SOVIETS AND PALESTINE USSR-ISRAEL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

2. SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS FROM AFTER ESTABLISHMENT TO BEFORE SEVERANCE August 26, 1948 December 8, 1952

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1. SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS A Collection of Documents Volume 1: 1941-1949

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NEW VERSION OF PARAGRAPH 18 (AND) OF THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE OUESTION OF PALESTINE.

August 26, 1948

Secret

And, Make the following suggestion:

The General Assembly recognizes the immediate withdrawal from the territory of the Jewish and Arab States in Palestine, which is envisaged by the General Assembly of 29 November 1947, of all foreign troops and foreign military personnel, and asks the Security Council to take appropriate measures to prevent the resumption of hostilities in Palestine.

A. Gromyko

EXTRACT FROM THE DECISION OF THE POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (B) "ON THE DIRECTIVES OF THE USSR DELEGATION AT THE 3RD SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY". September 17, 1948

On the directives of the USSR Delegation at the 3rd session of the General Assembly

1. Approve the directives of the USSR Delegation on the main issues of the 3rd session of the UN General Assembly (see annex). Secretary of the Central Committee of the PARTY

The future of the Palestinian government.

If the Palestinian issue is included in the agenda, the Soviet delegation should:

- (a) To expose the background of the so-called Palestinian question by showing the valid objectives of U.S. and British policies in Palestine, which seek to strengthen their influence in Palestine and the Middle East in general in the interests of American and British monopolistic capital;
- b) To show that the objectives pursued by the United States and British governments in Palestine have nothing to do with the goals and objectives of the United Nations to promote peace and security for peoples, as well as to safeguard the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples and to exercise their right to self-determination and to independent states;
- (c) To propose the immediate withdrawal from the territory of the Jewish and Arab States in Palestine, the establishment of which is envisaged by the General Assembly of 29 November 1947, all foreign troops and foreign military personnel, and to ask the Security Council to take appropriate measures to prevent the resumption of hostilities in Palestine.

NOTE OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR G. M. MALENKOV TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B), CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR J.V. STALIN.
September 18, 1948

Comrade Stalin.

Before you left, you instructed to prepare an article about Israel. The case was somewhat delayed due to the absence of Ehrenburg in Moscow. The other day Ehrenburg arrived. Kaganovich, Pospelov and Ilyichev had a conversation with him. Ehrenburg agreed to write the article and objected to the article getting a few signatures.

I am sending you an article by I. Ehrenburg "About One Letter." If there are no other indications on your part, we would like to publish this article on Tuesday, 21.IX, in the newspaper Pravda.

G. Malenkov

ABOUT ONE LETTER (SEE: ANSWER TO A LETTER; Ilya Ehrenburg. MN)

I received a mail from Munich from Alexander R. He writes:
Ilya Ehrenburg On the paper note: "Comrade Stalin agrees."

RECORDING OF THE CONVERSATION OF THE SOVIET ENVOY TO ISRAEL P.I. ERSHOV WITH THE SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED WORKERS' PARTY OF ISRAEL (MAPAM) J. RIFTIN AND L. LEVIT. September 23, 1948

Secret

Accepted Riftin and Levit at their request. Levite said that the United Workers' Party plays an important role in the political life of the country. She won about 40% of the vote in the last elections in Histadrut.

......

Asked what the party's response to the Communist Party's decision on the Yugoslav Communist Party was, they said that the resolution had not been discussed and there was very little material on the matter.

In conclusion, I noted that the world is now divided into democratic and imperialist camps, so each party is building its own foreign and domestic policy on the basis of this historical situation.

The mission attache Semioshkin was present at the conversation.

Soviet Envoy to Israel P. Ershov

TELEPHONE GRAM OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR V. M. MOLOTOV TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B), THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR J. V. STALIN. October 19, 1948

Secret

The representatives of China and Great Britain to the Security Council submitted a joint draft resolution on 14 October in connection with the latest developments in Palestine. The draft, following the mention of the killing of Bernadotte and the fact that the Government of Israel has not yet submitted a report on the progress of the investigation into the killing, proposes that the Governments and the Palestinian authorities allow free access to truce monitoring personnel to all locations where they need to be because of their responsibilities, and to take all measures to ensure the safety of the monitoring personnel and the mediator's representatives. In his telegram No. 388, Vyshinsky suggests not to object to this project and to vote in favour. According to Vyshinsky, Jews complain only that there are more UN observers (54 people) in the territory they control than in Arab territory (32 people). In this regard, Vyshinsky proposes to add to the resolution, which to point out the desirability of even distribution of UN observers on the territory of both sides. Given that at the time we did not object to the creation of the Armistice Commission and insisted on the participation of Soviet representatives as observers, I believe that the proposal of Vyshinsky can be accepted. Please approve.

V. Molotov

On the document of the litter: "Tov. Stalin agrees. Poskrebyshev."

NOTE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR V. M. MOLOTOV TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B), THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR J. V. STALIN. October 20, 1948

Secret

The First Committee of the General Assembly begins to discuss Bernadotte's proposals for Palestine, which boil down to the following:

1. Bernadotte proposes replacing the existing temporary truce between the parties with official peace or such a truce, which is accompanied by the complete withdrawal and demobilization of the armed forces or the establishment of a demilitarized zone between them under the supervision of the United Nations.

Bernadott's proposal is unacceptable because it circumvents the issue of the withdrawal of foreign troops (Transjordan and Egypt) and proposes the demobilization of troops in the Jewish and Arab part of Palestine.

Vyshinsky proposes to oppose this proposal of Bernadotte to our proposal, provided by the directives, on the immediate withdrawal from the territories of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine of all foreign troops and foreign military personnel. I propose to agree with Vyshinsky and give him an additional instruction to support the proposal for a formal peace between the Arab and Jewish States, the establishment of which is envisaged by the decision of the General Assembly of 29 November.

2. Bernadotte proposes the transfer to the Negev Arabs and to the Jews of the Western Galilee and to the Arab States to decide the fate of the Arab part of Palestine. The case for the merger of the Arab part of Palestine with Transjordan should be taken into account.

Vyshinsky considers it necessary to object to these proposals, as they are auditing the general Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947, giving four-fifths of the entire territory of Israel (The Negev) Transjordan, i.e. under the control of England, and insisting on the implementation of the general Assembly's decision. I propose to agree with Vyshinsky.

3. Bernadotte proposes that the UN give assurance that the borders between the Arab and Jewish territories will be respected and can only be changed with the consent of the parties concerned.

Vyshinsky believes that it is possible not to object to Bernadotte's proposal, but only if the boundaries set by the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 do not change.

I propose to agree with Vyshinsky.

4. Bernadotte proposes to declare the port of Haifa, including oil refineries and oil pipeline endpoints, a free port, and Lidda Airport a free airport, with unhindered access to both ports of the Arab countries concerned.

Vyshinsky reports that Jews tend to agree on Haifa with the Arab states concerned on the basis of reciprocity.

I propose to give Vyshinsky an indication that if Jews and Arabs agree to agree on mutual concessions concerning Haifa and Lidda, this should not be objected to.

5. Bernadotte proposes that the city of Jerusalem within the borders defined by the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 should be subject to a special solution and be placed under the de facto control of the United Nations with maximum, feasible local autonomy for the Jewish and Arab communities and with unhindered access to the city by land, air and railways.

Vyshinsky proposes that a part of the New City of Jerusalem, inhabited by Jews, be included in the Jewish state, and a part inhabited by Arabs as part of the Arab one, and to accept the proposal of the Jews to limit themselves to the establishment of an international regime under the leadership of the United Nations only over the territory of the Old City.'

Unlike Vyshinsky's proposal, I propose to give him the following instructions: to insist on the implementation of the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, i.e. the establishment of a regime over Jerusalem in which administrative authority is exercised by the Guardian Council. Under this provision, Bernadotte's proposal for local autonomy for the Jewish and Arab population of Jerusalem could be accepted.

If a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs is considered acceptable in the course of the discussion of this issue, we believe it is possible to discuss such a proposal in the future.

6. Bernadotte proposes to give Arab refugees the right to return to the territory of the Jewish State and to compensate for the property that has died. Vyshinsky proposes to give the Jews the opportunity to agree on this issue with the

Arabs during the peace talks.

- I propose to agree with Vyshinsky.
- **7.** Bernadotte proposes the establishment of a Palestinian Conciliation Commission, which is responsible to the UN and acting on the instructions of the latter. Vyshinsky proposes not to object to the creation of such a commission, provided that it has purely deliberative, advisory functions. I propose to agree with Vyshinsky on condition that at least one of the friendly

Eastern European states will join the conciliation commission. If the U.S. and England are to be included in the commission, it is necessary to seek the inclusion of the USSR in the commission as well.

8. In addition, Vyshinsky reports that the Jews intend to propose a "corridor" for Jerusalem to link with the main coastal part of the Jewish state. Vyshinsky suggests that the Jews should not object to the proposal if other delegations speak in his favour and have a chance of adopting it. I propose to agree with Vyshinsky.

Please approve the proposals outlined above.

V. Molotov

On the document of the litter: "Tov. Stalin agrees. V. Molotov. 20.H."

NOTE OF THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE USSR I. N. BAKULIN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USSR V. A. SORIN.
November 24, 1948

Secret

On November 11, 1948, in an interview with me, the envoy of the State of Israel in Moscow, Golda Meyerson, and the military attache of the Ratner mission, reported on the Israeli government's request to the Soviet government for assistance to the State of Israel with heavy weapons and other equipment necessary for the Israeli army. Colonel Ratner, a military attache, stated that the Israeli army needed artillery, tanks and aircraft first and that the Israeli Government's application for weapons indicated the types of heavy weapons and other equipment. I replied that the request of the Government of Israel would be brought to the attention of the Ministry's leadership (see the interview of November 11, 1948).

Given that Meyerson and the military attache Ratner can revisit the question and ask for a response to the Israeli Government's request, it would be possible, in the event of such an appeal, to respond to them that the Soviet government, which is attentive

to the fate of the State of Israel and defends its rights to independent and independent existence, nevertheless does not want to conflict with the Security Council's decision to cease hostilities in Palestine and to prohibit the members of the United Nations from supplying weapons to the armed forces fighting in Palestine.

We have already given the same answer on a similar question through Gromyko, in New York, to the representative of Israel to the UN. I ask for your instructions.

I. Bakulin

On the document of the litter: "I. Bakulin. Give a note in the name of I. Molotov. 25/XI.

ORAL STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF the USSR. February 7, 1949

- 1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ussr Union has evidence that the mission of the State of Israel in Moscow practices sending letters to Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality in which these citizens are encouraged to emigrate from the USSR to Israel and are warned that the mission is ready to send them entry visas to Israel. The Ministry considers this activity of the mission as illegal recruitment of Soviet citizens and encouraging them to withdraw from Soviet citizenship. It is therefore proposed that the mission and its representatives cease these activities contrary to loyalty to the Soviet Union.
- 2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR also learned that the mission of the State of Israel in Moscow began issuing a newsletter and sending it to Soviet public organizations, religious Jewish communities, Jewish collective farms and individual Soviet citizens in various parts of the Soviet Union.

The Ministry insisted that the mission stop its practice of distributing the bulletin, as it was contrary to the generally accepted provisions on the activities of the diplomatic mission.

RECORDING OF A. Y. VYSHINSKY, FOREIGN MINISTER'S CONVERSATION WITH THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF ISRAEL IN THE USSR M. NAMIR. March 14, 1949

At 12.30 minutes he received Namir, who had come on a protocol visit. Namir said that his Government, represented by Foreign Minister Charette (SChertok), asks me to convey congratulations on my new appointment; Golda Meyerson and himself join these congratulations.

I thanked Namir for his congratulations. With regard to Namir's statement that the common task for the USSR and the State of Israel is to strengthen peace and international cooperation, I stressed that this is one of the main principles of the Soviet foreign policy, proclaimed 31 years ago by Lenin and now being implemented by Generalissimo Stalin. I also recalled that, based on these principles, the USSR has defined its position on the Palestinian issue.

Namir promised to hand this over to his Government and added that he had been instructed by his Government to express the hope that the friendly relations between the USSR and the State of Israel, so highly valued by the people of his country, would continue to strengthen.

I expressed the same hope.

The conversation lasted ten minutes.

T. Pastoev was present.

A. Vyshinsky

REFERENCE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY "THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL". March 15, 1949

Secret.

On March 8, 1949, Ben-Gurion presented the New Government of Israel to the Constituent Assembly as follows:

1. DAVID BEN-Gurion - Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence. Born in 1886 in Plonsk, Poland. Since 1900 he has been actively involved in the Zionist movement. He came to Palestine in 1906, the Organizer of the Jewish Legion in 1918.109 Member of the General Council of the World Zionist organization. Since 1927 he has been Secretary General of The Gistatruth (Federation of Jewish Trade Unions). Since 1934 he has been the chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency. One of the prominent leaders of the Mapai Party (Israeli Workers' Party, such as English Labour) and Zionists. In 1924 he was in Moscow for an exhibition as part of a delegation of Jewish workers.

In the past, in negotiations with Britain on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, he agreed to provide England with strategic bases on the Jewish territory of Palestine. He was Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of the Interim Government of Israel. A supporter of Israel's strong foreign and domestic policy. It is now targeting Americans.

2. MOSHE SHARETG (SHERTOK) - Minister of Foreign Affairs. Born in 1895 in Kherson. In 1906 he came to Palestine. In 1919, he was secretary of the Zionist commission110. In 1924 he graduated from economics school in London. Since 1933 he has been the head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. A member of the Mapai Party Central Committee. For many years he was a supporter of maintaining the mandate for Palestine for England.

In the party, Mapai, unlike Ben-Gurion, takes a moderate position, sometimes enters into a dispute with Ben-Gurion, insisting on a moderate course of both foreign and domestic policy. Speaking about Israel's foreign policy, Charette said: "We have a right to hope that the USSR will understand that the state of Israel, being a country of mass immigration and widespread resettlement, cannot be created without American Jews, without the American government."

- **3. MOSHE SHAPIRO Minister of The Interior and Immigration**. He is a member of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency. The leader of the clerical Zionist party, Gapoel Gamizrahi ("Worker of Israel"), is the leader of the ruling Mapai Party. He also served as Minister of Immigration in the Interim Government.
- **4. ELISER KAPLAN Minister of Finance**. Born in Minsk in 1891, he studied at the Higher Technical School in Moscow. In Palestine since 1923 since 1933 the head of the financial department of the Jewish Agency. A member of the Mapai Party Central Committee. He was also Finance Minister in the interim Government of Israel.
- **5. DAVID REMEZ is the Minister of Communications**. Born in Mahilou in 1886 in Palestine in 1913, in 1925 he was in Moscow at the exhibition as part of the second delegation of Jewish workers of Palestine. In May 1943, on behalf of the Jews of Palestine, he gave a gift to the Soviet Army a car with medicines. At that time he spoke well about the USSR.

A member of the Mapai Party Central Committee. Together with Schertok he takes a moderate position in politics. In the interim Government of Israel, he also served as Minister of Communications.

- **6. GOLDA MEYERSON Minister of Labour and Social Security**. Born in Kiev in 1898, she came to Palestine from the United States in 1921.
- After her appointment as Israel's envoy to the Soviet Union, Mr. Sarubin said that progressive circles of London Jews characterize Meyerson as an agent of American intelligence.
- Mr. Meyerson is a prominent leader of the Mapai Party.
- **7. SALMAN SHAZAR (RUBASHOV) Minister of Education**. Born in 1889 in the Minsk region, journalist. The editor of the newspaper Davar is The Authority of Mapai. In Palestine since 1924, Odin Tzu organizers of the Mapai Party.
- **8. JOSEPH DOD (Bernard Joseph) Minister of Supply and Rationing**. Legal adviser to the Jewish Agency. Former military governor of the Jewish part of Jerusalem. A member of the Mapai Party.
- **9. JUDA LEIB FISHMAN MAIMON Minister of Cults., rabbi.** The leader of the Gamizrahi religious party. He had American citizenship. In the interim government he was also a minister of cults. In this government represents a bloc of religious parties.
- **10. IHAC LEVIN is Minister of Social Welfare**. The leader of the religious party Agudat Israel. Former member of the former Polish parliament. He also served as Minister of Social Welfare in the Interim Government. In this government he is a representative of a bloc of religious parties.
- **11. FELIX ROSENBLAT Minister of Justice**. He is a lawyer by profession. Born in Berlin in 1887, the leader of the Zionist bourgeois party, Alia Hadash ("The New Immigrant"). During the elections to the Constituent Assembly of Israel, he represented a new so-called progressive party, no different from Alia Hadash. He is a member of the executive committee of the World Zionist organization. He also served as Minister of Justice in the Interim Government.
- **12. BEHOR SHOLOM SHITT is The Minister of Police Forces**. The leader of the Sefhardite Zionist group (a group of Spanish Jews supported by immigrants from eastern countries). Under the British he served in the Palestinian police.

Thus, the new Israeli government is formed from representatives of the Mapai Party (7 ministries), the united religious bloc (3 ministries), the so-called Progressive Party (one ministry) and the sephardic Zionist group (one ministry). In the Constituent Assembly, the opposition to the government will be made up of members of the

combined Workers' Party mapam and the Communist Party, on the one hand, and the reactionary party Freedom Movement, or Herut, to which, apparently, the bourgeois party Common Zionists, on the other hand, will join.

On March 8, 1949, Prime Minister D. Ben-Gurion presented the Israeli Constituent Assembly with a government program for the next four years.

According to the press, Ben-Gurion stated that "the Israeli government will pursue the same foreign policy as the interim government, i.e. Israel will continue to be based on adheres to the principles of the UN Charter, friendship with all peace-loving states, and especially with the United States and the USSR, to seek to establish friendly relations with Arab countries, ensure freedom of immigration to Israel and maintain all activities aimed at ensuring peace and the un-establishment of the UN." In domestic policy, Israel's four-year economic development plan calls for the deployment of broad-based construction, particularly in and around Jerusalem, the elimination of unemployment, the provision of housing for new immigrants, the revision of wages, price and profit controls, and increased foreign trade by lowering tariffs. In addition, it is planned to maintain the system of compulsory conscription, introduce universal compulsory training, give women the same rights with men, etc. After the discussion of the Government's programme, the Constituent Assembly voted to vote of confidence with a majority of 73 deputies against 45 and with two abstentions.

Given the fact that the new Israeli Government, as well as the interim Government, is made up of the vast majority of Mapai party members, it seems likely that it will continue to pursue a policy of targeting Americans. However, due to the fact that the State of Israel has a number of important outstanding issues (Jerusalem, borders, etc.) in which the USSR will play a significant role, the Government of Israel is unlikely to now take positions openly hostile to us.

I. Bakulin

LETTER FROM THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE USSR I.N.BAKULIN TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR N.M. SHVERNIK. July 5, 1949

In connection with the upcoming presentation of credentials, the newly appointed envoy of the State of Israel, Mordechai Namir, sent you a brief certificate about the State of Israel and a characterization of the envoy of Namir.

Head of the Middle east I.Bakulin

Application
1. State of Israel (brief reference)

July 5, 1949

Secret.

On May 14, 1948, a Jewish state called the State of Israel was created in Palestine on the basis of a decision of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947, and in connection with the end of the English mandate for Palestine. The area of this state, according to the UN plan, should be 14.1 thousand square kilometres. Israel as of November 1948 is 782 thousand people. Of these, 713,000 Jews. From 14 May 1948, the Jewish National Council in Palestine, from the founding of the State of Israel to 25 January 1949, it functioned as the Provisional Council of State and the provisional government it established as its executive body. ... The State of Israel has a modern army consisting of aviation, tank units, artillery and other types of modern weapons. In Israel, there is universal conscription for men between 18 and 40 years old and for childless women between 18 and 26 years old. Even before the formation of the State of Israel, the Jewish Agency for Palestine paid great attention to the issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine. The Israeli Government is still paying exceptional attention to this issue. According to official figures, 120,312 immigrants arrived in Israel in 1948, of whom 27,756 arrived in December 1948. In the first quarter of 1949, about 75,000 people arrived. Most of the immigrants came from Eastern Europe. In total, according to the plan of 1949, at least 150,000 Jews are expected to arrive. Thus, if the Israeli Government implemented this immigration plan, by the end of 1949 the population of the State of Israel would be about 1 million people.

As a result of the British and Arab-Jewish war, the economic life of the State of Israel has been significantly undermined, and the planting area, food and basic necessities for the population have been reduced. In this regard, there is a great lack of food in the country, and it is distributed strictly by the card system. Speculation and inflation are flourishing. Unemployment has increased recently.

The Israeli Government has set up an economic coordination centre whose main task is to combat inflation and the rising cost of living. However, there have been no noticeable improvements in economic life yet. Workers in the Jewish and Arab populations are experiencing enormous hardship and hardship.

Citrus fruits occupy a large place in foreign trade. By the end of March this year, 5.5 million boxes of citrus fruits were sent abroad. The harvest of citrus fruits is expected to increase to 9 million boxes in 1949 and to 12-14 million in the following season. On August 16, 1948, Israel announced the introduction of a new monetary system. In the past, Palestine had a Palestinian pound equal to the British pound sterling. The new currency is called the "Israeli pound" equal to the Palestinian pound and the pound sterling.

Reactionary circles in the Israeli government have pursued anti-democratic policies towards progressive organizations and individuals. The Ministry of the Interior denied the Palestinian League for National Liberation's request to publish the newspaper Al Ittihad, which was closed by the British in March 1948, arresting the heads of the Congress of Arab Workers, dismissing communists and democratically minded persons from the State apparatus. To date, the State of Israel has been recognized by 52 states and has been admitted to the UN. On May 15, 1948, the U.S. government recognized the state of Israel as de facto, and a few months later de jure. The United States is particularly active in strengthening its position in the State of Israel. U.S. infiltration began under British rule. In 1937, American investments in Palestine amounted to \$37 million, and in 1945 - 150 million dollars. But U.S. policy on the Palestinian issue is contradictory. This is because, on the one hand, the United States is home to an influential group

of Jewish bourgeoisie, which supported the formation of the State of Israel and demanded from the ruling circles of America recognition of it and providing him with all possible assistance. On the other hand, the ruling circles of America are under intense pressure from the interests of large oil companies interested in the oil sources of Arab countries. In early 1949, the U.S. Export-Import Bank provided the state of Israel with a \$100 million loan.

The Israeli government is focused on the United States in its foreign policy. This was openly stated by Foreign Minister Moshe Charette on August 15, 1948 at a conference of Zionist socialists: "We have the right to hope that the USSR will understand that the state of Israel, which is a country of mass immigration and widespread resettlement, cannot be created without American Jews, without the American government."

The Government of England recognized the State of Israel as de facto at the end of January 1949. If earlier it could count on the fact that as a result of the war between Israel and the Arabs the parties will appeal to It England with a request to restore order, now that the State of Israel has already been established and exists, the British are fighting to regain control, if not the whole of Palestine, then at least part of it, by annexing it to Transjordan. In turn, the Israeli Government's position on this issue has also changed many times.

From the first day of the discussion of the Palestinian issue at the UN, the USSR took a consistent and principled position. The Soviet delegation voted on 29 November 1947 to partition Palestine and form two democratic independent States, Arab and Jewish, there, and the USSR continues to believe that a solution to the Palestinian problem can be achieved on the basis of these general Assembly decisions.

On May 18, 1948, the Soviet government decided to formally recognize the State of Israel and its Provisional Government, and on May 24, 1948, to exchange diplomatic missions. The clear and direct policy of the Soviet Union in the Palestinian issue has led to a great increase in sympathy among the general population and the army of the State of Israel, despite the fact that the right wing of the ruling party, supported by representatives of other bourgeois and religious parties, seeks to diminish the importance and role of the USSR in the formation of the State of Israel. According to our information, the Israeli mission in Moscow, consisting of Mapaists, tried to establish broad ties with the Jews of the USSR in order to create an immigration mood among Soviet Jews. On the part of the Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, T. Sorin V.A., made an oral statement to the former Israeli envoy to the USSR Meyerson for the illegal activities of the Israeli mission, encouraging Soviet citizens to withdraw from Soviet citizenship, and on the distribution of the mission's newsletter to public organizations and individual Soviet citizens. At present, Israel's reactionary circles are presenting anti-Soviet articles in the press and trying to undermine the authority of the Soviet Union in Israel.

The Arab States had taken the position of preventing the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine and were in favour of making Palestine a single Arab State, with the right of Jews to form local autonomy. From May 15, 1948 to January 1949, there were military actions of Arab troops against Israel. However, the Jews not only defended the borders of their state, but also occupied part of the territory of Palestine, intended by the UN to the future Arab state, which the Israeli government is now claiming.

On February 24, 1949, a truce agreement was signed between Israel and Egypt, a truce agreement was signed with Transjordan and Lebanon in April 20, and

negotiations on a truce with Syria were underway. In addition, from April 1949 to the present, negotiations between the State of Israel and Arab countries, except Iraq, are taking place in Lausanne, with the participation of the UN Reconciliation Commission on the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem. The Arabs insist on Israel accepting Arab refugees and handing them over territories captured by Jews outside Israel's borders established by the UN. Jews do not agree with the proposals of the Arabs. Negotiations have stalled.

I.Bakulin

2. Characteristics on the Israeli envoy to the USSR M. Namir

July 5, 1949

Secret.

Namir was born in 1897 in the town of Bratolyubovka in Kherson region. Prior to the revolution, he graduated from the economics department of the University of Odessa and the Odessa Conservatory in the violin class. During the revolution he was one of the leaders of a youth Zionist organization in Odessa. He was arrested and left for Palestine after his release in 1924.

In Palestine, Namir was active in the Zionist movement, he is a member of the Israeli Labour Party Mapai.

At the time of the founding of the State of Israel, he travelled to the countries of popular democracy: Romania, Czechoslovakia - on the issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine.

In 1948, Namir arrived in the USSR as an adviser to the mission of the State of Israel.

In the Soviet Union live relatives of Namir: in Kherson - mother and sister, in Odessa - the sister of his wife.

According to reports, the leadership of the Mapai party at the departure of Namir to the USSR instructed him to establish contact with Jewish nationalists in the Soviet Union, through which to excite among Jews in the USSR the desire to emigrate to the state of Israel.

However, according to the IGB, so far there are no data on the anti-Soviet nationalist actions of Namir during his stay in the USSR.

I. Bakulin

NOTE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR A.Y. VYSHINSKY TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B), CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR I.V.STALIN. July 14, 1949

Secret.

On June 29 this year, in an interview with me, the envoy of the State of Israel in Moscow, Namir, stated that he had instructed his government to formally invite the representative of the Soviet Union to pay a visit of friendship to the State of Israel. Namir said that the people and the government of Israel would be especially happy to receive as such a guest T. Gromyko A.A.

On 7 July, the invitation was also conveyed by Israeli Foreign Minister Charette to the Charge d'Affaires of the USSR in Tel Aviv, Mukhin, and on July 11, Namir was repeated in a conversation with Gromyko.

I believe that the Israeli government intends to use such a visit of friendship to strengthen its positions in further bargaining with the United States and England in order to obtain a new loan and to ease the pressure of the Anglo-Saxons on the issue of borders, Arab refugees and Jerusalem. On the other hand, this visit will be used by official propaganda to raise the prestige of the reactionary ruling party Mapai in the masses of the national population.

In addition, the visit to Israel of the Soviet representative will cause a lot of different crooks abroad, which will undoubtedly try to use the U.S. and England to strengthen their influence in the Arab countries and to worsen our relations with them.

In view of the stated Foreign Ministry of the USSR considers it impractical to send a special Soviet representative on a visit of friendship to Israel and proposes to give a negative response to the government of Israel, citing the fact that the Soviet government does not practice sending special missions to other states. I'm asking for my consent.

A. Vyshinsky

TALKING POINTS TO THE SPEECH OF THE USSR DELEGATION AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE ISSUE OF ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINIAN REFUGEES.
August 31, 1949

Secret.

- 1. The issue of Palestinian refugees is an inseparable part of the Palestinian problem as a whole. The radical resolution of this issue, as well as the whole problem, now depends on the early implementation of the UN General Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947 in terms of the establishment of an independent Arab state in the territory of the Arab part of Palestine, which will enable the return of a significant part of the refugees to their homes and peaceful creative work.
- **2.** The problem of Palestinian refugees arose as a result of the policies of certain monopolistic circles in England and the United States, which were interested in delaying the overall settlement of the Palestinian question by attempting to revitalize the General Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947 in order to secure favourable military, strategic and economic positions to the detriment of the Arab and Jewish peoples.

- **3**. It is known that the imperialist circles of England and the United States, through their policy of thwarting the peaceful resolution of the Palestinian issue and by attempting to revitalize the UN General Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947, have created the conditions for military action in Palestine, which have caused great suffering for the Jewish and Arab peoples and created the problem of Palestinian refugees. In this regard, the Egyptian newspaper South al-Umma wrote on March 18, 1949, that "the aggressive policy of the United States is the root cause of the tragedy experienced by Arab refugees."
- **4.** Now these same circles, whose efforts have actually created the problem of Palestinian refugees, are trying to exploit the suffering of the victims of their own policies by continuing to resist the common peace settlement in Palestine and replacing it with palliative, ostentatious measures that can only partially alleviate the plight of refugees, but fail to resolve it and solve the whole problem.
- **5.** Reports from the international press indicated that the Palestinian refugee problem had been the subject of a behind-the-scenes bargaining and pressure on the Jewish and Arab Governments, and that the UN Reconciliation Commission had, as might be expected, become an instrument of the monopolistic circles of the United States, which sought to dictate their solution and thus developed more and more plans, thus complicating the situation in Palestine and prolonging the overall solution to the Palestinian question.
- **6.** These reasons can be explained by the fact that the Reconciliation Commission speaks not the language of the United Nations, but the ruling circles of the United States. Thus, the press reports that the U.S. representative to the UN Reconciliation Commission Porter allowed himself on July 31, 1949 to promise Arab countries immediate dollar aid if they agree to accept a certain part of the refugees. It has been repeatedly reported in the press that the ruling circles of the United States put a lot of pressure on the government of the state of Israel. The fact of the press is also confirmed by the memorandum of the Israeli Representative to the UN, Mr. Eban dated 29 July 1949.
- **7.** In this regard, Al Hamishmar (Tel Aviv) wrote on 20 June 1949 that "all issues related to the establishment of peace between the Jewish and Arab States the issues of borders, the future of Jerusalem,- are discussed by the Americans as if the United States, not the United Nations, were a legitimate international body that could advise on the question of Palestine. The United States now regards Palestine as a sphere of special influence, and President Truman demands an ultimatum to the Israeli government, while the "mediators" and "conciliators" do their best to prevent direct contact between Jews and Arabs in Lausanne."
- **8.** The UN Conciliation Commission does not heed the demands of the Palestinian refugees themselves. This can be seen at least from the decision of the Congress of Arab Refugees, which took place on July 28, 1949 in the city of Sahle (Lebanon). At this Congress, representatives of Arab refugees currently in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Transjordan and the Arab part of Palestine, supported the decision of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947, categorically rejected Bernadotte's plan, opposed the partition of the Arab part of Palestine between the Arab states or its accession to any of them. Congress favoured the establishment of an independent

State in the Arab part of Palestine and opposed refugee projects where they were currently located, considering them to be projects by foreign imperialists.

- **9.** Consequently, the drafts of the UN Reconciliation Commission run counter to the genuine aspirations of Palestinian refugees, who see a solution to the refugee problem only in the spirit of an honest and sustained implementation of the UN General Assembly's resolution of 29 November 1947, and **from (and not the implementation of- tr; scanner note)** the aspirations of the monopolistic circles of the United States and England.
- 10. The Reconciliation Commission acknowledges in the third report, paragraph 15, that it has achieved nothing in the implementation of the General Assembly resolution of 11 December 1948. The UN Conciliation Commission proved to be an unsuitable and incapable instrument for dealing with the critical issues of Palestine. On this basis, the Soviet delegation proposes to dissolve the commission and to place the monitoring of the cessation of hostilities and peace in Palestine on the Security Council.
- **11**. The United Nations could no longer tolerate the protracted radical solution to the refugee issue and its substitution by palliative measures, temporary voluntary assistance.

It must focus its efforts on reaching a solution that would enable Palestinian refugees to use their labour effectively and thus provide reliable and sufficient means for their livelihood.

12. The Soviet delegation believes that a radical solution to the refugee problem is the conclusion of peace between the Arab countries on the one hand and the State of Israel on the other, as well as the swift implementation of the General Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947 to establish an independent Arab State in the territory of the Arab part of Palestine. Such a solution was in the interest of the cause of peace and for a radical solution to the refugee issue.

FROM THE REFERENCE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY "PALESTINIAN ISSUE". September 3, 1949

Secret.

Positions and objectives of the great powers on the Palestinian issue

1. The Palestinian question reflected the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system and the bankruptcy of the colonial policies of the imperialist Powers. It is connected with the struggle of monopolistic groups for the possession of oil resources of the Middle East and the aspirations of England and the United States to turn the Middle East into a military-strategic foothold against the Soviet Union.

It should be borne in mind that the Palestinian coast is of great importance for the transportation of Middle Eastern oil, the refuelling of the navy's fuel and the organization of air communications. Consequently, the loss of Palestine is a major

blow to British colonial interests in the Middle East. On this basis, the British and American imperialists cling to Palestine and deliberately complicate the Palestinian question.

2. It is known that the Arab aggression in Palestine was provoked by the British, who used the low-lying nationalist aspirations of the Arabs and pushed them to war against the Jews. In its policy on the Palestinian issue, Britain had the following objectives: to consolidate its position in the Arab countries, to strengthen its shattered prestige and to clear the way for the conclusion of allied treaties, to divert the national liberation movement from the demands for revision of bonded treaties. On the basis of these goals and fearing the sharp discontent of the Arabs, Britain sided with the Arab countries in order to implement their intentions with the hands of the Arabs themselves. Initially, the British expected to occupy the Arab part of Palestine with Transjordan troops, but when it became clear that other Arab countries would not allow it, the British recommended a new plan to occupy Palestine in parts by the Arab armies.

Particular attention was paid to the Trans-Jordanian troops, who were tasked with capturing most of Palestine and securing access to the Mediterranean. This stemmed from the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty of 1948 and England's desire to preserve the strategic bridge linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Persian Gulf, as well as to ensure the reliability of communications and the access of Iraqi oil to the ports of the Mediterranean Sea. However, the calculations of the British have not yet been justified, as the region of the Negev has moved to the state of Israel, and the latter does not express a desire to cede the southern part of the Negev, seeking to preserve the access to the Red Sea.

3. The U.S. position on the Palestinian issue is very inconsistent, as it faces sharp contradictions of internal and external nature: oil monopolies seek to seize Arab oil and for this purpose do not want to aggravate with the Arab countries, military expansionists seek to oust the British from Palestine and get there military-strategic bases, political parties seek to enlist the support of influential Jewish financial circles of the United States. Under the influence of these contradictions, the U.S. position is undergoing sharp fluctuations, which undermines the political prestige of the United States in Arab countries.

In its efforts to revitalize the decisions of the General Assembly of 29 November 1947, the United States aims to consolidate its position in the Middle East and to dictate the solution of the Palestinian question to its advantage. Now the British and Americans are engaged in behind-the-scenes bargaining, trying to agree among themselves on the issue of delineating zones of influence in Palestine. Moreover, the British are trying to extend their control to the Arab part of Palestine and the Negev region in order to annex this part to Transjordan, and the Americans are trying to consolidate their positions in Israel and create military and strategic bases there. This bargaining is covered by the British and American imperialists unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda designed to hide their true intentions, intimidate the reactionary elements of the Arab countries with "Soviet danger" and persuade the governments of Arab countries to create all sorts of anti-Soviet blocs.

4. The Soviet Union was the only great Power to take a principled position on the Palestinian issue that was in line with the true aspirations of the Arab and Jewish peoples. Soviet representatives at the UN have consistently defended the General

Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, and it was only through this consistency and determination that the British and American imperialists failed to impose their solution to the UN.

Now that the State of Israel has become a reality, and the policy of the British and American imperialists on the Palestinian issue has been strongly exposed by Soviet delegates, the Arab peoples are beginning to get rid of the nationalist snout and realize that only the policy of the USSR is aimed at a just solution to the Palestinian question.

Given that the United States and Britain continue their attempts to revitalize the General Assembly's decisions of 29 November 1947 and seek to secure their imperialist interests in Palestine, the position of the USSR should be to defend the decision, especially with regard to the establishment of an independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine. Under this provision, this position may receive support from some Arab States (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon), which will paralyse the possibility of the Arab part of Palestine joining Transjordan and facilitate the adoption of the international statute of Jerusalem.

Findings

- 1. Over the past two years, the Palestinian problem has not been off the UNITED-Off agenda. This is also due to the fact that the interests of the British and American imperialists who seek to strengthen their positions in that country are interbred in Palestine, and the decision of the General Assembly of 29 November 1947 confused the imperialist plans and made their implementation much more difficult. These reasons can be explained by the desire of the British and American imperialists to audit the general Assembly's decision of 29 November 1947 and to dictate their decision.
- **2.** Interest in the Palestinian problem of both British and American imperialism and the ensuing intrigues, behind-the-scenes negotiations and pressure on Arabs and Jews have created a difficult political environment and a protracted solution to the Palestinian problem. Out of interest, the British and American imperialists are stalling the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question and seeking to use the tense situation in the country as a means of exerting pressure on Arabs and Jews to secure advantageous positions.
- **3.** The Arab aggression provoked by British imperialism in Palestine revealed the military weakness of the Arab States, exacerbated the contradictions in the Arab camp and further undermined the political prestige of England. At the same time, the Arab aggression in Palestine has brought a number of new and very serious problems: the issue of the State borders of the State of Israel and the Arab part of Palestine, the question of Arab refugees and their improvement, the issue of peace between the State of Israel and the Arab countries.
- **4**. Despite the best efforts of the British and American imperialists, they failed to prevent the emergence and strengthening of the State of Israel, which has become a reality and is now recognized by 57 States, as well as adopted at the third session of the General Assembly as a member of the United Nations. At present, the British and Americans agree among themselves on mutual concessions at the expense of the Arab part of Palestine. In this regard, the United States does not raise the issue

of the formation of an independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine, and Britain takes all measures to ensure that this part of Palestine was annexed to Transjordan, and seeks to persuade Israel to hand over to the Arabs (Transjordan) the southern part of the Negev and receive in return all Galilee.

5. The most important task of the United Nations in solving the Palestinian problem should be: the establishment of an independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine, which would enable a large part of the refugees to return to their homes and peaceful creative work; the conclusion of peace between the Arab countries on the one hand and the State of Israel on the other; resolution of all contentious issues through direct peace talks between Arabs and Jews; establishing the international statute of Jerusalem and protecting the "holy sites". Such a solution to the Palestinian question would be in the interest of the cause of peace and the true aspirations of the Arab and Jewish peoples.

Bakulin Hare Gnedich

TELEGRAM OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR A. Y. VYSHINSKY TO THE SOVIET ENVOY TO ISRAEL P. I. ERSHOV. April 19, 1950

That. Malik is tasked with making a statement to Trygwe Lee:

"In connection with the discussion in the Guardian Council on the question of the statute of Jerusalem, the government of the USSR instructed me to state the following:

As you know, the delegation of the USSR at the fourth session of the General Assembly, based on the position taken by it at the previous sessions of the Assembly, voted in favour of Resolution 303/1V of December 9, 1949, regarding the establishment of a permanent international regime for Jerusalem, with the UN Board of Control responsible for governing power. The USSR delegation held the same position at the last discussion on the issue of Jerusalem.

It has now emerged that the General Assembly's decision does not satisfy either the Arab or Jewish populations of both the city of Jerusalem and Palestine as a whole. Under such conditions, the Government of the USSR does not consider it possible to support the General Assembly's ruling. The Soviet Government is nevertheless confident that the United Nations will be able to find a solution to the question of Jerusalem acceptable to both the Arab and Jewish populations of that city.

I ask you, Mr. Secretary-General, to bring this statement to the attention of the Member States of the United Nations."

Vyshinsky

FROM THE REFERENCE "THE ATTITUDE OF THE USSR TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL, SINCE THE DISCUSSION OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AT THE UN". April 19, 1950

Secret.

THE USSR'S RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

On May 18, 1948, the Soviet Union was the first to recognize the state of Israel de jure and established diplomatic relations with it on May 26, 1948. On August 9, 1948, the Soviet diplomatic mission arrived in Tel Aviv. On August 17, 1948, the Soviet envoy to Israel presented credentials to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. The Soviet Union supported Israel in its admission to the UN and Israel's accession to some international organizations, such as the World Postal Union.

The Israeli ruling circles (the Zionists) linked the support of the Soviet Union in the creation of the State of Israel with the permission of the free emigration of Jews from the USSR to Israel. The negative response of the USSR on this issue was regarded as a hostile act against the State of Israel and served as a pretext for the widespread deployment of anti-Soviet propaganda in Israel, which forced the Soviet mission in Israel to make a corresponding representation to the Israel Minindel (November 15, 1949).

At the same time, Israel's mission in Moscow launched illegal activities, encouraging Soviet Jews to leave the civil society and go to Israel. In addition, the mission launched a bulletin with Zionist propaganda, which was distributed to public organizations and individuals. This activity of the mission was terminated only after the intervention of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The Government of Israel, in order to deflect accusations of the opposition criticizing the pro-American orientation of the government, has taken through its mission in Moscow a number of steps that were to show the "neutrality of the country between the West and the East" (requests for weapons, the sending of Israeli officers to study in the USSR, for credit). In addition, questions were raised about the visit of a Soviet forest specialist, doctors, delegations to celebrate the anniversary of the Weizmann Institute, etc.

The actual attitude of The Israeli ruling circles towards the USSR can be judged by the following facts:

- 1. The pages of the right-wing Israeli press do not take off the vicious slanderous articles against the Soviet Union and its leaders, with the ruling Mapai Party (Gador, Bterem, etc.) playing a leading role in the campaign.
- 2. The Israeli Government is delaying the transfer of our property to us in Israel and is protecting the illegal actions of its official authorities, who have seized some of the property.

- 3. The Israeli Government does not issue import licences to Israeli firms wishing to trade with the USSR, but at the same time encourages the importation of American goods at clearly inflated prices.
- 4. The Israeli government imposes restrictions on book firms selling Soviet literature, while the Israeli book market is filled with American tabloid literature and "works" by Trotsky, Ruth Fischer, etc.
- 5. The Israeli Government Party Mapai withdrew from the League of Friendly Relations with the USSR and together with the fascist party Herut organized the League to strengthen friendly ties with the United States.

LETTER FROM THE FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USSR A. A. GROMYKO TO THE SOVIET ENVOY TO ISRAEL P. I. ERSHOV. November 15, 1951

Secret.

To your No. 260/s from 13.08.51

Confirming the receipt of the report of the Soviet mission in Israel for the second quarter of 1951, the USSR Foreign Ministry considers it necessary to point out that, although this report addresses the main issues that should be reflected in such a document, nevertheless there are a number of significant shortcomings in the report, namely:

1. The question of Israel's financial situation is vague and vaguely laid out.

The report did not provide any detailed analysis of the Israeli Government's revenues and expenditures, and the tables in the report on the subject appeared to be mechanically written from a handbook, not systematic for the purposes of the report, and therefore they were basically only cluttered up by the report.

- 2. The report provides only two paragraphs on the state of the country's agriculture, which give no idea of the subject (p.9).
- 3. The report only casually (p. 15) mentions that, due to the lack of cooperation between the Mapam party and the Communist Party, there has been a recent stagnation in the peace movement in Israel. This assertion, concerning such an important issue as the peace movement, is unconfirmed and is not developed in the report.

In addition, the report is generally poorly edited, contains repetitions and inaccurate language (p. 3, 7, 8, 12, 14, 19).

With regard to the mission's practical proposals outlined in the report, we report the following:

a. The proposal to intensify the revelation in the Soviet press of the Anglo-American machinations in Israel, the reactionary domestic and pro-American foreign policy of

the Israeli government is correct. The mission needs to send more specific materials on the subject to the centre for use in the Soviet press.

b. The mission's suggestion that the issue of the transfer of Soviet property to us should be brought before the Prime Minister and then the President is not motivated sufficiently to make a decision on it now.

You must expedite the submission of concrete proposals together with the Commissioner of the Russian Palestinian Society in accordance with the decision of the USSR Foreign Ministry's panel of February 19, this year on the question of our further position in this regard.

The mission's proposal to strengthen and increase funds for the work of THECO in Israel is also not motivated. If you believe that the work of a WOCS commissioner needs to be expanded and that this will require additional funds, you should justify this in detail, indicating exactly what the purpose is and how much money will be needed. Without it, it is impossible to consider this proposal.

You need to take steps to address the above shortcomings, particularly in the next quarterly mission reports in the future.

Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR

A.Gromyko

A NOTE FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.

November 21, 1951

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to state the following to the Government of Israel.

On October 14, this year, the press published proposals of the governments of the United States, England, France and Turkey, with which they formally addressed to the Government of Egypt on the creation of the so-called Allied Middle East Command for joint defence of the Middle East. It is also known that these proposals were passed on to the Governments of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Israel and Transjordan. On 10 November, the Declaration of the Governments of the United States of America, England, France and Turkey on the same issue was issued to the Governments of those countries.

The proposals include the establishment of a "union command in the Middle East", the deployment of foreign armed forces in Egypt and other countries in the Middle East, as well as the deployment of the headquarters of the command in Egypt and the provision of military forces, military bases, communications, ports and other facilities to Egypt, as well as to other countries in the area. However, the proposals stipulate that the so-called Middle East Command will be associated with the organization of the Atlantic Bloc.

It follows from the proposals and the Declaration of the Four States that the requirement of the United States to establish a joint command in the Middle East area is intended to involve the States of the Middle East region in the military

activities carried out by the Atlantic Bloc under the pretext of organizing the "defence" of the area.

As the Soviet Government has repeatedly stated in its official documents, the affairs of the Atlantic bloc have nothing to do with the defence objectives of its participants. On the contrary, the facts show that this bloc pursues aggressive goals and is directed against the USSR and the countries of popular democracy. However, the objectives of the Atlantic Bloc run counter to the basic principles of the United Nations, whose task is to maintain peace and establish friendly relations between peoples, rather than to create blocs of some States against others. Events held by the organizers of the Atlantic Bloc in Europe and elsewhere show that it is a tool of the aggressive imperialist policy of its organizers, led by the United States of America. This alone shows that the plan for the four Countries of the Middle East Command envisaged by the proposals has nothing to do with the interests of maintaining peace and security in the Middle East, as well as with the genuine national interests of the States of the region. This is also evident from the fact that the organization of such a command is associated with broad plans to establish new and expand existing military bases in Egypt, Iraq and other countries in the Middle East, to extend their stay in these countries, and to introduce new foreign forces on their territory against the expressed will of the people of those countries.

Implementation of the plan for the establishment of the so-called Middle Eastern Command would result in the de facto military occupation of the countries of the Middle East by the troops of the Atlantic bloc, especially the United States, England, and several other states, including Australia and New Zealand, located 12-15 thousand km from the area. What would mean such a situation for the countries of the Middle East, it is not difficult to see the example of some of these countries, which were subjected to occupation decades ago by foreign troops, who continue to be there to this day, despite the legitimate demands of the peoples of those countries for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territory.

The occupation of the Middle East by foreign troops and the establishment of foreign military bases on their territory in accordance with the plans for the formation of the Middle East Command cannot but lead to the loss of independence and sovereignty by these countries and to the subordination of them to some major Powers attempting to use their territory, their material resources - oil, cotton, etc.- for their aggressive purposes.

Any reference to the defence interests of the Middle East countries is in fact only a cover for the involvement of the Countries of the Middle East in the military activities of the Atlantic bloc against the Soviet Union and the countries of popular democracy. In this regard, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to emphasize the well-known fact that the Soviet Government from the early days of the Soviet State was sympathetic and sympathetic to the national aspirations of the peoples of the East and to their struggle for national independence and sovereignty. Unlike those Powers that are accustomed to seeing the countries of the Middle East as their colonies, the Soviet Union, following its unwavering policy of supporting the just national demands of peoples, both large and small, has always recognized their right to self-determination until the establishment of an independent state, as is well known to the people of Israel. Such a policy of the Soviet Union is in line not only with the fundamental national interests of the peoples of the Middle East, but also in the interests of maintaining universal peace.

The Soviet Government has always pursued a policy of peace, as evidenced by its concrete proposals aimed at strengthening peace and security, with which the Soviet Union has repeatedly spoken in the past and is now at the United Nations, calling for an end to the arms race, a ban on nuclear weapons, a one-third reduction in the armed forces of the five great powers, an end to the aggressive war in Korea, a peace pact.

All this shows how absurd any kind of statement about any threat to the countries of the Middle East, the references to which they are trying to justify the need to establish a so-called Middle Eastern command, and what are the real objectives pursued by the governments of the United States, England, France and Turkey in connection with their proposals for such a command.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Government of Israel to the fact that Israel's participation in the so-called Middle East Command will seriously damage the existing relations between the USSR and Israel, as well as the cause of maintaining peace and security in the Middle East.

NOTE OF THE FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USSR A.A. GROMYKO TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B), CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR J. V. STALIN. February 23, 1952

Owls. Secret.

Comrade Stalin J.V.

On December 8, 1951, Israel's envoy to the USSR, Eliashiv, on behalf of his government, made a statement to the USSR Foreign Ministry in which, along with the response on the merits of the Soviet government's note of November 21, 1951 on the creation of the so-called Middle East command, the Israeli government puts before the Soviet government the question of allowing the Departure of Jews from the USSR to Israel.

The statement stated that "the return of the Jews to their historical homeland" was the main task of the State of Israel and that the Israeli Government's appeal was "completely consistent with the policy of the Soviet Union, built on national equality and on the right of every people to self-determination".

It should be noted that the issue of Jewish departure from the USSR to Israel is not the first time the Israeli government has raised the issue. On October 22, 1951, Israel's envoy to the USSR, Eliashiv, sent a personal note to the Foreign Ministry asking for the permission of Soviet citizens with relatives in Israel to "reunite disparate Jewish families" to the Foreign Ministry.

The note asked "that the Soviet government take a general decision on this issue and that, on the basis of this general decision, each individual review should be conducted with a favourable approach" and that "the procedure for issuing exit permits should be simplified and expedited as far as possible".

In conclusion, the note expressed the hope that the Soviet government would make a positive decision on this issue.

In addition to this official statement of December 8, 1951 and in a note dated October 22, 1951, the issue of allowing the mass departure of Jews from the USSR

to Israel was repeatedly raised in the order of probe in oral interviews of the Israeli envoy to the USSR in the Foreign Ministry, as well as in the conversations of the Foreign Minister

Israel Sharetta with Vyshinsky (October 21, 1950 in New York, December 22, 1951 in Paris).

Taking into account that the Government of Israel has repeatedly raised the issue of the departure of Jews from the USSR to Israel in various forms, the USSR Foreign Ministry considers it appropriate to instruct the Soviet envoy to Israel T. Ershov to give an answer on the substance of this question to Israeli Foreign Minister Charette. In this answer, Ershov must point out that the statement of the Israeli government of December 8, 1951, the statement of this question is essentially interference in the internal affairs of the USSR, as well as to clarify the general procedure for all Soviet citizens to leave the USSR, established by the current legislation.

This answer should be given by Ershov during another visit to the Israeli Foreign Ministry in connection with any other issue.

A draft resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) is attached. Please consider.

A. Gromyko

THE FINAL SECTION OF THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE MISSION OF THE USSR IN ISRAEL FOR 1951. May 12, 1952

Secret.

Thus, 1951 was a year of loss of independence for Israel, both in the economy and in domestic and foreign policy.

The Economic Policy of the Israeli Government, based on American loans and investments, leads the country to a catastrophe, the way out of which the ruling circles see in the American occupation of Israel, which, in their opinion, will cause the development of industry and agriculture and thus increase the profits of the Jewish bourgeoisie. U.S. intervention and control over the Israeli economy give it a military character so that it can serve U.S. troops in the Middle East in the future. Israel's internal political situation is characterized by increased class differentiationthe concentration of reactionary forces around the party of the large bourgeoisie of the Common Zionists, which is already claiming power in the state, on the one hand, and the gradual strengthening of the democratic camp grouping around the Communist Party and the left wing of the Mapam, on the other. There has been an increase in the class identity of Jewish workers, who for the first time began to speak out against their Jewish, national bourgeoisie. This is confirmed by the major Israeli strikes and demonstrations that took place in 1951. However, the strengthening of the forces of the democratic camp is hindered by the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on large segments of the population, expressed in the form of Zionism. The reaction to Israel's transformation into a police state should be expected to intensify further.

Israel's foreign policy is in the service of the U.S. State Department and is subject to American diktat. Israeli ruling circles are ready to join Israel in the emerging Middle

Eastern anti-Soviet aggressive bloc or to perform U.S. missions without formal participation in this bloc, on the basis of separate secret agreements. The plans of the American warmongers and their Israeli accomplices, plans to turn Israel into a military base for attack on the USSR is increasingly resisted by the movement of peace supporters and friends of the Soviet Union in Israel. The Attitude of the Government of Israel towards the Soviet Union in 1951 became more hostile, as expressed in a number of anti-Soviet speeches by members of the government, in the systematic anti-Soviet campaign of the reactionary Israeli press, in the refusal to satisfy the legitimate demands of the USSR on the issue of the transfer of property and in limiting the distribution of Soviet literature in Israel. The hostility of the Israeli government to the USSR will continue to increase, and it is possible that the Israelis may go to a political conflict with us, using as a pretext the issue of immigration of Jews from the USSR to Israel.

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Soviet Envoy to Israel P. Ershov

TELEGRAM OF THE SOVIET ENVOY TO ISRAEL P.I.ERSHOV TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE USSR. December 8, 1952

Over the past week, the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign in Israel has intensified. Reactionary press publishes articles daily against the Soviet Union. The Mapai Party organized more than 100 mass gatherings across the country to protest against the trial in Prague of a gang of conspirators and agents of American imperialism. On December 3, the "Unity of the Nation" semi-fascist society, which had shown no activity before, staged a "demonstrative public court" in Tel Aviv, which smeared the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Israel and tried to "accuse" them of anti-Semitism. Several rallies were organized by the fascist party Al-Manar and the party of common Zionists. Leaders of the right wing and the centre of Mapam, following their Zionist ideology and under the influence of pressure from Mapai and the Jewish Agency, also joined the campaign.

Two acts of sabotage were carried out against the Czechoslovakian mission:

- 1) On 23 November, a stone was thrown through the window of the Attorney's Office;
- 2) On 4 December, a bomb was thrown into the garage wall under the mission building, smashing a wall and damaging a vehicle.

The Government of Israel is drafting a law to ensure the security of the state. The Act provides for the death penalty or life imprisonment for all persons accused of undermining the sovereignty of the State, attempting to overthrow the Government, changing the state system, preparing a civil war, handing over to the enemy or disseminating information about closed meetings of the Government and parliamentary commissions.

The attitude of the Israeli ruling circles and the Zionist parties towards the Prague process is an additional confirmation to the materials of this process that Zionism and its pre-posing, put and participants are direct agents of American imperialism.

Ershov