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on the Qiba case and other border incidents before
the Security Council.

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Press Release PM/2722
16 November 1953

STATEMENT BY DR. YUSUF HAIKAL, REPRESENTATIVE OF JORDAN,
ON THE QIBYA CASE AND OTHER BORDER INCIDENTS
BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL
November 16, 1953

Mr. President:

First of all, I would like to express our thanks to the three guaranteeing powers who have shown deep concern and taken prompt action in bringing to the attention of the Security Council the mass destructions at Qibya, and the massacre of sixty-six of its inhabitants by organized military forces of Israel.

I also want to express our thanks to Major General Vagn Bennike, Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, for his lucid and objective report on the massacres of Qibya and other boundary incidents, as well as for the great care he has taken to procure factual information in answering the numerous questions submitted to him by members of this Council.

The gravity of the situation provoked by the Qibya massacre continues to constitute a threat to peace and security in all the area. Because of the indivisibility of peace, these tragic happenings have been widely and extensively reported in the world press. The horror and inhumanity of this action in our times, have deeply shocked the world conscience, all the more so, because Israel has been created and survives by playing up her victimization by other people.

These responses of shock and horror coming from both the international bodies set up for the maintenance of world peace and the consensus of world opinion in condemning the Qibya massacres are hopeful signs that an awakening of international conscience against aggression is in progress. The immediate effect of that world reaction has been to renew general confidence in international organizations for stopping aggression, wherever it takes place, and by so doing insuring the maintenance of world peace.

Because, on the one part, the report of Major General Vagn Bennike concerning the Qibya massacre and frontier violations contains much factual data, carefully and objectively presented, and because, on the other part, other eminent speakers have elaborated on these, I do not think that it is necessary for me to relate again in

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detail this great tragedy, and I will limit my observations to the three following points:

In the first place, I will make some brief remarks on the Qibya massacre and other aggressions and violations of the Armistice Agreements.

In the second place, I am going to try to explain the difference between individual Jordanian infiltration, and the aggressions carried out by Israeli organized military forces against Jordan.

Thirdly, I will mention the efforts of my Government and the extraordinary and emergency measures already taken by Jordan to prevent infiltration.

Before starting to proceed on these three points I would like to be allowed to present some rapid remarks on the very long statement presented by the Israeli Representative at the last meeting.

I. Remarks on Mr. Eban's Statement

Mr. Eban's detailed address has tried to turn the focus of the Security Council discussions from the Qibya case to the general situation in the Near East. It appears that Israel gives no consideration to the fact -- or tries to make us forget -- that it is the Qibya tragedy which has brought the guaranteeing powers to consider that peace and security were threatened in the Near East by this Israeli aggression. The United Nations has appreciated the concern of the guaranteeing powers, and has considered the Qibya massacre serious enough, to justify an emergency meeting of the Security Council and indict Israel for that war-like action on Jordan territory.

Instead to be humble and repentant for such a horrible crime, the Israeli Representative would let us believe that the Israeli Government was "justified" or "provoked" to take such brutal reprisals. Then, he went on presenting his country as the real victim. Mr. Eban has told us, in all candor, that Israel like "no other country is the victim of an internationally indulged war and seige." Later, with much pathos, he attempted to prove Israeli generosity and benevolence. In a special paragraph entitled "Unilateral Gestures", he seems to have completely forgotten that one million Palestinian Arabs have been rendered refugees by Israelis, and that for the last five years these Arabs have led a wretched existence in camps, while Israelis have been enjoying Arab properties in Israel, evaluated at twelve billions dollars. Talk of Israeli generous, unilateral gestures, can bring only a bitter smile to those acquainted with the reality of the situation, and the treatment of Arabs by Israelis.

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With a heart full of love, rising to spiritual considerations, Mr. Eban described his country as small, weak, crushed, and Israelis as a peace loving people, in order to inspire your pity and enroll your help in reaching for peace. Of course, Mr. Eban means a peace on Israeli terms.

We are in the right to ask the question: Do Israelis really want peace? If they really wanted peace they would have since long attained it, by implementing the United Nations decisions. When the United Nations Organization passed a resolution creating Israel, it was not an unilateral undertaking. The United Nations Organization undertook as well, and at the same time, to safeguard a minimum of the natural and unalienable rights of the Arabs living for untold centuries in Palestine.

Israelis have not even conformed to the United Nations resolution giving them a part of Palestine, because it is a too well-known fact that they have overrun by force the better half of the part of Palestine that the United Nations plan of partition had left to the Arabs, owners of the country.

Israelis have constantly challenged the Arabs, the United Nations, and the world, be their refusal to return the part of Palestinian territory that they unlawfully occupy. In the same way, they have constantly refused to obey the United Nations resolutions sanctioning the right of the refugees to return to their homes, and the refugees private ownership natural rights. Rights which the United Nations has repeatedly sanctioned for the last five years.

If Israel wants peace, it is a certain kind of peace. We should not be deceived: At present Israelis are not begging for a peace based on the Charter principles, or the United Nations decisions, or the natural rights of people. An Israeli peace would recognize no right, whatever, to the million Arabs they have displaced. It is evident enough that if the Arabs could be "forced" to such a peace it would bring numerous economic, political and military advantages to Israel; while it would not be long before Israelis would claim, that Arabs have willingly, once and for all renounced to all their natural rights in Palestine.

All evidence available points out to the fact that Israeli aggressions against Jordan are carried out systematically and following well-prepared plans. They are not just spontaneous expressions, or like the Qibya tragedy, described in Mr. Eban's words, "an unfortunate explosion of pent-up feelings."

To anyone interested in the maintenance of security in the area, it is a disquieting fact, that Israeli aggressions are mainly directed against Jordan. These aggressions, as confirmed by Major General Vagn Bonnike, are becoming more frequent all the time. Most are carried out by Israeli armed forces or Israeli military forces (to be exact, in 1953, out of 21 Israeli aggressions condemned by the Mixed Armistice Commission 16 were carried out by military forces).

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Also disquieting, is the fact, that trained armed Israelis participate in increasing number in these warlike actions; and that these actions penetrate deeper and deeper into Jordanian territory.

Jordan -- and not only Jordan -- but all observers of Israeli policy and Israeli political methods, have been led to conclude that Israelis carry on their hostile actions with the hope to weaken Jordanians' morale and prepare the ground for future Israeli aggrandisements and impose peace on Israeli terms.

In relation to peace and security Israelis are dangerously miscalculating the result of their policy of intimidation on the Arabs.

Let us not be deceived by Israelis declarations of love and longings for peace. We have to face realistically the numerous facts which indicate that Israel is bent on a policy of aggrandisement. If not recognized and checked, this expansionist policy of Israel, is going, sooner or later, to develop in a full-fledged armed conflict in the Near East. Nobody can predict which kinds of political repercussions such a war could have in the area.

A new Israeli war of aggrandisement is not pure presumption. Many Israeli leaders are openly advocating such a policy.

The Chief of Staff of the Israeli army General Rav Aluf Makleff was quoted in a pamphlet published by the "Zionist Youth Organization" of the United States, as having declared, in referring to Israel boundaries: "It is a bad, irrationally drawn frontier, never meant to last." This Zionist Youth Organization further write:

"A partitioned, divided Erets-Israel, deprived of the Jordan River, the fertile plains of Transjordan, the historic Jerusalem is a mockery and a violation of the most sacred ideals and principles of the Jewish people..." "There can be no peace until Israel's boundaries are defensible, until the river Jordan is in our hands..." "This is our immediate task: the reunity of Jerusalem old and new, the elimination...of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the re-establishment of Jewish rule over all of Erets-Israel on both sides of the Jordan."

I find it my duty to alert this Council to the definite aggressive bent of Israeli Foreign Policy, and I request that all necessary measures be taken by that international body, to check Israeli aggrandisement policy without delay. Not only for the safety of Jordan, but for the welfare of the international community, it is of the utmost importance, to realize the gravity of the situation. Effective measures should be considered without delay, such as the limitation of Israeli immigration in the area, and the control of Israeli armament, so that this armament be limited to defensive capacity, and not of a size, promoting Israeli aggressive plans of expansion.

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I had not planned to enter into the discussion of these points, but I have now done so, because of the focus of Mr. Eban's speech. Concerning Mr. Eban's secondary charges against Jordan -- charges brought up in order to turn the Council's attention from the Qibya massacre in which Israelis cannot escape their official responsibility --, I do not propose to refute these charges one by one, but I issue here, a general denial of these charges, in order to limit myself to the case under discussion.

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II. Qibya Massacre

The tragedy of Qibya is known well-enough so that I will just refer here to factual evidence reported by United Nations Neutral Observers, after investigations on the spot.

During the night of 14-15 October 1953, a force of about 300 well-trained Israeli soldiers, accompanied by a demolition engineer squadron, crossed into Jordan territory and carried out a well-planned attack against the village of Qibya.

The assailants were uniformly described by witnesses as Israelis in military uniform, with full equipment.

These Israeli soldiers carried out their offensive action with the use of standard Israeli army equipment, such as Bangalore torpedos to blast pathways through barbed wire; they used at least seventy demolition bombs, a number of incendiary bombs, and two-inch mortars against the village of Qibya. Numerous previous complaints have proved that this equipment was not used by other, than military forces. Let us refer to paragraph seven of Major General Vagn Bennike's report, "Evidence noted indicated that this raid was well-planned and carried out by men expertly trained in the fundamentals of sudden and sustained attack. It seems highly improbable that other than active military forces could have carried out this raid without suffering heavy casualties from their own fire or from the explosions of their demolition charges."

To cover the withdrawal of these Israeli armed forces, other Israeli support troops began shelling the neighboring villages of Budrus and Shuqba, damaging a number of houses.

The Israelis immediately claimed that they had victoriously carried out a mission of retaliation against Qibya: All occupants of dwellings had been murdered at point blank range. In all, there were sixty-six innocent victims, most of them women and children; forty houses, the village school, the mosque, the water reservoir, had been razed to the ground and one more Jordanian village rendered uninhabitable...

The horror of the Israeli troop action at Qibya could be retold with many more elaborated details taken from evidence verified by neutral observers of the United Nations Truce Organization. But perhaps more important is the fact that this accumulated evidence has paralyzed the desperate efforts of Israeli leaders to escape their official responsibility, and throw the blame on some irresponsible Israeli villagers.

Let us not pass over unnoticed the fact that these tactics are becoming traditional for some Israeli political leaders. Nobody has yet completely forgotten the innumerable crimes committed by Zionists during the British Mandate in Palestine

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against Arabs, British soldiers and government officials. The horror that seized the world at the dynamiting of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, then the location of the central government of Palestine, in which 140 innocent men and women government employees found a tragic death is far from forgotten, and was echoed in the blasts and murders of Deir Yassin in 1948 and Qibya in 1953.

The Jewish Agency, with the same leaders that now lead the Israeli Government, expressed their horror and disavowed this terrorist crime, at the King David Hotel which they blamed on some irresponsible individuals -- like is now being done in the case of the Qibya massacres. Yet, some time later the British Government was in measure to publish documents establishing that this horrifying crime had been initiated by the Jewish Agency and its leaders themselves.

The Qibya massacre has been described and condemned by most leading newspapers and reviews, by ranking political leaders, and by high religious heads all over the world. In order not to lengthen this exposition by too many quotations, I will limit myself to two quotations. The "Time Magazine" of October 26, 1953, describes the incident in these terms:

"At nine-thirty one night most of the people were just going to bed in the Jordanian village of Qibya...a mile and a half beyond the Israeli frontier...On this night, as usual, everyone put his trust in the United Nations 'truce' and thirty skimpily armed Jordanian national guardsmen. Suddenly Israeli artillery previously zeroed into target, opened up, and a 600-man battalion of uniformed Israeli regulars swept across the border to encircle the village. For the next two and a half hours the town shuddered under shell bursts and small-arms fire; villagers screaming and milling rushed out to the surrounding fields and olive groves.

"Then the guardsmen ammunition -- twenty-five rounds per man -- gave out, and the Israelis moved into Qibya with rifle and Stern guns. They shot every man, woman and child they could find, then turned their fire on the cattle. After that they dynamited forty-two houses, a school and a mosque. The cries of the dying could be heard amid the explosions. The villagers, huddled in the grass, could see Israeli soldiers slouching in the doorways of their homes, smoking and joking, their young faces illuminated by the flames. By 3 a.m. the Israelis' work was done.... Sixty-six died that night. It was the bloodiest night of border warfare since the 1949 armistice...In the slaughter of Qibya Israel made peace harder than ever to attain."

The New York Times of November 6, 1953 reports that "The Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett, spokesman for the Church of England condemned Israel for the cruel massacre of Arab men, women and children, in the Jordanian village of Qibya...He said there is little doubt that the raid on Qibya has been carried out by the regular

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forces of Israel and was not a raid by a few irresponsible terrorists...For many months past, Dr. Garbett continued, there has been acts of violence...but this in its calculated horror is different in degree. It is well that the state of Israel should realize the disquiet and indignation caused on both sides of the Atlantic by this brutal act...He added that unless some strong line were adopted, the Middle East would find itself ablaze."

Indeed, the massacres of Qibya, organized and carried out by Israeli official forces, are not an isolated incident. This is the culminating point of the Israeli constant practice to achieve their ambitions by ruthless methods, and later reject all responsibility for the consequences, while continuing to play the part of the victim.

It would be impossible to relate here all the attacks of Israeli armed forces on Jordan since 1948, as they are much too numerous. I will content myself to mention some of the most recent Israeli aggressions which have taken place in 1953.

Jordan had adhered willingly to two agreements worked under the auspices of the Truce Supervision Organization "to curb infiltration" and "to reduce border incidents."

On January 4, 1953, three Israeli soldiers and one civilian crossed the armistice line in the area of Iatrun which is of special military importance and of great strategic value. These four Israelis were caught by a Jordanian patrol. They were not molested and later released into Israeli custody. Jordan lodged a complaint to the Armistice Commission which condemned Israel. In answering the Israeli Representative second question (p.30), General Vagn Bennike states that: "this case resulted in the cancellation by Israelis on January 8, of the agreement to reduce and solve incidents. The previous agreement on measures to curb infiltration, which thereupon automatically went into effect, was also terminated by Israel. The cancellation of both these agreements added to the rapidly developing tension."

On January 23, 1953, an armed Israeli force of approximately 50 men crossed the frontier into Jordan territory and attacked Falame village, which is approximately 1200 yards inside Jordan territory. These Israeli armed forces cut the barbed wires protecting the village and once inside the perimeter, were challenged by the small National Guard contingent. Israelis immediately fired with automatic weapons from three directions inside the perimeter. They also threw hand grenades and fired pistols. A confused battle raged for two hours, when the village National Guard, which had been reinforced by other National Guard contingents from the two neighboring villages, Jaiyus and Kafr Jimal, forced the Israeli to withdraw.

At daybreak the body of an Israeli soldier was found inside the wire perimeter of Falame village.

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As usual, Israeli authorities have tried to deny the participation of their military forces in such attack. The last question of Mr. Eban was visibly formulated with the hope to elicit an answer from the Chief of Staff, which would have cast some doubt, on the existing evidence. To that end the Israeli Representative asked General Vagn Bennike "to tell us whether the body (found at Falame on January 23) had any identification disc, which would have identified him as an Israeli soldier? Whether the number on the disc was communicated to the Israeli authorities? And whether the body was handed over to Israel?" The factual answer of the Chief of Staff was: "The body had an Israeli identification disc marked with the number 232046 and the name Yehuda Kacim, in Hebrew. This information was communicated to the Israeli authorities. On January 23, the body was handed over to two officers of the Israeli Army, who accepted it as that of an Israeli soldier, without any reservations on this point."

Six nights later on January 29 another Israeli attack was launched on the same village. This time it was on a larger scale: an Israeli battalion was used and two companies were deployed. The village was softened up by fire from heavy mortars, while Israeli platoons took positions on overlooking points to ensure that reinforcements could not reach Falame. Fire lasted three hours, and at the end, Israelis were engaged hand to hand. When they withdrew there were ten wounded Arab seven of them women and children. The village Mukhtar was found dead, shot at a range of about fifteen yards. Three houses were completely demolished.

On January 28, just a few hours before this last attack on Falame, another Israeli attack had occurred at Rantis. Two sections of Israelis approximately 15 soldiers entered the village under covering fire from a third section, which had taken position, at a point in the southwest outskirts of the village. After an hour firing this raiding party was repulsed. Two Arab National Guards were killed and two others wounded. Israelis left behind a quantity of explosives, apparently intended for demolitions in the village.

We note in paragraph 25 of Major General Vagn Bennike's report that on January 24, 1953, Israeli representatives complained to the Chief of Staff that three Jordan villages; Falame, Rantis, and Qalqilya, were used as bases of operation for marauders infiltrating into Israel. On the night of 28-29 January 1953, as we have just exposed Falame and Rantis villages were attacked and raided by Israeli military forces. Paragraph 3 of the report indicates that, "81 m.m. mortar, P.I.A.T. and Bangalore torpedos were among the weapons used. Israel was condemned for this action, and it was brought out that Israeli military forces had carried out this raid."

On February 3, Israelis opened fire on Qalqilia using rifle and 3" mortar gun shelling the Jordan police post. The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned the Israeli regular forces Article 3, paragraph 3.

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On February 21 an Israeli infantry platoon advanced from Beit Nattif and opened fire on Khirbet El Deir wounding one Jordan civilian, and the Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israeli military forces.

On April 20 an Israeli platoon from Beit Jibrin opened fire on Khirbet Rasm Nofal in the Arab area. Jordan casualties were one National Guard killed and another wounded. One Arab Legion soldier was also wounded and one woman killed. Again Israeli military forces were condemned for this violation of the Armistice Agreement.

On May 28, six armoured Israeli cars with Israeli soldiers crossed into Jordan and opened fire at farmers. The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israeli military forces Article 3, paragraphs 2, and 3 and Article 2 paragraph 1 annex 2, article 2 of the Armistice Agreement.

On June 12, at Khirbet Beit Emin four Israeli soldiers crossed into Jordan and killed one village guard and wounded another. The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israeli regular army, article 3, paragraph 2.

On July 20 a platoon from the Israeli army crossed into Jordan and blew up a house at Nahhalin killing two Arab civilians. The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israeli regular forces article 3, paragraph 2 of the Armistice Agreement.

On August 2, three sections of the Israeli army took position and opened fire on Qattane. Jordan casualties were one woman killed and three men injured. The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israeli armed forces, article 3, paragraph 2 of the Armistice Agreement.

On the night of August 11-12, the villages of Wadi Funkin, Idna, and Swrif in Jordan territory, were attacked by Israeli troops. In paragraph 3 of Major General Vagn Bennike's report we read that the Mixed Armistice commission/condemned Israeli regular forces for having carried out these raids. The report goes on "Substantiating the contention that regular military forces took part in these raids is the fact that the body of an Israeli soldier, in full uniform with identification tag was found in the village of Idna after the attack."

I am not going to read a complete list of all Israeli aggressions against Jordan, because it would take too much of your time. I will limit myself to give some global figures which will picture the importance of these Israeli violations of the Armistice Agreement. From November 1950 to November 1953, the Mixed Armistice Commission has condemned Israeli armed forces 44 times, of which I have reported above but a few. With every condemnation, the Mixed Armistice Commission has asked Israel to take all necessary measures to prevent the repetition of such violation of the Armistice Agreements. However, these aggression did not stop but increased in scope and number. Our official records indicate that from February 1952, until October 1953, Israelis have provoked 464 incidents.

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Most Israeli attacks are skillfully planned and carried out by Israeli regular military forces. Answering my third question (p.41) Major General Vagn Bennike stated that in 1943 alone, out of 21 resolutions condemning Israel, 16 were condemnations of attacks against Jordan carried out by Israeli military forces.

Jordan has suffered much loss of life and material damage because of Israeli aggressive actions. The number of Jordanian killed and injured by Israeli armed forces reaches the impressive figure of 629.

Apparently Israeli armed forces have not been deterred from their terrorist activities by repeated condemnations of the Mixed Armistice Commission. With increasing strength and boldness, they are killing and plundering into Jordan territory, their action culminating in the Qibya massacre.

In spite of the gravity of the Qibya tragedy, and in spite of the moral condemnation of this action by world opinion, it appears that Israelis have not renounced to their policy of systematic aggressions.

I am not going to mention all the incidents which have followed the Qibya case, but I would make a special reference to the destruction of the Jerusalem water pipe-line.

On the evening of November 1, the water pipe-line from Ein Fara, which is the main water supply for the Jordan half of Jerusalem was shattered by a time bomb, at a point one mile north of Mount Scopus demilitarized zone. Police investigation revealed that a time fuse had been used, and that the tracks led to the edge of the Hadassah sector of the demilitarized zone, which is occupied by Israeli police.

Major General Vagh Bennike, in answering the second question of the distinguished Representative of Lebanon mentioned: "A United Nations observer, three Jordanian officers and experienced trackers followed tracks from the scene of the incident to a point within seven meters of the fence around the Jewish sector of Mount Scopus. Here the investigating party was stopped by an Israeli Police Inspector. Even though the United Nations observer was satisfied that the tracks he saw at the point near the Scopus fence were the same as those seen at the site of the explosion, the Israeli inspector refused to let the tracker or the United Nations Observer come nearer the fence. The United Nations Observer, who is my representative for Mount Scopus, was at that time with the Israeli inspector inside the Mount Scopus area and was not allowed to continue the investigation inside the area."

This was evidence enough that the destruction of a part of the water pipe-line serving the Arab part of Jerusalem has been carried out by Israelis who entered from the demilitarized zone. This is one more action which is characteristic of the Israeli attitude toward the respect of international agreements.

The calculated horror of the Qibya massacres carried out by military forces of a Government member to the United Nations, pretending to be anxious for peace, is proof that such a Government cannot be trusted.

Such a crime should not go unpunished for the interest of all concerned, and its repetition should be made impossible.

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III. Difference between Individual Infiltration and Aggression by Regular Armed Forces

The infiltration problem has already been exploited to the full by Israeli propaganda. The intent of this propaganda has been to magnify the plague of Arab infiltration to the outside world, and to represent the Israelis as victimized, in order to gain further sympathy. Meanwhile on the spot, the infiltration problem is used to justify retaliatory military operations on civilian populations. This has been going on for a long time, as reported by the United Nations observers.

We would like first to explain why there is an infiltration into the Israeli side of the demarcation line. Infiltration from the Jordan side is engaged in by individuals with usually no intent to hurt Israelis but rather in desperation to see again their relatives, their friends or their properties. It is a hard fact that one million of Arabs have been compelled by force to leave their places in Palestine now occupied by Israel. These individuals find themselves reduced to live a destitute life, without hope of any kind, in degrading material conditions, while they reflect on the enormous amount of Arab properties in Israeli hands evaluated at no less than twelve billion dollars. A number of these individuals with relatives or former interests in Israel cannot always resist the temptation of crossing to the other side. This often results in individual arrests or incidents involving penalties of years of imprisonment, without excluding the ever present risk of being shot by Israeli bullets.

Some of these so-called infiltrators who have no intention to hurt Israelis are children who try to sell, across the demarcation line, eggs or vegetables, of which there is a great shortage in Israel. A sad story about these children is that many of them have been shot and killed by Israeli patrols.

We should also point to the fact that the armistice lines have been so inexpertly drawn as to divide houses from gardens, villages from their fields and farms, and at times, from their unique well. There are even instances in which the line runs through backyards of dwellings. Such situations are found to exist in Qattane village, in Qalquilia and other places along the armistice demarcation lines.

It is difficult to impress on the mass of the public that crossing into their backyards, picking fruits in their gardens, pulling water out of their wells, longing to see once more an old relative, visiting the grave of a dear one, constitute a violation of an international agreement and entails each time, one more condemnation against Jordan, or can provoke a border incident, or worse, can be invoked by Israelis as reason for military reprisals on other innocent villagers.

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Again, it is necessary to emphasize that most Jordanian infiltration is carried on an individual basis, by unarmed individuals. A good number of this type of infiltrators do not easily understand why they should be so sternly dealt with by authorities on either side for entering their homes, their fields, their gardens, or trying to go and dig out some of their buried wealth. We do not attempt here to justify this type of infiltration, because, as a Government, we have subscribed to international agreements which make it our duty to cooperate in preventing infiltration. What we are trying to point out is that, at the individual level, the problem does exist for many plain humanitarian reasons. These reasons will continue to exist as long as people live, suffer and remember.

These minor individual offenses constitute the bulk of the infiltration problem from the Jordan side and consequently such offenses make up the bulk of Jordanian violations of the Armistice Agreement.

Now there exists also some secondary and limited type of infiltration engaged in by armed individuals, and it could well be, that the present economic plight of the country has some impact on this situation. Some armed individuals cross the demarcation line for illicit operations such as smuggling or robbery, and when they clash with guardsmen or troops, investigations of United Nations Observers lead to condemnation of Jordan for illegal infiltration. As is to be expected, such instances are exploited to the full by Israeli propaganda and serve as pretext for bloody reprisals on innocents.

Thirdly, let us mention that, while infiltration at the beginning was largely unarmed and occurred for personal and individual motives, the bitterness of Jordan border populations has steadily increased with the repeated savage attacks of Israeli soldiers. This can only increase the number of ruined, bereaved persons who are likely to infiltrate into Israel, to revenge themselves on the murderers of their families.

What can be the feelings of that guardsman at Qibya who was on duty that night to prevent infiltration and in the morning returned to find his home destroyed, and the eleven members of his family all dead from Israeli fire? On the same order, let us recall the instances in which incendiary bombs were used by Israeli military forces to burn fields of grain inside Jordan. The Chief of Staff's report on page 6, paragraph 6, indicates that on May 28, 1953, the following resolution was passed:

"The Mixed Armistice Commission decides that the burning of crops by Israeli soldiers in Jordan territory is a breach of the General Armistice Agreement, Article III, paragraph 3." What can be the feelings of these poor Jordanian farmers when they see the fruits of months of hard labor destroyed by Israeli fire, leaving them no choice but to lament and starve? Human endurance has limits; anger and famine are bad advisers. Is it to be wondered that some of these people, defying existing regulations, try to reach Israeli crops across the demarcation lines?

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Let us now turn to what happens from the Israeli side.

Israelis pretend to be blind to the root of the problem and the causes of infiltration. They just want to wipe out the resulting situation by methods of force, disregarding humanitarian considerations and international practices.

The Israeli conviction is that this state of affairs justifies wiping out operations by their regular armed forces against Jordanian villages. We have already pointed out the part of the Chief of Staff's report dealing with these repeated aggressive actions of Israeli soldiers.

We leave to this honorable body of world opinion to decide whether such bloody reprisals by the Israeli army against civilians on our soil are humanly justifiable. Do not such acts constitute something more than violations of the Armistice Agreement? Do not they in fact constitute acts of war?

Evidently the character of the Jordanian infiltration carried on an individual basis, and the course of aggressive action taken by Israeli armed forces, present quite a different degree of seriousness in relation to the threat that they constitute to peace and security. The obvious difference is that the Israeli way to deal with the problem leads straight to a shooting war, while Jordan infiltration can be controlled by peaceful means.

Israel has complained at different times that crimes committed in Israel have been the work of infiltrators. It is a fact that many crimes in Israel which had been first imputed by the Israeli press to infiltrators have been found later to have been the work of organized Israeli bands formed as a result of certain political, economic and social struggles inside Israel.

Anyhow, infiltration can on no account justify aggression by Israeli armed forces against Jordanians on Jordan territory. The Israeli Government must be brought to recognize the principle that action to stop the infiltration of which they complain must be confined entirely to the territory occupied by Israel, in accordance with general practices and international procedure.

In international practice, every country is solely responsible for its own frontier. If Mexicans enter the United States illegally, the United States Government does not complain to the Mexican Government for letting them leave Mexico; neither will the United States take military reprisals against innocent villagers across the Mexican side of the border.

Best results in curbing infiltration can be obtained through Israeli sincere collaboration with the United Nations bodies and organizations set up for the supervision of the Armistice Agreements. No improvement of the situation can be hoped for, until Israelis give some concrete proof of their faith that peaceful means are more likely to ease the problem of infiltration than resort to brutal force.

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IV. Efforts and Measures taken by the Jordan Government to Curb Infiltration

All allegations that high authorities in Jordan are encouraging infiltration is pure propaganda. Israelis have occasionally stated that infiltration is officially encouraged by Jordan but they have never pressed it or produced any evidence. Not only there is no evidence to be found to give ground to such allegations, but it is contrary to the facts.

Our Government is seriously concerned by the problem of infiltration and is anxious to do all in its power to keep it in check. To that end, they have taken numerous elaborate measures. These measures can be classified under three headings: Legislation, the setting up of guards and police forces, and the working out of special agreements under the auspices of the Mixed Armistice Commission.

In normal times, democratic countries have no laws which require that their citizens obtain special permit to leave the country. It is usual practice that citizens leave their country at will, and are not sought for punishment when they do so.

Jordan is one of the numerous countries which have no legal provision to that effect. However, and in spite of current international practice, Jordan in an effort to tackle the infiltration problem has used an emergency ordinance against Jordanians who cross armistice demarcation lines. On the basis of that ordinance, local Governors condemn those Jordanians to terms of imprisonment of various lengths. Some infiltrators have received terms of three years of imprisonment with forced labor.

Actually, half of the persons in Jordan prisons have been confined for the offense of infiltration. On that account, the Government has been the target of much criticism in the Jordanian Parliament and the Jordanian Press. However, the Jordan Government has been firm and consistent in its attitude towards the problem, in the hope that if both sides cooperate fully with the Truce Supervision Organization and honor the obligations they have undertaken, infiltration can be brought to a minimum.

Besides these legal and administrative measures, Jordan has set up a special police force to guard armistice demarcation lines and prevent crossing from either side. This effort has been costly and this special police force represents an extra and heavy burden on the budget of a small and poor country such as Jordan. The Chief of Staff in his report in paragraph 31 gives recognition to the fact that: "Jordan is taking measures against infiltration and will continue to do so."

In the third place, Jordan has subscribed to special agreements under the auspices of the Mixed Armistice Commission in order to curb infiltration by all available means. In May 1952, the "Agreements on measures to curb infiltration" came into force. On December 29 of the same year, it was replaced by an "Agreement to Reduce Border Incidents," which was valid for one month. It was hoped that this

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new agreement would help to settle current problems in a more cooperative spirit and consequently it was considered an improvement on the previous one. However, ten days later, Israelis announced that the new agreement to reduce and solve incidents was null and void. The agreement provided that should it come to expiration, the old "Agreement on Measures to Curb Infiltration" would automatically re-enter into force. But the Israelis, in voiding the new agreement, gave also formal notice of their desire to terminate the old agreement in two weeks' time.

The denunciation of these two agreements was promptly followed by Israeli attacks on the villages of Falame, Rentis and Qalquilya.

Anyone reading paragraphs 23, 24 and 25 of the Chief of Staff's report can easily follow this deterioration of the situation.

Israelis did not content themselves with formally denouncing agreements aimed at curbing infiltration and of sending their troops to carry on these attacks on Jordan territory, but the Officer in charge of the Israeli Delegation to the Mixed Armistice Commission stated during one of the last April meetings in which the Rentis incident was discussed "that he saw no useful purpose in the working of the Mixed Armistice Commission."

The measures taken by the Jordan Government have resulted in a great decrease of the scope of infiltration. This decrease is indicated by the diminution in the number of Israeli complaints regarding infiltration submitted to the Armistice Commission. During the first nine months of 1952, Israel submitted 233 complaints. During the same period in 1953, it submitted 172 complaints, as mentioned by Major General Vagn Bennike's answers, page 36.

The situation deteriorated later because of the Israelis' denunciation of the two agreements to curb infiltration and reduce border incidents. At the beginning of June, relentless efforts of the Commission succeeded in setting up a new local commanders' agreement to which Jordan readily adhered. The resumption of local commanders' meetings improved the situation to some extent. At the end of August, this agreement was renewed for a further period of three months. But the improvement was short lived, and increased tensions developed, bringing the situation to a rupture point after repeated aggressions by Israeli armed forces, culminating in the Qibya tragedy.

When, on October 13, a hand grenade, thrown at a house at Yehuda (village situated ten kilometers inside the Israeli side of the armistice line), Israelis immediately claimed that a Jordanian infiltrator was responsible for the crime. Jordan immediately offered cooperation in finding the persons guilty, if the claim were true. For the first time Israel accepted such facilities, always offered by Jordan in such cases. A trail followed by an Israeli police dog led across the demarcation line, but there was lost. To quote Major General Vagn Bennike's answer

to the second question of the distinguished Representative of the United Kingdom: "Immediately following the receipt of the Israeli complaint, United Nations observers...carried out an investigation. There was no evidence on the ground to indicate who had committed the crime."

Whoever the author of the crime -- an infiltrator or a member of an Israeli band -- it was a horrible crime, as declared by the Jordan Delegate at the Mixed Armistice Commission meeting on October 14. The Jordan Government spared no effort to help in finding the criminals and punishing them. This is evidenced by the fact that the Chief of Staff of the Arab Legion himself took immediately the case in consideration. Early on the morning of October 14, he flew from Amman to Jerusalem and requested a meeting with the Acting Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission. At the same time the Jordan Delegate asked the Senior Israeli Delegate, when the Commission met on October 14, that Israelis "do not retaliate...(because)...if any retaliation action is taken the whole issue will be difficult, and it will confuse the investigation on our side."

Twenty-four hours later, Israeli military forces indulged in the Qibya massacre. The incident at Yehuda could not in any way justify their forces to murder 66 innocent victims in a Jordanian village and shell two other villages.

It is not without interest to compare the attitude of Jordan authorities in the Yehuda case with the attitude of Israeli authorities in the case of the destruction of the Jerusalem water pipe-line: in the first instance Jordan offered all facilities to both United Nations observers and Israelis to carry on the investigation on Jordan territory.

In the case of the destruction of the Jerusalem pipe-line, Israelis offered no facilities at all to United Nations investigators. It was not only a lack of cooperation, but a simple refusal to let the investigation proceed when Israeli authorities barred all United Nations investigators to carry on their work in the demilitarized zone of Mont-Scopus.

While the Jordan Government in the face of intolerable provocation have kept their faith in the United Nations Organization, Israeli official spokesmen, having made up their mind that international bodies, such as the Mixed Armistice Commission serve no useful purpose, seem to have adopted the dangerous philosophy for the international community that "Might is Right."

Israelis have emphasized that they have proposed talks between high ranking military commanders which did not take place. It is interesting to know what has happened in this respect.

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First of all, I would like to remark that Israel and Jordan have two different conceptions of the ways in which should be insured the respect of boundaries and demarcation lines. The Jordan Government is a civilian Government, and all its administrative departments are run by civilian personnel. Contraventions, crimes committed along boundaries, demarcation lines, or elsewhere in Jordan are dealt with, by the Police and Justice departments. The Israeli Government conception is that any offense committed along boundaries and demarcation lines are of the competence of the military.

In consequence Jordan is represented in the Mixed Armistice Commission by a civilian, while the Israeli representative is a military officer.

In conformity with the conception of the Jordan Government, all matters arising from cases of infiltration in Jordan are a police problem.

The proposition of Israel to have talks between high ranking military officers was met by Jordan, on the basis of their conception that the control of demarcation lines should be entrusted to civilian officers. In consequence the Jordan Representative in the meeting which followed was the Jordan Senior Delegate at the Mixed Armistice Commission. Israelis on the other hand were represented by a military officer.

It is not international practice that one State press on another to appoint a high ranking military officer, when the state concerned desires to be represented by a civilian in a given meeting. Such pressure is no less than an interference in the administration of the other State.

Another related difficulty is the Israeli demand that the Arab Legion be stationed on the demarcation line to control infiltration. It has always been Jordan's contention that problems of infiltration are a police matter. Besides, Jordan is convinced that to maintain military forces on the demarcation lines is to increase the probability of serious trouble: witness the continual inroads on Jordan by Israeli armed forces. We are convinced that if Israeli armed forces were not stationed along demarcation lines, the security situation in the area would be much improved.

Concerning the latest Israeli proposition that senior political and military representatives of Israel and Jordan should meet at United Nations headquarters without delay to discuss Armistice problems, I would like to remark that my delegation is here to express the views of the Jordan Government on the Qibya massacre, and we have no credentials to enter into any other discussions.

It seems that if the Israeli Government has some proposal to submit to the Jordan Government the proper channel would be through the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. If there is agreement, the most

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suitable place for such discussions would likely be Jerusalem, because of the proximity and facility of communications with the two governments.

Conclusion

Mr. President, the Qibya case is a flagrant aggression and a treacherous act of war. It has resulted in a dangerous state of political tension in the area. Had not the Jordan Government been able to exercise patience and restraint, and had they met violence with violence, as was demanded by public outcry, the Palestine War would have flared up again.

Now, both official circles and masses throughout the Arab World await anxiously the decisions that this honorable Council is going to take on the matter.

Either the aggressor will be sternly condemned and practical guarantees will be recommended to prevent any recurrence of such breaks of the Armistice Agreement, or the condemnation will be in such vague and general terms, that it will leave no choice for countries victim of aggression, but to rely on their own power to repel the aggressor. We all know that at no time and nowhere have such methods been favorable to stability.

The debates have amply demonstrated that Israelis pay no respect to the numerous condemnations of the Mixed Armistice Commission, requiring them to take adequate measures to prevent the recurrence of the aggressions of their armed forces

Such a state of affairs has led to our conviction, that blame and condemnation alone, will not put an end to Israeli aggressions. For this reason my Delegation requests the following:

First, that Israel be condemned for the Qibya massacre in the strongest terms-- terms which should match the atrocity and horror of that action of Israeli armed forces.

Secondly, that Israel be asked to proceed with the trial and punishment of all Israeli officials -- be they military officers or civilians -- responsible for that horrible crime. This is the only direct way in which Israel can prove her sincerity in disapproving the Qibya massacre.

Thirdly, we request that Israel be asked to prevent the repetition of any kind of aggression by her military forces, or other armed forces against Jordan.

Fourthly, we express the wish that no military aid or financial assistance be granted to Israel without specific guarantees that such help will not contribute to further Israeli aggressions. It should also be disposed that in case of new Israeli aggressions such aid would be discontinued. Only then would Israelis realize the full meaning of the great countries' guarantee of boundaries and truce demarcation lines. Nothing less will likely affect the aggressive attitude of Israel.

Fifthly, we request that all other possible measures to check Israeli aggressive and expansionist policy be taken without delay.

Mr. President, the situation in the Near East today is as grave as it was in 1948. It has been proved in this Council that Israeli well-trained, armed forces, indulge in serious acts of aggression, deep into Jordan territory, (up to 18 miles in the south and about three miles in the thickly populated area) and that the serious nature of these aggressions are a threat to collective security in that part of the world. Only by putting an end to Israeli war-like actions, will security be restored, and tranquility prevail in that area.