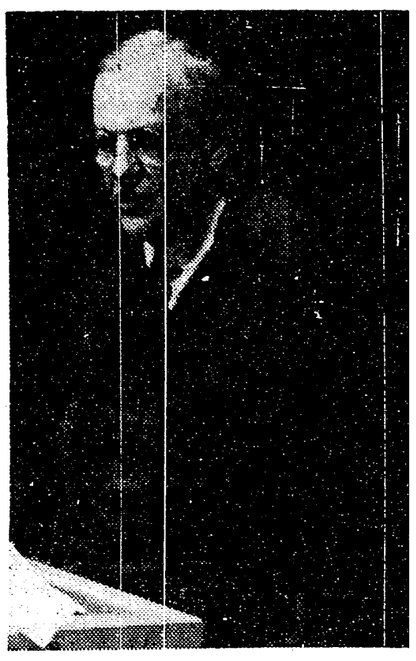
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pg. 6

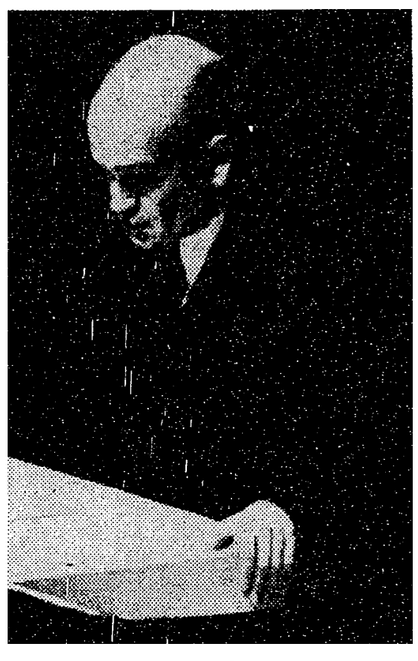
Remarks in the United Nations General Assembly Debate on the Invasion of Egypt

Special to The New York Times.

Friday, Nov. 2 — Following are excerpts from the debate in the United Nations General Assembly:



FOR THE U. S.: Secretary Dulles addresses the U. N. General Assembly.



FOR EGYPT: Omar Loutfi speaks for the Arab country being attacked.



The New York Times (by Larry Morris)

FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM: Sir Pierson Dixon on the speaker's stand.

Omar Loutfi, Egypt

(Unofficial Interpretation from the French)

You are fully alive to the question, I am sure, gentlemen. I shall be brief. As I told the Security Council, this is not the time for oration. My country has been subjected to bloody aggression. The shedding of blood which is the consequence of aggression is proceeding apace.

During the night of Oct. 30 Israel committed the most heinous unprovoked armed aggression since the conclusion of the armistice agreement. This was no mere reprisal raid. It was a premeditated carefully prepared, armed attack whose purpose it is to occupy part of Egyptian territory so as to provoke war in this part of the world.

During the day of Oct. 30, 1956, a note from the United Kingdom Government was handed to the Egyptian Ambassador in London. An ultimatum was served upon the Egyptian Government, asking it to cease all hostilities on land, at sea and in air, to withdraw all Egyptian armed forces ten miles from the Suez Canal, to accept the occupation of part of Egyptian territory by French and British armed forces, especially the towns of Ismailia, Port Said and Suez.

Air Raids Are Described

The ultimatum required an answer before 6:30 Cairo time, October 31, in the absence of which the Governments of the United Kingdom and France would intervene to the extent which they would judge necessary in order to obtain satisfaction of their demands.

Since that time, Anglo-French aviation based on Cyprus against the will of the inhabitants of that island have bombarded Egypt. A number of raids took place yesterday, especially against the city of Cairo. According to information at my disposal the three raids carried out yesterday by British and French jet bombers at 7 o'clock, 8:25 and 10:25 covered the mosque, the Almaza hospital, a number of Cairo airfields and a number of points near Shubra. Nine human lives were lost.

Mr. President, Egypt has been subject to combined aggression—premeditated aggression—by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. It is now abundantly clear that the aggressors agreed in advance to perpetrate this act of war to justify the armed aggression which they have committed. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have presented motives which I find it difficult fairly to describe.

Sir Pierson Dixon said yesterday that he regretted that Egypt had rejected the Anglo-French ultimatum. I am astonished to hear the representative of the United Kingdom say that he expected for one moment that Egypt would accept an ultimatum which asked for the landing against Egypt of Anglo-British forces under conditions where Egypt had been subjected to aggression.

Reports Warship Sunk

The representative of the United Kingdom said this was designed first of all to safeguard the Suez Canal and restore peaceful conditions in the Middle East.

Now, no danger threatened the Suez Canal prior to the Franco-British intervention. According to our information the aggressors' aircraft sank an Egyptian warship in the canal. This act of war committed by Israel, France and the United Kingdom in the region of the canal is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and on the other hand it violates the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and the principle of free passage even in time of war, which is guaranteed to all states under the provisions of Article 4 of the Constantinople Convention.

Moreover, who gave the United Kingdom and France the right to intervene in order to safeguard the canal? The 1888 Convention confers upon Egypt alone the right to take measures for the defense of the canal.

Was there a decision of the United Nations, a decision of the Security Council, which conferred upon the United Kingdom and France the right to resort to force in order, as they allege, to safeguard the canal and insure the freedom of passage and traffic through the canal?

Many other states use the canal. No one for a moment thought of using force or joining the Franco-British forces in order to occupy the canal area.

We thought that the United Nations Charter had put an end to the reign of force and that the epoch of ultimatums and dictates, which brings to mind sad memories, had come to an end when the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco. A resort to force now can only take place in accordance with the principles and provisions of the charter.

France and the United Kingdom, which violated the charter, have assumed a heavy onus of responsibility before the world. This act is fraught with incalculable repercussions of which France and the United Kingdom will bear the consequences.

Egypt is being invaded. Its sovereignty is being jeopardized. But one thing comforts us. This is the response to this act of aggression on the part of world public opinion. Two prominent members of the Security Council—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—condemn this resort to force by France and the United Kingdom.

President Eisenhower and the Soviet leaders clearly declared that they were opposed to the use of force for the settlement of this dispute. Numerous other leaders have made similar statements. Amongst them the head of the Yugoslav state, Marshal Tito, as well as the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru.

Even in the United Kingdom, members of the opposition party, the Labor party, strongly and vigorously condemn the policy of the British Government.

Mr. President, as I had the honor to tell the Security Council, the Egyptian Government, pending necessary measures by the Security Council and the General Assembly, has no choice but to defend itself and to preserve its rights against this armed unprovoked aggression. And we persevere in that attitude.

Sir Pierson Dixon, Britain

The situation in the Middle East is indeed grave. I do not believe that it has been fully realized by those who are not as intimately concerned with Middle Eastern affairs as we are how explosive the situation in the Middle East was a few days ago when the United Kingdom and French Government took the drastic steps which they felt obliged to take. From all the information at our disposal we had reason to judge that a major clash, whose consequences would have been incalculable, between Israel and her Arab neighbors, was more imminent than at any time since the signing of the armistice agreements in 1948.

The sudden Israeli mobilization and incursion into Egypt made it imperative to take very speedy and effective measures to prevent a war between Israel and Egypt, which would only lead to a general conflagration throughout the Middle East, and which would in its train have involved prolonged disruption of free passage through the Suez Canal, which is of such vital interest to so many nations.

It has long been the declared policy of the United Kingdom to do everything in her power to lower tension in the Middle East in order to bring about conditions favorable for the conclusion of a final peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Unhappily neither Israel nor the Arab states have seen fit to listen to our advice or that of our friends, and it is a consequence of this that we are now faced with the present situation which has culminated in the Israeli incursion into Egypt. I think that it is fair to say that the United Nations has done everything that it could to promote the prospects of a final settlement, and, meanwhile to uphold the fabric of the armistice regime.

The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary General and, on the spot, the United Nations Chief of Staff have all done everything that was humanly possible.

In these circumstances how can we have confidence, much as we would like to, that, in view of the past disregard shown by all parties for the United Nations' wishes and injunctions, and indeed for their treaty obligations to each other, any fresh injunctions by the Security Council would have been effective to deal in time—and time was of the essence—with a situation which was so clearly getting out of control?

Korean Invasion Recalled

The situation is not dissimilar to that which obtained at the time of the North Korean invasion. On that occasion the member of the United Nations which had forces on hand and was in a position to intervene at once courageously did so. By a happy chance, and I mean the absence of the Soviet representative from the Security Council on that occasion, the Council was able to endorse the United States action. The same fortunate chance was not ours. I cannot, however, believe that the United States would not, in any case, have acted; and rightly so in the circumstances.

Despite the continued efforts of the governments most closely concerned, namely the United States, French and British Governments, and the injunctions of the United Nations together with the persistent and skillful work of our Secretary General, there has been a mounting series of incidents, and the risks of war have become increasingly greater. It would be a profitless task to attempt to apportion the blame between Israel and the Arab states.

It may be, but I am not sure, that in terms of border incidents Israel has infringed the Armistice Agreements more seriously than have the Arab States. An increasingly serious situation culminated a few days ago in partial mobilization by Israel of her forces and a large-scale incursion into Egyptian territory in violation of the Armistice Agreements.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that Israel has felt her very life to be threatened, in particular by Egypt, whose Government have proclaimed again and again that their aim is the total destruction of Israel. Let us not forget that Egypt stands today in open defiance of the United Nations. She has deliberately maintained the exercise of belligerent rights against Israel and has refused to afford free passage to Israeli ships and cargoes through the Suez Canal, thereby flouting the express injunctions of the Security Council.

Egyptian Policies Blamed

It is unrealistic to think that in searching for a peaceful solution to the Palestine problem we can ignore the declared aspirations of the Egyptian Government to establish an Egyptian hegemony throughout the Middle East after having eliminated the state of Israel.

Both inside and outside the United Nations Soviet influence has been used to incite the extremists in the Arab countries and to thwart all attempts to achieve a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. This callous policy was most blatantly revealed a year ago when, by arming Egypt with the most modern weapons, the Soviet Union deliberately brought to nought the careful efforts of the responsible powers—Britain, France and the United States—to keep a balance between the war potential of the Arab States and Israel.

Not content with thus inciting the Egyptian extremists to follow expansionist aims in the Middle East, the Soviet Union, by methods of propaganda and subversion, has sought to undermine the stability of the other Arab states.

I do not believe, Mr. President, that Egypt would have dared to defy the United Nations, or to have forcibly seized the Suez Canal, if she had not thought that she would never be brought to book because the Soviet Union could be relied upon to frustrate any efforts by the United Nations to establish peaceful conditions and the rule of law.

The immediate situation, with which we were confronted was Israel's incursion in force into Egyptian territory in violation of the Armistice Agreement and the ensuing threat to the safety of the Suez Canal. The threat to the Suez Canal arising from Israeli movements in that direction—and I can assure the assembly that it is only too clear that this threat was very real—introduced a further complication in an already highly explosive situation.

If the Israeli adventure were allowed to continue as planned it would undoubtedly have given rise to a threat to ships and cargoes in passage and a threat to the security of the canal itself. It would have imperiled free passage through this vital waterway. It was a threat to the vital interests of my country as well as to all those many nations who are dependent on free passage through the canal.

Holts Threat Averted

Mr. President, the Assembly must acknowledge that by our swift intervention the Israili advance has already been halted and this threat to the canal has been averted. I do not know of any alternative steps which could have achieved this result.

It is absurd to suggest, as it has I regret to say been suggested, that our intervention was part of a long-prepared plot concerted with Israel. Such allegations are false. Indeed, they are patently absurd. It is common knowledge, I think, that over the past few months our relations with Israel have been difficult and even strained precisely because of our efforts to restrain her from retaliating against her Arab neighbors.

Between Egypt and Israel the attitude of Her Majesty's Government remains quite impartial. We do not and could not condone this Israeli action which is clearly in violation of the Armistice Agreement and aimed at the occupation of positions in Egyptian territory. It was indeed precisely because of this very serious Israeli violation that we judged it necessary ourselves to intervene. It is, of course, our view that Israel should withdraw her forces from her present positions as soon as this can be arranged.

Let me, at this stage, Mr. President, briefly restate the objectives of the Anglo-French intervention. The overriding purposes are the safeguarding of the Suez Canal and the restoration of peaceful conditions in the Middle East.

Let me say with all the emphasis at my command that neither we nor the French Government have any desire whatever that the military action we have taken should be more than temporary in its duration. It will be terminated as soon as the emergency is over. It is our intention that our action to protect the canal, to terminate hostilities and to separate the combatants, should be as short as possible in duration.

The action taken by my Government and by the Government of France has been called an act of aggression against Egypt. This is a charge which we emphatically deny. What is an act of aggression? There is much debate as to what constitutes aggression, but it is certainly not true to say that every armed action constitutes aggression.

Hopes for Settlement

It is indeed ironical to see today in the United Nations the two powers which have contributed so much to the world organization being arraigned, in certain quarters, for actions which they have taken in the interests of the world community and of the United Nations itself.

We believe that the United Nations now has a unique opportunity to bring peace to the Middle East. It is our hope that the emergency action we have taken to protect the canal, terminate hostilities and separate the belligerents, will result in a settlement which will prevent such a situation arising in the future.

We must speedily work for a settlement of the whole Middle East question which takes account of the legitimate interests of the Arab countries as well as those of Israel. I am not making any precise proposals. But I would like to throw out the suggestion that one method of achieving this would be to convene a suitably constituted conference to consider how best to promote a permanent settlement.

There may, however, at this moment be a temptation for this Assembly to take no effective action but merely to call upon all parties to cease hostilities and to withdraw. I must solemnly warn members of this Assembly that if that is the only action which the United Nations is prepared to take at this time of crisis, we shall merely revert to the continuation of the chaos in the Middle East which we have endured in the last eight years. We shall thus be inexorably drawing nearer the time when the growing threat of war becomes reality.

The first urgent task is to separate Israel and Egypt and to stabilize the position. That is our purpose. If the United Nations were willing to take over the physical task of maintaining peace in the area no one would be better pleased than we. But police action there must be to separate the belligerents and to stop hostilities.

But at the same time all members of the United Nations should earnestly bend their efforts to bringing about a lasting settlement which can replace the Armistice Agreements which have now been proved to be too fragile for their task of preserving peace and order in the Middle East.

John Foster Dulles, United States

I doubt that any delegate ever spoke from this forum with as heavy a heart as I have brought here tonight. We speak on a matter of vital importance, where the United States finds itself unable to agree with three nations with whom it has ties, deep friendship, admiration and respect, and two of whom constitute our oldest, most trusted and reliable allies.

The fact that we differ with such friends has led us to reconsider and re-evaluate our position with the utmost care, and that has been done at the highest levels of our Government. Even after that re-evaluation, we still find ourselves in disagreement. Because it seems to us that that disagreement involves principles which far transcend the immediate issue, we feel impelled to make our point of view known to you and through you to the world.

When on July 26 the Universal Suez Canal Company was abruptly seized by the Egyptian Government, all the world felt that a crisis of momentous proportions had been precipitated. Within, I think, three days after that event, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France met together in London to see what to do about the situation.

I recall that at the close of our session of the Security Council I made a statement which was concurred in, or acquiesced in, by all present, stating that the Security Council remains seized of the problem and that it was hoped that the exchanges of views with the Secretary General and the three countries most directly concerned — Egypt, France and the United Kingdom — that those discussions and exchanges of views would continue.

Surely I think we must feel that the peaceful processes which the Charter requests every member to follow had not been exhausted. Even in the case of Israel, which has a legitimate complaint due to the fact that Egypt has never complied with the 1951 resolution of the Security Council recognizing Israel's right to use of the canal—even there, there was a better prospect because the principles adopted by the Security Council with the concurrence of Egypt called for the passage of ships and cargoes through the canal without discrimination, and provided that the canal could not be used or abused for the national purposes of any nation, including Egypt.

So, Mr. President, and fellow delegates, there seemed to be peaceful processes that were at work and which, as I say, had not yet, it seemed to us at least, run their course, and while, Mr. President, I would be the last to say that there can never be circumstances where resort to force may not be employed—and certainly there can be resort to force for defensive purposes under Article 51—it seems to us that under the circumstances which I described, the resort to force, the violent armed attack by three of our members upon a fourth cannot be treated as other than a grave error, inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter, and one which if persisted in would gravely undermine our Charter and undermine this organization.

The question then is: What do we do?

We do not, any of us, live in societies in which acts of disorder do not occur. But we all of us live in societies where, if those acts occur, something is done by constituted authority to deal with them. At the moment we are the constituted authority. And while we do not have under the Charter the power of action, we do have a power of recommendation, a power which, if it reflects the moral judgment of the world community, of world opinion, will, I think, be influential upon the present situation.

It is animated by such considerations, Mr. President, that the United States has introduced a resolution which I should like to read to you:

[At this point Mr. Dulles read the resolution.]

That, Mr. President, is the proposal of the United States delegation.

I do not by the form of this resolution want to seem in any way to believe that this situation can be adequately taken care of merely by the steps that are in this resolution. There needs to be something better than the uneasy armistices which have existed now for these eight years between Israel and the Arab neighbors. There needs to be a greater sense of confidence and security in the free and equal operation of the canal than has existed since three months ago when President Nasser seized the Suez Canal Company. These things I regard of the utmost importance.

But, Mr. President and fellow delegates, if we say that it is all right for the fighting to go on until these difficult and complicated matters have been settled, then I fear a situation will have been created such that no settlement will be possible, that the war will have intensified and may have spread, that the world will have been divided by new bitternesses, and that the foundations for peace will have been tragically shattered.

These things that I speak of need to be done. I believe that they are in process of being done because the Security Council is already seized of these matters and has been working upon them in a constructive way. But I think we must put first things first. I believe that the first thing is to stop the fighting as rapidly as possible lest it become a conflagration which would endanger us all—and that is not beyond the realm of possibility.

As President Eisenhower said last night, the important thing is to limit and extinguish the fighting in so far as it is possible and as promptly as possible.

I hope, therefore, Mr. President and fellow delegates, that this point of view reflected in this resolution will prevail.

I fear that if we do not act and act promptly, and if we do not act with sufficient unanimity of opinion so that our recommendations carry a real influence, there is great danger that what is started and what has been called a police action may develop into something which is far more grave. Even if that does not happen, the apparent impotence of this organization to deal with this situation may set a precedent which will lead other nations to attempt to take into their own hands the remedying of what they believe to be their injustices. If that happens, the future is dark indeed.

We thought when we wrote the Charter in San Francisco in 1945 that we had seen perhaps the worst in war, that our task was to prevent a recurrent of what had been, and indeed what then had been was tragic enough. But now we know that what can be will be infinitely more tragic than what we saw in World War II.

I believe that at this critical juncture we owe the highest duty to ourselves, to our peoples, to posterity, to take action which will assure that this fire which has started shall not spread but shall promptly be extinguished. Then we shall turn with renewed vigor to curing the injustices out of which this trouble has arisen.

Arkady A. Sobolev, Soviet Union

(Unofficial Interpretation from the Russian)

On Oct. 28, Israel violating the Armistice Agreements, violating decisions of the Security Council, violating the Charter of the United Nations, launched an aggressive action against Egypt. On the same day when Israeli aggression against Egypt was proceeding apace, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France presented Egypt with an ultimatum which boiled down to this: under the pretext of forestalling further hostilities between Israel and Egypt, Egypt was to be compelled to cede to France and the United Kingdom key positions in Egyptian territory, Suez, Port said and Ismailia.

Despite the fact that the Government of Egypt, acting for the purpose of defending the sovereignty of the state and its territorial integrity, rejected that unprecedented demand, the Government of the United Kingdom and France would not forego their aggressive intentions. While the Egyptian Army had to fight against armed aggression from Israel, Egypt was confronted with the danger of invasion by British and French occupation forces.

Having committed themselves to armed intervention against Egypt, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France have flung a challenge to the peace loving people of the entire world. They have flouted obligations which they had freely assumed under the United Nations Charter. In so doing the Governments of the United Kingdom and France have assumed a heavy onus of responsibility for a serious deterioration of the international situation.

It is abundantly clear that the Israeli aggression, and by the same token French-British aggression, against Egypt is being carried out according to a previously prepared unified plan worked out by the French and British Governments. This was no mere coincidence. Israeli aggression was planned in order to create a pretext for seizure by British-French armed forces of the Suez Canal. The Israeli Government, having undertaken aggressive action against Egypt, found itself a tool in the hands of imperialistic circles bent on restoring their colonial domination in the Near East.

In so doing they have flung the gauntlet of challenge to all the Arab peoples, all the peoples of the Near East, which are fighting colonialism.

These actions of the ruling extremist circles in Israel are criminal and dangerous first of all for the State of Israel for its future destiny. Having undertaken aggressive action against Egypt, the United Kingdom and France for their part have committed themselves to a path which is incompatable with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

The Governments of Britain and France seek to justify their actions on the grounds that they are protecting the Suez Canal and the freedom of navigation in that canal. The legitimate question may be asked whence comes the threat to the Suez Canal and the free navigation through that waterway?

If that threat comes from Israeli armed action against Egypt, why is it that the United Kingdom and France have come out not against Israel but against the victim of Israeli aggression, against Egypt? Why is it that their ultimatum demands that Egypt let Israeli armed forces occupy all of Egyptian territory east of the Suez Canal?

How can the defense of freedom of navigation the Suez Canal account for or explain the blocking of the canal by the French and British Navy?

British and French allegation or pretexts about the necessity of safeguarding free navigation of the Suez Canal are just that, pretexts to cover up British and French aggressive designs against Egypt.

May I merely make the following point. It is British, not Soviet, aircraft, that are bombinb Cairo, Port Said and many other towns in Egypt. It is they that kill the peaceful population. It is British armed forces, not Soviet armed forces, that stand poised on the soil of Egypt or perhaps are already landing on Egyptian shores and perhaps are already occupying Egyptian territory.

The delegation of the Soviet Union urges the General Assembly first to condemn the armed attack of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt as an act of aggression incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Secondly, to demand of the United Kingdom, France and Israel that they immediately cease hostilities and withdraw their armed forces from the territory of Egypt and from Egyptian territorial waters. Thirdly, that a United Nations commission be appointed to observe the implementation of the recommendations adopted by the special emergency session of the General Assembly. The Assembly must act swiftly and resolutely.

Abba Eban, Israel

On Monday, Oct. 29, the Israel defense forces took security measures in the Sinai Peninsula in the exercise of Israel's inherent right of self-defense.

The object of these operations is to eliminate the bases from which armed Egyptian units under the special care and authority of Colonel Nasser invade Israel's territory for purposes of murder, sabotage and the creation of permanent insecurity to peaceful life.

These are the only military activities for which the Government of Israel is responsible.

What we confront tonight is a point of explosion after seven years of illicit belligerency. Belligerency is the key to the understanding of our problem tonight.

Egypt has practiced belligerency against Israel by land.

Egypt has practiced belligerency against Israel by sea.

Egypt has established belligerency as the juridical basis to be the spiritual and emoduct towards Israel.

Out of this fourfold belligerency maintained by Egypt for seven years, but with special vigor and intensity since the rise of the Nasser regime, is born the crisis which the Assembly of the United Nations confronts tonight.

Arab Armies Marched

Belligerency by land took its origins in May, 1948, on the very morrow of Israel's emergence to sovereignty. On that date Egyptian forces, joined by the converging forces of other Arab armies, marched into the newly established independent sovereign state of Israel with the avowed aim of its destruction.

During that period every home in Israel stood under the direct shadow of death and extinction.

At the end of that year negotiations were held under United Nations auspices which led to the conclusion of the Rhodes armistice agreement.

This agreement did not promise us an affirmative, trustful and cooperative pattern of relationships. It did at least, however, promise us immunity from overtly hostile acts.

Yet throughout this period of the armistice our territory has been subjected to constant encroachments.

Our toll of over 400 dead or wounded through these incursions tells the story of an armistice frontier which has been violated with consistency and with a special frequency and intensity during the past two years during which the Nasser regime has held sway in Egypt.

And last year, as I shall point out, to all of these torments was added perhaps the most penetrating and perilous of all through the organization and mobilization of the fedayeen movement [Arab commando squads].

A Constant Toll of Life

Surrounded by hostile armies on all its land frontiers; subjected by savage and relentless hostility; exposed to penetrations, raids and assaults by day and by night; suffering constant toll of life amongst its citizenry; bombarded by threats of neighboring governments to accompany its extinction by armed force; overshadowed by a new menace of irresponsible rearmament; embattled, blockade-besieged Israel alone amongst the nations faces the battle for its security anew with every rising dawn and with every approaching nightfall.

We know that Israel is most popular when it does not hit back. And world opinion is profoundly important to us. So on one occasion after another, we have buried our dead, tended our wounded, clenched our teeth in suppressed resentmena and hoped that this very moderation will deter a repetition of the offense.

But sometimes the right and duty of self-preservation—the need to avoid expanding encroachments — the sentiments that if the claim to peaceful existence is not defended, it will be forever lost prevails in the final and reluctant decision.

But this belligerency which assails us by land has its counterpart by sea.

In 1948 the Government of Egypt established processes of visit, search and seizure; began to confiscate ships and cargoes bound for Israeli ports; established restrictive regulations; assumed punitive measures against the shipping and flags of other countries desiring to trade and to navigate peacefully with Israel upon and between the high seas.

The processes of blockade and interception have been extended in the name of belligerency from the Suez Canal to another international waterway, the Gulf of Aqaba.

And thus the state of Israel has had to distort the entire pattern of its economy to bear illicit burdens, running into tens of millions of pounds, in order to compensate for the impact of this piratical system, which Egypt has established at this great artery of the world's communications.

Now in recent days this Government of Israel had to face a tormenting question. Do its obligations under the United Nations Charter require us to resign ourselves to the existence of uninter-

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Excerpts From the United Nations Debate

Continued From Preceding Page

rupted activity to the south and north, and east, of armed units practicing open warfare against us, and working from their bases in the Sinai Peninsula and elsewhere for the maintenance of carefully regulated invasions of our homes, our lands, and our very lives.

Or, on the other hand, are we acting legitimately within our inherent right of self-defense? When having found no other remedy for over two years we cross the frontier against those who have no scruple in crossing the frontier against us.

Between the thirtieth of August and the second of September last year, the Egyptian Government proclaimed its official responsibility for these invasions. On the thirtieth of August it broadcast: "Egyptian forces have penetrated into the territory of occupied Palestine and pursued the attackers."

Suffice it to say that during this period of Egyptian belligerency, there have taken place against Israel 435 cases of armed incursion, nearly 2,000 cases of armed robbery and theft, 1,300 cases of armed clashes with Egyptian armed forces, 172 cases of sabotage perpetrated by Egyptian military units and fedayeen in Israel. As a result of these activities, 465 of our people have been killed and wounded.

It was within a full knowledge of this fact that we have been forced to interpret Article 51 of the Charter as furnishing both a legal and a moral basis for * * * defensive action as is literally and specifically applicable to the dangers which we face.

Under Article 51 of the Charter, the right of self-defense is described as inherent —in the French translation, naturelle — it is something which emerges from the very nature of a state, and of humanity.

Can anyone say that this long and uninterrupted series of encroachments did not constitute in its totality the essence and the reality of an armed attack?

Beyond the moment when fire will cease, the prospects must be not one of unilateral claim by one party against the other. The horizon must be of peace by agreement.

Louis de Guiringaud, France

(Unofficial interpretation from the French)

If the French Government was impelled to take measures which at first glance might appear to be out of line with its traditions it is not for lack of grave reasons for it. It is because it felt in full agreement with the British Government that the tragic and swift turn of events called for vigorous and immediate decisions.

If the United Nations Organziation has proved powerless to settle the Palestinian question, it is in reality because the Security Council had found itself stultified in its action by the veto of one of its permanent members.

For the first time two years ago the Soviet delegation exerted its right of veto to avoid the condemnattion of an Arab stand in the Palestinian question. It subsequently consistently prevented any condemnation, no matter how justified, from being pronounced against any one of the neighbors of Israel.

Intransigence Intensified

The impunity thus vouchsafed to these neighbors of Israel intensified the intransigence of some of these states.

The members of the United Nations will surely not have forgotten the forcible seizure last July of the Suez Canal, which constituted not only a violation of international law and of commitments undertaken freely, but also constituted a profound blow to international confidence.

Finally, the recent seizure by the French Navy of a cargo of armaments, loaded in Alexandria by Egyptian sailors and designed to feed rebellion in North Africa, demonstrated, without a shadow of a doubt, that the Egyptian Government not only inflames by propaganda, but also incited by sending technicians, sabotage experts, and others—inflames, I say, and incites a revolt against French authority in Africa.

France and the United Kingdom then took the decision to intervene not contrary to the purposes of the United Nations as defined over the past few days by the majority of the members of the Council but because as in the time of the Korean question, it seemed to them indispensable that a power—or a group of powers—should resolutely take the initiative of putting the issue squarely. We have been blamed for an alleged violation of international law, for aggression.

Mr. President, French-British intervention in the area of the Suez Canal, as I was saying a while ago, is designed first of all to call a halt immediately to hostilities between Egyptian and Israeli armed forces by setting a screen, so to say, between the belligerent forces; secondly, protection of the Suez Canal and establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The French Government will not retain troops in the canal area beyond the time required for the fulfillment of the objectives I have just listed. This operation in no way jeopardizes Egyptian sovereignty.

Lester B. Pearson, Canada

I rise, not to take part in this debate because the debate is over; the vote has been taken; but I do wish to explain the abstention of my delegation on that vote.

Because we are in favor of some parts of this resolution, Mr. President, we could not vote against it. Especially, as in our opinion, it is a moderate proposal couched in reasonable and objective terms, without unfair or unbalanced condemnation.

And also by referring to violations by both sides to the armistice agreements, it puts, I think, recent action by Israel, the United Kingdom and France, and rightly, against the background of those repeated violations and provocations.

Mr. President, we support the effort being made to bring the fighting to an end. We support it, among other reasons, because we regret that force was used in the circumstances that face us at this time.

As my delegation sees it, however, this resolution, which the Assembly has just adopted, this resolution in its present form, and there was very little chance to alter that form, is inadequate to achieve the purposes we have in mind at this assembly.

Those purposes are defined in that resolution of the United Nations under which we are meeting: Uniting for Peace. And peace, Mr. President, is far more than ceasing to fire. Though it certainly must include that essential factor.

I consider, Mr. President, that there is one great omission in this resolution which has already been pointed out by previous speakers, more particularly by the delegate of New Zealand, who has preceded me.

This resolution does provide for a cease-fire. And I admit that is of first importance and urgency. But it does not provide alongside a cease-fire and withdrawal of troops—it does not provide for any steps to be taken by the United Nations for a peace settlement, without which a cease-fire will be only of temporary value at best.

Second Statement By Mr. Dulles

Mr. President, I want first to express the gratification felt by my delegation that it was possible for it to formulate a resolution which gave expression to what seems to have been the overwhelming wishes of this Assembly — a resolution which I think will have historic significance.

I know that the resolution was far from perfect and far from satisfactory to all of us including perhaps myself. It was a situation where I felt that the importance of acting promptly was very great.

Now, in my opening remarks I spoke of the importance of a constructive development — a positive development of this situation—and not merely attempting to turn the clock back.

Mr. Pearson also spoke rather fully upon that point. And I want to emphasize my complete agreement with what he said. Not only in my personal agreement but the feeling of President Eisenhower himself, with whom I talked a few hours ago about this aspect of the matter.

It is a phase of the situation which we deem of utmost importance. And the United States delegation would be very happy indeed if the Canadian delegation would formulate and introduce as part of these proceedings a concrete suggestion along the lines that Mr. Pearson made.

We have had encouraging reports by the withdrawal of foreign forces from Hungary. But there also come in tonight disturbing reports about the re-introduction of foreign forces into Hungary in face of the fact that we have before us the declaration of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Hungary that they have declared their neutrality and do not invite the presence any longer of foreign forces.

So I hope, Mr. President, that this matter which is on the agenda of the Security Council will be kept vigilantly before it, and that we should not be pre-occupied with the Middle East to the exclusion of assisting the state of Hungary to regain its independence.

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