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DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB LEAGUE

The active role being taken by member states of the Arab League in the United Nations lends increased importance to an understanding of the underlying forces which led to the creation of the Arab League and of the actual functions of the League as envisaged by its founders.

Following the Arab conquests of the seventh century, the Arab lands of the Near East achieved a notable degree of cultural uniformity whose roots lay in the common language, Arabic, and religion, Islam, of the region. On this basis was established a strong feeling of solidarity among the Arab and Arabized peoples, but at that time, as in the Western World, primary allegiance was accorded the head of the religious state.

A movement toward lay nationalism in the western sense began to develop in the nineteenth century. It first manifested itself in secret societies which worked to revive Arab culture and to spread knowledge of the Arab heritage among the people of the Arab lands. Under the continued oppression of the Ottoman Empire, this newly awakened Arab nationalism turned to political activity designed to free the Arabs from Turkish domination; in the Arab revolt during World War I many leaders were drawn from the ranks of these secret societies.

The political division of the area after the first World War only stimulated the ideal of Arab cooperation. Although each of the newly created states was faced with the primary concern of winning its own independence, many nationalists and political parties at the same time desired to see an increase in the degree of unity and close cooperation between the Arab countries. During World War II the unification of the Arab lands under Allied command gave further impetus to the advocates of Arab unity. From political parties and individual nationalists the movement spread into official and government circles.

The favorable attitude of Great Britain was illustrated on May 29, 1941, when the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, said:

"It seems to me both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries and the political ties, too, should be strengthened. His Majesty's Government for their part will give their full support to any scheme that commands general approval."

In 1942, Nuri Pasha al-Sa'id, the Prime Minister of Iraq, submitted to Arab leaders and to British authorities a plan for "Arab independence and unity" in the form of a "Blue Book". His plan entailed the reuniting of fragmented pre-war Syria to be joined in a union with Iraq to which the other Arab states might voluntarily adhere and which would deal with the common problems of the Arab countries. However, Nuri Pasha's plan did not represent a solution acceptable to all the Arab states, and discussions to discover a better means continued in Arab circles.

In the meantime, on February 24, 1943, Mr. Eden, speaking in Parliament, again expressed the views of the Churchill government:

"As they have already made plain, His Majesty's Government would view with sympathy any movement among Arabs to promote their economic, cultural, or political unity. But clearly the initiative in any scheme would have to come from the Arabs themselves, and so far as I am aware no such scheme, which would command general approval, has yet been worked out."

On March 30, 1943, the Egyptian Senate was informed that Prime Minister Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, long interested in the Arab unity movement, had decided, following Mr. Eden's statement, to contact the various Arab governments separately in order to ascertain their views on Arab union. If these views proved to be sufficiently compatible to permit further discussion,

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a preliminary meeting of representatives of all Arab states would be called in Cairo. Should that be successful, a general congress would be convened to decide the extent and form of Arab cooperation.

From July 31 to August 6, 1943, therefore, Nahhas and Nuri conferred in Alexandria, Egypt, and despite the differences in the plans of the two leaders, agreement on general principles was reached.

Further discussions were then launched with

other Arab leaders in order to resolve any existing difficulties. From August 28 to September 1, 1943, conferences in Alexandria between Nahhas and the Prime Minister of Trans-Jordan, Tawfiq Abu al-Huda, resulted in agreement by Amir "Abdallah" of Trans-Jordan to an over-all Arab union instead of a monarchical Greater Syria under his rule.

The initial hesitation of King Ibn Saud to commit his country to a plan whose aims were not yet clarified was partly overcome by the efforts of

an Egyptian envoy to Riyadh in mid-September 1943, and by discussions between Nahhas and Saudi Arabian representative Yusuf Yasin in Alexandria and Cairo from October 11 to November 2, 1943.

Talks were held between Egyptian officials and Syrian Prime Minister Sa'dallah al-Jabri and Foreign Minister Jamil Mardam in Alexandria and Cairo between October 26 and November 3, 1943. The Syrian response was enthusiastic and, because of the friendly relations between Syria and Saudi Arabia, served to increase the interest of Ibn Saud in Arab union affairs.

Discussions with Lebanon were postponed until January 9 to 13, 1944, because of the November 1943 crisis between the Lebanese Government and the French mandatory authorities. However, since the incident resulted in a greater degree of independence for Lebanon, that country acquired thereby a more decisive voice in the Arab union discussions.

Following an exchange of Saudi-Yemen views, discussions between Egyptian and Yemeni officials were held in Egypt from February 6 to 9, 1944. Additional visits were also exchanged between leaders of the various Arab states during the first quarter of 1944.

On July 4, 1944, the Egyptian Government issued invitations to the Governments of Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen to meet in Alexandria in the beginning of August. A postponement became necessary, however, and the meeting was therefore called for September 25.

Meanwhile from August 12 to 19, 1944, a congress of Arab lawyers was held in Damascus at which all the Arab states with the exception of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen were represented. The congress drew up a seven-point program for a unification of the legal systems of the Arab countries. Thus, prominent members of the legal profession, holding key positions in the political systems of their respective countries, indicated their readiness for an Arab union.

On the scheduled date in September, the Arab delegates met in Alexandria, the customary seat of the Egyptian Government during the summer months. Egypt's official delegation was headed by Prime Minister Mustafa al-Nahhas; Iraq's, by Prime Minister Hamdi al-Pachachi (Nuri al-Sa'id, who at that time held no ministerial position, was

a member of the delegation); Trans-Jordan's, by Prime Minister Tawfiq Abu al-Huda; Syria's, by Prime Minister Sa'dallah al-Jabri; and Lebanon's, by Prime Minister Riyad al-Sulh. Ibn Saud had reserved his decision, and it was not before the third session, held on October 1, 1944, that Yusuf Yasin took his place at the conference table as the Saudi delegate. The Yemen's representative, Husayn al-Kibsi, was admitted as an "observer" until the last meeting, when the Imam's confirmation of Kibsi's status as a delegate was received. Palestine was represented by an unofficial delegate, Musa al-'Alami, a well-known Palestinian nationalist, who had been chosen by the various Arab parties in Palestine.

The meeting lasted for two weeks and was presented with a wide range of problems for discussion. The last session, on October 7, 1944, was devoted to the preparation of a communiqué, publishing the so-called Alexandria protocol, which summarized the achievements of the conference. The document, indicating a considerable measure of agreement among the delegates of the Arab countries, was at once signed by all of the latter, except the representatives of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen who did not have the authority to do so. Those countries later signed the protocol—Saudi Arabia on January 7, 1945, and the Yemen on February 4, 1945. The most promising features of the protocol were its moderation and flexibility.

A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Arab states had been scheduled to convene in Cairo in January 1945 for the purpose of drafting the constitution of the Arab League. Again a postponement proved necessary, and the meeting took place in Cairo from February 15 to March 3, 1945. Palestine was represented, but no delegate from the Yemen appeared. Changes had occurred in nearly all of the governments represented, and it was an indication of the strength of the feeling of Arab solidarity that the newly appointed officials could continue the work of their predecessors without any perceptible interruption. The meeting was successful in disposing of several of the problems before it, and a full meeting of the delegates of all Arab countries was convoked in Cairo on March 17, 1945. At its close, on March 22, 1945, the pact of the League of Arab States was promulgated; this date marks the birth of the Arab League.

British approval of the new organization was

indicated by the Minister of State, Richard Law, who said in Parliament on May 9, 1945:

"His Majesty's Government have welcomed the successful formation of the League of the Arab States. They will await with sympathy and interest the results of the detailed conversations which are now to be begun for reducing the various barriers which divide the Arab peoples and for promoting cooperation between them. They

hope that these discussions will yield useful and practical results."

Under article 20, the pact was to come into force 15 days after the Secretariat-General of the Council of the League had received the instrument of ratification from four member states. By April 25, 1945, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq had deposited their ratifications, and the League came legally into existence on May 10, 1945.

TEXT OF THE ALEXANDRIA PROTOCOL¹

The undersigned, chiefs and members of Arab delegations at the Preliminary Committee of the General Arab Conference, viz:

The President of the Preliminary Committee

H.E. Mustafa al-Nabhas Pasha, Egyptian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; head of the Egyptian delegation;

Syrian Delegation

H.E. Sa'dallah al-Jabiri, Syrian Prime Minister and head of the Syrian delegation;

H.E. Jamil Mardam Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

H.E. Dr. Nagib al-Armanazi, Secretary General of the Presidency of the Syrian Republic;

H.E. M. Sabri al-'Asali, deputy of Damascus;

Trans-Jordanian Delegation

H.E. Tawfiq Abu al-Huda Pasha, Trans-Jordanian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, head of the Trans-Jordanian delegation;

H.E. Sulayman al-Sukkar Bey, Financial Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

Iraqi Delegation

H.E. Hamdi al-Bahjaji, Iraqi Prime Minister and head of the Iraqi delegation;

H.E. Arshad al-'Umari, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

H.E. Nuri al-Sa'id, former Iraqi Prime Minister;

H.E. Tahsin al-'Askari, Iraqi Minister Plenipotentiary in Egypt;

Lebanese Delegation

H.E. Riyad al-Sulh Bey, Lebanese Prime Minister and head of the Lebanese delegation;

H.E. Salim Taqla Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

H.E. Musa Mubarak, Chief of the Presidential Cabinet;

Egyptian Delegation

H.E. Nagib al-Hilali Pasha, Minister of Education;

H.E. Muhammad Sabri Aub-'Alam Pasha, Minister of Justice;

H.E. Muhammad Salah-al-din Bey, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Anxious to strengthen and consolidate the ties which bind all Arab countries and to direct them toward the welfare of the Arab world, to improve its conditions, insure its future, and realize its hopes and aspirations,

And in response to Arab public opinion in all Arab countries,

Have met at Alexandria from Shawwal 8, 1363 (September 25, 1944) to Shawwal 20, 1363 (October 7, 1944) in the form of a Preliminary Committee of the General Arab Conference, and have agreed as follows:

1. League of Arab States

A League will be formed of the independent Arab States which consent to join the League. It will have a council which will be known as the "Council of the League of Arab States" in which all participating states will be represented on an equal footing.

The object of the League will be to control the execution of the agreements which the above states will conclude; to hold periodic meetings which will strengthen the relations between those states; to coordinate their political plans so as to insure their cooperation, and protect their independence and sovereignty against every aggression by suitable means; and to supervise in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries.

The decisions of the Council will be binding on those who have accepted them except in cases where a disagreement arises between two member states of the League in which the two parties shall refer their dispute to the Council for solution. In this case the decision of the Council of the League will be binding.

In no case will resort to force to settle a dispute between any two member states of the League be allowed. But every state shall be free to conclude with any other member state of the League, or other powers, special agreements which do not contradict the text or spirit of the present dispositions.

In no case will the adoption of a foreign policy which may be prejudicial to the policy of the League or an individual member state be allowed.

The Council will intervene in every dispute which may lead to war between a member state of the League and any other member state or power, so as to reconcile them.

A subcommittee will be formed of the members of the Preliminary Committee to prepare a draft of the statutes of the Council of the League and to examine the political

¹ Translation of the official communiqué of the Pan-Arab Preliminary Conference made by the American Legation, Cairo; and collated with the Arabic text published in *al-Ahram* (Cairo), Oct. 8, 1944, p. 3.

questions which may be the object of agreement among Arab States.

2. Cooperation in Economic, Cultural, Social, and Other Matters

A. The Arab States represented on the Preliminary Committee shall closely cooperate in the following matters:

- (1) Economic and financial matters, i.e., commercial exchange, customs, currency, agriculture, and industry.
- (2) Communications, i.e., railways, roads, aviation, navigation, posts and telegraphs.
- (3) Cultural matters.
- (4) Questions of nationality, passports, visas, execution of judgments, extradition of criminals, etc.
- (5) Social questions.
- (6) Questions of public health.

B. A subcommittee of experts for each of the above subjects will be formed in which the states which have participated in the Preliminary Committee will be represented. This subcommittee will prepare draft regulations for cooperation in the above matters, describing the extent and means of that collaboration.

C. A committee for coordination and editing will be formed whose object will be to control the work of the other subcommittees, to coordinate that part of the work which is accomplished, and to prepare drafts of agreements which will be submitted to the various governments.

D. When all the subcommittees have accomplished their work the Preliminary Committee will meet to examine the work of the subcommittees as a preliminary step toward the holding of the General Arab Conference.

3. Consolidation of These Ties in the Future

While expressing its satisfaction at such a happy step, the Committee hopes that Arab States will be able in the future to consolidate that step by other steps, especially if post-war world events should result in institutions which will bind various Powers more closely together.

4. A Special Resolution Concerning Lebanon

The Arab States represented on the Preliminary Com-

mittee emphasize their respect of the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon in its present frontiers, which the governments of the above States have already recognized in consequence of Lebanon's adoption of an independent policy, which the Government of that country announced in its program of October 7, 1943, unanimously approved by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies.

5. A Special Resolution Concerning Palestine

A. The Committee is of the opinion that Palestine constitutes an important part of the Arab World and that the rights of the Arabs in Palestine cannot be touched without prejudice to peace and stability in the Arab World.

The Committee also is of the opinion that the pledges binding the British Government and providing for the cessation of Jewish immigration, the preservation of Arab lands, and the achievement of independence for Palestine are permanent Arab rights whose prompt implementation would constitute a step toward the desired goal and toward the stabilization of peace and security.

The Committee declares its support of the cause of the Arabs of Palestine and its willingness to work for the achievement of their legitimate aims and the safeguarding of their just rights.

The Committee also declares that it is second to none in regretting the woes which have been inflicted upon the Jews of Europe by European dictatorial states. But the question of these Jews should not be confused with Zionism, for there can be no greater injustice and aggression than solving the problem of the Jews of Europe by another injustice, i.e., by inflicting injustice on the Arabs of Palestine of various religions and denominations.

B. The special proposal concerning the participation of the Arab Governments and peoples in the "Arab National Fund" to safeguard the lands of the Arabs of Palestine shall be referred to the committee of financial and economic affairs to examine it from all its angles and to submit the result of that examination to the Preliminary Committee in its next meeting.

In faith of which this protocol has been signed at Faruq I University at Alexandria on Saturday, Shawwal 20, 1363 (October 7, 1944).

TEXT OF THE PACT OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES²

His Excellency the President of the Syrian Republic;³
His Royal Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan;
His Majesty the King of Iraq;
His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia;
His Excellency the President of the Lebanese Republic;
His Majesty the King of Egypt;
His Majesty the King of the Yemen;

Desirous of strengthening the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab States;

And anxious to support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of

these states, and to direct their efforts toward the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future, the realization of their aspirations and hopes;

And responding to the wishes of Arab public opinion in all Arab lands;

Have agreed to conclude a Pact to that end and have

² Translation of the Arabic text which appeared in *al-Ahram* (Cairo), Mar. 23, 1945.

³ The listing follows the order of the Arabic alphabet.

appointed as their representatives the persons whose names are listed hereinafter:

The President of the Syrian Republic; who has appointed as representatives for Syria: His Excellency Faris al-Khuri, Prime Minister; His Excellency Jamil Mardam Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

His Royal Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan; who has appointed as representatives for Trans-Jordan: His Excellency Samir al-Rafa'i Pasha, Prime Minister; His Excellency Sa'id al-Mufti Pasha, Minister of the Interior; Sulayman al-Nabulusi Bey, Secretary of the Cabinet;

His Majesty the King of Iraq; who has appointed as representatives for Iraq: His Excellency Arshad al-'Umari, Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Washington; His Excellency Tahsin al-'Askari, Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Cairo;

His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia; who has appointed as representatives for Saudi Arabia: His Excellency the Sheikh Yusuf Yasin, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Khayr-al-din al-Zirikli, Councillor of the Saudi Arabian Legation in Cairo;

His Excellency the President of the Lebanese Republic; who has appointed as representatives for Lebanon: His Excellency 'Abd-al-Hamid Karami, Prime Minister; His Excellency Yusuf Salim, Minister Plenipotentiary of Lebanon in Cairo;

His Majesty the King of Egypt; who has appointed as representatives for Egypt: His Excellency Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi Pasha, Prime Minister; His Excellency Muhammad Husayn Haykal Pasha, President of the Senate; His Excellency 'Abd-al-Hamid Badawi Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Makram 'Ubayd Pasha, Minister of Finance; His Excellency Muhammad Hafiz Ramadan Pasha, Minister of Justice; His Excellency 'Abd-al-Razzaq Ahmad al-Sanhuri Bey, Minister of Education; Abd-al-Rahman 'Azzam Bey, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the King of the Yemen; [who] has appointed as representatives for the Yemen: -----⁴;

who, after having exchanged their plenary powers which were found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1

The League of Arab States⁵ is composed of the independent Arab States which have signed this Pact.

Any independent Arab State has the right to become a member of the League. If it desires to do so, it shall submit a request which will be deposited with the Permanent Secretariat General and submitted to the Council at the first meeting held after submission of the request.

⁴ Left blank, evidently to be filled in when the Yemeni delegation has been made official. His Excellency al-Sayyid Husayn al-Kibsi was subsequently appointed representative of the Yemen.

⁵ Arabic: *Jami'at al-duwal al-'Arabiyyah*.

⁶ Arabic: *Majlis*.

⁷ Arabic: *Lajnah*.

Article 2

The League has as its purpose the strengthening of the relations between the member states; the coordination of their policies in order to achieve cooperation between them and to safeguard their independence and sovereignty; and a general concern with the affairs and interests of the Arab countries. It has also as its purpose the close cooperation of the member states, with due regard to the organization and circumstances of each state, on the following matters:

A. Economic and financial affairs, including commercial relations, customs, currency, and questions of agriculture and industry.

B. Communications; this includes railroads, roads, aviation, navigation, telegraphs, and posts.

C. Cultural affairs.

D. Nationality, passports, visas, execution of judgments, and extradition of criminals.

E. Social affairs.

F. Health problems.

Article 3

The League shall possess a Council⁶ composed of the representatives of the member states of the League; each state shall have a single vote, irrespective of the number of its representatives.

It shall be the task of the Council to achieve the realization of the objectives of the League and to supervise the execution of agreements which the member states have concluded on the questions enumerated in the preceding article, or on any other questions.

It likewise shall be the Council's task to decide upon the means by which the League is to cooperate with the international bodies to be created in the future in order to guarantee security and peace and regulate economic and social relations.

Article 4

For each of the questions listed in Article 2 there shall be set up a special committee⁷ in which the member states of the League shall be represented. These committees shall be charged with the task of laying down the principles and extent of cooperation. Such principles shall be formulated as draft agreements, to be presented to the Council for examination preparatory to their submission to the aforesaid states.

Representatives of the other Arab countries may take part in the work of the aforesaid committees. The Council shall determine the conditions under which these representatives may be permitted to participate and the rules governing such representation.

Article 5

Any resort to force in order to resolve disputes arising between two or more member states of the League is prohibited. If there should arise among them a difference which does not concern a state's independence, sovereignty, or territorial integrity, and if the parties to the dispute have recourse to the Council for the settlement of this difference, the decision of the Council shall then be enforceable and obligatory.

In such a case, the states between whom the difference has arisen shall not participate in the deliberations and decisions of the Council.

The Council shall mediate in all differences which threaten to lead to war between two member states, or a member state and a third state, with a view to bringing about their reconciliation.

Decisions of arbitration and mediation shall be taken by majority vote.

Article 6

In case of aggression or threat of aggression by one state against a member state, the state which has been attacked or threatened with aggression may demand the immediate convocation of the Council.

The Council shall by unanimous decision determine the measures necessary to repulse the aggression. If the aggressor is a member state, his vote shall not be counted in determining unanimity.

If, as a result of the attack, the government of the state attacked finds itself unable to communicate with the Council, that state's representative in the Council shall have the right to request the convocation of the Council for the purpose indicated in the foregoing paragraph. In the event that this representative is unable to communicate with the Council, any member state of the League shall have the right to request the convocation of the Council.

Article 7

Unanimous decisions of the Council shall be binding upon all member states of the League; majority decisions shall be binding only upon those states which have accepted them.

In either case the decisions of the Council shall be enforced in each member state according to its respective basic laws.⁵

Article 8

Each member state shall respect the systems of government established in the other member states and regard them as exclusive concerns of those states. Each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government.

Article 9

States of the League which desire to establish closer cooperation and stronger bonds than are provided by this Pact may conclude agreements to that end.

Treaties and agreements already concluded or to be concluded in the future between a member state and another State shall not be binding or restrictive upon other members.

Article 10

The permanent seat of the League of Arab States is established in Cairo. The Council may, however, assemble at any other place it may designate.

Article 11

The Council of the League shall convene in ordinary session twice a year, in March and in October. It shall

convene in extraordinary session upon the request of two member states of the League whenever the need arises.

Article 12

The League shall have a permanent Secretariat General⁹ which shall consist of a Secretary General,¹⁰ Assistant Secretaries, and an appropriate number of officials.

The Council of the League shall appoint the Secretary General by a majority of two-thirds of the states of the League. The Secretary General, with the approval of the Council shall appoint the Assistant Secretaries and the principal officials of the League.

The Council of the League shall establish an administrative regulation¹¹ for the functions of the Secretariat General and matters relating to the Staff.

The Secretary General shall have the rank of Ambassador and the Assistant Secretaries that of Ministers Plenipotentiary.

The first Secretary General of the League is named in an Annex to this Pact.

Article 13

The Secretary General shall prepare the draft of the budget of the League and shall submit it to the Council for approval before the beginning of each fiscal year.

The Council shall fix the share of the expenses to be borne by each state of the League. This share may be reconsidered if necessary.

Article 14

The members of the Council of the League as well as the members of the committees and the officials who are to be designated in the administrative regulation shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunity when engaged in the exercise of their functions.

The buildings occupied by the organs of the League shall be inviolable.

Article 15

The first meeting of the Council shall be convened at the invitation of the head of the Egyptian Government. Thereafter it shall be convened at the invitation of the Secretary General.

The representatives of the member states of the League shall alternately assume the presidency of the Council at each of its ordinary sessions.

Article 16

Except in cases specifically indicated in this Pact, a majority vote of the Council shall be sufficient to make enforceable decisions on the following matters:

- A. Matters relating to personnel.
- B. Adoption of the budget of the League.
- C. Establishment of the administrative regulations for the Council, the committees, and the Secretariat General.
- D. Decisions to adjourn the sessions.

⁵ Arabic: *al-nuzum al-asasiyyah*.

⁹ Arabic: *Amanah 'ammah*.

¹⁰ Arabic: *al-amin al-'amm*.

¹¹ Arabic: *nizam dakhili*.

Article 17

Each member state of the League shall deposit with the Secretariat General one copy of every treaty or agreement concluded or to be concluded in the future between itself and another member state of the League or a third state.

Article 18

If a member state contemplates withdrawal from the League, it shall inform the Council of its intention one year before such withdrawal is to go into effect.

The Council of the League may consider any state which fails to fulfill its obligations under this Pact as having become separated from the League, this to go into effect upon a unanimous decision of the states, not counting the state concerned.

Article 19

This Pact may be amended with the consent of two-thirds of the states belonging to the League, especially in order to make firmer and stronger the ties between the member states, to create an Arab Tribunal of Arbitration, and to regulate the relations of the League with any international bodies to be created in the future to guarantee security and peace.

Final action on an amendment cannot be taken prior to the session following the session in which the motion was initiated.

If a state does not accept such an amendment it may withdraw at such time as the amendment goes into effect, without being bound by the provisions of the preceding article.

Article 20

This Pact and its Annexes shall be ratified according to the basic laws in force among the High Contracting Parties.

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretariat General of the Council and the Pact shall become operative as regards each ratifying state fifteen days after the Secretary General has received the instruments of ratification from four states.

This Pact has been drawn up in Cairo in the Arabic language on this 8th day of Rabi' II, thirteen hundred and sixty-four (March 22, 1945), in one copy which shall be deposited in the safe keeping of the Secretariat General.

An identical copy shall be delivered to each state of the League.

[Here follow the signatures.]

¹² Referring to Palestine. The phraseology of the Arabic text is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally; but the context would seem to bear out this interpretation.

¹³ Arabic: *mustaqillah binafsiha*, which could also be rendered "independent in itself".

(1) Annex Regarding Palestine

Since the termination of the last great war the rule of the Ottoman Empire over the Arab countries, among them Palestine, which had become detached from that Empire, has come to an end. She¹² has come to be autonomous,¹³ not subordinate to any other state.

The Treaty of Lausanne proclaimed that her future was to be settled by the parties concerned.

However, even though she was as yet unable to control her own affairs, the Covenant of the League [of Nations] in 1919 made provision for a regime based upon recognition of her independence.

Her international existence and independence in the legal sense cannot, therefore, be questioned, any more than could be the independence of the other Arab countries.

Although the outward manifestations of this independence have remained obscured for reasons beyond her control, this should not be allowed to interfere with her participation in the work of the Council of the League.

The nations signatory to the Pact of the Arab League are therefore of the opinion that, considering the special circumstances of Palestine, and until that country can effectively exercise its independence, the Council of the League should take charge of the selection of an Arab representative from Palestine to take part in its work.

(2) Annex Regarding Cooperation With Countries Which Are Not Members of the Council of the League

WHEREAS the member states of the League will have to deal in the Council as well as in the committees with matters which will benefit and affect the Arab world at large;

AND WHEREAS the Council has to take into account the aspirations of the Arab countries which are not members of the Council and has to work toward their realization;

Now therefore, it particularly behooves the states signatory to the Pact of the Arab League to enjoin the Council of the League, when considering the admission of those countries to participation in the committees referred to in the Pact, that it should do its utmost to cooperate with them; and furthermore, that it should spare no effort to learn their needs and understand their aspirations and hopes; and that it should work thenceforth for their best interests and the safeguarding of their future with all the political means at its disposal.

(3) Annex Regarding the Appointment of a Secretary General of the League

The states signatory to this Pact have agreed to appoint His Excellency Abd-al-Rahman 'Azzam Bey to be Secretary General of the League of Arab States.

This appointment is made for two years. The Council of the League shall hereafter determine the new regulations for the Secretariat General.