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NON-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ARAB LEAGUE

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BUTRUS B. ILIYYA

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B.B. ILIYYA

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study is two-fold: (1) to undertake a comprehensive survey of the non-political activities of the Arab League; and (2) to evaluate these activities with reference to the ultimate objectives behind the creation of the League.

Since its birth in 1945, the Arab League has been working on two fronts, the political and the non-political. Although these differ in direction, they have the same general goal. On the political front, the League has been endeavouring to bring the Arabs together, to liberate all parts of the Arab world from foreign intervention and exploitation and to lead ultimately to a federation of all the Arab states. In the non-political sphere the Arab League is seeking to prepare the basic ground work which will, among other things, encourage and facilitate greater cooperation in the political sphere. The ultimate political ends of the League can better be achieved through embarking upon such projects which may lead to greater cultural, social and economic inter-action among the Arab states. Because primary emphasis in this study will be placed on the non-political functions of the League, the political aspects will be discussed only when these can help throw more light on the non-political ones.

Although in the Arab world some joint cultural activities were carried out and some political inter-governmental conferences were held during the inter-war years, little progress was made in the direction of

establishing a permanent regional organization to bind the Arab states more closely together until the Arab League was set up.

The first part of the present study will briefly view the concept of the Arab League in the perspective of the Arab national movement. It will cover the pertinent developments from the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire after World War I until the creation of the League. The organizational set-up and working of the League will then be analyzed in the light of its Pact. The second part, which is the main and direct concern of this Thesis, will cover the non-political activities of the League. The third and final part of this study will be concerned with the various obstacles confronting the League, especially in connection with its non-political activities. Finally, a special attempt will be made to see whether or not and to what extent the non-political activities have furthered the realization of the high goals set before the Arab League.

An attempt has been made to consult primary and secondary source materials in both Arabic and English. Main emphasis has been given to the use of documents, pamphlets and other official materials published by the Arab League. Some charts, such as the one portraying graphically the structure of the Arab League, pertinent documents and other useful materials will be included in the appendices.

## PREFACE

The idea of choosing this subject for my Thesis occurred to me during a graduate seminar on Regional Organizations given by Dr. Fred Khuri. I was indeed happy to see that the idea was accepted by Professor Khuri who approved my research plan and kindly consented to act as the Chairman of my Thesis Committee. He was also kind enough to supply me with some official documents and reports that he had obtained from the Arab League headquarters during his visit to Cairo last summer. These valuable reports and publications contained a summary of the more important activities carried out by the League in the non-political field, which made it possible for me to continue the preparation of this study. I shall always be indebted to Professor Khuri for his moral encouragement and actual support which enabled me to conclude this work.

I am also indebted to Professor Yusuf Ibish, Chairman of the Department of Political studies and Public Administration, whose moral encouragement and material assistance played an important - even a decisive - role in fulfilling my most cherished dream of resuming school and finishing graduate work after having been away from academic life for over 10 years. I am deeply grateful to Professor Ibish for his noble and brotherly assistance.

I am also thankful to the staff of the Jafet Library of this University, especially Miss E. Zacharia and Mr. N. Haddad, who extended to me all possible facilities to accomplish this work.

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PART I

BACKGROUND FOR THE LEAGUE



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Because of the revolutionary impact of rapid means of communication and travel and of the growing economic and political interdependence of nations brought about as a result of the advance made in modern science and technology, regional, as well as world-wide, collaboration is now a vital necessity.

In general, regional organizations can treat with political, military, economic, social and cultural subjects. States have been readier to cooperate in dealing with economic and social issues because these are less involved with national sovereignty than political and military issues. Since many problems, such as radio and weather, involve only limited geographical areas, they can best be adjusted on a regional basis. Even problems of security can sometimes be dealt with more effectively on a regional, than on a world-wide, basis. For example, as Stephen Goodspeed notes:

It appears simpler to prepare against all major avenues of attack within the region and to secure firm collective measures designed to provide effective economic and military sanctions whenever necessary.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of elements which are essential to the forming of a successful regional organization. Among these are the following: (1) geographical unity; (2) common historical background and political objectives; and (3) similar ideological and governmental institutions.

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen S. Goodspeed, The Nature and Function of International Organization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 550.

The region covered by the Arab League satisfies a number of these essential elements. Historically and culturally the people, with their long settled life in this region, share a common language and a fairly common treasure of Islamic learning and tradition. From a geographic point of view, the region forms a relatively compact territory.<sup>2</sup> As Mahomed Agwani says:

If a regional agency requires a homogeneous and compact area to further international cooperation, obviously this region offered the maximum opportunities for such cooperation.<sup>3</sup>

The United Nations has itself helped encourage the creation of regional organizations. Because many of those governments<sup>4</sup> represented at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, which drew up the U.N. Charter, recognized that regional organizations could be very useful in helping the U.N. to promote world peace and security, they insisted that the U.N. Charter make some reference to the subject of regional arrangements. As a result, a whole chapter (Chapter VIII) was devoted to the provisions regarding 'Regional Arrangements'. Article 52 of the Charter states:

Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

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<sup>2</sup>See Map, Appendix 1, this work.

<sup>3</sup>Mahomed Shafi Agwani, "The Arab League: An Experiment in Regional Organization," India Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 4 (October, 1953), p. 363.

<sup>4</sup>Arab and Latin American governments especially. The Arabs rushed the setting up of the Arab League to have it in being before the San Francisco Conference convened, because they wanted to have more influence in the Conference.

In addition to promoting the existence of regional arrangements and giving them the responsibility of maintaining peace and security in their region, Article 53 of the U.N. Charter calls upon the members of the World Organization to settle their disputes peacefully through such regional arrangements, wherever they exist, before referring them to the Security Council.

The United Nations has also recognized the value of regional organizations for the handling of non-political matters as well. For example, the U.N. has set up several regional economic commissions for Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America. Moreover, the importance of regional arrangements has been further emphasized by a group of experts who prepared a report for the U.N. on measures for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The report expressed the opinion that:

some under-developed countries are so small that their internal market is not large enough to support large-scale industries. The best solution may be to cooperate with other countries in the same region. This does not necessarily involve political federation, though sometimes such federation is also desirable on other grounds. The creation of a customs union is a less radical possibility. Still less radical is the creation of a free trade area; and failing even this, it is possible to make preferential tariff arrangements for promoting economic development. There are many small countries whose prospects of economic development will remain small until they enter into close economic relations with their neighbours.<sup>5</sup>

On November 1, 1950, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution inviting the Arab League Secretary General to attend the sessions of the General Assembly as an official observer. Another permanent invitation was extended to the Secretary General of the League to attend the sessions of the Economic and Social Council in capacity of observer. These

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<sup>5</sup>United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Measures for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries; Report by a group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (New York: May 1951), p. 23.

actions on the part of two major U.N. organs "amounted to a de facto recognition of the League as a regional organization"<sup>6</sup> and paved the way for closer collaboration between it and the United Nations Organization and the various U.N. specialized agencies.

Just as the United Nations and other regional organizations have realized the importance of achieving greater non-political cooperation among the members of international community in order to bring about political cooperation, so the Arab League is realizing the importance of such cooperation among its member states to bring about political unity.

Therefore, the movement for an Arab unity must be understood and evaluated not only as an expression of Arab nationalism, but also as an expression of the modern trend for regional, as well as worldwide, cooperation in the non-political sphere.

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<sup>6</sup>The Arab Information Center, Arab League: Goals and Achievements (New York: 1960), p. 4.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Arab world played a great role in history from the rise of Islam and the Arab Empire in the seventh century until the Mongol invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century. While Europe was living under the cloud of the Dark Ages, Arab science and civilization flourished for centuries. In fact, the European Renaissance was sparked by Crusader contacts with Arab civilization in the Levant, as well as by later European contacts with the Arabs in Spain and Sicily.

Although the golden age of the Arabs was finally brought to an end, at least throughout the four centuries in which they formed part of the Ottoman Empire, the Arabs retained a degree of economic and political unity, and their common religion and language contributed much to preserving their distinctive identity.

With the decay of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, the Arabian Peninsula under the Wahhabis<sup>1</sup> and practically all North Africa, too, were separated from the Ottoman body politic. Part of the Arab world was influenced by a rapid succession of events. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 was more than a military attack, for it was also a cultural incursion from the West into the Arab world. The French started the use of the Arabic press in Egypt, and this helped to arouse nationalistic feelings. In 1805, Muhammad Ali, a remarkable leader of Albanian origin, became the

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<sup>1</sup>On the Wahhabi movement, see Hans Kohn, A History of Nationalism in the East (London: Routledge, 1929), pp. 15-25.

master of Egypt and sought to establish an Arab Empire. He furthered the impact of Western culture upon Arab life by sending student missions to be trained in Europe and by bringing in French advisors and technicians. It was mostly because of the opposition of European diplomacy that Muhammad Ali's plans for an Arab Empire failed. By reviving the Arabic language in its classical form, the European and American missionaries in Syria and Lebanon gave an impetus to the Arab nationalist awakening.<sup>2</sup> A dominant nationalist role was also played by Christian Arabs graduating from the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut) established in 1866.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the Turkish policy of coercing the Arabs following the young Turk Revolution in 1908, Arab secret societies working for complete political independence were formed.<sup>4</sup> With the outcome of World War I the Arab national movement was offered an opportunity to express itself in concrete action. In 1916, the Arab Revolt was declared, and with British assistance the Arab forces had been enlisted on the side of the Allies. The Arabs were promised independence in 1915 for their military help against the Turks. But the post-war territorial settlements of 1918 fell far short of satisfying Arab aspirations. The Arabs were cut off from each other politically, administratively and economically by the post-war political divisions. The existence

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<sup>1</sup>The Arab Office, The Arab World and the Arab League (London: Fosh & Cross, Ltd., 1946), pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>A.H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 83-84.

<sup>3</sup>On Arab societies, see George Antonius, The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement (Beirut: Khayat's, 1955), pp. 79-100. See also Hourani, op.cit., pp. 38-40.

of different types of governments, laws, educational systems, customs areas, and the like tended to create different vested interests. However, the revolution in transportation and communication started to draw the Arab peoples closer together, and helped the rapid growth of Arab nationalism throughout the Arab areas of the Middle East. Common ways of thinking and writing were also fostered by the printing presses of Cairo and Beirut which supplied reading material to the whole Arab world.<sup>5</sup>

From the middle of the 1920's and on, a number of treaties and agreements which had been concluded, between various Arab states marked a definite trend towards future unity. Treaties of friendship between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and Saudi Arabia and Transjordan were concluded in 1930 and 1933 respectively. In 1936 Saudi Arabia concluded the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood and Alliance with Iraq and other Arab states were invited to participate with them in this pact. Yemen joined the pact in 1937. This chain of pacts and treaties which bound Saudi Arabia to its neighbours were of special significance because "it opened up channels, which had hitherto been blocked, for cultural and economic interpenetration and for the freer play of forces which are slowly shaping the Arab future."<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, the Palestine problem was another basic factor which made the need for unity more compelling. Outbreak of Arab-Jewish rioting started in Palestine soon after the British occupation began. In 1936 the Arabs in Palestine called for a general strike which developed into outbursts of violence. This event was pacified largely through the mediation of Arab leaders outside Palestine who intervened to stop the strike. This was

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<sup>5</sup>Cecil A. Hourani, "The Arab League in Perspective," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April, 1947), p. 127.

<sup>6</sup>Antonius, op.cit., p. 344.

the first occasion when the Arab states began to take an active part in the Arab-Jewish dispute, and it revealed the growing Arab interest everywhere in the future of Palestine. In February and March of 1939, Great Britain sponsored a conference of Arab states in London to consider the Problem of Palestine. This was the first formal act of British recognition of the right of Arabs to act collectively on the Palestine issue. "She thus set up a pattern and a precedent for united Arab action under her protective wing."<sup>7</sup>

Under the pressure of the Second World War, wartime regional economic cooperation made a hopeful beginning in the Arab world. A regional organization known as the Middle East Supply Center was brought into being by Great Britain during the War. Coming under the joint Anglo-American control, the Center was "to help all the Arab countries to overcome the economic difficulties caused by the blockade of the eastern Mediterranean and by the shortage of shipping."<sup>8</sup> Having its headquarters in Cairo, this organization arranged regional conferences on economic problems and all the Arab nations were invited to participate in them. This was an indication that a permanent institution where varying points of views could be shared and joint actions could be designed and executed would lead to the benefit of every participant Arab country.<sup>9</sup> Arab leaders were beginning to develop an interest in a pan-Arab system. This trend was further encouraged by the experience of the War which demonstrated the economic and strategic importance of a united Arab world.

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<sup>7</sup>George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), p. 400.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Hilton, The Thirteenth Power: The Middle East and the World Situation (London: Christopher Johnson, 1958), p. 56.

<sup>9</sup>Fayez A. Sayegh, Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment (New York: Devin-Adair, 1958), p. 114.



Driven by the pressing necessities of the Second World War, the British Government was anxious to regain the confidence and the good-will of the Arabs which they had lost in 1919. Between 1939 and 1941 the Nazi menace began to spread in the Arab world. Great Britain found herself faced with the problem of acting in accordance with her old policy of uniting the Arabs and gaining their good-will. Sir Anthony Eden, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said in May 1941:

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.<sup>10</sup>

Eden's statement was received with great interest. It was an indication that the British Government had come to adopt an attitude of sympathy towards the idea of Arab unity.

The first initiative was taken in 1942 by the prime minister of Iraq, Nuri as-Sa'id, who drew a plan of Arab union. It provided for a Fertile Crescent union which would link Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Palestine with Iraq by a federal agreement.<sup>11</sup> But Nuri's proposal was not accepted universally. The first opposition came from Egypt, which viewed the rise of a large united state in northern Arabia as a threat to her position of pre-eminence in the Arab world.

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<sup>10</sup>The Times (London), 30 May, 1941.

<sup>11</sup>For the English translation of the original Arabic text of "Nuri as-Sa'id's Fertile Crescent Project," see Muhammad Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League: A Documentary Record (Beirut: Khayat's, 1962), Vol. 2, pp. 9-12. The text forms part of the Memorandum submitted in 1943 to the British Minister of State for the Middle East by Nuri as-Sa'id. It presents an exposition of political conditions in the Arab world since the latter part of the Ottoman era. It also discusses the relations of the Arab countries with Britain and France since World War I.

It was not until 1943 that the idea of Arab unity was really explored by Arab leaders with the intention of translating the popular trend towards unity into a concrete political reality. The question was tackled in bilateral consultations between the prime minister of Egypt and representatives of six Arab states:<sup>12</sup> Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan (now Jordan), and Yemen.

The next step towards the formation of the Arab League was the calling of the Preliminary Committee of the General Arab Conference, which met in Alexandria from 25 September to 7 October 1944, and culminated with the issuance of the Alexandria Protocol.<sup>13</sup> The Protocol provided for close cooperation between member states in political, military, economic and financial matters, and in the fields of communications, health, culture, social, and legal affairs. It also envisaged a progressively increasing surrender of sovereignty by making the important proviso that:

in no case would a state be permitted to pursue a foreign policy which could be detrimental to the policy of the League or to any of its member states.<sup>14</sup>

The Alexandria Protocol, however, was not carried out. The Arab states decided not to apply it, partly because Lebanon insisted on setting up a less advanced Arab organization than envisaged by the Alexandria Protocol. Mean-

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<sup>12</sup>See League of Arab States, Summary of the Minutes of the Consultations with Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabian Kingdom, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen (Cairo: Fathi Sukkar Printing Press, 1949). This document consists of 34 pages in Arabic.

<sup>13</sup>For the text of the Protocol, see The Arab Information Center, Basic Documents of the League of Arab States (New York: April, 1955), pp. 5-8.

<sup>14</sup>Quoted in Cecil A. Hourani, "The Arab League in Perspective," The Middle East Journal, op.cit., p. 131.

while, the Arab states declared war on the Axis in order to get a U.N. invitation to attend the San Francisco Conference which was to draw up the U.N. Charter. Then they pushed the formation of the Arab League before the San Francisco Conference met so as to have a united front at the Conference itself. A series of new meetings were held by the Arab leaders to form the League which resulted in the issuance of the Pact of the League of Arab States. The Pact was signed at the final meeting on 22 March, 1945. The Pact "represents a victory for moderate Arab nationalism; that is, for the view that at the present time it is impossible to establish a single Arab state, and that union can only come as a result of evolution and gradual surrender of sovereignty."<sup>15</sup>

The Arab League, as it stands, is similar in its structure to other regional arrangements, such as the Organization of American States, but it still enjoys an advantage over them in that it is, in some ways, more cohesive. In addition to geographic proximity, its member states share the same language. Furthermore, the League is viewed as a stepping stone toward complete political, economic, social and cultural unity of the Arab world.<sup>16</sup>

As stated in the Preamble, the Arab League aims at: (1) strengthening the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab states; (2) seeking to support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these states; and (3) directing their efforts towards the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future, and the realization of their aspirations

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 134. Hourani calls attention to the fact that the Pact is weaker than the Protocol, because it restricts less specifically the sovereignty of the member states. For the full text of the Pact, see Appendix 3, this work.

<sup>16</sup>The Arab Information Center, Arab League: Goals and Achievements, op.cit., pp. 5-6.

and hopes.

Since the Arab League sprang forth, not only from the growing desire of the Arabs to achieve their independence and unity, but also from their drive towards improving the social and economic welfare of the Arab world, the League was empowered to deal with non-political, as well as political, matters. Article 2 of the Pact specifies the areas of endeavor where close cooperation of the member states is to be especially promoted. They include economic, financial, cultural, social, legal, judicial, communication and health matters. Member states "which desire to establish closer cooperation and stronger bonds than are provided by this Pact are authorized to conclude agreements to that end." (Article 9)

In addition to the Arab national level, the Pact of the League provides for cooperation on the wider international level. In fact, the Pact originally anticipated the establishment of international bodies such as the United Nations. It provides that the Council of the League "shall also have the function of determining the means whereby the League will collaborate with international organizations which may be created in the future to guarantee peace and security and organize economic and social relations." (Article 3)

The Pact brought into existence a voluntary association of sovereign Arab states. Since then, the voice of the Arab League (more officially referred to as the League of Arab States)<sup>17</sup> has often been heard in the World councils as the spokesman for the Arab states.

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<sup>17</sup>The shorter and more common name, "Arab League" is used in this work.

## CHAPTER III

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE<sup>1</sup>

The Arab League structure, as laid down by the Pact, consists of the Council of the League, Secretariat-General, and Permanent or Special Committees. The League has also, over the years, established additional specialized councils, committees, bureaus and other bodies. The Secretariat-General has also been organized into a number of technical departments.

#### A. The Council.

The Council is composed of representatives of all member states and is the policy making body of the League.<sup>2</sup> Each state has a single vote regardless of the number of its representatives in the Council.

Among the important tasks of the Council the following are noteworthy:

1. It is the task of the Council "to achieve the realization of the objectives of the League," in a general way (Article 3).
2. It is the task of the Council to seek the close collaboration

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix 2, this work.

<sup>2</sup>Membership in the League is allowed only to independent Arab states adhering to the Pact. However, it must be noted that some of the original members had been only de facto independent states or legally still under the Mandate system, as was the case with Transjordan. Later, some of the Arab countries, especially in North Africa, attempted to join the Arab League but, owing to their dependent political status, it was found desirable to have membership open merely to independent Arab states. Shortly after achieving their independence, Libya on March, 1953, and the Sudan on January, 1956, joined the League. Both Morocco and Tunisia were admitted on October, 1958, Kuwait in 1961 and Algeria in 1962. On February 1, 1958, the Union of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic was proclaimed. Since this union was dissolved in the fall of 1961 (although the name has continued to be used by Egypt) present membership in the Arab League stands at thirteen. According to an Annex on Palestine, a representative of the Palestinians attends Council meetings in a nonvoting capacity, as does a delegate from Oman.

of the participant states in the following fields: (a) economic and financial affairs, comprising trade, tariffs, currency, agricultural and industrial matters; (b) communications, including railways, roads, aviation, navigation, posts and telegraphs; (c) cultural affairs; (d) legal matters relating to nationality, passports and visas, the execution of judgements and the extradition of criminals; (e) matters relating to social affairs; and (f) problems of public health (Article 2 and Preamble).

3. The Council is in charge of the arbitration of disputes which involve member states (Articles 5 and 6).

4. The means whereby the League is to cooperate with other international bodies "in order to guarantee security and peace and regulate economic and social relations," are decided upon by the Council (Article 3).

5. The conditions whereby representatives from Arab countries that are not members of the League may participate in the activities of the special committees, are decided upon by the Council (Article 4).

6. The Council appoints the Secretary-General of the League by a two-thirds majority of the League states, approves the appointment of the Assistant Secretaries-General and the principal officials, and establishes the administrative regulations relating to the staff (Article 12).

7. The Council examines and approves the draft budget prepared by the Secretary-General before the commencement of each financial year. It also allocates the proportion of expenses to be borne by each League state and can review it as required (Article 13).

8. The Council convenes twice a year in March and September, in ordinary sessions. At the opening of each ordinary session the presidency of the Council is entrusted by rotation to each of the member states according

to the alphabetical order of the names of the respective countries (Article 15). At the request of two member states, whenever the need arises, extraordinary sessions of the Council are held.

Unanimous decisions of the Council are binding upon all member states, while majority decisions are binding only upon states accepting them. "In either case the decisions of the Council shall be enforced in each member state according to its respective basic laws" (Article 7).

#### B. The Secretariat-General.

The Secretariat-General is the second principal organ of the League. It is the executive wing of the organization and is entrusted with implementing the resolution taken by the Council of the League. It consists of a Secretary-General, Assistant-Secretaries and an appropriate staff of officials (Article 12). These form the administrative body of the League.

The League Council appoints the Secretary-General by a two-thirds majority of the League states. The appointment is for five years, subject to renewal. Each member state has the right to nominate, from among its own citizens, an Assistant-Secretary, who is appointed with the approval of the Council and put in charge of at least one of the Departments at the Secretariat. In consultations with the Council, the Secretary-General appoints the Assistant-Secretaries and the principal officials of the League.

Before the beginning of each fiscal year, the Secretary-General prepares the draft budget of the League, and submits it to the Council for final approval (Article 13).

The post of the Secretary-General carries wide discretionary powers in political life. The first appointee to the office of Secretary-General for a period of two years was a distinguished Egyptian, Abd-ul-Rahman 'Azzam Bey (later Pasha). An important role has been played both in world diplomacy

and public debate by the present Secretary-General, Abdul Khalik Hassouna, a former Egyptian Foreign Minister elected on September 1952. "Indeed, his negotiatory and mediatory functions have, in practice, become wider in scope than those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations."<sup>3</sup>

As a permanent body, the Secretariat-General is divided into various departments which implement the decisions and resolutions reached by the Permanent Committees. The following are the Departments which constitute the Secretariat-General:

1. Secretariat-Department: This is in charge of preparing the draft agenda of the Council, registering of records or minutes of all the deliberations which take place and of all the resolutions passed during the meetings of the Council, filing and classifying the League's papers and official documents, registering all matters concerning the receipt and dispatch of mail, handling protocol affairs.
2. Political Department: This is in charge of following up of political affairs concerning the Arab countries and preparing studies and reports connected with those international affairs of special interest to the Arab League.
3. Finance and Personnel Department: This is in charge of the following: (a) the preparation and control of the League's budget; (b) the book keeping of the accounts of the League and of its employees; and (c) the handling of all matters concerning the employees financially and administratively.
4. Press and Information Department: Its main function is the making of propoganda for the Arab countries in order to help promote understanding

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<sup>3</sup>Edward A. Risk, "The Arab League," The Arab World (London), No. 1 (April, 1962), p. 7.



between them and other countries of the world.

5. Legal Department: This is in charge of the drafting and drawing up of agreements prepared by the League; the registration of agreements deposited by the member states; and the study of legal matters in general. It also has the right to appear before the courts in suits brought by or against the League.

6. Department of Economic and Communication Affairs: Its main functions are: (a) the preparation of studies and statistics concerning the economic conditions in the member states; (b) the following up of the progress and implementation of agreements concluded among the member states; (c) the furnishing of economic statements and statistics to member states and the making of suggestions on matters concerning their economic conditions; and (d) the compiling of studies on the economics of the member states, published in international, economic and commercial magazines.

7. Department of Petroleum Affairs: This has been established to help ensure that the Arab oil should contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the Arab people. To achieve this objective, an Arab Petroleum Conference is organized every year by the Department.<sup>4</sup>

8. Department of Palestine Affairs:<sup>5</sup> All matters relating to the Palestine problem are centralized in this Department which is under the supervision of an Assistant Secretary-General.

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<sup>4</sup>Activities of the Arab Petroleum Conferences are to be discussed later in this work.

<sup>5</sup>On 23 September 1952, the Council of the Arab League adopted a resolution which created this Department which is also known as the Palestine Department.

9. Cultural Department:<sup>6</sup> This carries out the preliminary study of cultural and educational matters and it fosters cooperation among the Arab countries concerning these matters.

10. Department of Social Affairs:<sup>7</sup> Its main functions are: (a) to carry out studies relating to social welfare, sports, migration, cooperative movement, labour and labour movement; and (b) to promote cooperation among the Arab countries in these fields.

11. Department of Health Affairs: This carries out studies relating to medicine, sanitation, child protection, nutrition, drugs, anti-narcotics, hygienic and health matters and it promotes cooperation among the Arab countries regarding these matters.

#### C. The Special Committees.

For each subject specified in Article 2 of the Pact, a special committee is formed in which all member states are represented. For example, Arab political affairs and international problems of special interest to the Arab League are handled by the Political Committee.<sup>8</sup> Commercial relations, customs, currency and problems of agriculture and industry are dealt with by the committees on Economic and Social Affairs. The questions of highways, railroads, navigation, aviation, telecommunications and posts in the Arab

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<sup>6</sup>As a result of the recommendation adopted by the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference which convened in Baghdad on February 1964, this Department will be replaced by the General Secretariat of the Arab Organization of Science, Education and Culture. The new cultural set up is to be discussed later in this work.

<sup>7</sup>This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter V, this work.

<sup>8</sup>Officially referred to as the Committee for Political Affairs.

world are dealt with by the committee on Communications. Recommendations relating to nationality, passports, visas, the extradition of criminals, and the execution of judgements are made by the Legal Committee. The main purpose of the Special Committees is to establish principles of agreement among member states in matters within their competence. Such principles are formulated in the shape of draft agreements to be laid before the Council for consideration, prior to their submission to the individual governments.

Representatives of other Arab countries which are not members of the League, may also take part in the work of these committees.<sup>9</sup>

#### D. Additional Bodies.

Other principal subsidiary bodies have been established in addition to the bodies set up by the Pact. Most important of these bodies are the following:

1. The Economic Council:<sup>10</sup> The preoccupation of the League's Council with political problems made it very difficult for it to handle the multiplicity of the draft agreements forwarded by the Special Committees. As a result of this factor and of "the persistent rise of popular needs and demands for raising the standard of living and consolidation of relations among the newly independent Arab countries,"<sup>11</sup> the Economic Council was

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<sup>9</sup>Annex 2 of the Pact regarding cooperation with countries which are not members of the Council of the League, stipulates that the League should do its best to assist other Arab countries to fulfill their common objectives. See also Article 4 of the Pact.

<sup>10</sup>This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV, this work.

<sup>11</sup>Ragaei El Mallakh, "Trends Toward Economic Unity in the Arab Middle East," The Arab Nation: Paths and Obstacles to Fulfillment (Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1961), p. 98.

established by the Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation of 1950.

The economic Council consists of the Ministers of the Contracting States concerned with economic affairs, or their representatives in case of necessity.

2. The Joint Defense Council: This was also set up by the same Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation. It has authority over all matters concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty relating to joint defense. It is composed of the Foreign Ministers and the National Defense Ministers of the contracting states or their delegates. Decisions adopted by the Council by a two-thirds majority are binding upon all the contracting states (Article 6 of the Treaty). In order to perform its task, the Council is assisted by a Permanent Military Commission.

3. The Permanent Military Commission: This Commission, which was established by the afore-mentioned Treaty, is formed of the representatives of the Chiefs of Staff of the contracting parties. Its main purpose is to organize plans for joint defense and to determine how these plans will be implemented (Article 5 of the Treaty). This Permanent Commission submits its detailed reports on its studies to the Joint Defense Council.<sup>12</sup>

4. Special Bureaus: A number of bureaus for special purposes have also been set up, in addition to the organs envisaged by the Pact. These include the Boycott Bureau, the Anti-Narcotics Office, the Arab Postal Permanent Bureau and the Arab Telecommunications and Radio Communications Bureau.<sup>13</sup> Several Arab Information Offices have also been established abroad:

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<sup>12</sup>The full duties of the Permanent Military Commission are set forth in an Annex attached to the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty of 1950. The Unified Military Command was set up by the Arab Summit Conference which opened in Cairo on January, 1964. How this change will affect the future of this Military Commission remains to be seen.

<sup>13</sup>To be discussed later in this work.

in Washington, New York, San Francisco, Ottawa and Dallas in North America; in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos-Aires in South America; in Geneva, Bonn, London and Rome in Europe; and in New Delhi in India. Other offices are expected to be opened soon in Paris, Copenhagen, Tokyo and Lagos. These Information Offices attempt to emphasize Arab aspirations and methods of realizing them. They endeavor to enlighten world public opinion on relevant features of Arab problems and efforts in overcoming them.

Other additional organs about which much will be written later in this work are the Arab Financial Institution for Economic Development,<sup>14</sup> the Social Centers, the Institute for the Revival of Arab Manuscripts, and the Institute of Advanced Arab Studies.

The most significant development in the structure of the Arab League was the recent step taken at the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference to set up an Arab Organization of Science, Education and Culture. The Arab Cultural Union Charter which was signed at the final session of the Conference provides for the establishment of this UNESCO - type Organization.<sup>15</sup> A general secretariat of the new cultural set up will replace the present Cultural Department of the Arab League. An Executive Council will also be introduced to replace the League's Permanent Bureau, and instead of the present Cultural Committee the Organization will have a General Congress.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Elsewhere referred to as the Arab Development Bank.

<sup>15</sup>The Conference was held on February 1964, in Baghdad. Some of its resolutions, especially those concerning the standardization of curricula in the Arab States, have not yet been approved by Lebanon, Morocco and Tunisia.

<sup>16</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), February 29, 1964.

The Sections proposed in the General Secretariat of the projected Organization are the Education Department, the Scientific Department, the Science Department, and the Documents Department.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>The function of the various organs of the Organization will be discussed later in this work.

PART II

NON-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

In spite of the numerous recommendations made by the Arab League to the member states regarding economic cooperation - such as the promoting of trade, the unification of currency and the coordination of land, sea and air transportation and communication among the Arab states - practical achievements are still few.

It was not until June 1950, when the Arab states supplemented the Pact with a treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation, that the League had started concrete action in economic affairs. This Treaty called for the setting up of an Economic Council to be composed of the Ministers of Economic Affairs of all the contracting states or their representatives. The main function of the Council is to make proposals to the governments of the Contracting states regarding whatever it considers would be helpful in the realization of their prosperity and raising their standard of living. Among the tasks entrusted to the Council are the exploitation of natural resources, the fostering of cooperation in economic development, the facilitation of the exchange of agricultural and industrial products and the conclusion of inter-Arab agreements in accordance with the goals of security and prosperity of the



Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation (Article 7).<sup>1</sup>

The Economic Council may, in the performance of its duties, seek the assistance of the Committee for Economic and Financial Affairs established by the Pact of the League (Article 8 of the Treaty). This special committee is responsible for formulating the bases, extent and form of economic collaboration in the shape of draft-agreements. The Department of Economic and Communication Affairs was set up in the Arab League Secretariat to prepare, in general, the studies required by the work of this committee.

The voting procedure of the Economic Council has been its notable feature. Only a simple majority vote is binding on every member state. Among the major achievements of the Council are the conclusion of several conventions and agreements.

The first of these is a Convention for the Facilitation of Trade Exchange and the Regulation of Transit Trade among States of the Arab League.<sup>2</sup> It provided for the following: (1) agricultural products and

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<sup>1</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of the Treaty as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Muhammad Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, *op.cit.*, pp. 101-105. This Treaty was approved by the Council of the League on April 13, 1950, during its Twelfth Ordinary Session. It was signed on June 17, 1950, by Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt and Yemen.

<sup>2</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of the Convention as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 122-125. This Convention was approved by the Council of the League on September 7, 1953, during its Nineteenth Extraordinary Session. It was signed on September 7, 1953, by Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt. It was also signed on September 13, 1953, by Saudi Arabia, and by Yemen on December 8, 1953.

livestock, originating from the territory of one of the Contracting States, shall be exempted from customs and import duties (Article 1); (2) the Contracting Parties shall grant most-favored nation treatment to each other concerning import and export permits; (3) manufactured products originating in the territory of one of the parties and listed in Appendix B of this convention shall enjoy most-favored nation treatment regarding customs and import duties and shall be admitted with a reduction of 25% of the actual customs ~~tariff~~ of the importing states; (4) goods the export of which is prohibited from the territory of any of the Contracting parties shall be confiscated if imported into any one of these countries (Article 3); and (5) the Contracting Parties shall facilitate transit across their territories by any means of transport allowed by the laws and regulations of the country being crossed (Article 4).

The second is a Convention for the settlement of Payments and Current Transactions and Transfer of Capital Among States of the Arab League.<sup>3</sup> It was signed to facilitate the convertibility of currencies for the payments of goods exported from one state to another, the payments of costs of diplomatic and consular missions, the students expenses, etc. Under this Convention, the Contracting Parties pledged themselves to allow their nationals to participate in the economic development plans in other

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<sup>3</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of this Convention as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 125-127. It was approved by the Council of the League on September 7, 1953, during its Nineteenth Extraordinary session. It was signed on September 9, 1953, by Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt. It was also signed by Saudi Arabia on September 13, 1953, and by Yemen on December 8, 1953.

member states of the League. Capital transferred from one member state to another would not be subject to any levy or tax (Article 2). It was also agreed that the Contracting Parties prevent the flight of capital from the Arab states. It must be stated, however, that despite the economic importance of this Convention it has had very limited results up to the present time.

The third is an Agreement Concerning the Compilation of a Unified List for Customs Duties among the States of the Arab League.<sup>4</sup>

The Economic Council decided during its Third Ordinary Session on January 25, 1956, to entrust to a committee of experts the study of an Arab project for the unification of terminology and classification of customs duties in the Arab countries. The committee charged with this task prepared the project for unified customs tariffs compatible with similar international projects.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these three agreements, the Economic Council approved during its Third Ordinary Session on January 25, 1956, the formation of a limited company, called the Arab Potassium Company, to exploit

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<sup>4</sup>For the full text of the Agreement, see League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Collection of Economic Agreements Concluded Under the Auspices of the League of Arab States (Cairo: 1957), pp. 74-78 (in Arabic). This agreement was approved by the Economic Council of the League on January 25, 1956. It was signed on the same date by Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt and Yemen.

<sup>5</sup>League of Arab States, Economic Department, The Economic Activities of the League of Arab States: A Note Prepared by Aref Zaher, Director of the Economic Department (Cairo: Atlas Printing House, n.d.), p. 10.

minerals in the Dead Sea area, with a nominal capital of 4,501,000 Jordanian pounds and headquarters in Amman. The articles of association of the Company were signed on June 6, 1956, in Amman by representatives of Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt and the Arab Bank. The founders of the Company pay 1,001,00 pounds.

The remainder of the shares, to the value of three and a half million pounds, would be offered for public subscription on Arab markets within a period of six months from the date of registration of the company by a decision of its board of directors. Any shares that are not subscribed to by the public would be covered by the governments of the founding states in accordance with their rates of subscription to the budget of the League of Arab States. The value of shares covered in this way would be paid according to the decision of the company's board of directors. <sup>6</sup>

The Arab Potassium Company is considered the first joint Arab Development project to be run by Arab Capital. <sup>7</sup>

One of the far-reaching decisions of the Economic Council was its approval of the establishment of the Arab Financial Institution for Economic Development. <sup>8</sup> On June 3, 1957 the Council signed the agreement containing the details of the proposed Institution. Membership was to be open to members of the League, as well as to any other Arab country which

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>For the full text of the agreement for the establishment of this Institution, see League of Arab States, General Secretariat, The Arab Financial Institution for Economic Development (Cairo: Dar Memphis, n.d.), pp. 8-31. This agreement owes its origin to a resolution passed by the Conference of Arab Ministers of Finance and Economy, meeting from 25th-31st May, 1953. The statute of the Institution was signed on January 11, 1959, by the U.A.R., Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Jordan; on January 12, 1959, by Libya; on January 14, 1959, by Yemen; on April 17, 1961, by Iraq and Kuwait.

was admitted by the board of managers of the Institution. Thus, a chance was given for the admission of semi-independent states such as Kuwait, which was at that time prevented from joining the League. The Institution (popularly known as the Arab Development Bank) was to have a capital of \$56,000,000 divided into two thousand shares and its operations were to begin with the subscription of 75% of the initial amount. The Institution came officially into being on January 12, 1959, when Libya's signature brought the total subscription above the required \$42,000,000. The Institution was assured of assistance in the form of service and technical advice by the president of the International Bank for Reconstruction, Mr. Eugene Black.

Members of the Arab League hold stocks in the Institution in accordance with the scale of their contribution to the League budget. The following table indicates the original ratios of contribution:<sup>9</sup>

U.A.R. (Egypt-Syria) ..	50%	Iraq .....	16%
Saudi Arabia .....	14%	Jordan .....	3%
Lebanon .....	6%	Sudan .....	6%
Libya .....	2%	Yemen .....	3%

Since it was anticipated that new members would be added to the Arab League and that the economic needs of the Arab nations would increase, it was also expected that the initial capital of the Institution would ultimately be enlarged as well.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>10</sup>When the Institution came formally into being, the U.A.R. delegation offered to limit its country's contribution to 40%, surrendering 10% of the shares so as not to concentrate most of the stocks in any governments' hands.

The primary objective of the Institution is, by means of greater economic solidarity, "to promote the economic development of the Middle East by mobilizing for this purpose the capital resources of the area."<sup>11</sup> The Arab states are to be provided with funds for development projects, on condition that these amounts would be repaid with some interest and that the proposed projects are deemed worthy of help by the Institution.

Owing to the feeling of unity created among the Arabs by the series of events which have been taking place in the Arab World in 1956, such as the Suez Canal crisis, the Political Committee of the Arab League met on May 19, 1956 and formed the Committee of Arab Economic Experts which met at Bloudan in Syria, and drew up a draft project of an agreement for economic unity among the states of the Arab League.<sup>12</sup> Article 1 of the draft project of the Agreement provides for the following: (1) free movement of persons and capital; (2) free exchange of locally and foreign-produced goods; (3) freedom of labour, employment, residence and carrying on of private enterprises; (4) freedom of ownership and inheritance; and (5) freedom of transport, transit and the use of communications facilities as well as ports and civil airports.

According to Article 2 of the Agreement the contracting parties should consider their countries one customs area subject to a unified

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<sup>11</sup>"The League of Arab States," External Affairs, vol. 11, No. 11 (November, 1959), p. 365.

<sup>12</sup>For the full text of the draft project, see League of Arab States, General Secretariat, Economic Department, Agreement for Economic Unity Among Arab League States (Cairo: 1962), pp. 1-14. This agreement was endorsed by the Arab League Economic Council in 1961.

administration. Customs duties, laws and regulations should be unified, and the policy and systems of import and export, of legislation concerning labour and social security should be coordinated. For the implementation of the Agreement, an executive body should be formed and called "The Council of Arab Economic Unity" (Article 3). This Council will be assisted by a Permanent Technical Advisory Office and a Central Statistical Bureau (Article 6). The Council, together with its subsidiary bodies should enjoy financial and administrative independence and have their own budget (Article 7).

The Agreement called for the progressive creation of an Arab economic union taking into consideration "certain specific circumstances existing in some of the contracting countries"(Article 14). It provided for complete economic unity among the Arab states within 10 years. It also specified that it would come into force "three months as from the date of deposit of the ratification documents by three of the signatory states." (Article 20)

This Agreement for Economic Unity among Arab League States officially came into force on January 30, 1964 after Iraq had submitted its documents of ratification to the League's Secretariat.<sup>13</sup> By the end of January 1964 the Agreement was enforced for the following states: Kuwait, the U.A.R., Syria, Jordan and Iraq.

In addition, the Agreement provides for the establishment of an Arab Common Market, whose objective is to improve the production, distribution and consumption of economic goods in the Arab states. Indus-

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<sup>13</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), January 31, 1964.

trialization, which is indispensable for the progress of the Arab world, is almost impossible without a large and extensive market. The formation of an Arab Common Market would encourage the rise of the more efficient, mass production industries in the area. The variations in natural resources and economic capacities of the Arab countries call for regional specialization in the fields of industry, agriculture and commerce. Such specialization, which depends essentially on an enlarged market, would improve quality of production and reduce production costs, as well as harmful commercial competition.

Much of the impetus to closer Arab economic ties has stemmed from fear of foreign economic and political influence. For example, it has been felt that the projected Arab Common Market would enable Arab states to be less commercially and financially dependent upon the Soviet and Western governments - thus making it easier for the Arabs to withstand outside economic and political pressures.<sup>14</sup>

Lebanon has been more in favor of the plan for establishing an Arab Common Market than the plan for economic unity among Arab League states. The Lebanese government has not yet ratified the plan for Arab economic unity, primarily because it fears that this would lead to political unity, ultimately affecting Lebanon's sovereignty. In fact, Lebanon is of the opinion that the projected Arab Common Market is a more important step towards further economic and trade cooperation among the Arab countries.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 1, No. 17-18 (June 15, 1962), p. 6.

<sup>15</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), January 26, 1964.



In order to promote economic cooperation among the business classes, the League's economic efforts have also resulted in setting up the Federation of Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Chambers, and the creation of an Arab Tourist Agency.

On January 14, 1959, the Economic Council approved the recommendation of the Economic Committee with respect to tourism. The recommendation runs as follows:

Owing to the importance of tourism as an economic resource, the Council recommends that Arab states take the necessary steps to facilitate and promote tourism internally and externally, and to adopt the principle of admitting Arab tourists into all Arab countries without visas, or by providing them with gratis visas and making it easy for them to obtain visas and transfer funds for touristic purposes. The Council also recommends that Arab states encourage individual or collective touristic and cultural trips among Arab countries, as well as encourage the setting up of joint Arab tourist companies with due consideration to the requirements of public security in each state.<sup>16</sup>

The Arab League has also directed much attention to the problem of communication. In 1953, it concluded agreements establishing the Arab Postal Union and the Arab Telecommunications and Radio Communications Unions.<sup>17</sup> These two Unions are now in operation. Each has a permanent Bureau at the League's Secretariat, serving as an information and consultation center and facilitating the exchange of technicians and standardization of equipments and procedure used by the member states.

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<sup>16</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Economic Department, The Economic Council, Fifth Ordinary Session, 5-14 January, 1959 (Cairo: Al-Sabah Printing Presses, 1959), p. 662 (in Arabic).

<sup>17</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Collection of Resolutions of the Council of the League of Arab States (Cairo: Al-Sabah Printing Presses, n.d.), Resolutions No. 551, 558 (in Arabic).

There have been several most recent developments in the field of economic cooperation. In 1961 and 1963 the Arab League Economic Council had approved the setting up of the following three companies: The Arab Maritime Navigation Company, the International Airline Company and the Arab Oil Tankers Company.

The projected Arab Maritime Navigation Company "is designed to create an all-Arab commercial navy of passengers and cargo ships with headquarters in the Arab state which contributes the biggest share to the Company's capital."<sup>18</sup>

The capital of the Company is fixed at L.E.5,300,000, and this capital is to be divided into 530,000 nominal shares, each share with L.E.10 (Article 5). These shares are distributed according to the following proportions (Article 7):

Jordan .....	2.5%	The U.A.R. ....	30%
Sudan .....	4%	Kuwait .....	17%
Iraq .....	14%	Lebanon .....	5%
Saudi Arabia .....	14%	Libya .....	1.5%
Syria .....	10%	Yemen .....	2%

The International Arab Airline Company will have a capital of L.E. 17,000,000. The Company's headquarters will be chosen by its board of directors.

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<sup>18</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), February 28, 1964. For the full text of the "Agreement for the Formation of the Arab Maritime Navigation Company," see League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Economic Department, The Economic Council, Eighth Ordinary Session, 30 May - 7 June, 1962 (Cairo: 1962), pp. 499-503 (in Arabic).

The Arab Oil Tankers Company will have a capital of L.E.35,000,000. This firm, which is designed to handle transportation and marketing of Middle East Oil all over the world, will have oil-rich Kuwait as its headquarters.<sup>19</sup>

The current bid to bring the afore mentioned three companies into being followed a recent one-month tour of 12 Arab capitals by an Arab League economic delegation. The main task of the delegation was to secure the signature of those Arab governments that have not yet joined the economic agreements sponsored by the League, and as a result, Syria on February 27, 1964, and Kuwait on March 5, 1964, signed three economic agreements for the formation of these companies. The U.A.R., Jordan and Iraq have also signed these agreements.

The Arab League developed interest in oil matters at an early date. The denial of oil to unfriendly states could be employed as a weapon in the Arab political struggle. At Bloudan meeting in Syria, on June 1946, the League passed a series of resolutions, one of which called for denial of Arab oil to the West. However, when actual hostilities took place in Palestine, this decision was not enforced. This was mainly due to the opposition of Saudi Arabia.

In his Oil and State in the Middle East, George Lenczowski points out the following ways in which the interests of oil companies were affected by the Arab Jewish conflict in 1948:<sup>20</sup>(1) resentment against the American

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<sup>19</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), February 28, 1964.

<sup>20</sup>George Lenczowski, Oil and State in the Middle East (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 188.

policy in Syria delayed the ratification of the Tapline Treaty about 20 months; and (2) Iraq stopped the movement of oil by pipeline to Israeli-held Haifa terminal and halted the construction of the line between Kirkuk and Haifa.

In view of the vital importance of oil for Arab economics, the League complained that its members had no voice in deciding the level of production and prices and in determining the direction of exports. These considerations led the League to make fundamental decisions regarding oil matters. An Oil Experts Committee was immediately set up in 1951. It became a central agency of the League for the formulation of oil policies. In the course of 1953 this Committee presented three recommendations providing for: the establishment of a permanent Petroleum Office; the exchange of statistics and information regarding oil among member states of the League, and the construction of refineries in Arab countries.<sup>21</sup>

In conformity with these recommendations a Permanent Petroleum Office in the Arab League Secretariat was set up in 1956.

In the fall of 1957 the Oil Experts Committee held an important meeting in Cairo, during which a number of recommendations on oil were submitted to the Economic Council. Fourteen out of 16 of the Committee's recommendations were endorsed by the Council.<sup>22</sup> These recommendations

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>22</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Economic Department, The Economic Council, Fourth Ordinary Session, 25 May - 3 June, 1957 (Cairo: Al-Sabah Printing Presses, 1957), pp. 456-460 (in Arabic).

called for more Arab participation in the oil industry, the building up of Arab expertise, and cooperation in the establishment of effective control over the activity of the foreign oil monopolies. One of these recommendations enjoins the Arab governments not to grant concessions to companies whose stock was owned by foreign governments. Another one provided for the sending of a final ultimatum to the Shell Company to cease its dealings with Israel.<sup>23</sup>

In view of the importance of oil as a major asset in the Arab world, the Arab League holds an Arab Petroleum Conference every year and an Arab Petroleum Exhibition every four years.<sup>24</sup> Between April 1959 and November 1963 four petroleum conferences were organized under the sponsorship of the League. In the early conferences, the main objectives were to spread knowledge about the petroleum industry and to promote a better understanding among Arab countries with a view to acquainting their citizens with the role which oil plays in relationship to their national revenue. In the later conferences the goals of a larger Arab share in policy-making and higher profits from oil operations were stressed. All burning issues of the moment - royalties, pricing and taxes, local refining, control of production, the relationship between governments and companies, the economic aspects of petroleum, its legislation and its industrialization - were subjects of thorough discussions at these four conferences.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 456.

<sup>24</sup>The First Petroleum Conference opened in Cairo in April 1959. The Exhibition attached to the Conference illustrated the various phases of the oil industry. Fifty six companies participated in the Exhibition, the first of its kind in the Middle East.

<sup>25</sup>See Al-Arab, vol. 3, No. 1 (November 1, 1963), p.a.

Some important resolutions approved by these conferences covered the demands of the Arab states for: (1) the setting up of national petroleum companies;<sup>26</sup> (2) the adoption of a uniform petroleum policy;<sup>27</sup> (3) Arab participation in the capital and administration of the oil companies; (4) the training of Arab citizens for responsible positions in oil companies; (5) the preserving of the natural gas wealth to provide a future source of fuel for the Arab countries; (6) the effective exchange of technical, economic and legal experience; (7) the need for the companies to make the utmost use of locally produced commodities or raw materials to help strengthen the Arab national industry;<sup>28</sup> (8) the preventing of the flow of Middle East oil to Israel;<sup>29</sup> (9) the giving of priority to Arab workers in case of vacant oil jobs; (10) the paying of Arab employees wages equal to those given to foreigners;<sup>30</sup> (11) the securing of better terms of oil concessions; and (12) the raising of oil

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<sup>26</sup>Middle Eastern Affairs, vol. 10, No. 6-7 (June-July, 1959), p. 238.

<sup>27</sup>See League of Arab States, Second Petroleum Congress, Congress Directory (Beirut: October, 1960), p. 12.

<sup>28</sup>See the full text of resolutions of the Third Petroleum Conference held in Alexandria from 16th to 21st October, 1961 in: League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Economic Department, The Economic Council, Eighth Ordinary Session, 30 May - 7 June, 1962, op.cit., pp. 180-181.

<sup>29</sup>This resolution was aimed at Iran whose oil finds a way to Israel.

<sup>30</sup>See The Arab World (Beirut), November 13, 1963, p. 3.

prices.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to oil affairs, the Arab League has given the veterinary affairs and animal resources its serious concern. In 1955 a committee for this purpose was established under the auspices of the League representing all member states. Some of the Committee's recommendations covered the following points: (1) the unification and standardization of Arabic names of diseases and technical terms; (2) the strengthening of veterinary education; (3) the raising of the standards of veterinary surgeons; (4) the improvement of livestock and the encouraging of research in this field; and (5) the controlling of diseases liable to infect both animals and human beings.<sup>32</sup> A permanent bureau for veterinary affairs has been established at the League's headquarters.

The Arab League has also been paying a considerable attention to the problem of economic planning, because it has been felt that coordinated economic planning, which organizes economic activity on a comprehensive

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<sup>31</sup>On August, 1960, the oil companies lowered the export prices for crude oil and its biproducts in the Middle East without obtaining the consent of oil-producing Arab governments. This action hastened the formation of an anti-cartel union of the main exporting countries. Five of those - Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela - met in Baghdad on September 1960, and announced the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (O.P.E.C.). This permanent organization, which is gradually growing stronger, safeguards the rights of the underdeveloped oil-exporting countries.

<sup>32</sup>For the full text of the Recommendations, see League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Fourth Ordinary Session, 25 May - 3 June 1957, op.cit., pp. 55-57.

national basis, enables states to meet their economic and social needs more efficiently and with the maximum use of available human and natural resources. Moreover, the interest of the Arab League in economic planning is very much similar to that of all the developing nations of Asia and Africa. This interest was manifested especially at the Arab Planning Economic Conference which was held recently at the Arab League headquarters in Cairo. On October 10, 1963 thirty five planning experts from eleven Arab states attended this ten-day Conference, which shed some light on the role of planning in Arab economic development. The Conference gave due consideration to the obstacles that hamper the progress of a proper planning policy in the Arab world. It was felt that the major obstacles were the:

lack of surveys, statistics, and pertinent studies, lack of technicians and experts, and the absence of a central planning organ in most Arab countries invested with enough authority and competence to undertake a job of such magnitude on an overall national basis.<sup>33</sup>

In the recommendations adopted by the Conference special emphasis was placed on the necessity of coordination between economic and social policies. The Conference further pointed out the fact that the development of the economies of the Arab countries demands the supply and training of manpower and the coordination between the educational and training policies.<sup>34</sup>

The Arab League has also played a significant role on the inter-

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<sup>33</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 3, No. 2 (December 5, 1963), p. 11.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.



national economic stage. In accordance with an Economic Council recommendation, four Arab states (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and the U.A.R.) jointly participated in the Brussels International Fair which was held in 1958.

The Arab States' Pavilion with its different exhibits gave an idea of the economic progress already underway in the Arab World. The Pavilion was awarded the Gold Medal along with the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. - the only countries to win the award.<sup>35</sup>

Working arrangements exist between the Arab League and some specialized agencies of the United Nations in the economic sphere. For example, the League has concluded an Agreement of cooperation with the Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.).<sup>36</sup> The Agreement aims at coordinating the activities of the League and the F.A.O. in the fields of Nutrition and Agriculture, Plants, Water and animal materials, fisheries and forest affairs and products. The Agreement also aims at conserving vegetable and animal wealth by employing the most effective means for their protection against diseases and pests. It also provides for facilities for marketing and agricultural credits.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>League of Arab States, Economic Department, The Economic Activities of the League of Arab States, op.cit., p. 20.

<sup>36</sup>This Agreement has been sanctioned by the F.A.O. General Conference in Rome on November 1959, and was signed in Cairo on May 30, 1960.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

In addition the League has participated in all the regional training centers, conferences and seminars held by the F.A.O. it has actively taken part in the International Anti-Locust campaign in the Arabian Peninsula. The Arab countries bear more than 75% of the total expenditures of this campaign. The League itself is represented in the F.A.O. Desert Locust Control Committee. On June 1957, an Arab Desert Locust Experts meeting was held under the auspices of the League. One of its recommendations included "the development and use of the most recent practices in the control of the desert locust."<sup>38</sup>

Although the League's efforts in promoting economic cooperation among the Arab states are obviously still inadequate, it cannot be said that the League has been totally ineffective. The chief example of a successful cooperation through the Arab League is the economic boycott of Israel. The aim of the boycott, according to Arab experts, is to bring about the economic collapse of the Jewish state by isolating her from her natural markets in the Middle East and by preventing Arab goods, at least, from entering into Israel. A central boycott office, with branches in all the Arab states, has been established for this purpose in Damascus. Effective liaison is maintained by these branches to make sure the boycott was being enforced. Moreover, the Arabs warn foreign companies and nations that they would be subject to economic reprisals if they refuse to stop trade with Israel.

Though the boycott seems unlikely to threaten Israel with extinction so long as her economy is

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

artificially bolstered by foreign aid, including that from world Jewry, the boycott remains a distinct annoyance from the Israeli point of view.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Harry B. Ellis, Heritage of the Desert (New York: Ronald Press, 1956), p. 104.

## CHAPTER V

### SOCIAL AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES

The founders of the Arab League Pact did not forget that interest in the social affairs of the Arab world cannot be less important than interest in political, economic, cultural, legal and other affairs. That is why Article 2 of the Pact called for strong cooperation among the member states in social affairs, as well as in other fields. In accordance with the provisions of the Pact, the Department of Social Affairs was set up in the Secretariat-General of the League to study social problems in the Arab countries and help solve them in the light of modern social progress.

Between August 1949 and July 1957, six Social Welfare Seminars were sponsored by the Arab League, bringing together, for the first time in the history of the Arab East, the largest number of experts and specialists in social studies and services to exchange views, present proposed plans, debate these views and plans and pass resolutions on them. The League has organized these seminars with the joint collaboration of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, such as the UN. Technical Aid Agency. The seminars have been attended by delegates from the Arab states, United Nations experts, and other individuals interested in social welfare problems. Observers from the United States, the United Kingdom and France attended one or more of those seminars. Other observers from

welfare and the development of rural industries; (7) social welfare programs for workers in the petroleum industries; (8) the use of audio-visual aids;<sup>4</sup> (9) the Arab society and the elements of its unity in environment and history; (10) the Arab society in its modern growth; (11) the fields of action to develop the local Arab community;<sup>5</sup> (12) combating disintegration elements in the Arab family; and (13) publicizing Arab League efforts in the social field.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most important recommendations of these seminars provided

that the Social Affairs and the Legal Departments of the Arab League General-Secretariat undertake the preparatory studies necessary for a draft of a social pact similar to the cultural Treaty agreed upon by the member states, and that it contains the accepted common grounds among these states in the field of social assistance and organizes cooperation amongst them therein.<sup>7</sup>

Other recommendations dealt with the awakening of Arab public awareness and the coordination of efforts to realize this goal.

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<sup>4</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social and Health Affairs, Social Welfare Seminar for the Arab States, Book of the Fourth Session, 6-21 March 1954, Baghdad (Cairo: Dar Al-Hana Printing and Publishing Press, n.d.), pp. 9-10 (in Arabic).

<sup>5</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social Affairs, Arab League's Efforts in the Fields of Social Affairs and Labor (Cairo: 13-6-1961), p. 3 (in Arabic).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social and Health Affairs, Social Welfare Seminar for the Arab States, Book of the Third Session, Damascus, 8-20 December, 1952, op.cit., p. 757.

In some of these seminars, special interest and research focussed on the rural aspect of social welfare, since the rural population forms the majority of the Arab society and is the backbone of its human and economic wealth and the mass basis with which reform should start before others. On the other hand, careful attention was drawn to the methods of financing both private and government organizations. It was pointed out by the conferees in one of these seminars that the traditional systems of "Zakat", benevolent "Waqf" and maintenance of relatives, all being closely associated with Islamic law and practice, still played an effective role in the financing of social welfare projects in the Arab world.<sup>8</sup>

The Arab League received all the presented studies and lectures in these six seminars and used them as a guide in the course of its work. The information attained provided a sound basis for exchanging ideas on means of improving social services in the Arab countries. The discussions covered a large collection of social studies which were published by the Arab League. They shed great light on the Arab society, its elements and the factors of environment and history operating in it. Moreover, these seminars provided opportunity for the participants to learn of the existence of many social activities in the Arab countries, particularly those conducted by women's organizations.

One major result of the Fourth Social Welfare Seminar which convened in Baghdad in March 1954, was a resolution passed by the League's Council in its 22nd Session to organize an annual conference of Arab

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

sociologists. The First Conference took place at the Arab League headquarters in March 1955. Other conferences followed in Cairo during March 1956, and in Kuwait in 1958. The agenda of these conferences usually consisted of the following items: (1) the examination of the annual reports sent in by the Arab Ministries and Departments of Social Affairs, as well as the general report of the Department of Social Affairs in the League Secretariat; (2) the selection of the principal topic to be discussed by every social welfare seminar; and (3) the study of the United Nations technical assistance programs to the Arab states and the Arab states technical assistance to each other.

Related to the awakening of social awareness through conferences, the Department of Social Affairs of the League calls for or participates in other conferences devoted to the study of specific aspects of social life, such as statistics, the problem of crime, prisons and juvenile delinquency and the effects of Arab music and drama on Arab society.

In the field of statistics, the Department of Social Affairs took part in the First Statistical Seminar held by the U.N. in Cairo in 1955 and it published its resolutions in Arabic. It also called for the meeting of Arab statisticians in Beirut in 1957 and proceeded to publish their report, discussions and recommendations. It has also formed some technicians to study the project of making a social survey of Arab countries by gathering all available data and transferring them into statistical tables and charts. Furthermore, the Arab League Secretariat has studied the project of establishing a statistical training center in

each Arab country.<sup>9</sup>

The Department also participated in the first U.N. seminar held in Cairo in 1953 for the combating of crime and the treatment of offenders. It also published the discussions and recommendations of this seminar in Arabic and put them at the disposal of Arab researchers. In 1959 it took part in the U.N. seminar in Copenhagen and in the London Conference of 1960 for the Prevention of Crime and Child Delinquency. It also published the studies and resolutions of this second seminar and Conference.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the Arab League has taken great interest in Arab music and drama in view of their close connection with and strong influence on the psychology of Arab society and its artistic taste. It has charged experts in this field to make studies and analyze the Arab heritage in music. Some of these experts were sent to the Arab states that have kept a rare collection of old musical pieces to register them on records and notes. The purpose was to prevent this old collection from being lost. They further participated in international conferences of music.

The Arab League is not satisfied merely with theoretical resolutions to raise the demands of the Arab society, but it tries to support these resolutions with action and financial and technical contributions. Thus, in addition to the above mentioned seminars and conferences, the

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<sup>9</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social Affairs, Arab League's Efforts in the Field of Social Affairs and Labor, op.cit., p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



League sought to arouse social consciousness in Arab local communities by setting up a model Social Welfare Center in each Arab country<sup>11</sup> in the hope that similar Centers would be established by the Arab governments themselves. The Secretariat-General contributed L.E. 7,000 for the establishment of these Centers. Another sum of L.E. 2,500 was appropriated to cover the expenses of sending an expert in the administration of social affairs to supervise the newly established centers for 4 months and to train their staffs consisting of an agricultural engineer, a social expert, a doctor, a nurse, a youth expert and a cultural consultant. As Al-Arab states:

Each center normally serves 10,000 persons of the population of the area around it in the fields of social guidance as well as in the cultural, health, agricultural, cooperative reconstruction, spiritual and sporting affairs.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the Arab League participates financially in the expenses of the Zaitoun Model Center in Cairo for training the blind-people from the Arab states. The League also has members from its Social Affairs Department on the board of the Zaitoun Center. Moreover, the League does not spare any effort to help the blind people sent to the Center from the various Arab states and to facilitate their admission to this Center. The Center is making huge strides in educating and

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<sup>11</sup>The League has already established such Centers in Iraq (1954), Lebanon (1955), Yemen (1956), Syria (1958) and Jordan (1960).

<sup>12</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 1, No. 14 (April 15), 1962, p. 6.

training blind people according to the most modern techniques in order to rehabilitate them into society.<sup>13</sup>

Aware of the urgent need for training and specialization in the field of social work that requires more than just general education, the League has opened a Social Welfare Workshop in Cairo for the training of social workers from Arab countries. It has also set up a Cooperative Training Center in Cairo since 1956.<sup>14</sup> This was the result of a recommendation by the Fourth Social Welfare Seminar. The recommendation reads:

In view of the importance of cooperatives and the need of the Arab states to widen their activities, the Seminar resolves that the Arab League, in agreement with one of the member states, should establish a center to train guides in the field of cooperatives. It also resolves that each Arab state should study the subject of establishing a supreme cooperative council or agency to supervise and guide cooperative organizations in that state.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the Arab League took part in the conference of cooperatives for Middle East States, which was held in Cairo in October 1959 and sponsored by the F.A.O. and the I.L.O. to develop the cooperative movement in the area.

In 1956 a training session for Arab employees of Social Affairs Ministries and Departments in the Arab world was held at the Arab League's

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<sup>13</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social Affairs, Arab League Efforts in the Field of Social Affairs and Labor, op.cit., p. 11.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>15</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social and Health Affairs, Social Welfare Seminar for the Arab States, Book of the Fourth Session, 6-21 March 1954, Baghdad, op.cit., p. 1009.

expense. This training session, which lasted for two months, was attended by two delegates from each Arab state. Another training session was held in Geneva on September 1961 by I.L.O. at the request of the Arab League Secretariat. Two delegates from the League's Social Affairs Department were sent to receive training in the important field of labor and labor relations at this session. In fact, relations between the Arab League and I.L.O. have been close since the First Social Welfare Seminar and the First Conference of Arab Social Affairs Experts, as the League always invites I.L.O. to send delegates to its seminars and conferences. On the other hand, I.L.O. invites the League to send delegates to all I.L.O. conferences and other world conferences on labour affairs. In 1958 the League concluded an Agreement for Consultation and Cooperation with I.L.O.<sup>16</sup>

The Arab League also has taken an active part in the field of sports. Its Council has approved a proposal by the Secretariat-General to organize annual Arab athletic training courses to train sports leaders in different games and supply the schools and sports clubs with qualified sports instructors. The Secretariat-General allocates a yearly budget of L.E.2,500 for this purpose and sends delegates to various Arab states to participate in organizing these courses. A number of such training courses were

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<sup>16</sup>This Agreement was approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization during its annual meeting in October 1957, and by the Council of the Arab League at its 29th ordinary session, on April 27, 1958. The text which is printed in French is copied in Muhammad Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, op.cit., pp. 94-96.

organized in Alexandria (1955), in Beirut (1956), in Damascus (1957), and in Beirut again in 1958.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore the League has shown special interest in the training of Arab boy scouts by bringing together on play fields and in camps young men from all Arab states to get acquainted and cooperate together. For that purpose it has established a permanent boy scout camp in each Arab country. Every year, boy scout representatives from all the Arab states meet in one of these camps. The Secretariat-General contributes L.E. 10,000 for organizing each of these camps. So far, it has established three permanent camps: the Abou Keir Camp near Alexandria, the Zabadani Camp in Syria and the Bourg al-Sadriya Camp in Tunisia. At the inauguration of each camp, a conference is held for the leaders of the boy scout movement in the Arab world and for the members of the Arab Boy Scout Committee. The construction of these camps is considered one of the most practical projects of the Secretariat-General in the field of patronizing Arab youth.<sup>18</sup>

The interest of the Arab League in youth affairs is also reflected in the Arab Olympic Games which it organizes once every 4 years. The League has decided to shoulder the financial burden of these games with

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<sup>17</sup>The Arab Information Center, The League of Arab States: Its Activities and the Issues that Confront it (New York: May 4, 1960), p. 18.

<sup>18</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Department of Social Affairs, Arab League Efforts in the Field of Social Affairs and Labor, op.cit., p. 8.

the host state on the basis of 50/50. So far three Olympic Games have been held: the first in Alexandria in 1953 to which the Secretariat-General contributed L.E. 25,000; the second in Beirut in 1957 to which it contributed L.E. 42,000; and the third in Casablanca in 1961 to which it contributed L.E. 50,000. The Secretariat-General and the host state invite the member states of the League to participate in these games.

Despite the hugeness of the financial burden, the Arab League considers its contribution to this project one of its greatest efforts in serving and developing the Arab societies. The League organizes for the participants in these Olympic Games seminars, lectures and social parties in order to foster social progress among them.<sup>19</sup>

In the field of medicine and sanitation the Arab League has demonstrated keen interest, too. The League has a Health Committee which meets annually and a Department of Health Affairs established in the Secretariat. This Department deals with the unification and coordination of efforts and cooperation among the Arab states in the following fields:

- (1) making improvements in hygienic, medical and therapeutic affairs;
- (2) fighting plagues and acute diseases;
- (3) working for the unification of drug laws in the Arab states;
- (4) working for the unification of curricula of medical studies in the Arab world;
- (5) calling for medical and hygienic conferences and encouraging hygienic agreements among Arab states;
- (6) cooperating with specialized agencies in raising the standard of nutrition in the Arab states; and
- (7) working for the establishment of local branches

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

of the first aid societies and the Red Crescent in the Arab states.

In addition, a Permanent Anti-Narcotics Bureau has been established in the Secretariat to take an active part in combating the trading in and the smuggling or planting of narcotic drugs. The Department of Health affairs cooperates also with this Bureau by supplying it with reports, studies and data concerning anti-narcotic activities.

In the international sphere, the Arab League has actively participated in the conferences and meetings held by the World Health Organization (W.H.O.) and since 1957 it has cooperated closely with the W.H.O. regional office.<sup>20</sup>

In its closing meeting of the 39th ordinary session on April 2, 1963, the Arab League Council approved the recommendations adopted by the 29th Arab Medical Congress, the Eighth Pharmaceutical Congress and the Third Dental and Oral Surgery Congress. Some of the important recommendations taken by the League during this session were:

Exchanging experts in health education, the processing of basic medical ingredients and forming a common pharmaceutical market for the Arab states, and coordinating efforts exerted in the Arab states for combatting malaria, smallpox and cancer.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>The Arab Information Center, The League of Arab States: Its Activities and the Issues that Confront it, op.cit.

<sup>21</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 2, No. 11-12 (April 15, 1963), p.7.

## CHAPTER VI

### CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Since its establishment in 1945, the Arab League was aware of its grave responsibilities in the cultural field and of the fact that cultural unity is the first step that has to be taken before real Arab unity can be attained. How to regulate, direct and consolidate the cultural trends in the various Arab states, and establish a more uniform Arab culture was one of the main problems that confronted the Arab Congress Preparatory Committee, whose task was to lay the foundations of the League. The first move it took in this direction was the Cultural Treaty which was approved by the Arab League Council on November 27, 1945, during its Second Ordinary Session.<sup>1</sup>

The Cultural Treaty defines the aims and principles of inter-Arab cultural cooperation. Its two important aims are the integration of various educational systems in the Arab countries, and the enrichment of Arab culture through the achievements of modern knowledge.

To execute this ambitious program of cultural unification and development, the following four bodies were set up: the Cultural Committee,

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<sup>1</sup>For the full text of the Cultural Treaty, see The Arab Information Center, Basic Documents of the League of Arab States, op.cit., pp. 17-20. This old Cultural Treaty is in the process of change. It is to be replaced by an Arab Cultural Union Charter drawn up by the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference in Baghdad on February, 1964.

the Permanent Bureau, the Local Branches and the Cultural Department.

The Cultural Committee consists of one or more representatives from each state and headed by a president. This Committee holds one or two annual sessions in one of the Arab capitals to do the following: draw plans and discuss methods of coordinating work; review the cultural activities of all member states; supervise the activities of the Cultural Department and discuss the agenda (which the Cultural Department prepares with approval of the Committee's Permanent Bureau); and give advice and recommendations on the best way of realizing the objectives of the Cultural Treaty. It can adopt resolutions and make recommendations to the Arab League Council.

The following were amongst the topics discussed and resolutions adopted by the Cultural Committee during its sessions:<sup>2</sup> the creation of the Institute for the Revival of Arabic Manuscripts; the encouragement of authorship and publication; the use of both cinema and radio for promoting Arabic culture; the encouragement of scientific research; the organization of excavation work in the Arab countries; the coordination of contacts between UNESCO and Arab states; the establishment of a residence for Arab students in Cairo; the unification of scientific idioms; the commemoration of distinguished Arab and Muslim philosophers and scientists; the holding of Arab sports tournaments; the education of Palestinian refugees; the exchange of students and professors; the unification of different levels of

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<sup>2</sup>See League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Resolutions of the Cultural Committee from 1946 to the End of 1955 (Cairo: Dar al-Tiba'a al-Fanniah, n.d.), pp. 9-138 (in Arabic).



study; the editing of an Arab encyclopaedia; the issuance of an educational annual; the combating of illiteracy; teaching the blind; the standardization of school curricula; the protection of literary property; the translation of world classics; and the holding of cultural conferences.

The Permanent Bureau. This is established by the above Committee. It consists of one delegate for every member state and is headed by the president of the Committee. It meets in Cairo once every month, and it expresses the wishes of the Arab Governments on current projects, reviews the work of the Cultural Department and cooperates with it in preparing the plans to be transmitted to the Cultural Committee. Thus the Bureau acts as the Committee's agent serving as a liaison between the different cultural apparatuses of the Arab League. Its main task is to see that the cultural decisions laid down by the Committee are carried out by the various Arab governments.

The Local Branches of the Cultural Committee. The Cultural Committee has a local branch in every Arab capital. These local branches are attached to the Ministries of Education in the member states. They are the instruments of action in each state where they cooperate in executing the Committee's decisions, resolutions and wishes communicated to each Ministry of Education.

The Cultural Department.<sup>3</sup> This is one of the fundamental departments in the General-Secretariat of the Arab League in Cairo. It studies

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<sup>3</sup> See Said Fahim, "The Cultural Department of the League of Arab States: Its Organization and Programme," International Social Science Bulletin, vol. 5, No. 4 (1953), pp. 723-728.

all proposals received from individuals, interested educational groups, institutes and the various Arab governments before referring them to the Cultural Committee or its Permanent Bureau. Its primary object is to coordinate the schemes and plans of the above organizations in the fields of education, culture and science and to unify, broaden and bring together the different educational systems and curricula throughout the Arab States.

In fulfilling its mission, the Cultural Department makes use of cultural, scientific and educational conferences and seminars in which the participants are representatives from different Arab countries - scientists, intellectuals and academic and cultural experts. These experts discuss the various aspects of Arab culture and recommends the best ways to promote culture and scientific cooperation among the Arab states. The Cultural Department has also the task of encouraging the writing, translation and publishing of worthwhile books in the Arab states and facilitating cooperation with the international, scientific and cultural agencies.

It is essential to point out that the four major organs mentioned above are in the process of change. They are to be replaced by a new cultural set up provided for by the Arab Cultural Union Charter. According to the new Charter drawn up recently by the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference,<sup>4</sup> an Arab Organization of Science, Education and Culture will be

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<sup>4</sup>The Conference opened in Baghdad on February 22, 1964, and lasted 8 days. It was attended by the 13 Arab League member states. Other delegates from Qatar, Oman, Bahrain and the Arab Teachers Federation attended as active observers.

established at the Arab League's headquarters. A General Congress of this UNESCO-type Organization will replace the present Cultural Committee of the Arab League. An Executive Council will also be set up to replace the Committee's Permanent Bureau, and a General Secretariat will be introduced to replace the League's Cultural Department.

One of the most important departments proposed in the Secretariat of the projected Organization is the Education Department. This will deal with: (1) the unified stages of education; (2) unified legislation; (3) technical education; (4) student hostels; (5) the federation of universities; (6) the coordination of university programs; (7) the preparation of the Arab teacher; (8) the providing of teachers and experts to states needing them; and (9) the supervising of the Fundamental Education Center at Sars al-Lyan in the U.A.R. and the Teachers Training Center in Lebanon after U.N.E.S.C.O. relinquishes them.<sup>5</sup>

Another department is the Scientific Department which will be in charge of: (1) rewriting Arab history from the Arab point of view; (2) cooperation with U.N.E.S.C.O.; (3) translation; and (4) supervision of the Institute of Advanced Arab Studies in Cairo and the Arab Studies Institute in Istanbul.<sup>6</sup>

A Science Department will also be set up to be in charge of:  
(1) the establishment of a desert institute; (2) the administration of

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<sup>5</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), February 29, 1964.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

specialized scientific institutes; (3) the provision of experts to countries needing them; and (4) the reclamation of barren deserts.<sup>7</sup>

The main objectives of the projected Arab Organization of Science, Education and Culture will be "to ensure an international union between the various parts of the Arab homeland and raise its cultural standards."<sup>8</sup> The Organization will also encourage scientific research by creating a body of scientific researchers in the Arab World and promoting the gathering of facts and data on cultural matters.

The internal regulations of the Organization were proposed by the Arab League Cultural Committee. Under these regulations original membership in the Organization is allowed only to member-states of the Arab League. In the future, other Arab states who are not members in the League may also be admitted.

In addition to the setting up of this projected Organization, the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference adopted about 40 recommendations including: (1) the establishment of an Arab university for education; (2) the establishment of a permanent bureau for antiquities at the Arab League headquarters; (3) the compilation of a reference book on Palestine; (4) the establishment of an educational development fund; (5) the provision of more scholarships to foreigners who wish to learn Arabic; and (6) "the establishment of more cultural institutions overseas to keep

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in: Ibid.

in touch with Arab communities," etc.<sup>9</sup>

The Conference also discussed some important topics including: (1) taking steps to meet the educational requirements in the Arab world in general and in Algeria and Yemen in particular; (2) organizing a week during which contributions could be collected for the building of Algeria's national library; and (3) finding the means to combat "Zionist attempts to control education of Arabic and Islamic religion and culture in the United States."<sup>10</sup>

The record of the Arab League in the fields of cultural and educational cooperation has, indeed, been praiseworthy. Under the auspices of the League six inter-Arab Cultural Conferences were held between the summer of 1947 and the winter of 1964.<sup>11</sup> They were attended by prominent educators from all the Arab countries. U.N.E.S.C.O. was represented at one or more of these conferences. In the early stage of these conferences emphasis was laid on: (1) setting up a standard basis in the curricula of Arabic culture (Arabic language, History, Civics, Geography) to be taught to Arab students at the level of primary and secondary education; (2) improving of the methods of teaching the Arabic language<sup>12</sup> (3) making education in all the Arab institutes and colleges in the Arabic language and encouraging Arab Academic people to publish manuscripts dealing with

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., March 1, 1964.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., February 22, 1964.

<sup>11</sup>The most recent was the Sixth Arab Cultural Conference which convened in Algeria From February 2 to 9, 1964.

<sup>12</sup>See League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, The First Arab Cultural Conference - Held in Lebanon in the Summer of 1947 (Cairo: Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1948), pp. 1-22 (in Arabic).

the various sciences in Arabic;<sup>13</sup> (4) expanding the curricula in secondary and higher education and equipping students with better means to meet the demands of modern practical life and its new techniques; (5) educating Palestine refugee children; (6) promoting vocational education;<sup>14</sup> and (7) instilling democratic principles into the spirit of the students.

Later conferences placed more emphasis on: (1) the curricula of history and geography and the nationalistic aims of teaching these two courses at the secondary level in the Arab states;<sup>15</sup> (2) the best methods for teaching civics courses in all stages of public education in the Arab states and the educational approaches that are helpful in this respect; (3) the training and the developing of the national and moral character of the civics teacher;<sup>16</sup> (4) the importance of the text book and its role in education as a source of knowledge and an instrument of culture; (5) the importance of the teacher as being the natural instrument through

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<sup>13</sup>League of Arab States, The Second Arab Cultural Conference, Alexandria, 22 August - 3 September 1950 (Cairo: n.d.), pp. 276-278 (in Arabic).

<sup>14</sup>See League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Resolutions of the Cultural Committee from 1946 to the End of 1955, op.cit., pp. 73-96.

<sup>15</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, The Third Arab Cultural Conference, Baghdad, 18-28 November 1957 (Cairo: Al-Sabah Printing Presses, 1958), pp. 383-393 (in Arabic).

<sup>16</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, The Fourth Arab Cultural Conference, Damascus, 5-16 September 1959 (Cairo: Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1960), pp. 331-338.

which the object of the text book is achieved;<sup>17</sup> and (6) the role of the existing examination systems in the evaluation of the academic standards of education in the Arab countries.<sup>18</sup>

These six cultural conferences passed a whole series of recommendations, the most important of which were: (1) speeding up the spreading of education; (2) universalizing mass education; (3) developing civic and patriotic instruction at all levels of public education in the Arab world; (4) studying the national, cultural, philosophical and psychological principles that must be taken into consideration in writing text books in the Arab countries;<sup>19</sup> and (5) calling for action to achieve the uniformity of the Arabic language.

The First Arab Linguistic Conference was likewise organized by the Arab League. Its objective was to promote the improvement of the Arabic language with a view to keeping pace with the social evolution and progress of modern civilization.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961 (Cairo: n.d.), p. 3 (in Arabic).

<sup>18</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 3, No. 4-5 (March 22, 1964), p. 14.

<sup>19</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961, op.cit.

<sup>20</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, The First Arab Linguistic Conference, Damascus, 1956 (Cairo: Al-Sabah Printing Presses, n.d.), p. 2 (in Arabic).

In view of the fact that historic vestiges bequeathed by the Arab ancestors may serve as an evidence of Arab culture, the Arab League found it useful to promote the archaeological movement in the Arab world and to foster cooperation in its fields. Thus, the Arab League called for four archaeological conferences between September 1947 and August 1962.

These four conferences discussed how best to encourage archaeological research in the Arab countries and to cultivate a spirit of close collaboration in this field. It was recommended that: (1) the Arab states should take all the necessary legislative and executive measures needed to preserve and maintain their monuments and to organize excavation work;<sup>21</sup> (2) the Arab states should cooperate in the propagation of archaeological culture and the compilation of an Arabic lexicon containing the technical terms used by archaeologists;<sup>22</sup> (3) each Arab state should train enough experts in archaeological excavation in order to break the monopoly of foreign missions in this field; and (4) an inter-Arab archaeological committee should be set up by the Arab League.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Archaeological Conference in the Arab Countries, Held in Damascus, Summer 1947 (Cairo: Fouad University Press, 1948), pp. 216-217 (in Arabic).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 218-219.

<sup>23</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, The Third Archaeological Conference in the Arab Counties, Fas, 8-18 November 1959 (Cairo: 1961), pp. 67-69 (in Arabic).



It is noteworthy to mention, in this respect, that the Arab League has successfully launched a campaign in the Arab countries and the United Nations to collect funds for the salvage of the Nubian monuments which are threatened to be inundated by the Nile water as a result of the construction of the High Dam at Aswan.<sup>24</sup>

Arab Scientific Conferences and Seminars. Today, the Arabs urgently need to create a scientific awakening in their countries which would arouse in them the faculty of thinking and investigating scientifically the secrets of life and nature. The best way to reach this goal is to train specialists who will know, among other things, how to simplify as many basic, scientific facts as possible and to place these at the disposal of the masses. By doing this, the Arabs would be broadening the limits of their popular education beyond the arts and literature.

In order to accomplish this, the Arabs called for two scientific conferences between 1953 and 1955. Original research papers on mathematics, physics, biology, zoology, botany, chemistry and geology were delivered in these conferences. Problems such as the preparation of science teachers and scientific terminology were discussed.<sup>25</sup> Prominent Arab scientists participated in scientific debates on varied subjects, ranging from land reclamation in the Middle East to atomic energy and modern statistical methods.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 1, No. 20 (July 15, 1962), p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Book of the First Arab Scientific Conference, Alexandria, September 1953 (Cairo: Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1954), pp. 1-3 (in Arabic).

<sup>26</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Book of the Second Arab Scientific Conference, Cairo, September 1955 (Cairo: Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1957), pp. 1-3 (in Arabic).

In the meantime, the Arab League was exerting efforts to form an Arab Scientific Federation bringing together all Arab scientists in order to organize their activities and to facilitate their cooperation. This Federation, finally established on March 1956, was given the responsibility for supervising all future Arab scientific meetings. It called for the Third Arab Scientific Conference in Beit Meri, Lebanon, on September 1957, and the Fourth Conference in Cairo on February 1961. In both conferences, several scientific studies were made and papers were presented by experts in different branches of science.

As a result of the Cultural Committee's recommendation, the Cultural Department organized several seminars. The first seminar was held in Lebanon on August 1957, and discussed the subject of preparing the Arab teacher at all stages of public education in the Arab states. Since it was felt that the teacher cannot prepare good citizens unless he himself is a good citizen capable of understanding the political and social problems, the Seminar, therefore, recommended that curricula in teachers' institutes be set in a way so as to prepare the teachers scientifically, psychologically, educationally and socially so that each one would become, during his career, not only a teacher, but also a pioneer and a social reformer. It also recommended that teachers must be secured a decent present and future life that guarantees education for their children and financial and psychological stability for themselves.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, Seminar on Preparing the Arab Teacher, Beirut, August 1957 (Cairo: Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1958), pp. 381-390 (in Arabic).

In view of the importance of college education in the Arab countries, a seminar was held in Bengazi on May 1951 to study some of the problems of higher education. Among the decisions, the seminar agreed on the principle of arabizing higher and university education in the Arab states, provided the process is carried out gradually and provided it takes into consideration the local conditions dictated by the nature of each country. The seminar suggested the establishment of a general federation of Arab universities which would seek to encourage cooperation among Arab universities and higher institutes in the Arab countries, to study the problems of university education, to foster scientific research in the Arab countries, and to coordinate and improve efforts of Arab universities in the service of education, human knowledge and the objectives of the Arab nation.<sup>28</sup>

In the Spring of 1952, the Arab League called for the festival which was held in Baghdad to celebrate the millenary anniversary of the death of the celebrated Arab philosopher, Hassan Abou Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna). In addition to the representatives of the Arab states, delegates from Iran, Turkey and Indonesia attended the ceremonies. Famous orientologists from England, France, Germany, Spain and the United States of America participated in the discussions on Ibn Sina's achievements in the fields of science, music, philosophy, history and medicine.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961, op.cit., p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>League of Arab States, Cultural Department, The Golden Book of the Commemoration of the Thousandth Anniversary of Ibn Sina, Baghdad, 20-28 March 1952 (Cairo: Imprimerie Misr S.A.E., 1952), pp. 370-374 (in Arabic and English).

Writing, Translation and Publishing.

One of the most important objectives sought by the Arab League is to promote all kinds of writings which deal with subjects that are of interest to the Arab world and which will help fulfill any of the Arab League's objectives. The League's Cultural Department has so far published a number of books, especially those dealing with the conferences and seminars referred to above. It has also published the following:

(1) an Educational Annual which contains legislation, charts and annual statistics on education and its development in the Arab states in the last few years, as well as a description of the various types of schools, institutes and colleges and their systems and curricula;<sup>30</sup> (2) The Arab World in two volumes, consisting of studies and essays by a number of great writers and scientists about the political, economic, legal and literary conditions in the Arab world; (3) The Contemporary Arab Literature in Egypt by Dr. Shawki Daif and (4) The Contemporary Arab Literature in Syria by Mr. Sami al-Kayyali.

In addition to publishing written and translated books, the Cultural Department has not hesitated to stretch a helping hand to intellectuals and authors to publish their own views and thoughts. In this respect, it has published the second edition of The Arab Scientific Heritage of Mathematics and Astronomy by Qadri Hafez Toukan after being reviewed by a committee of experts and after realizing the gain that can

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<sup>30</sup> Nejla Izzeddin, The Arab World: Past, Present and Future (Chicago: Regnery, 1953), p. 326.

be achieved after republishing this book.<sup>31</sup>

The Cultural Department has also asked a number of Arab scientists to write a book on Arab medicine. It has also set up a committee to write an exhaustive book on the geography of the Arab World.<sup>32</sup>

In order to encourage the writing of outstanding books in the fields of literature, sociology, political science and economics, the Cultural Department has granted financial awards to the authors of such books or/and buys a number of copies of these books for distribution to libraries and cultural institutions. The following are among the books that received such awards:<sup>33</sup> (1) America as I Saw It, by Amin Mumaiz; (2) Bases of a New Arab Society, by Dr. Munif Razzaz; (3) Contemporary Literary Trends in the Arab World, by Prof. Anis Makdisi; and (4) The Novel in Modern Arabic Literature, by Muhammad Najim.

The Translation Division represents another aspect of the activities of the League's Cultural Department. This division has translated a number of valuable foreign works into Arabic of which the following are cited as examples:<sup>34</sup> (1) Histoire de la Declaration des Droits de L'Homme, trans-

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<sup>31</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A General Survey of the Cultural Activities of the League of Arab States, 1946-1956 (Cairo: Dar al-Hana Printing and Publishing Press, n.d.), p. 24 (in Arabic).

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>33</sup>The Arab Information Center, Introducing The League of Arab States (New York: July, 1962), p. 27.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

lated by Muhammad Mandour; (2) The Proper Study of Mankind, by Stuart Chase translated by Mahmoud al-Dassouki; (3) Authority and Individual, by Bertrand Russel translated by Muhammad Bakir Khalil.

The Translation Division has so far published the first five volumes of The Story of Civilization by William Durant (21 volumes) and is in the process of translating the other volumes of this important encyclopaedia. It is also publishing in Arabic such works as Arnold Toynbee's A Study of History, the dramas of Shakespeare, Racine's theatrical works and Homer's Iliad and it is working on the translation of Dante's Divine Comedy.<sup>35</sup>

As there were some barriers in the way of publishing Arab books in the Arab states, the Arab League found it necessary to hold a seminar in Lebanon, on September 1961 to study these obstacles and the means of surmounting them. Among the most important resolutions was one calling for the creation of a General Federation of Arab Publishers which would seek to assist in forming local federations in each Arab state, in raising the standard of the publishing profession and fostering its national mission, in strengthening relations among Arab publishers, and in solving the problems and surmounting the obstacles that stand in the way of circulating Arab books within the Arab world.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>"Institute of Advanced Arab Studies' Gift," Viewpoint, vol. 3, No. 3 (March, 1963), p. 11.

<sup>36</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961, op.cit.

Arab League Educational Institutions:

An Institution of Advanced Arab Studies was established in Cairo in 1953 by the League Council. It aims at training students and specialists in Arab affairs and at spreading Arabic culture through teaching, lecturing, writing and publishing. The Institute offers courses in Arab affairs from the literary, social, economic and political points of view. It qualifies its students for the M.A. degree. A specialized library containing over 25,000 volumes has been established by the Institute. Each year, Arab professors and lecturers of distinguished ability are invited by the Institute to deliver lectures. Then, the Institute compiles and publishes these lectures in bookform to be used by its students and research scholars, and also to be distributed in the Arab world. Up to early 1963, the Institute has published "147 volumes covering such subjects as Modern Trends in Arabic Poetry, Arab Petroleum, History of Arab-Ottoman Relations, etc."<sup>37</sup> Subjects such as the Law of Personal Status in the member states, taxation and others are issued in series form because of their comparative nature. These publications have come to represent "the best and most highly qualified Arab thought in the various fields."<sup>38</sup>

A permanent educational museum has been established at the Cultural Department's headquarters. It contains, among other things, documents, diagrams and graphs illustrating the gradual development of

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<sup>37</sup>"Institute of Advanced Arab Studies Gift," Viewpoints, op.cit.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

education in the Arab world over the past 35 years and copies of textbooks, school programmes and regulations followed in the Arab states since the start of recent reforms. Exhibits also include charts about educational budgets and the proportion of students to the whole population in the Arab states.

Thus, the Museum achieves two important goals:<sup>39</sup> (1) the compiling of informational reports and documents related to educational affairs and educational systems in the various countries and the making of these available for researchers; and (2) the providing of a clear idea about the general condition of education and schools in each Arab country. The Museum does not stay stagnant, for the Cultural Department is always enriching it with new material.

An Institute for the Revival of Arab Manuscripts, inaugurated by the League in 1946, was set up to do the following: (1) compile a general index, based on the various manuscript indices; and (2) make microfilms of precious manuscripts and make these easily accessible and more generally known to scholars and others interested in this field. Special missions have been sent to Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and India to micro-photograph valuable Arabic manuscripts. So far, about 20,000 manuscripts have been preserved and are on file at the Institute. Besides, a quarterly magazine is published by the League in order to spread information on the latest developments in this field.

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<sup>39</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat-General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961, op.cit., p. 8.



The most recent development in the educational structure of the League was, as mentioned earlier, the important step taken by the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference to set up an Arab Organization of Science, Education and Culture at the League's headquarters.

The Organization was urged to collaborate with U.N.E.S.C.O. in establishing a regional center for the elementary education similar to the one established by U.N.E.S.C.O. for the Latin American countries. It was also urged to cooperate with friendly nations.<sup>40</sup>

It was also proposed that the projected Organization "should have an office at UNESCO headquarters in Paris for cooperation with it."<sup>41</sup>

In fact, the Arab League has continued to cooperate with international cultural organizations, of which UNESCO is the most important. The League's Cultural Department receives UNESCO reports on its budget estimates, draft programs and the activities of its centers. The Department carefully studies these reports in order to use them as a guide in: (1) nominating qualified persons from Arab countries for vacant positions in UNESCO; (2) exchanging teachers among Arab states at UNESCO's expense; (3) removing customs duties on cultural instruments; and (4) participating in studies published by UNESCO.

On November 26, 1957, an agreement was concluded between the Arab Arab League and UNESCO to cooperate in "all matters that arise in the field of education, science and culture and are connected with those

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<sup>40</sup>The Daily Star (Beirut), March 1, 1964.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

tasks and activities of the two Organizations that are in harmony" (Article 1).<sup>42</sup> The agreement provides especially for mutual consultation and the exchange of documents, legal and statistical information between the two organizations (Articles 2, 4, 5). This agreement is similar to those concluded between UNESCO and other regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States and the Council of Europe.

Another special agreement was concluded between the Arab League and UNESCO in September 1961 providing for the establishment at the League of a simultaneous translation unit to translate from English and French to Arabic and vice versa during the meetings organized by UNESCO in the Arab states. This unit will also be in charge of translating UNESCO documents to Arabic whenever necessary.

Other miscellaneous activities of the Arab League include work on a plan for establishing a center that will have the following tasks:<sup>43</sup> (1) to issue a subject bibliographical periodical to serve researchers in all Arab states; (2) to aid in the establishment of modern local libraries in the Arab countries where such libraries are non-existing and to help these countries establish local bibliographical centers; (3) to introduce

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<sup>42</sup>For the full text of the Agreement, see Appendix 4, this work.

<sup>43</sup>League of Arab States, Secretariat General, Cultural Department, A Brief Report on the Activities of the Cultural Department of the League of Arab States from 1945 to 1961, op.cit., p. 8.

a unified index for all local Arab libraries; (4) to administer the exchange of printed matter among the Arab states in accordance with the unified local libraries index and the unified bibliographical periodical; and (5) to administer the classification of a series of guides to serve the cultural activities.

## CHAPTER VII

### LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL ACTIVITIES

After gaining their independence, the member states of the Arab League were faced with the problem of markedly different legislative and judicial systems. "One of the more interesting efforts of the League was the promulgation of laws and the establishment of institutions designed to draw together these nations which had been separated by the effects of Western colonialism but were still unified on an intellectual and spiritual plane by a common religion and culture."<sup>1</sup>

In an effort to coordinate, stabilize and unify legal systems among Arab countries, the Legal Department, in cooperation with the Legal Permanent Committee, has drafted model legislation providing for: (1) the unification of legal terms;<sup>2</sup> (2) the coordination of labour laws and legislation pertaining to social security; (3) the unification of all legislation pertaining to tariffs and customs; (4) the unification of all legislation pertaining to import and export; (5) the unification of

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<sup>1</sup>B.Y. Boutros-Ghali, "The Arab League, 1954-1955," International Conciliation, No. 498, May 1954, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup>See League of Arab States, Permanent Bureau for the Coordination of Arabic Terminology in the Arab World, The Unified Terms of Labour Legislation Prepared by the Bar Association of Damascus and Approved by the Third Congress of the Arab Lawyers Federation (Damascus: n.d.), pp. 1-12 (in Arabic).

transport and transit laws; (6) the unification of economic legislation to guarantee equal rights for subjects of the Arab countries signing agreements in industry and agriculture; (7) the coordination of legislation pertaining to taxation in order to avoid double taxation; (8) a unified law of companies; and (9) a unified law for the protection of patents, designs, and industrial models.

Within the framework of the League six legal agreements were concluded among the member states embodying the principles of private and public international law.

The first of these agreements, concluded on September 14, 1952, was on the execution of judgements.<sup>3</sup> It stipulates that any final judgement involving civil or commercial rights or requiring payments or any sentences imposed by a judicial court in any of the member states in a penal matter shall be enforceable in all the other states of the League (Article 1).

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<sup>3</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of the "Agreement Regarding the Execution of Judgements" as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Muhammad Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, op.cit., pp. 109-112.

The Agreement was approved by the Council of the League on September 14, 1952, during its Sixteenth Ordinary Session. The delegate of Yemen expressed the following reservations when signing the Agreement:

(1) "Yemen has no Courts at the present time, except the Islamic Shari'a Courts which are competent in every law-suit.

(2) A judgement contrary to any one of the basic principles of Islamic Shari'a law shall not be executed." Quoted in: Ibid., p. 110.

The second, an "Extradition Agreement," was signed on the same date.<sup>4</sup> It provides for close collaboration regarding the surrender of criminals. Extradition is considered mandatory

where the offence committed is either a felony or a misdemeanor involving a penalty of imprisonment for one year or a heavier sentence under the laws of both states, or where the person whose extradition is sought has been already sentenced to at least two months imprisonment (Article 3, paragraph 1).

However, in case the act is not punishable by the laws of the requested state, or if the penalty prescribed in the requesting state has no corresponding place in the country from which extradition is sought, then extradition shall not be obligatory unless the person sought is a national of the requesting state or is a national of another state whose laws provide for the same penalty (Article 3, paragraph 2).

The third agreement, also concluded on the same date, was designed to facilitate the serving of summons and the mutual exchange of the jurisdictional power of the attorneys of the member states.

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<sup>4</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of this Agreement as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 106-109.

The Agreement was approved by the Council of the League on September 14, 1952, during its Sixteenth Ordinary Session. The Egyptian delegate expressed the following reservations when signing the Agreement:

"Egypt does not accept the definition of the offences in respect of which extradition shall be obligatory and which are provided for in Article 4, namely, crimes of assault against monarchs, presidents of states, their spouses or their direct descendents; crimes of assault against crown princes; crimes of premeditated murder, and terroristic crimes." Ibid., p. 106.

The fourth, an agreement on the nationality of Arabs residing abroad, was concluded on September 23, 1952.<sup>5</sup> It stipulates that any person whose country of origin is one of the Arab League States and who is a resident of another member State shall be deemed to be a citizen of his country of origin, provided he has not acquired a specific citizenship in another state (Article 1).

The fifth, an agreement on the privileges and immunities of the Arab League, was concluded on May 10, 1953.<sup>6</sup> It provides the League shall possess juridical personality (Article 1); that its property, whether movable or immovable, as well as its assets, shall enjoy immunity from every form of legal process (Article 2); and that its movable or immovable property, as well as its assets, shall enjoy exemption from all direct taxes, from customs duties, from laws and orders prohibiting

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<sup>5</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of this Agreement as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 112-113. The Agreement was approved by the Council of the League on September 23, 1952, during its Sixteenth Ordinary Session.

<sup>6</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of this Agreement as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 116-122. The agreement was approved by the Council of the League on May 10, 1953, during its Eighteenth Ordinary Session.

The Egyptian delegate expressed the following reservations when signing the Agreement: (1) "Egypt does not accept the provisions of the first paragraph of Article 21, relating to the exemption of some of the officials of Secretariat-General from the obligations of national service. It will follow, with respect to the officials mentioned in the said paragraph, the same provisions decided upon in the second paragraph of the said Article; that is, it will be contented with the postponement of the recall for the national of those officials of the Secretariat-General whose stay will be required by the exigencies of work. (2) Non-acceptance of the provisions of Article 22 relating to the enjoyment by senior officials of the League of Arab States, together with their spouses and their minor children, of the privileges and immunities which are accorded to diplomatic envoys by international law." Ibid., pp. 116-117.

or restricting import or export regarding articles imported or exported by the League for its official functions (Article 7). This agreement also provides legal immunity for the League's staff, its missions and its experts (Articles 20, 21, 22, 25).

The sixth, an agreement on citizenship, was adopted by the Council of the League on April 5, 1954.<sup>7</sup> It regulates the acquisition of nationality by a citizen of one of the member states in another member state. It provides that the wife of a citizen of a member state, if she is a citizen of another member, acquires the citizenship of her husband's country and thereby her former nationality shall abate (Article 1); and that she may recover her original nationality if the marriage is dissolved by divorce or if her husband dies (Article 1, 2). No citizen of one member state of the Arab League may acquire by naturalization the nationality of another member state, except with the approval of his Government (Article 6). Finally, this agreement also provides that a child born in a member state other than his own may, within a year from the date on which he completes 18 years, acquire the citizenship of either his father's country of origin or the country in which he was born (Article 7).

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<sup>7</sup>For an English translation of the original Arabic text of this Agreement as published by the Arab League in Cairo, see Ibid., pp. 127-129. The Agreement was approved by the Council of the League on April 5, 1954, during its Twenty-First Ordinary Session.



In addition to these six agreements mentioned above, a number of draft agreements have been studied. These include an agreement allowing Arab lawyers to plead before the courts of all member states and projects for the establishment of a common police institution and an Arab Court of Justice.<sup>8</sup>

On May 1959, three important projects for the establishment of an Arab criminal investigation force, crime prevention and combatting illegal use of narcotics were under study by the Permanent Legal Committee of the Arab League.

The Arab criminal investigation force was to act as an Arab international police institution to combat crime and criminals in the Arab world. The authority of such a force was to extend beyond national Arab boundaries. Crime prevention was to be achieved through the formation of a specialized machinery to prevent crime by scientific and technical methods, under the Arab League.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See Ezzeddin Foda, The Projected Arab Court of Justice; a study in regional jurisdiction with specific reference to the Muslim Law of Nations (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958), pp. 226-236.

<sup>9</sup>Anti-narcotics activities are discussed in Chapter V, this work.

PART III

CONCLUDING REMARKS

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

#### A. Obstacles Confronting the League

Having made a comprehensive survey of the League's non-political activities, it is essential, at this point, to inquire into the main obstacles confronting these activities.

In the opinion of many Arab and Western writers the problem of sovereignty is one of the most serious causes of the League's weakness. Whereas the Alexandria Protocol had aimed at a progressive surrender of sovereignty, the Pact of the League stresses its retention. In fact, the Pact omits the clause in the Protocol which stipulated that in no case will a state be allowed to adopt "a foreign policy which may be prejudicial to the policy of the League or an individual member state."<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Protocol which provides for a further degree of unity in the future, the Pact specifies that member states will cooperate "with due regard to the organization and circumstances of each state."<sup>2</sup> As Mahomed Agwani stated:

It may be remarked that the rulers of the Arab Countries were not willing to surrender even that minimum amount of their sovereignty which is absolutely essential to

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<sup>1</sup>See Article 1 of the Protocol.

<sup>2</sup>See Article 2 of the Pact, and Article 3 of the Protocol.

give up for the successful working of a regional organization.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, the capacity of the League to coordinate the activities of its member states is curtailed in practice by leaving each member state immune from complying with a decision unless it is unanimously adopted. Article 7 of the Pact states:

Unanimous decisions of the Council shall be binding upon all member-states of the League; majority decision 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.

Thus, the League was bound to be weakened when member states proved to be reluctant to surrender sufficient amount of their sovereignty.<sup>4</sup>

Wested interests, inter-Arab rivalries for leadership and dynastic rivalries (at least in the past) between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan have also been among the divisive factors weakening the Arab League and diverting it from its basic tasks.

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<sup>3</sup>Agwani, op.cit., p. 365.

<sup>4</sup>"The importance given to the concept of national sovereignty by the League has often led to conflicts resulting from national antagonisms." Boutros Ghali, op.cit., p. 438. See also Musa Alami, "The Lesson of Palestine," Middle East Journal, vol. 3 (October, 1949), p. 389.

While credit can be given to the League for promoting some cooperation in the cultural, social, economic and other fields, it must be admitted that inter-Arab political differences frequently limited the effectiveness of the League's efforts in the non-political sphere of activities. Harry B. Ellis maintains that though adequate on paper, the Arab League fell down in practice, because it became "an arena for Arab rivalries."<sup>5</sup> With the intensified political strife in the Arab world from 1957 and on, the members of the Arab League had to face new obstacles in implementing their agreements. For example, despite its ample capital, Iraq refused to join the Arab Financial Institution for Economic Development, which the League had decided to establish in 1957. Later "Iraq even went so far as to declare its inability to pay its regular installments to the League's budget."<sup>6</sup> This negative attitude was primarily due to the hostility between Iraq and Egypt, which continued for a few years even after the 1958 Iraqi Revolution. At the same time, Lebanon was also unwilling to join the Institution, largely because of the deterioration of its political relations with Egypt.<sup>7</sup> Because of inter-Arab rivalries and lack of

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<sup>5</sup>Ellis, op.cit., p. 100. Mr. Ellis goes on to say that even those few agreements in cultural, judicial and commercial fields which have progressed from paper into practice are subject to overriding inter-Arab political warfare.

<sup>6</sup>George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, op.cit., p. 183.

<sup>7</sup>"While this is probably the case, it is also evident that too many Arab leaders today, nurtured in a climate of agitation and conspiracy, have found collaboration on the hum-drum practical tasks somewhat unpalatable." Paul Seabury, "The League of Arab States: Debacle of a Regional Arrangement," International Organizations, vol. 3 (November 1949), p. 640. See also D.A., "The Arab League: Development and Difficulties," The World Today (May 1951), p. 196.

confidence in each other, many Arab governments either refused to ratify or delayed in ratifying some of the important agreements and projects undertaken by the League. Part of the problem was due to the belief that Egypt had a too dominant influence in the Arab League. As a result of the great increase in the membership of the Arab League in the last decade and of the recent Arab Summit Conference held in January 1964,<sup>8</sup> this fear has tended to decrease, at least for the time being, in some Arab countries. It was generally agreed that the Summit Conference has added to inter-Arab understanding. Among the most important resolutions adopted by this conference was the one calling for "the clearing of Arab atmosphere of tense disputes that may impede collective action,"<sup>9</sup> the stopping of all radio attacks and the strengthening of inter-Arab relations. Efforts aimed at the creation of a "better Arab atmosphere" have already achieved beneficial results in some areas. Moreover, because the Arab League Secretary General, Mr. Abdul Khalik Hassouna has usually acted with great tact and impartiality and because he has been able to retain the relative trust of nearly all,

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<sup>8</sup>Officially called the Arab League Conference of Arab Kings and Presidents. Thirteen Arab nations with a total population of 92 million and a total area of 8 million square kilometers were represented at this conference, called for by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the U.A.R. to discuss the counter action the Arab states should take to stop Israel's plans for diverting Jordan River water. See The Arab World (Beirut), January 7, 1964, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in: Ibid., January 16, 1964, p. 7.

if not all, Arab leaders despite the fact he is an Egyptian, he has done much over the years to keep the League functioning despite the bitter inter-Arab disputes. He has been given an even more important role to play as a result of the Summit Conference.

Still another divisive factor is the fact that the Arab states differ so greatly in their historical development and in their political, economic, and social progress and institutions. Many political differences exist in the Arab world. For example, some states, like Jordan, Libya and Morocco, have constitutional monarchies. Others, like Saudi Arabia and royalist controlled areas of Yemen, are ruled by autocratic monarchies. Still others are republics, like Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, the U.A.R. and Sudan. In addition, some Arab countries are more democratic than the others. For example in Lebanon there is greater chance for democracy where the people are more politically mature and productivity is more advanced than in Saudi Arabia or Yemen.<sup>10</sup> Some Arab states have more unstable governments than others. The problem of political instability has often resulted in military coups d'etat. The case-history of Syria ever since March 1949<sup>11</sup> provides the best example in this respect.

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<sup>10</sup>"The existing regimes in these countries are extremely touchy about... systems of government and would not tolerate any interference from a supranational body in this regard." Agwani, op.cit.

<sup>11</sup>This is the date when army chief of staff, Colonel Husni az-Za'im, dissolved parliament and governed the country by military dictatorship.

The Arab countries also differ one from the other in the extent and kind of education the students receive. Some like Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Jordan have made considerable cultural and educational progress, whereas others, like Saudi Arabia and Yemen, are still backward.

A further obstacle is the fact that the member states of the League differ greatly in the extent of their agricultural, industrial and commercial progress. Their predominantly agricultural economies are often competing and not complementary. Antiquated methods of agricultural and industrial productivity are still widely employed in some of the Arab countries which depend heavily on imported goods and capital to meet their economic needs. A few states, especially Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, have already started introducing some modern means of farming and manufacture. Intra-regional commerce has also been discouraged by customs barriers and currency differences. For example, a customs union between Syria and Lebanon which could provide significant economic benefits to both states, has often met with strong opposition, particularly on the part of many Christians in Lebanon who feared this could lead to full political integration.<sup>12</sup> Mr. J.C. Hurewitz says:

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<sup>12</sup>"The elements among the Lebanese Christians who oppose economic union with Syria and its political implications, do so because they are not willing to be merged in a predominantly Moslem state." Izzeddin, op.cit., p. 185.



Indeed, the League could not even prevent the dissolution in 1949-50 of the only existing currency and customs unions, those between Syria and Lebanon which had survived the mandate.<sup>13</sup>

These economic barriers were largely unknown when most of the Arab countries were under the Ottoman Empire. Regional specialization in production has almost disappeared and Arab markets have shrunk as a result of these political and economic boundaries which were created by the colonial powers. A further obstacle to the economic integration of the Arab countries is the marked disparity in the living standards existing in different parts of the Arab world. For instance, living standards are considerably higher in Lebanon and Syria than in Saudi Arabia and Yemen.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, in certain Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Morocco, nomadic bedouins still form an important section of the population.<sup>15</sup> The social structure in the rural and semi-desert areas in these countries is basically patriarchal. The tribal system under which the bedouins live "is even more detrimental than the feudal system to economic progress, the development of national consciousness, and the formation in the Arab world of a

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<sup>13</sup>J.C. Hurewitz, "Unity and Disunity in the Middle East," International Conciliation, No. 481 (May 1952), p. 237.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>See N.A. Faris and M.T. Husayn, The Crescent in Crisis: An Interpretive Study of the Modern Arab World (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956), p. 166.

unified public opinion."<sup>16</sup> The bedouins play a very small role in the national economy because of the scarcity of their resources and their primitive way of life. They further resist all attempts by government to bring them within the effective control of law and the administration. Not only do Arab states differ in economic development and productivity, but even in economic ideologies. For example, states like the U.A.R. have tried to develop their economies on socialist lines, while states like Lebanon continue to believe in a form of capitalism.

A principal obstacle adding to the problem of economic and social divergencies among the Arab states is that of sectarian and ethnic differences. There are many religious minorities in the Arab world, the most important of which are: (1) the Christians including their diverse Eastern and Western sects; and (2) Moslem Sunnis and Shi'is, including such sects like the Druses,<sup>17</sup> the 'Alawis and Isma'ilis. The special status which some of these religious minorities enjoyed for centuries in the Arab Countries made of them distinct communities, such as the Copts in Egypt, Southern Sudanese - Christians and Pagans - and the Maronites in Lebanon. Sectarianism in Lebanon, especially, is one

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>The Druses, in some sources, are included as Shi'ites carrying to extremes the Shi'a doctrine of dissimulation. See Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey (London: The Institute, 1950), p. 54.

of its most complicated problems. Each one of its sects tends to be suspicious of the other sects and has its separate community organization. Many Maronite Christians, for example, fear an ultimate absorption in a large Moslem dominated Arab state. Divisive feelings exist also between the Sunnites and Shi'ites - the two great Moslem sects. Political tensions between the Sunnites and Shi'ites of Iraq and Yemen have not disappeared. Moreover, the different Shi'i communities, such as the 'Alawis and the Isma'ilis of Syria, have often contributed to political segmentation.

In addition, there are many non-Arab national minorities living as clustered groups in the Arab world. Some of these minorities, such as the Kurds in Iraq and the Berbers and Europeans<sup>18</sup> in North Africa, have preserved their national characteristics and languages. They also constitute a problem to Arab unity.

The international rivalries over the Arab area of the Middle East is still another grave obstacle facing Arab cooperation. Differences in attitudes toward the outside great powers has often intensified the factionalism of the Arab world and weakened the unity of the Arab League states. Since the end of World War II, the hostility toward the United States of America has varied from country to country. It has been more intense in Syria and Iraq, and less pronounced in Saud Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon. For example, Saudi Arabia rejected the urgings of other Arab states when it "refused to cancel Aramco's concession as a

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<sup>18</sup>French, Spanish and Italians.

pressure to compell the United States to support the Arab position on Palestine."<sup>19</sup> Therefore, if there were to be less cold war and power politics, there would be a better chance for cooperation among the Arab countries.<sup>20</sup>

It must be kept in mind, however, that like all political organizations the Arab League is undergoing a stage of transition. The League was bound to pass through a critical period because of the dynamic changes taking place in the Arab world. This helps to explain some of the difficulties it had to face from time to time.

#### B. Non-Political Achievements of the League.

In evaluating the non-political work of the Arab League, it is essential to find out what progress has actually been made despite the afore-mentioned obstacles. Starting with the economic field, a ground-work has been established for future cooperation. A Provisional Council for Arab Economic Unity was set up to coordinate the economic, financial and social policies of the Arab states. Some of the economic measures achieved by the League include the establishment of: (1) the Arab Development Bank; (2) the Arab Potassium Company, (3) The Arab Oil Tankers Company; (4) the Arab Tourist Agency; (5) the Central Boycott Office; and (6) the Federation of Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Chambers. A few economic agreements, notably those providing for the

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<sup>19</sup>Hurewitz, *op.cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>20</sup>It is pertinent just to note that the Arab League "was acting within a troubled international setting, and beset by interference from foreign Powers reluctant to adjust themselves to the new independent status of hitherto-dependent states." The Arab Information Center, Introducing the League of Arab States, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

exchange of currency, goods and services, and for the lowering of some Tariffs, have been put into limited practice. Oil congresses convening annually have also been organized, and the setting up of an Arab Common Market is under study.

In the field of transportation and communication, the Arab League has established: (1) The Arab Maritime Navigation Company; (2) the International Arab Airline Company; (3) the Arab Postal Union; and (4) the Arab Union for Wireless Communications and Telecommunications. The League has also carefully studied projects involving the setting up of "a railway network joining the Arab countries and linking them up with foreign countries,"<sup>21</sup> and the putting back into operation the Hejaz Railway line.

In the field of social cooperation, the League holds an inter-Arab Social Welfare Seminar every two years. Moreover, it has opened model social service centers in some Arab countries and has promoted keen interest in labour, cooperatives, health and youth affairs. A good start has also been made in the harmonization of many social and health codes and in the conclusion of some legal agreements, the most important of which provide for: (1) The acquisition of Arab citizenship; (2) the dropping of visa requirements for Arab citizens; and (3) the surrender of criminals.

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<sup>21</sup> Al-Arab, vol. 1, No. 14 (April 15, 1962), p. 10.

Of the many proposals presented to the Council and the member states by the permanent League committees, most of those implemented have concerned cultural matters. Serious steps have been taken to bring the Arab community once more into the larger community of creative societies, "and thus to reform a culture which is at once universal and Arab, modern and yet linked to the past."<sup>22</sup> Really praiseworthy work was carried out by the League in trying to unify cultural trends in different Arab states and to revive the intellectual legacy of the Arabs. Several Arab cultural, educational, scientific and archaeological conferences were held. Special attention was paid to the problems of: (1) The Arabic language; (2) the exchange of scholars; (3) university education; (4) the circulation of Arabic books; (5) the translation and publication of world masterpieces; and (6) the educational needs of the Arab states. Greater success has been reached in creating a magnificent study-center in the Institute for the Revival of Arab Manuscripts and in the strengthening of the Institute of Higher Arab Studies and making it a center for high intellectual performance.

Most recently, several inter-Arab meetings were held following the Arab Summit Conference in Cairo. The most important was the Second Arab Education Ministers Conference in Baghdad, which drew up an Arab Cultural Union Charter providing for the establishment of an Arab Organi-

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<sup>22</sup>Cecil Hourani, "The Arab League in Perspective," The Middle East Journal, op.cit., p. 126.

zation of Science, Education and Culture. This new projected cultural set up resembles UNESCO in many ways.

In the external fields, the League's cooperation with various international organizations operating in the region has steadily increased for the mutual benefit of all. The League has concluded agreements of consultation and cooperation with the U.N.E.S.C.O., I.L.O., F.A.O., and W.H.O. It has, moreover, participated in the U.N. program of assistance to Palestine refugees. As Al-Arab states:

Close cooperation has been established between the League and the Customs Cooperation Council, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Contracting Parties to (Gatt) and the two U.N. Economic Commissions for Africa and Asia.<sup>23</sup>

Aware of the need to project a real Arab image to the world, Arab League Missions abroad have also proved to be very helpful in enlightening the foreigners and increasing their interest in and better understanding of Arab affairs, in general, and the Palestine issue, in particular. These missions are endeavouring to promote close social, economic and technical cooperation with the developing African and Asian countries.

It is significant to note, also, that the Arab world witnessed the emergence of several independent Arab states in the last decade. The substantial increase in the number of the member states meant also an increase in the scope of the League's specialized activities in the

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<sup>23</sup>Al-Arab, vol. 1, No. 10 (April 15, 1962), p. 11.

social, economic or cultural fields. These activities, if developed further, as they are bound to be, will ultimately help to lead to the realization of greater Arab political unity. They provide the League with a valuable experience in getting the member states to cooperate in the political fields, as well. In an address on the League's seventeenth anniversary, Secretary-General, Mr. Hassouna said:

It is only natural that the League of Arab States should pay great attention to the development of Arab cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields. It is in such fields that the true Arab unity can be firmly established and that a real remedy for the contradictions that now exist in Arab society, can be formed.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, these non-political endeavours have sharpened the awareness of the Arab states of their interdependence and their imperative need for greater cohesion.<sup>25</sup> But, as Dr. Fayez Sayegh says, the sharpening of this awareness will not necessarily pave the way for greater political unity "unless the political and psychological barriers to unity are removed, and the tenacious adherence of officialdom to state-sovereignty is shaken loose."<sup>26</sup> The experiment of the League throws light on the

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>The Arab League "has introduced into the consciousness of the Arabs the fact that the problems of the Arab world are inter-dependent, and that they cannot be solved except as a whole, through concerted action, complete cooperation, and unity." See Faris and Husayn, op.cit., pp. 133-134.

<sup>26</sup>Sayegh, op.cit., pp. 138-139.



fact that:

full-fledged national sovereignty is as incompatible with regional organizations as it is incongruous with other wider organizations... It reveals, more strikingly than ever, that a regional arrangement which aims at perpetuating the social, economic and political status quo can hardly succeed in promoting cooperation and good will.<sup>27</sup>

C. Conclusion.

Although it cannot be claimed that the Arab League has been sufficiently effective in meeting the urgent demands of its member states, yet the tasks which were set before it indicate clearly that cooperation among the Arab countries, at the present time, can best be dealt with by regional agencies. Like any other regional organization, it has had its ups and downs, and has been subject to various problems of growth and adjustment.<sup>28</sup> Many obstacles, which have already been described in the preceding pages, have handicapped its progress. Nevertheless, the Arab Summit Conference represented a serious attempt to eliminate many of those inter-Arab political conflicts which provide the most basic impediments of all to greater Arab unity and cooperation in any and all fields. It was generally agreed that as a result of the

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<sup>27</sup>Agwani, op.cit., pp. 366-367.

<sup>28</sup>The Arab Information Center, Introducing the League of Arab States, op.cit.

Summit Conference, "the Arab League has been reborn as the accredited framework of inter-Arab cooperation."<sup>29</sup> The Arab Kings and Presidents who met at the Conference agreed that the League should be the place where inter-Arab problems should be brought for settlement. In addition to the quieting down of emotions that followed the Conference, speedy measures were taken to put the summit resolutions into effect. One of the most important steps was the calling of a Conference of Arab Information Ministers in Cairo on March 8, 1964. This conference discussed positive ways and means for cooperation among the Arab information media which, until very recently, were mainly engaged in attacking one another.<sup>30</sup> Another equally important step following the Summit Conference was the preparation by the Arab League of a programme and itinerary according to which the 13 Arab Foreign Ministers were to be sent on an extensive tour of nearly all world capitals. The objective of these tours was to explain the Arabs' "just and legal rights in Palestine, and also to indicate the dangers which may result in the Near

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<sup>29</sup>The Arab World (Beirut), January 29, 1964, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>As a result of the recent worsening of relations between Syria and other Arab countries, the propaganda warfare between Damascus, on the one hand, and Cairo and Baghdad, on the other, has been revived. So far, this has been the only major breach in the agreement to halt inter-Arab propaganda attacks.

East in case Israel's aggression is renewed."<sup>31</sup>

The Arab Summit Conference has already achieved some encouraging results in the non-political, as well as the political and military spheres.<sup>32</sup> The improvement of the political atmosphere has encouraged many Arab states to push ahead and ratify, for the first time, many of the earlier economic agreements that were left dormant.<sup>33</sup> Today, there seems to be increased hope for greater and more lasting collective and constructive inter-Arab cooperation in various fields than ever before. Right now, the Arab governments are more willing to cooperate, especially in the non-political activities, than in the past. There appear to be new signs of better understanding and of greater readiness to accept peaceful coexistence among the majority of Arab states. Whether this new and more helpful trend will continue to develop or not only the future can reveal.

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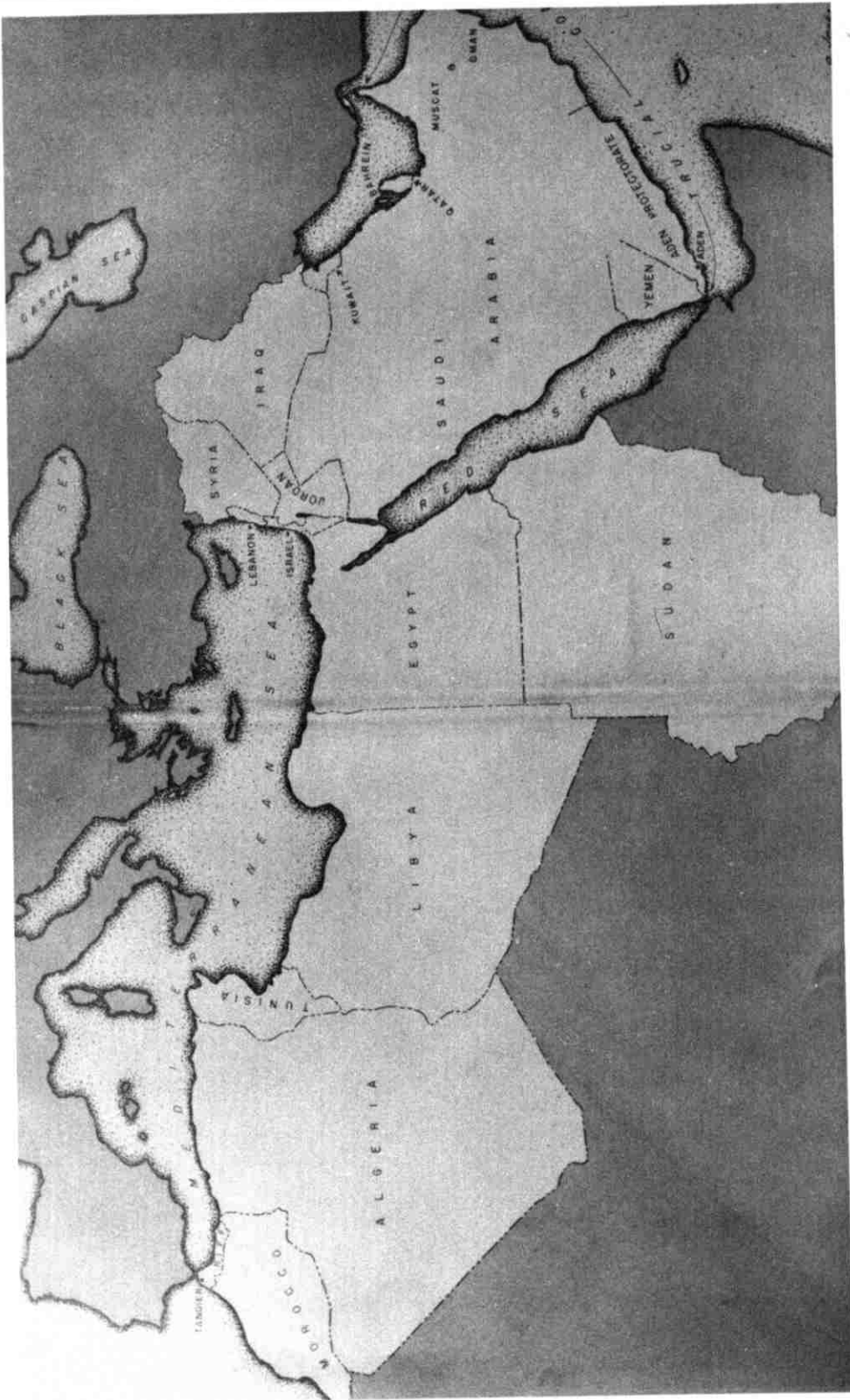
<sup>31</sup>Ibid., January 28, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup>"Convened by UAR President Nasser to plan common Arab action against Israel's avowed intention to pump the Jordan River waters from the Sea of Galilee to the Negev Desert, the summit conference resolved to divert the Jordan River headwaters in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan and to set up the Unified Military Command to protect the \$235-million operation." The Daily Star (Beirut), May 8, 1964.

<sup>33</sup>These agreements have already been discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

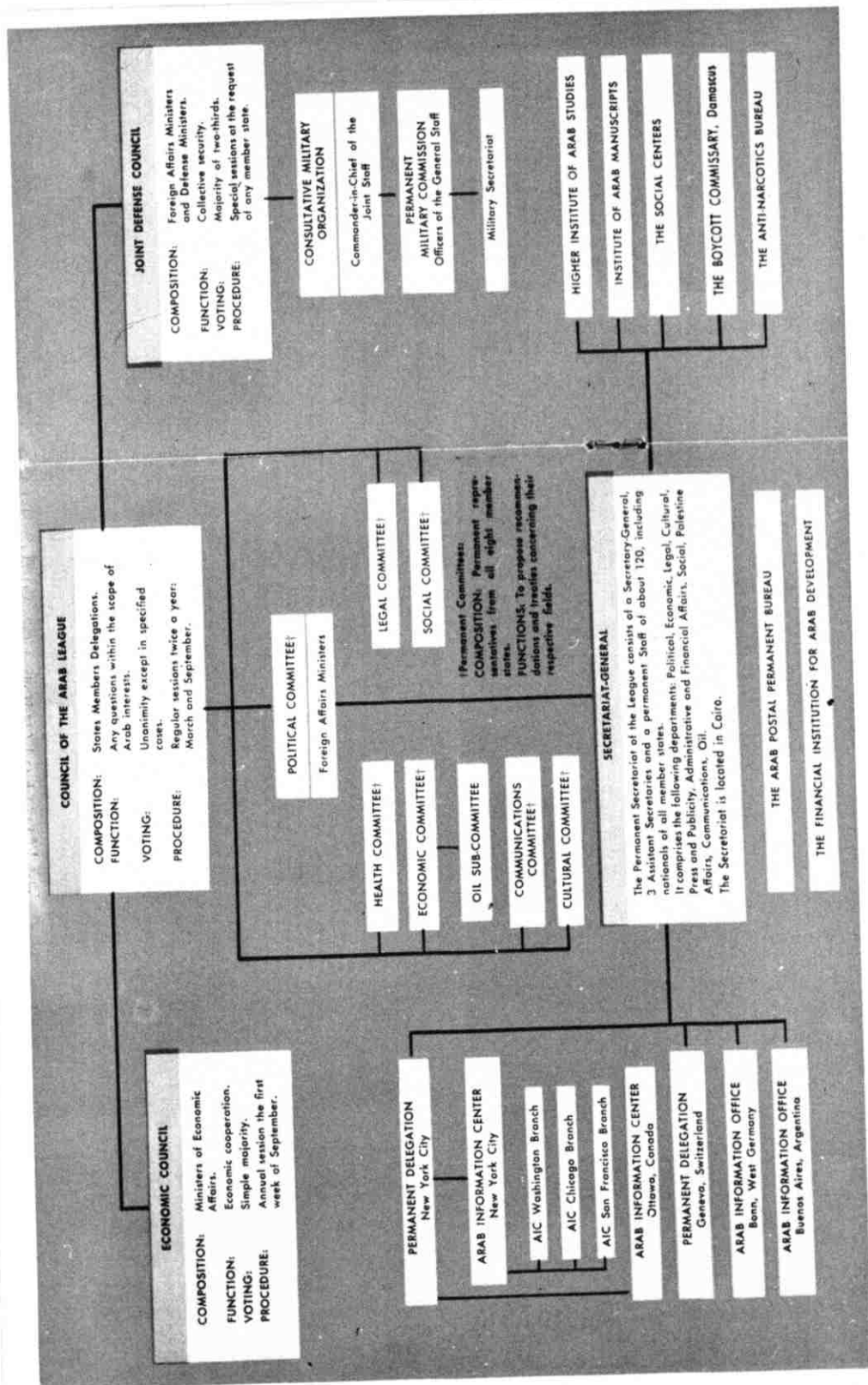
Appendix 1

THE ARAB WORLD TODAY



Appendix 2

STRUCTURE OF THE ARAB LEAGUE - APRIL 1959



Appendix 3

Pact of the League of Arab States<sup>1</sup>  
Signed March 22, 1945

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SYRIAN REPUBLIC;  
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 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;

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<sup>1</sup>The Arab Information Center, Basic Documents of the League of Arab States, op.cit., pp. 9-16.

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 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: His Excellency Sayed Hussein El-Kabsi.

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 States 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.

#### 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 Council 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 committee 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.

#### 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-General which shall consist of a Secretary-General, 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 regulation 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 adminis-

trative 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.

#### 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.]

#### (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. She has come to be autonomous, 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 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 States 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-ul-Rahman 'Azzam Bey, to be the 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.

Appendix 4

AGREEMENT

between

THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,  
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION,

and

THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

November 27, 1957<sup>1</sup>

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and

The League of Arab States,

CONSIDERING that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was set up for the gradual achievement, through the cooperation of the nations of the world in the educational, scientific and cultural fields, of the aims of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims;

CONSIDERING that one of the purposes of the League of Arab States is, with due regard to the structure of each of these States and the conditions prevailing therein, to secure close co-operation between its Member States in the cultural field and that, under Article 4 of the Pact of the League of Arab States, a Cultural Committee of the League of Arab States has been set up to ensure such co-operation;

CONSIDERING that the League of Arab States is called upon to undertake certain tasks and activities of a regional nature in harmony with those pursued on a world-wide scale by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization;

HAVE AGREED as follows:

ARTICLE I

Co-operation

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the League of Arab States agree to co-operate with each other through their appropriate bodies.

This co-operation shall extend to all matters that arise in the field of education, science and culture and are connected with those tasks and activities of the two Organizations that are in harmony.

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<sup>1</sup>Text is copied from Muhammad Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, op.cit., pp. 92-94.

## ARTICLE 2

### Mutual Consultation

1. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the League of Arab States shall consult each other regularly on matters of common interest, with a view to co-ordinating their efforts to accomplish those of their tasks and activities which are in harmony.

2. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization shall inform the League of Arab States of any proposals which, owing to their nature and the cultural region in which they are to be carried out, appear likely to be of direct interest to the League of Arab States, and shall consider any observations on such proposals which may be conveyed to it by the League of Arab States with a view to establishing effective co-ordination between the two Organizations.

Similarly, the League of Arab States shall inform the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization of any proposals for the development of its activities in matters of interest to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and shall consider any observations on such proposals which may be conveyed to it by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization with a view to establishing effective co-ordination between the two Organizations.

3. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the League of Arab States shall, after consulting with each other, take all appropriate steps to ensure that the organs of each of them are kept fully informed concerning relevant activities of the other Organization when these organs are considering questions which have a bearing on these activities.

4. The appropriate steps referred to in paragraph 3 may also include an invitation to the Organization concerned to be represented at meetings when matters relating to its activities are to be discussed.

5. Whenever circumstances so require, consultations shall take place between the representatives of the two Organizations to determine jointly the most effective methods of dealing with particular problems of interest to both Organizations. These methods may, for instance, include the establishment of joint committees.

## ARTICLE 3

### Joint Action

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the League of Arab States may, through special agreements, together decide upon joint action with a view to attaining objects of common interest.

These special agreements shall define the ways in which each of the two Organizations shall participate in such action and shall specify the financial commitments that each is to assume.

ARTICLE 4

Exchange of Information and Documents

Subject to such arrangements as may be necessary for the safeguarding of confidential documents of information, the two Organizations shall arrange for a full and prompt exchange of documents and information concerning matters of common interest.

ARTICLE 5

Statistical and Legal Information

The two Organizations shall concert their efforts to secure the best use of statistical and legal information and to ensure the most effective utilization of their resources in the assembling, analysis, publication and diffusion of such information, with a view to reducing the burden on the governments and other organizations from which such information is collected.

ARTICLE 6

Administrative Arrangements for Collaboration  
and Liaison

The Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall make all necessary administrative arrangements to ensure effective collaboration and liaison between the two Organizations.

ARTICLE 7

The present Agreement shall in no way affect the provisions of agreements already concluded between the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Member States of the League of Arab States, or the provisions of agreements already concluded between the League of Arab States and any States.

ARTICLE 8

Revision and Denunciation

The terms of the present Agreement may be altered with the consent of both parties.

Either of the parties may denounce the Agreement by giving one year's notice to the other party.



ARTICLE 9

The present Agreement shall be signed by the appointed representatives of the two Organizations.

It shall enter into force upon its signature.

DONE IN TWO TRILINGUAL COPIES, in Arabic, English and French, the texts in all three languages being equally authentic.

On behalf of the League  
of Arab States.

Signed: A. HASSOUNA

On behalf of the United  
Nations Educational,  
Scientific and Cultural  
Organization.

Signed: LUTHER H. EVANS  
26 November 1957.

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