

and have Israel-Jordan talks on ways to make the UN machinery more effective.

The Ambassador said the Arabs feel Nahhalin must be brought to the Council but have not yet made a firm decision in the matter. If the Arabs do not bring it, will it be brought by others? Mr. Byroade said his guess was it would be.

(The Ambassador, in referring to Arab apprehensions that expanded discussions will result if Nahhalin is raised in the Security Council, mentioned the Arabs' "new Russian friend".)

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*Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Byroade) to the Secretary of State*<sup>1</sup>

SECRET

[WASHINGTON,] April 7, 1954.

Subject: Representation to Israel on Arab-Israel Border Incidents.

I believe the Arab-Israel border situation has deteriorated to a point where immediate action is necessary to forestall the real danger of an outbreak of general fighting. The UNTSO alone appears no longer capable of coping with the problem and it is too risky to await the outcome of prolonged debate in the Security Council, even if constructive results emerge in the face of Soviet obstructionism.

Our reports indicate Israel has embarked on a deliberate policy of fomenting border disturbances (Tab A).<sup>2</sup> She appears to have reached the conclusion that the existing situation is intolerable, and appears prepared to risk open warfare. Her objectives apparently are to bring about, through the use of force, a revision of the armistice machinery and permanent arrangements with the Arab states.

The best way of arresting the present trend is to make abundantly clear to Israel our conviction that her policy of force will not pay, and that we will not condone it.

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<sup>1</sup> Sent through the Executive Secretariat. The source text does not bear Secretary Dulles' initials in a space provided for his indication of approval or disapproval. An attached note from Scott of the Executive Secretariat to Under Secretary Smith, dated Apr. 8, reads: "For your consideration prior to submission to the Secretary." The note was initialed by Smith. A notation in the handwriting of O'Connor reads: "1st person note OK."

<sup>2</sup> Below.