

SECTION 4

The Continuing Struggle

44

Proclamation of the United Arab Republic

February 1, 1958

On February 1, 1958, in a historic session held at Kubbah Palace in Cairo, His Excellency President Shukry El-Kuwatly of Syria, and President Gamal Abdel-Nasser of Egypt, met the representatives of the Republics of Syria and Egypt, El-Sayed, Sabry El-Assaly, El-Sayed Abdel-Latif El-Baghdady, El-Sayed Khaled El-Azm, El-Sayed Zakaria Mohieddin, El-Sayed Hamed El-Khoga, El-Sayed Anwar El-Sadat, El-Sayed Fakher El Kayyaly, El-Sayed Maamoun El-Kozbary, El-Sayed Hussein El-Shaffei, El-Sayed Assaad Haroun, General Abdel-Hakim Amer, El-Sayed Salaheddin El-Bittar, El-Sayed Kamaleddin Hussein, El-Sayed Khalil El-Kallas, El-Sayed Nouredine Tarraf, El-Sayed Saleh Akeel, El-Sayed Fathy Radwan, General Afif El-Bizry, El-Sayed Mahmoud Fawzy, El-Sayed Kamal Ramzi Stino, El-Sayed Aly Sabri, El-Sayed Abdel-Rahman El-Azm and El-Sayed Mahmoud Riad.

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the final measures to be taken for the realization of the Arab peoples' will, and the execution of what the constitutions of both republics stipulate, namely that the people of each of them form a part of the Arab Nation. They, therefore, discussed the decisions unanimously approved by the National Assembly of Egypt and the Syrian House of Representatives that unity should be established between the two countries as a preliminary step towards the realisation of complete Arab unity. They also discussed the clear signs manifest in the past few years, that Arab nationalism was the inspiring spirit that dominated the history of Arabs in all their different countries, their common present and the hoped-for future of every Arab.

They came to the conclusion that this unity which is the fruit of Arab nationalism is the Arabs' path to sovereignty and freedom, that it is one of humanity's gateways to peace and co-operation, and that it is therefore their duty to take this unity with persistence and determination staunch and unwavering, out of the circle of wishes and aspirations to where it can be converted into a reality. They came out of this with the conviction that the elements conducive to the success of

the union of the two republics were abundant, particularly recently after their joint struggle—which had brought them even closer to one another—made the meaning of nationalism considerably clearer, stressed the fact that it was a movement for liberation and rehabilitation and that it was a faith in peace and co-operation

For all this, the participants declare their total agreement, complete faith and deeply rooted confidence in the necessity of uniting Egypt and Syria into one state to be named “The United Arab Republic.”

They have likewise decided to declare their unanimous agreement on the adoption of a presidential democratic system of government for the Arab Republic. The executive authority shall be vested in the head of the state assisted by the ministers appointed by him and responsible to him.

The legislative authority shall be vested in one legislative house. The new republic shall have one flag, one army, one people who shall remain joined in a unity where all will share equal rights and duties, where all will call for the protection of their country with heart and soul, and compete in the consolidation of its integrity and the insurance of its invulnerability.

His Excellency President Shukry El-Kuwatly and President Gamal Abdel-Nasser will each deliver a statement to the people in the Syrian and the Egyptian Parliaments respectively on Wednesday, February 5, 1958 in which they will announce the decisions reached in this meeting and explain the principles of the unity on which this rising young republic shall stand.

The peoples of Egypt and Syria shall be called upon to participate in a general plebiscite on the principles of this unity and the choice of the head of the state within thirty days.

In proclaiming these decisions, the participants feel great pride and overwhelming joy in having assisted in taking this positive step on the road to Arab unity and solidarity—a unity which had been for many an epoch and many a generation the Arab's much cherished hope and greatly coveted objective. In deciding on the unity of both nations, the participants declare that their unity aims at the unification of all the Arab peoples and affirm that the door is open for participation to any Arab state desirous of joining them in a union or federation for the purpose of protecting the Arab peoples from harm and evil, strengthening Arab sovereignty, and safeguarding its existence.

May God protect this step we have taken and those which are to follow with His ever vigilant care and benevolence so that the Arab people under the banner of unity may live in dignity and peace.

45

**The Arab Federation:
Joint Communiqué of Iraq and Jordan**

February 14, 1958

WHEREAS the great Arab Revolt, led by His late Majesty Al-Hussein Ibn Ali, heralding the birth of a new dawn for the Arab Nation, and reflected by sacrifice for the liberation of the Greater Arab Motherland and the unification of its peoples and its lands with the aim of regaining the station of the Arabs among the nations of the world and contributing to the advancement of civilization; and

WHEREAS that blessed Revolt derived its inspiration from the will of the Arabs to achieve freedom and unity on the basis of their glorious history and their faith in themselves and the immortal message of their Nationalism, and

WHEREAS the message of the Arab Revolt—whose author gave his life in its cause—descended to sons and grandsons, inherited by generation after generation as the torch that guides the Nation of the Arabs in its march towards the achievement of its cherished aims of comprehensive unity and full freedom and sovereignty and for the recovery of its glory, the preservation of its sacred inheritance and the realization of its aspirations for an auspicious future under this blessed unity

NOW therefore, the two Hashemite States have resolved to form a Federation between them based on these high aims, and in fulfillment of this object and their National aims agreement has been reached on what follows:

1. An Arab Federation is formed between the Kingdom of Iraq and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to be known as the Arab Federation and to take effect as from Friday, 24 Rajab 1377 A H corresponding to 14th February 1958 A D This Federation shall be open to the other Arab States who may wish to adhere to it.

2. Each of the two States shall preserve its independent, international identity and its sovereignty over its territories and retain its present regime of government.

3 International treaties, pacts and agreements entered into by either of the two States before the formation of the Federation shall continue to be observed by the State that concluded them but shall not bind the other State As for international treaties, pacts and agreements that may be concluded after the establishment of the Federation and which shall come within the terms of the Federation, these shall come under the competence and authority of the Federal Government.

4 As from the date of the official proclamation of the establishment of the Federation, measures for the complete unification of the following matters shall be executed by the two States of the Federation.

- (a) The unification of Foreign Policy and Diplomatic representation
- (b) The unification of the Armies of Jordan and Iraq (the Arab Army)
- (c) The removal of Customs barriers between the two States and unification of their Customs laws
- (d) The unification of educational programmes

5. The two parties agree to take the necessary steps as quickly as possible to unify currency and co-ordinate economic and financial policies between the two States.

6. When necessity or the interests of the Federation require the unification of any matter not mentioned in Article 4, the necessary steps shall be taken in accordance with the Constitution of the Federation to bring such matters within the competence and authority of the Federal Government.

7. The flag of the Arab Revolt shall be the flag of the Federation and of the two States.

8. (a) Federal matters shall be dealt with by the Federal Government consisting of a Legislative Chamber and Executive Authority

(b) The members of the Legislative Chamber shall be elected by the Parliaments of Iraq and Jordan respectively, from among their own members, the two States to be equally represented in numbers

(c) The members of the Executive Authority shall be appointed in accordance with the Provisions of the Federal Constitution to assume responsibility for the matters which come within the competence of the Federal Government.

9. The King of Iraq shall be the Head of the Federal Government and in the event of his absence for any reason, the King of Jordan shall be head. Each of the two Kings shall retain his Constitutional powers in his own Kingdom. In the event of any other State adhering to the Federation, the question of Head of the Federation shall be reconsidered as circumstances may require.

10. The seat of the Federal Government shall alternate between Baghdad and Amman and for a period of six months in each

11. (a) The Federal Government shall draw up a Constitution for the Federation in accordance with the bases set out in this Agreement and the Constitution of each of the two States shall be modified to the extent and limits required by the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

(b) The necessary steps and measures shall be taken to establish the Federal Government and draw up the Federal Constitution within a period not exceeding three months within the date of the signature of this Agreement.

This Agreement shall be ratified according to the Constitutional procedures observed in the two States. Done at Basman Palace, Amman, This Friday 24 Rajab 1377, A. H. corresponding to 14th February 1958 A. D.

46

**Statement on Sending Troops to Lebanon:
Dwight D. Eisenhower**

July 15, 1958

Yesterday morning I received from President Chamoun of Lebanon an urgent plea that some United States forces be stationed in Lebanon to help maintain security and to evidence the concern of the United States for the integrity and

independence of Lebanon. President Chamoun's appeal was made with the concurrence of all of the members of the Lebanese Cabinet.

President Chamoun made clear that he considered an immediate United States response imperative if Lebanon's independence, already menaced from without, were to be preserved in the face of the grave developments which occurred yesterday in Baghdad whereby the lawful Government was violently overthrown and many of its members martyred.

In response to this appeal from the Government of Lebanon, the United States has dispatched a contingent of United States forces to Lebanon to protect American lives and by their presence there to encourage the Lebanese Government in defense of Lebanese sovereignty and integrity. These forces have not been sent as any act of war. They will demonstrate the concern of the United States for the independence and integrity of Lebanon, which we deem vital to the national interest and world peace. Our concern will also be shown by economic assistance. We shall act in accordance with these legitimate concerns.

The United States, this morning, will report its action to an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. As the United Nations Charter recognizes, there is an inherent right of collective self-defense. In conformity with the spirit of the Charter, the United States is reporting the measures taken by it to the Security Council of the United Nations, making clear that these measures will be terminated as soon as the Security Council has itself taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The United States believes that the United Nations can and should take measures which are adequate to preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. It is apparent, however, that in the face of the tragic and shocking events that are occurring near by, more will be required than the team of United Nations observers now in Lebanon. Therefore, the United States will support in the United Nations measures which seem to be adequate to meet the new situation and which will enable the United States forces promptly to be withdrawn.

Lebanon is a small peace-loving state with which the United States has traditionally had the most friendly relations. There are in Lebanon about 2,500 Americans and we cannot, consistently with our historic relations and with the principles of the United Nations, stand idly by when Lebanon appeals itself for evidence of our concern and when Lebanon may not be able to preserve internal order and to defend itself against indirect aggression.

47

**Address to Congress:
Dwight D. Eisenhower**

July 15, 1958

On July 14, 1958, I received an urgent request from the President of the Republic of Lebanon that some United States forces be stationed in Lebanon. President Chamoun stated that, without an immediate showing of United States support,

the Government of Lebanon would be unable to survive. This request by President Chamoun was made with the concurrence of all the members of the Lebanese Cabinet. I have replied that we would do this and a contingent of United States Marines has now arrived in Lebanon. This initial dispatch of troops will be augmented as required. United States forces will be withdrawn as rapidly as circumstances permit.

Simultaneously, I requested that an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council be held on July 15, 1958. At that meeting, the permanent representative of the United States reported to the Council the action which this government has taken. He also expressed the hope that the United Nations could soon take further effective measures to meet more fully the situation in Lebanon. We will continue to support the United Nations to this end.

United States forces are being sent to Lebanon to protect American lives and by their presence to assist the Government of Lebanon in the preservation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and independence, which have been deemed vital to United States national interests and world peace.

About two months ago a violent insurrection broke out in Lebanon, particularly along the border with Syria, which with Egypt forms the United Arab Republic. This revolt was encouraged and strongly backed by the official Cairo, Damascus and Soviet radios, which broadcast to Lebanon in the Arabic language. The insurrection was furthered by sizable amounts of arms, ammunition and money and by personnel infiltrated from Syria to fight against the lawful authorities. The avowed purpose of these activities was to overthrow the legally constituted Government of Lebanon and to install by violence a Government which would subordinate the independence of Lebanon to the policies of the United Arab Republic.

Lebanon referred this situation to the United Nations Security Council. In view of the international implications of what was occurring in Lebanon, the Security Council on June 11, 1958, decided to send observers into Lebanon for the purpose of insuring that further outside assistance to the insurrection would cease. The Secretary General of the United Nations subsequently undertook a mission to the area to reinforce the work of the observer.

It was our belief that the efforts of the Secretary General and of the United Nations observers were helpful in reducing further aid in terms of personal and military equipment from across the frontiers of Lebanon. There was a basis for hope that the situation might be moving toward a peaceful solution, consonant with the continuing integrity of Lebanon, and that the aspect of indirect aggression from without was being brought under control.

The situation was radically changed, however, on July 14 when there was a violent outbreak in Baghdad, in nearby Iraq. Elements in Iraq strongly sympathetic to the United Arab Republic seem to have murdered or driven from office individuals comprising the lawful government of that country. We do not yet know in detail to what extent they have succeeded. We do have reliable information that important Iraqi leaders have been murdered.

We share with the Government of Lebanon the view that these events in Iraq demonstrate a ruthlessness of aggressive purpose which tiny Lebanon can not combat without further evidence of support from other friendly nations.

After the most detailed consideration, I have concluded that, given the developments in Iraq, the measures thus far taken by the United Nations Security Council

are not sufficient to preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. I have considered, furthermore, the question of our responsibility to protect and safeguard American citizens in Lebanon, of whom there are about 2,500. Pending the taking of adequate measures by the United Nations, the United States will be acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter recognizes is an inherent right—the right of all nations to work together and to seek help when necessary to preserve their independence. I repeat that we wish to withdraw our forces as soon as the United Nations has taken further effective steps designed to safeguard Lebanese independence.

It is clear that the events which have been occurring in Lebanon represent indirect aggression from without, and that such aggression endangers the independence and integrity of Lebanon.

It is recognized that the step now being taken may have serious consequences. I have, however, come to the considered and sober conclusion that despite the risk involved, this action is required to support the principles of justice and international law upon which peace and a stable international order depend.

Our Government has acted in response to an appeal for help from a small and peaceful nation which has long had ties of closet friendship with the United States. Readiness to help a friend in need is an admirable characteristic of the American people, and I am, in this message, informing the Congress of the reasons why I believe that the United States could not in honor stand idly by in this hour of Lebanon's grave peril. As we act at the request of a friendly government to help it to preserve its independence and to preserve law and order which will protect American lives, we are acting to reaffirm and strengthen principles upon which the safety and security of the United States depend.

48

**Arab Resolution:
United Nations General Assembly**

August 20, 1958

Compromise resolution drafted by delegates of ten Arab states.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item "Question discussed at the 838th meeting of the Security Council" on 7 Aug., 1958,

Noting the Charter aim that states should "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors,"

Noting that the Arab states have agreed in the pact of the League of Arab States to strengthen the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab states, and to support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these states, and to direct their efforts toward the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future and the realization of their aspirations and hopes;

Desiring to relieve international tension,

A

1. Welcomes the renewed assurances given by the Arab states to observe the provisions of Article 8 of the Pact of the League of Arab States that "each member shall respect the systems of government established in the other member states and regard them as exclusive concerns of those states," and that "each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government."

2. Calls upon all member states to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and of equal and mutual benefit, and to insure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles;

B

Requests the Secretary General to make forthwith, in consultation with the governments concerned and in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and having in mind Section A of this resolution, such practical arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in the present circumstances, and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of the foreign troops from the two countries;

C

Invites the Secretary General to continue his studies now under way and in this context to consult as appropriate with the Arab countries of the Near East with a view to possible assistance regarding an Arab development institution designed to further economic growth in these countries;

D

1. Requests member states to cooperate fully in carrying out this resolution;

2. Invites the Secretary General to report hereunder, as appropriate, the first such report to be made not later than 30 September, 1958