, attempted to bring about an improvement in his relations with Israel, both of them met with a categorical refusal.

There was an increase in the number of violent clashes on the borders as the result of the recruitment of gangs of murderers known as "Fedayiun" by the Egyptian Government, and the employment of these gangs in all the Arab countries, especially in the Gaza Strip and the Hashemite Kingdom. These gangs penetrate into Israel from time to time, sometimes in considerable depth, and murder passers-by, workers in the fields, women and children in their homes - anyone they come across, including both Jews and members of the minority communities.

In my review of security affairs in the Knesset on 22 April this year, I stated that "our constant effort and struggle to maintain security and peace may be approaching a decisive and perhaps a fateful stage, and our policy is

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 3 -

incessantly to heighten our capacity for self-defence and to strive unwearingly for a stable peace with our neighbours".

The Government's attitude - that peace must be maintained, even if it is an unstable peace, so long as it depends upon us, but that in view of the great danger threatening from the Egyptian dictator and his allies, we must make every endeavour to increase the strength of the Israel Defence Forces and acquire arms that will deter the enemy - met with opposition even in responsible circles who are not as a rule eager for battle. After the review of the security situation which I submitted at the beginning of January this year, the leader of the General Zionist opposition, my friend Mr. Peretz Bernstein, argued: "The Prime Minister has repeated his declaration that in the face of the arming of Egypt by the Soviet Government an initiated war would not take place".

And he asked, "Shall we wait till they start a war or shall we not wait? And whether you call this refusal to wait 'initiated war' or 'preventive war' or any other name - does not interest me, for that is not the question. The question is a different one, and we have given our reply to it: We shall not wait. But while we, the General Zionists, have said: We shall not wait - the Government has said: No, we shall not begin a war ourselves. The Government has recoiled from this grave decision, but then as against this refusal we should have been presented with some perspective to indicate what the Government will do. What was the perspective? - To acquire arms. The prospects of receiving arms, at

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 4 -

any rate in sufficient quantities and of the types which would be decisive in battle, were not particularly promising. In any case so far we have not heard any assurance that we shall receive even a part of the arms".

About six months later, on 19 June, another respected spokesman of the General Zionists, Mr. Elimelech Rimalt, repeated his arguments, and asked me this bitter question: "How can we overcome this tragic gap in equipment - this great and increasing gap - without a preventive war, without starting a war?"

I do not contend that there was no foundation for this question. The Egyptian dictator and his supporters openly declare that he is preparing to liquidate Israel, and he even announced that he was "not fighting only against Israel, but also against international Jewry and Jewish capital" - formulae with which we are well acquainted from the speeches of Hitler. And it is not surprising if even men who were not anxious for war believed that there was no alternative except to forestal the evil day and declare war on the Fascist dictator in Cairo before the Egyptian army succeeded in digesting the plentiful arms received from the Soviet bloc. My colleagues in the Government and I did not accept this point of view. We are for self-defence, and if we are attacked we shall fight with all our strength to the end, and that means till victory. But we are aware of all the terrors of war and the havoc it causes in life and property. We do not believe that wars provide comprehensive solutions for historic problems - in any case not permanent solutions. For these reasons we are not eager for battle. In face of the increased gravity of the Egyptian threat we felt it our duty to make desperate efforts to strengthen

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 5 -

our army's equipment, so as to deter the enemy from war, and to preserve peace in so far as that depended on us. Peace is precious to us, because we hold precious the lives of men. And permit me a brief personal confession:

Twice, at two fateful moments, I did not join in the great joy which reigned among the people, although few events in our history justified rejoicing more than these two moments.

The first occasion was the great day of 14 May 1948. After I had proclaimed on behalf of the National Administration the revival of the State of Israel/in the Tel Aviv Museum, I heard the joyful shouts of the people in the streets of Tel Aviv, and in my mind I heard the rejoicings of the Jewish people all over the world. I must admit that my joy was mingled with sadness. I knew what awaited us in the near future, although I had prepared for this time ever since the World War in Europe. And indeed immediately after the end of the historic ceremony in the Museum, I hurried to a sitting of the Hagana staff - there were no Israel Defence Forces then as yet -, where I heard news of the movement of the Arab armies from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon in the direction of new-born Israel.

The second occasion was the end of the fighting in January 1949, when our young army had routed and defeated all the armies of the Arab world. I was not one of those who triumphed at our glorious victory, for I knew that the victory was not a final one, and there was still in store for us a difficult struggle - and perhaps not one but many struggles. I had no doubt whatsoever that our enemies would not lightly accept their defeat, nor did I attach much hope to the capacity of

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 6 -

the United Nations to maintain the peace in our region.

I was doubtful of the ability of the United Nations staff and institutions to do anything substantial, in view of the international tension in the world and the conflicts between the Great Powers which control the United Nations in the Security Council. I knew that it is not the fine principles laid down in the United Nations Charter which counted; it is conflicting interests and power politics which are decisive both in the Assembly and in the Security Council. But these political considerations were not the principal reasons which prevented the joy of victory from being complete. Even on the day of victory - and there have not been many victories like this in the history of our people - I could not forget even for a moment the heavy price we had paid. The beloved boys and girls - over 5000 of them - who had laid down their lives, and the thousands of bereaved fathers and mothers who had lost their dear ones for ever, destroyed my joy. Ever since then, I am unable to think of war from a purely political point of view. I can think of it only from a human point of view, and - I am not ashamed to admit - in profound and intense love for the young people whose lives will be endangered in war, and in great concern for the fathers and mothers, the women and children, who were liable to lose their loved ones. We do not want human beings to be killed, at all, no matter to what nation they may belong. If we have succeeded in preventing this disaster so far, in the course of the many anxieties of this year, I do not know what the historian of the future will say. but I feel a profound satisfaction at our success in preventing war up till now.

./.

- 7 -

In place of war, whose sacrifices are certain, and whose historic advantage is doubtful, we said: Let us make an effort to strengthen the Israel Defence Forces with defensive arms. It was not an easy or a simple matter, and I must say that we have not yet obtained all we wanted, but in my opinion this was the imperative command of our human and political conscience, and we acted accordingly. I believe we were not mistaken or misled, and we did not mislead Israel.

Members of the Knesset are no doubt well aware that arms are not the type of merchandise which you can go into a shop, pick out whatever you want and take home with you, if only you have the money or credit. We knocked at many doors and found them closed. The British Government, which sold the Egyptian dictator heavy tanks, knowing that they were intended to strike at Israel, obstinately refused to sell them to Israel. And this England is, as is well known, a party to the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 on the preservation of the balance in the Middle East. The United States, to whom we owe our thanks for much political and financial assistance from the day the State was founded, recognized in principle the need to rectify the arms balance between Israel and the Arab countries, and encouraged their allies to supply us with defensive arms. We cannot be content with this encouragement alone, and we shall continue to demand of the United States Government enough defensive arms, in the air, on land and at sea, to deter the enemy. But at the same time we do not belittle the value of the encouragement, which has also had substantial results. We owe profound appreciation and sincere thanks to France, which was the first to supply us with 24 modern Mistère 4 jet planes, and who has recently, as is well

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 8 -

known, been followed by the Canadian Government, which has decided to sell us 24 Sabre F86 jet planes; nor should we forget Britain, which had previously supplied us with a number of Meteors. We have also received several types of defensive arms from other countries.

I shall not give the story of our efforts to ensure for the Israel Defence Forces the essential minimum of equipment, for the story has not yet ended, and there will still be time to tell it in the future. We have had to bear many months of expectation and anxiety, but we have also had days of profound joy. And perhaps it is fitting that I should tell you of one of these moments, as it has been recorded by that powerfully expressive poet who signs his work "Natan A". By reading the words of the poet here I know that I am being unfair to the paper for whom the poem was intended, but it seems to me that these words ought to be perpetuated in the Knesset proceedings, as part of the heritage of the State and the Israel Defence Forces.

(The following is a rough paraphrase of the poem)

Men will yet tell in concern and wonder how the nation's hist ory stood between

the Sea of Bilat and the Mediterranean

On the first and last piece of soil as on an Israeli rock in an Arab sea,

And the assemblage of our enemies, who only yesterday struck and returned on

their bellies to their lairs,

Was plentifully supplied afresh with fire-arms they had not previously known, ready

to leap forth with their hate and their machines.

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 9 -

It will yet tell in fear and wonder how the nation continued with its daily

routine in the fields and markets,

With its life rich in colour and voices, while from its innermost depths,

from within all the noise and the tumult,

From the depth of its being, across the talk and the songs and the quarrels

and the laughter,

Arose one cry:

Tools, tools! Tools of battle and tools for defence! And quickly,

and in good time!

When the day comes, when peace comes to the land, when the East is

quiet, someone will ask:

When was the fate of the Jews sealed a second time - after the judgement of

1948 - whether they would break the circle alive?

And one will give one answer, and one another. And some will suddenly remember

a sea-shore

And the murmuring of water, and shadow shapes, and a slice of early

August moon.

Perhaps it is a night that has been, or a night still to be.

It is a night which today has no description or name.

But when the time comes it will openly arise. Marked with a date. And it is

perhaps the threshold

Across which stretch the open spaces and peace. An ordinary weekday

night, still dumb,

Whoever saw it or is yet to see it will say: I have seen the night on
which fate was decided,
Perhaps it is a night that has been. Or the night of a dream. In its
dream - iron, much iron, new iron,
With long muzzles, thundering on steel chains,
Arriving from afar, climbing onto the shore, and while it is all
vision it is all substance,
And when it first touches the soil it is transformed into Jewish power.
Perhaps it is a night that has been. Or it is yet to be, But the wheel
of time turns once again -
And as on those nights of the past - but how much greater - weapons for defence
and battle pass by in line
And each of them, when it is entrusted to the hands of those who see it
as a vision in the hot wind,
Is destined to gain the strength of ten weapons at the very touch
of necessity.
And each of them, each weapon of skilful workmanship,
As it is swallowed up in the dusk, inserts a new thread, like a thread
of scarlet, into the landscape;
Once more the piece of Jewish soil, which was the pauper's lamb,
Changes its shape to be the poor man's lion cub,

./.

- 11 -

And if this is a night that was, and if it is a night of dreams,
Each Jewish man and woman, whether here or in the Dispersion,

ought to know

That this night's dream is much more real than all their businesses
in the light of day

And that it seals their fate and it determines all their lives.

It is the witness, whether dreaming or awake, that the Guardian
slumbers not nor sleeps,

And burden-bearing soldiers, naked to the waist, unwearied,

Carry salvation on their backs, add the noisy machines

Pass on, pass on, and the verdict on the history of our days is
given for life and power.

This is a night that was or yet will be. Whether the one or the
other - it is no lying vision.

It is a nameless night, and to me it is a festival that will be
remembered beyond the bonds of this time.

Happy the people which has this fate..., whose very faults
are open to the eye of friend and foe,

And whose finest, boldest deeds are hidden up till now. For the
darkness covers them.

./.

- 12 -

Perhaps this is a night of dreams, but waking

and in fact it saw melting away the terror of the gap
Between ourselves and the force of destruction ... Iron
steadily comes,

and the bowels of the earth tremble ...

Good that Israel's day should know that from the night it

draws the power of life, the power of fire...

Let Israel's body know this ... and its spirit too will add

its need of steel.

These were the poet's words.

In my poor prose I will say only that there has been

a distinct improvement in the power of the Israel Defence

forces, although I must point out with grave anxiety that

Egypt alone still has an enormous arms superiority over Israel.

both by sea and in the air, and even on land. She has destroyers

and submarines, she has heavy tanks - British, Czech and Soviet -,

she has Soviet Jet fighters and bombers superior in quality and

quantity to anything we possess. And if we add the constantly

increasing armament of the other Arab countries, we have still

more cause for anxiety. Nevertheless, we are not so defenceless

as we were at the beginning of the year, and I will take the

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 13 -

liberty of quoting the words of the Chief of Staff at the passing-out parade of an officers' course a few weeks ago:

"You will be officers in a strong army. The Israel Army is strong not because it has superior armaments to those of their enemies. It is strong because its fighting is not conditional on the possession of superior arms. The State of Israel is strong, not because it has allies who will hasten to its assistance if it is attacked, but because it will fight unflinchingly even without allies. The Israel Army is strong because its sailors, airmen and soldiers are young men and women whose devotion to the security of their country knows no bounds."

In supporting the Chief of Staff's well-spoken words, I do not wish to give the impression that effective, sufficient and modern weapons are not of vital importance. I am as confident as every one of our commanders that any conflict with the Egyptians or the rest of the Arab armies will end in our victory, but we want to prevent war, and to safeguard our position and our security. That can be achieved in one way alone: if our friends and the true lovers of peace give us sufficient defensive arms no lower in quality than those of the enemy, even if not in the same quantity. Only if we

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 14 -

receive sufficient arms of superior quality will the enemy be deterred from initiating a war against us, violating our rights and endangering our position. Arms of this type and in sufficient quantity - even if in smaller quantity than those of our enemies - we do not possess even now. Hence we insist on our demand for arms - first of all ^{from} the United States, which does not desire war in the Middle East and wishes well both to Israel and the Arab peoples. It is only when the enemy knows that we are well equipped according to his own concepts that he will not dare to attack us, and peace will be established in this region. The Arab rulers cannot appreciate, as we do, the character and the spirit of the man who does the fighting; they do not appreciate human life and the value of men, apart from their own lives and their own importance. And the enormous arms superiority at their disposal may intoxicate them and upset their mental balance, since they never cease to proclaim to their masses that there is war between between them and Israel which can end only with our destruction.

There is no wise statesman in the world who can fail to be aware that any explosion in the Middle East may involve a dangerous flare-up in the world, and it is not only out of

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371/121782				86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 15 -

responsibility and concern for the peace in this region, but out of profound concern for the peace of the world, that I say that all those who continue to send aggressive arms to the Arab rulers who openly declare that they must liquidate Israel, and all those who deny defensive arms to Israel, bear a grave and heavy responsibility for the peace of the region and the peace of the world. Everyone hears of the almost daily repeated declarations of those who stand at the head of the Soviet Union to the effect that they aspire for peace. I have no desire to cast a doubt on the sincerity of these declarations; but the tanks, the planes, the bombers, the guns, the submarines and the destroyers that they send to the Egyptian dictator are not blessed with the gift of hearing. The Egyptian soldiers who are trained to operate these destructive weapons hear quite different declarations every day from their commanders and rulers, declarations which are completely incompatible with those of the heads of the Soviet Government. In an interview granted by the Egyptian dictator to the Egyptian al Akhbar newspaper in Cairo on 28 May, he said: "The Palestine Army in the Gaza Strip, which began with a small force of a thousand men last year, is constantly growing in numbers, training and equipment. Its soldiers will one day take vengeance for their people and their homeland."

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 16 -

In a speech to mark the evacuation of the Canal by the British on 19 June, Gamal Abdul Nasser declared: "We must be strong, so as to take with a strong hand the rights of the Palestinian people". And Abdul Hakim Amr, Nasser's confident, the Minister of Defence and the Supreme Commander of the Egyptian Army, said in a speech to the Egyptian Army in the Gaza Strip:

"The hour approaches when I and my colleagues in the Revolutionary Council will stand in the front rank of the battle against imperialism and its Zionist ally".

After Amr was appointed Supreme Commander of the armed forces of Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia, he said in Alexandria on 11 June: "The danger of Israel no longer exists. The Egyptian Army is powerful enough to wipe Israel off the face of the map". Shukri el-Kuwatli, President of Syria and Nasser's ally, declared on 2 April: "The present situation demands the mobilization of all Arab strength to liquidate the State which has arisen in our neighbourhood. Israel is like a cancer, and is not content to feed only on its own manpower, but is also assisted by World Zionism."

The Prime Minister of Syria, Sabri al-Sali, declared in the Parliament of Damascus on 28 June: "Our foreign policy is based on war against imperialism, Zionism and Israel, on non-recognition of the theft of Palestine, on opposition to peace with Israel and the strengthening of the blockade against her".

the end of
Hussein, King of Jordan, wired at / July to the Egyptian dictator:

"We look forward to the future when the flag of the Arabs will wave over our stolen country".

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782			86494			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 17 -

The Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian, Iraqi and Saudi armies listen day by day to the hostile incitement and the calls for war of their commanders and rulers, and although we are strong enough to defend ourselves and resist an attack, we are not well enough equipped to deter our enemies, who are bent on war and planning hostile acts against us.

Even the present Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Anthony Eden, declared in the House of Commons a few weeks ago that the Egyptian dictator's next step would be war against Israel.

This year, as in past years, the Government of Israel is devoting its attention to these two things: the maintenance of peace in so far as that is possible, and the strengthening of the Israel Defence Forces for the purpose of preserving our security. And our security has a double meaning. We not only face an attack from our neighbours designed to wipe us out completely, but we are subjected almost every day to a guerilla war conducted against us by some of our neighbours, especially Egypt and Jordan, by means of organized and equipped bands of murderers, called "Fedayiyn" or other names, who have been instructed to cross the borders from time to time, and murder anyone they come across: worshippers in the synagogues, women and children in their sleep, workers in the fields, passers-by/watchmen in the fields or on the roads, Jews, Druzes or members of other minority communities - and this not done at random, but is thoroughly organized with the consent of the Governments.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 18 -

In my Knesset survey on 22 April, I gave details of the losses we have suffered at the hands of Jordan and Egypt in this guerilla warfare. Till 1953, the Jordan Government took the lead in this type of war. In 1954, Egypt took up the leadership in this murderous work, and during the two years 1954 and 1955 Egypt inflicted on us 242 casualties in wounded and killed. In April this year the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjold, came to Israel, and made a great effort to secure a cease-fire on Israel's borders, even if the other articles of the Armistice Agreements were not observed.

The Government of Israel was prepared to carry out the Armistice Agreements in their entirety, on condition of mutuality, and it agreed to observe the cease-fire even if the other articles of the Armistice Agreements are violated by her neighbours, if our neighbours only observe the cease-fire.

The first to violate this renewed undertaking were Egypt and Jordan.

Egypt sent her "Fedaiyun" to all the Arab countries, to sabotage military installations and blow up public buildings in Israel, and renewed mine-laying by Egyptian saboteurs in Israel's roads, in the South and the Negev. When the Suez crisis broke out, the Egyptian border grew still for the moment - which is yet another proof that these activities were planned by the Egyptian Government - and all the murder and sabotage have recently come from the Hashemite Kingdom.

But ^{the} day after the Security Council session, Egypt sent her gangsters into action again, and yesterday a group of Egyptian "Fedaiyun", sent into Israel by

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782				86494		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 19 -

Egyptian commanders in the Sinai area, were captured near Sdeh Bokar.

Shortly after the departure of the U.N. Secretary-General Jordanians blew up a two-storey house at Azuz near Kfar Yaavetz, and on the same day a police vehicle was attacked near Kfar Saba. A tractor driver was murdered from ambush near Kubeba, and a civilian was murdered in South Jerusalem.

Two civilians were murdered near Nir Eliyahu, and one was wounded

An Israeli vehicle was mined near Afula,

A civilian vehicle was attacked near E in Hatzeva in the Arava, and two of the passengers were murdered. In the neighbourhood of the capital, at Mevasseret Yerushalayim, handgrenades were concealed as booby-traps and Jewish workers were shot at. At Ma'ale Hahamisha a grenade was thrown into the children's quarters. A bus was attacked on the way to Eilat; four civilians were murdered and nine wounded. Near Umm-el-Fahem, in the "Triangle", an Israel patrol was attacked and a soldier killed. In the Duweima area six Israeli soldiers were murdered. At Ein Ofarim three guards, Israeli Druzes, were murdered by a Jordanian gang which is known to us. These men confessed their deeds to the Jordanian police, and King Hussein himself ordered their release a few days ago. Soldiers of the Legion fired on an archaeological gathering at Hamat Rahel, killing four and wounding 16. A Yemenite woman picking olives at Aminadav was murdered at work the next day by Jordanians, and on the same day Jordanians murdered a tractor driver at Meoz Hayim

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 20 -

and wounded his comrade. A Jordanian gang again murdered five Israelis from ambush not far from Sdom, and finally two Israeli workers were murdered by Jordanians last week near Even Yehud a.

After the Egyptian and Jordanian outrages we demanded week after week that the U.N. representatives should take substantial steps to ensure that the Arab countries should put an end to these murderous attacks and loyally observe their cease-fire obligations. All our insistence was in vain. I do not accuse the U.N. authorities of lack of good will, but they turned out to be helpless to compel our neighbours to keep their promises. The chain of murders continued. We had no alternative except to take action ourselves for our self-defence, which is a natural right, and perhaps it is more than a right: it is the duty of the State.

According to the U.N. Charter, every member of the United Nations Organization has the right to self-defence. Article 51 of the Charter says:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security".

Some United Nations representatives deny Israel this right to self-defence.

They give the name of "reprisals" to our defence against the murders organized and encouraged by the Egyptian and Jordanian authorities, and in his report to the Security Council dated 9 May the U.N. Secretary-General denied the right to these "reprisals". Even if the United Nations Charter had not expressly

./.

safeguarded the right of self-defence for every people, this right has inherent validity. The U.N. authorities have demonstrated their incapacity - I do not say unwillingness - to put an end to repeated and systematic murders of Israeli citizens. As far as I know, this is the only country in the world whose citizens are not sure of their lives owing to the despatch of bands of murderers against them by the rulers of the neighbouring countries. I cannot imagine that there is a single country in the world which would leave its people defenceless against murderers organized by neighbouring Governments. The U.N. observers and the U.N. Secretary-General are as well aware as we are that these gangs conduct their activities at the orders of their Governments, and that Egypt holds the leading and central position in organizing, equipping and training these gangs, and in planning their activities. The "Fedaiyum" we have captured have confessed as much in the courts, and the Egyptian Minister of the Wakf, Hassan al-Bakuri, spoke as follows in a broadcast over the Cairo radio station known as Saout al - Ayah, which is controlled by the Egyptian dictator: "There is no reason why the loyal 'Fedaiyum', who hit their enemies, should not penetrate deep into Israel, and make the lives of its people a hell". The Government of Israel will not allow its country to be transformed into a hell; the murderers and those who sent them will not be allowed to escape without punishment, without severe punishment.

Anyone who declares that Israel's "reprisals" are wrong both deprive Israel of the right to self-defence safeguarded in the Charter and give the green light to the bands of murderers and the authorities who are responsible for them to strike at Israel's citizens without receiving punishment. To this the Israel Government will not agree; it will not give up its natural ./.

right, which is also safeguarded in the U.N. Charter, to defend the lives of its people. Those responsible will pay early for acts of sabotage and murder carried out in Israel with the knowledge of the authorities in the neighbouring countries.

The King of Jordan has liberated the murderers of Israeli Druzes on guard in the Arava. This ruler and his murderers must learn that the lives of Israeli Druzes are precious, and that those responsible for their murder will pay a heavy price; this ruler must know that the lives of Dead Sea workers, visitors to an archaeological convention and Jewish workers at Even Yehuda are precious, and those responsible for their murder will not escape the consequences. We will not be deprived of the right to self-defence, so long as the U.N. authorities or the Security Council are unable to put an end to these murders. As soon as the Arab rulers honour their signatures to the cease-fire, there will be tranquility on the borders, for Israel has never violated and never will violate its promise.

To my deep regret this is not the only disagreement we have with the U.N. authorities. For some time these authorities have shown a tendency to transform the armistice Agreements between ourselves and our neighbours into a unilateral obligation towards the United Nations on the part of Israel, and thereby to liberate all the other countries which have signed the agreements from their obligations to Israel. We informed the U.N. representatives that the armistice Agreements between ourselves and Egypt, between ourselves and Jordan, between ourselves and Syria, and not between ourselves and the United Nations. And if Egypt, Jordan

./.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121782						86494	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- 23 -

or Syria violate the Agreement, the Agreement is not binding upon us, except for the cease-fire article, which we do not hold to be dependent on the other articles of the Agreements, and whose observance by us is conditional only on the observance of the cease-fire by the other side. The U.N. authorities ignore breaches of the Agreements by Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Jordan has all the time been violating Paragraph 8, which promises free approach to the Western Wall and the other Holy places. We have been guaranteed the right of free access to the most sacred and precious historic site for the Jewish people, the Western Wall, throughout all historic periods and in the course of the numerous conquests of Jerusalem - in the days of Byzantine rule, in the days of the Arab conquests, during the Seljuk and Crusader periods; under Turkish rule and under the British Mandate. When the Armistice Lines were laid down after the War of Independence, the Hashemite Kingdom undertook to honour this right of ours in the future, as it has been honoured in the past. That Government has been violating this paragraph all through the years, but the U.N. authorities have not lifted a finger against this deliberate violation. In the same paragraph the Jordan Government undertook to facilitate the renewal of normal activity at the buildings of the University, the National Library and the University Hospital on Mount Scopus, and to insure free access to the spot. The same applies to the use of the Cemetery on the Mount of Olives and free access to it. This paragraph also promised us the right to the free use of the Latrun-Jerusalem road. All these undertakings have been violated. We explained to the U.N. representatives the religious and national importance

e/c.