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LETTER DATED 25 APRIL 1967 FROM THE DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF SAUDI ARABIA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Since I had the honour of replying to your note SO 215/1 dated 28 March 1967, relative to four communications sent to you by various parties concerning the execution of seventeen Yemeni saboteurs by my Government, I have subsequently received five other notes with an identical reference, namely, SO 215/1 dated 29 March 1967, 30 March 1967, another note dated 30 March 1967, 10 April 1967 and 13 April, 1967.

Attached to these notes I counted the copies of fifty-eight cables, fifty-five of which have originated from the United Arab Republic, protesting the execution of the aforementioned saboteurs in Riyadh.

It has become obvious that the parties who sent these cables have been instigated to do so by the Government of the United Arab Republic for no reason other than to cover that Government's scheme in their abortive attempt to overthrow the Government of Saudi Arabia by having, inter alia, employed these Yemeni saboteurs to perpetrate acts of terrorism in order to enable the Government of the United Arab Republic to expand its intervention in the whole of the Arabian Peninsula.

It is, therefore, no longer surprising as to why the Secretary-General has been exposed to such a barrage of protests in order to divert his attention and that of the international community from the objectives that have been pursued by the Government of the United Arab Republic ever since it entertained the high hopes of exercising its hegemony over the Arabian Peninsula and ultimately other Arab countries elsewhere, by having embarked upon its military adventure in the Yemen over four and a half years ago.

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At this stage, before revealing any further facts, it is pertinent to mention that all the mass media of information in the United Arab Republic have been nationalized. Operated as these media actually are by the Government of the United Arab Republic, spurious news were disseminated to misguide the public from the moment the said Yemeni saboteurs were captured and subsequently tried and executed, to the extent that at one time these media of information falsely claimed that the executed were not Yemenis but Saudi nationals garbed in Yemeni clothing.

When the international Press left no doubt about the identity and mission of these Yemeni saboteurs, the United Arab Republic media of information seemed instantly to forget their fantastic allegations and launched a campaign smearing the Government of Saudi Arabia as having put to death "innocent Yemenis" who had for many years resided in Saudi Arabia.

Maligning the Government of Saudi Arabia in the Press and broadcasts of the United Arab Republic was intensified from day to day in the wake of which various individuals and associations inside the United Arab Republic were fomented to protest to the Secretary-General by the dispatch of innumerable cables.

It is strange indeed that the selfsame individuals and associations in the United Arab Republic should have kept silent when on many occasions the Government of the United Arab Republic saw fit to execute inside its own territory hundreds of persons including members of the Muslim Brotherhood on the assumption that they rebelled or conspired against the régime.

It is indeed also strange that the selfsame individuals and associations had not elected or perhaps dared to protest the execution of rebellious officers and other members of the armed forces whenever the Government of the United Arab Republic had considered them a threat to their existence.

Silence is sustained whenever the United Arab Republic Government wish it to be so, but vituperations and calumnies prevail whenever the authorities in the United Arab Republic deem that they can derive some benefit therefrom.

What about the 100,000 Yemenis or so, and this is a conservative estimate, who perished, and what about the twenty or more thousand troops of the United Arab Republic who were killed in Yemen, and there is no end in sight for those who shall die in that country as a sacrifice for the Government of the United Arab Republic in its endeavour to realize its insatiable expansionist dreams in the Arab world.

Are all these dead not worthy of protests on the part of those who have engaged in staccato lamentations about the Yemeni saboteurs?

This being so, it is not at all astonishing why these protesters should not articulate a single word about the lives that were snuffed out in Kitaf, Northern Yemen, through the employment of lethal gas by United Arab Republic aircraft.

Does it become understandable to anyone in the face of all these facts as to why cables are still proliferating from inside the United Arab Republic with regard to the execution of the Yemeni saboteurs that were caught red-handed and confessed that they had been trained in the United Arab Republic to commit subversive acts against Saudi Arabia?

I need not repeat to the Secretary-General the contents of the note I sent to him on this subject on 30 March 1967, so that he may transmit it to the Human Rights Commission. However, in view of the repeated instigations and incitements against Saudi Arabia emanating from misguided associations and individuals driven by the authorities of the United Arab Republic to engage in salacious pronouncements against the Saudi Arabian Government, I find no choice on behalf of my Government but to reveal to you and the international community the causes that have compelled the Government of the United Arab Republic to resort to overt and clandestine aggression in the Arabian Peninsula so that anyone who reads this letter may reserve his judgement on the whys and wherefores of the policy of the United Arab Republic in that region.

Here below, I shall marshal the facts which not only will give the Secretary-General and the international community the background of the human tragedy in Yemen, but also the relevant facts that prompted the Government of the United Arab Republic to train hundreds of Yemeni saboteurs in order to subvert Arab Governments including that of Saudi Arabia.

1. When the late Imam, Ahmed Bin Yahia, passed away in the fall of 1962, his son, Prince Al-Badr was proclaimed his successor. During the later period of Imam Ahmed's reign it was well known that he had many differences with his son, Prince Al-Badr, who saw the need for introducing many social reforms in Yemen. In fact, Prince Al-Badr visited many countries including the United Arab Republic where he became a close friend of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Prince Al-Badr also visited the Soviet Union where he was considered as an emerging reformer with

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a new progressive outlook. In spite of his father's conservatism, Prince Al-Badr was instrumental in linking his country with the United Arab Republic in a federal political arrangement which it was hoped might eventually lead to Arab union. The friendship between the United Arab Republic Chief of State and Prince Al-Badr became proverbial.

Immediately upon the death of his father, Imam Al-Badr issued a proclamation setting a vast programme of reforms which he solemnly pledged himself to carry out in his country. The first cable of congratulations and exhortations Prince Al-Badr received was from the Chief of State of the United Arab Republic.

2. Whilst Imam Ahmed was still alive, a number of disgruntled Yemenis had lived in Egypt and some of them banded themselves into a sort of political faction in exile.

Ironically, even before the congratulations of the Government of the United Arab Republic were formulated, a conspiracy was being hatched for the overthrow of Imam Al-Badr and all the members of the Hamiduddin family. It has been subsequently revealed that the said conspiracy was strongly encouraged and amply financed by the Government of the United Arab Republic.

It so happened that during the reign of the late Imam Ahmed, a certain officer in the Royal Yemeni Guard by the name of Mr. Abdullah Al-Sallal, got into trouble with the late Imam on several occasions, which necessitated his punishment by the Imam. Whence every time this occurred, it was Prince Al-Badr who pleaded his cause and bailed him out of prison.

How did Mr. Al-Sallal compensate Prince Al-Badr for the good acts towards him? History provides the answer for these good acts. Mr. Al-Sallal was a party to the conspiracy to assassinate Imam Al-Badr and overthrow the Government. Imam Al-Badr escaped during the bombardment of the Royal Palace in Sanaa on orders of Mr. Al-Sallal.

Labouring under the impression that Imam Al-Badr was killed, the Government of the United Arab Republic dispatched armed forces to Yemen and bolstered Mr. Al-Sallal who proclaimed himself the President of a Yemeni Republic. The Yemeni conspirators in Cairo hastened to Yemen, and a number of them took over the Government which from the outset was under the aegis of the United Arab Republic military authorities in Sanaa.

3. Imam Al-Badr saved himself by jumping from the Palace and fled to the countryside where many loyal tribes rallied around him.

4. The presence of the United Arab Republic armed forces in swelling numbers brought about a civil war among the various tribes whose leaders finally realized that they would be under the thumb of the United Arab Republic as long as its armed forces remained in Yemen.

Inasmuch as some tribal chiefs were not in favour of the late Imam Ahmed's old régime, they started to be restless when they found out that they had become subject to the edicts of the United Arab Republic military régime in Sanaa. In consequence, some of these chiefs aligned themselves with Imam Al-Badr while others identified themselves with a dissident movement that dissociated itself from the United Arab Republic. Hence these dissidents emerged as a third force whose primary objective has been to work for the withdrawal of the United Arab Republic armed forces from Yemen.

5. In the face of these developments, Saudi Arabia could not remain complacent in view of the fact that the Government of the United Arab Republic had decided to use Yemen as a springboard for their expansionism in the Arabian Peninsula. However, notwithstanding the fact that Saudi Arabia never recognized the alleged Republic of Yemen, which incidentally has been a republic without a public in the factual as well as the juridical sense of the word, nevertheless the Saudi Arabian Government kept aloof from sending any armed forces into Yemeni territory because it has always maintained that only the Yemeni people have the right to determine the form of their own government.

Whereas the Government of Saudi Arabia never sent military forces to support Imam Al-Badr in his struggle against the invader, the Saudi Government could not withhold aid, especially in food-stuffs, to the Imam and his people who have been fighting against great odds.

6. When the troops of the United Arab Republic found they could make no headway in Yemen, although, at one time, their estimated number attained 80,000, United Arab Republic aircraft initiated a campaign of terrorism by wiping out many villages and hamlets leaving thousands of people destitute aside from the more than 100,000 that were killed in these operations.

United Arab Republic aircraft even employed lethal gas on more than one occasion but to no avail, since the Yemeni people could not be intimidated and preferred death to the foreign yoke.

7. Unfortunately, power politics has entered into the Yemeni picture.

In spite of the fact that the Government of the bogus Republic of Yemen itself had no effective control, and the emphasis is on itself, over the Yemeni territory, and whereas that Government could not in any way act independently of the occupying military forces of the United Arab Republic, the two major Powers in the United Nations hastily recognized the so-called republican régime in Yemen for no reason other than to ingratiate themselves with the United Arab Republic which perhaps because of sheer numbers is considered the largest Arab State. These two Powers seemed to emulate each other in recognizing what they termed the "progressive forces" inside Yemen. The principles of international law were totally ignored. And since these two major Powers carry a lot of weight in the United Nations, it became ludicrous how a good number of States Members of this Organization followed suit in recognizing the artificial Republic of Yemen. I repeat "ludicrous" because a few of their representatives told me that their Governments did not know anything of what was going on inside Yemen except from sources of the two major Powers. More ludicrous indeed it was when I learned that some of those who should have known better, thought that Yemen was in Africa.

8. In spite of the sustained assistance of the two major Powers to the Government of the United Arab Republic, the armed forces of the latter have failed to attain their primary objective of making Yemen the springboard of their expansionist activities in the Arabian Peninsula. The millions in funds wasted in the Yemeni campaign could have made many parts of the Egyptian desert bloom with prosperity. Instead, covering their political design with high sounding phrases such as bringing civilization into a "feudal country" or "introducing Arab socialism to an oppressed people" or "bringing modern light into the dark recesses of the medieval ages", the Government of the United Arab Republic has caused so much suffering to the Yemeni people to the despair of their own troops. Eventually, the conflict assumed the size of a war not less atrocious than the conflagration in South-East Asia.

Such phrases as "civilizational mission" with which some Egyptian publicists characterized the United Arab Republic military campaign in Yemen, recall the epithets of the erstwhile colonial Powers that justified invading countries not their own in order to serve their economic, political or strategic interests. Today such aggression as we are witnessing in Yemen is made under the guise of bringing progress to the land by way of revolution.

The result is that the vultures in the Yemeni skies had never before so abundantly feasted on corpses that have strewn the land on account of the United Arab Republic military operations in that unhappy country. But the Yemeni patriotic spirit could neither be crushed nor cowed, as every day more of those who were allured by deceptive promises about the establishment of a utopia in Yemen by the Government of the United Arab Republic, have gotten wise to the fact that the gates of hell were set ajar in the land. The fight goes on. Arab kills Arab. The major Powers are not concerned. The war in South-East Asia is fought for high stakes. YEMEN CAN WAIT.

9. The military intervention of the United Arab Republic in Yemen which has brought untold misery to both Yemenis and Egyptians alike is in dire contravention with the letter and spirit of an item introduced during the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty".

Paradoxically, the delegation of the United Arab Republic to the United Nations was one of the chief sponsors of this item.

During the twenty-first session, the delegation of the United Arab Republic was one of the protagonists in discussing the status of the implementation of the said declaration.

The permanent representative of the United Arab Republic, speaking in the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on Monday, 12 December 1966, declared:

"The policy of the Government of the United Arab Republic on this question is crystal clear. Both the Government and the people firmly believe in respect for and observance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States. This policy is not the outcome of sheer invention, nor is it being upheld as a theory; rather it has in fact emerged from our past and present experience."

Further on, the permanent representative of the United Arab Republic stated "We have never advocated at any time, promoted or even encouraged, any notion that might be interpreted in one way or another as an indication from my Government or its official representatives of our desire to intervene in the affairs of any one of our interest in so doing. No one in this room could prove anything to the contrary."

Strange indeed that the permanent representative of the United Arab Republic should be instructed by his Government to make such a statement at a time when a sizable Egyptian army was garrisoned in the major cities of Yemen and whilst Egyptian aircraft were playing havoc in those parts of Yemen where the invading army could not establish its control.

Of course, the Government of the United Arab Republic could claim that its army is in Yemen on the invitation of the conspirators with whom they abetted to overthrow the Imamate Government in the fall of 1962.

How can the Government of the United Arab Republic justify such an invitation by the conspirators when the United Arab Republic Chief of State had just congratulated Imam Al-Badr wishing him all success in his reign! Furthermore, the Government of the United Arab Republic seems to have forgotten that it had signed a mutual treaty of defence with the late Imam.

Once the Government of the United Arab Republic learned of the news that Imam Al-Badr was assassinated by Mr. Al-Sallal, which later proved false, it forgot all about its cable of congratulation to Imam Al-Badr, the profound friendship it had professed towards him and ignored altogether the mutual defence treaty in the bargain.

Hence, the firm declaratory stand of the Government of the United Arab Republic in the United Nations Political Committee about the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States is a farce to say the least.

10. Before the United Arab Republic Government has embarked upon its adventure in Yemen, Saudi Arabia had contented itself with a very modest army. There was no need for larger forces as Saudi Arabia had good relations with all its Arab neighbours.

When it became patently clear that the Government of the United Arab Republic was driven by unbridled ambition to establish its supremacy not only over Yemen but the whole Arabian Peninsula, the Saudi Arabian Government had no choice but to bolster its defences and purchase modern military equipment, the cost of which has already run into several hundred million dollars.

Saudi Arabia could well have spent this huge amount of funds on internal economic development; likewise the Government of the United Arab Republic, which perhaps spent larger sums, could have applied same for improving the lot of its



own people. Instead of doing so, the Government of the United Arab Republic has arrogated to itself the task of bringing its own brand of civilization to Yemen. The result is death and destruction - a stupendous loss of life and treasure.

The Government of the United Arab Republic, with the money it spent on its undeclared war in Yemen, aside from sizable sums spent on sabotage and subversion in a number of Arab countries, could have easily made of the United Arab Republic a model State and thereby set a fine example for Arab and non-Arab States to follow.

In any event, the Government of the United Arab Republic seems to have forgotten that charity begins at home.

11. By all the foregoing facts that I have adduced, it should become understandable why the Government of the United Arab Republic is attempting to confuse the whole issue by instigating various individuals and associations to protest the execution in Saudi Arabia of the Yemeni saboteurs who were trained for their mission in the United Arab Republic and smuggled into Saudi Arabia, to pave the way for realizing the expansionist dream of the United Arab Republic.

Anyone interested in the trial of these saboteurs may have access to their verbatim confessions which were taped and recorded by the Court word for word. These tapes and verbatim records can be made available at once to any interested party in the United Nations.

It has not been a pleasant task for me to bring to the attention of the Secretary-General and the international community such particulars as I had furnished in this letter, simply for the reason that neither my Government nor myself in my capacity as representative, harbour any but the deepest sentiments towards our Egyptian brothers. It is, therefore, with profound sadness that we find ourselves compelled to unfold the real facts in self-defence and with the fervent hope that the Government of the United Arab Republic may not consider it too late to disengage themselves from a situation which has brought nothing but sorrow in its trail.

The Government of Saudi Arabia whose representative had for many years participated very actively in the elaboration of the principle of self-determination into a fundamental human right, stands by its firm belief that if the Yemeni people were left alone to freely determine the form of government best suited for them, peace and harmony would prevail in the whole region.

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In view of the serious charges that are still being levelled at my Government by tendentious cables which, as the Secretary-General informs me, are being transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights, I deem it most necessary to have this letter transmitted in its entirety to the Commission on Human Rights which would be able to look at the other side of the picture as drawn by the facts I have adduced.

Since I consider that the whole question dealt with in this letter touches upon the grave situation in the Arabian Peninsula, a situation which may easily threaten international peace and security, I do request the Secretary-General to be so kind as to have this letter circulated as a Security Council document to the President and members of the Council.

Accept, etc.

(Signed) Jamil M. BAROODY  
Ambassador

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