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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 5

Questions considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958 (*continued*)

1. Mr. NISOT (Belgium) (*translated from French*): I should like to indicate briefly the position of my delegation with regard to the two draft resolutions which have so far been submitted.

2. My delegation notes that the Soviet Union draft resolution [A/3870 and Corr.1] contains nothing constructive as far as safeguarding and maintaining of the political independence and the territorial integrity of Lebanon and Jordan are concerned. All it does in this direction is to make some—very vague—provision for supervision of the frontiers. And so, although the Belgian delegation favours, in principle, the withdrawal of foreign troops, it will be unable to vote for the Soviet Union's draft resolution.

3. This brings me to the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3878]. It recalls the declarations of 18 August 1958 submitted by the United States [A/3876] and the United Kingdom [A/3877], which clearly state the position of those Powers in this affair. It is therefore apparent that they envisaged the presence of their troops in Lebanon and Jordan as a purely temporary measure; that the troops will be withdrawn as soon as the Governments of those States request it; that, in any case, they will be withdrawn as soon as their maintenance there has ceased to be necessary; that, finally, in this connexion, the United States and the United Kingdom, which are already prepared to accept action by the Assembly, will abide by the Assembly's resolution noting that the continued presence of their troops is no longer necessary.

4. Such solemn declarations require no further comment. They are a demonstration in themselves. The draft resolution is based on them. As the draft resolution recalls them, and also General Assembly resolution 290 (IV), which is applicable to the entire area of the Near East, I can restrict my comments to three of its other provisions which my delegation considers particularly important.

5. First, the Secretary-General is given very far-reaching instructions, namely forthwith to make such arrangements as may facilitate an adjustment of the

situation while upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter. He will carry out his mission, as is fitting, in consultation with the Governments concerned. In the view of the Belgian delegation, these efforts should be directed towards the adoption of such measures as will ensure the external security and the internal tranquillity of Lebanon and Jordan and thus lead to the rapid withdrawal of foreign troops. Such emergency measures do not remove the necessity for a more long-term plan to accelerate the economic and social development of the peoples of the area under conditions which are acceptable to them. By making Mr. Hammarskjöld the instrument for such action, the Assembly will be giving him a new mark of its confidence.

6. Secondly, the resolution provides for the active continuation of studies which will enable the thirteenth session of the Assembly to decide on the feasibility of establishing a stand-by United Nations Peace Force.

7. Finally and thirdly, the draft resolution has a practical approach to the economic growth of the Arab States, whose over-all and harmonious development in accordance with those countries' views should be, as we have said, one of our chief concerns.

8. The draft resolution appeals to principles which the Belgian Government considers of primary importance; it provides for a settlement within the framework of the United Nations, a method to which we have always attached the greatest value. In short, it constitutes a whole whose implementation should be attempted. The Belgian delegation will vote for it.

9. In conclusion, my delegation would like to appeal to the Arab States; knowing their desire for peace, it appeals urgently to their spirit of co-operation; their help is essential, both in actual fact and because of their indubitable right, which we have already proclaimed, to determine freely, but under peaceful conditions, the future course of their destinies.

10. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): My Government and people have followed with deep concern what has been going on in the Middle East and particularly the developments that have taken place during the last few months. Such developments no doubt endanger the peace in the area and indeed might also endanger world peace and international security.

11. My delegation is grateful for the circumstances, sad as they are, which led to the convening of this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly. It gives my delegation, as well as other delegations of small States, the chance to express our apprehensions and fears with regard to dangers which may jeopardize our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The small States which are represented here have, all of them, gone through the bitter experience of foreign domination and have, all of them, fought their way to independence, whether through peaceful and constitutional means or by means of bloody

revolutions. They are, therefore, anxious to uphold their independence and guard it sedulously.

12. The Sudan—an African Arab State where not only Arabic is spoken but Arab blood runs through the veins of the great majority of the inhabitants—is alive to the growing and surging Arab nationalism, which is a reality, indeed, a renaissance of a glorious past. The Arabs have in common a religion that binds them together, a language rich in its literature, and a heritage of common origin and history. Even recently they were subjected to the rule of the Ottoman Empire and the military occupation of the Western European Powers, and some of them were either protectorates or under the mandate of one or the other of the Western Powers. Arab nationalism is a reality, but again it is a fact that there are different Arab States; each has full sovereignty and a definite territorial integrity. The League of Arab States is the first attempt to give a manifestation to the common bonds of blood, language, religion and aspirations of the independent Arab States.

13. What we require in the Middle Eastern Arab States is to develop and strengthen the League of Arab States and to enable it to play a greater role than it is able to play at the present time. Each of the Arab States should be given the full right to decide for itself and, according to the wish and desire of its people, to join in a federation, confederation or union as the case may be—or to remain completely independent.

14. The Sudanese people are among the most peace-loving in the world. In its long history the Sudan has aspired to domination and has always been law-abiding. Such a record should commend our country to take its rightful place in the great international family of nations. Our foreign policy has been based on the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter, on which we have pinned our hopes for the maintenance of international peace and security.

15. Since we regained our independence in January 1956, we have been faced with tremendous economic, political and social problems. We are doing our best with the limited resources at our disposal to advance the welfare of our people and at the same time to do what we can to create an international climate conducive to peace and stability. Hence our concern for world peace. Hence our concern that the "cold war" be brought to an end as speedily as possible in the Middle East and in the world at large. As far as the issue before this Assembly is concerned, we are most anxious that everything possible should be done to bring about peace and tranquillity in the Middle East area.

16. We are in complete agreement that foreign troops should be withdrawn from Lebanon and from Jordan, but we sincerely believe that such withdrawal will not, by itself, remedy the situation from which the Middle East has grievously suffered and continues to suffer.

17. We will be betraying the cause of peace in the Middle East and in the rest of the world if we say that everything in the Middle East is perfect. Likewise we cannot always—and in all circumstances—blame others for every piece of misfortune that befalls the Middle East. If we, in the Middle East, do not possess the moral courage to acknowledge and right our mistakes and mend our own shortcomings, we can hardly hope that the efforts of men of good will in the United Nations and outside the United Nations will be of good avail.

18. We wish to make it abundantly clear, and in no uncertain terms, that the Sudanese people will stand by their freedom and independence, and that they will fight for that independence whenever it is menaced from outside. I hardly need to emphasize that we are a peace-loving people and we have never taken arms in the past except for purposes of self-defence. We have always stretched the hand of friendship to our neighbours, as far as our hand can stretch.

19. Inasmuch as we love world peace, our love for freedom and independence is no less intense and deep-rooted. The right to freedom and the pursuit of happiness, free from foreign intervention, is a basis on which international relations stand or fall.

20. On two occasions—shortly before and shortly after we regained our independence—our Government participated in historic conferences, the Bandung Conference and, more recently, the Accra Conference. I need hardly stress that both conferences have, among other things, emphasized the principle of non-intervention by one State in the domestic affairs of another State. Both conferences have called upon all nations to settle their disputes peacefully and amicably, and both conferences have commended peaceful co-existence.

21. I feel it appropriate also to emphasize that we have adopted a democratic form of government—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And, small though our country may be, we have not entered into defensive alliances with any other State, nor do we intend to enter into any. And we do not have any foreign bases on our soil. We are relying entirely on our meagre resources, the will and the tenacity of our people, and the Charter of the United Nations.

22. There are several small States in the same position as the Sudan, and one is compelled to ask the fair question. What can such small countries do when faced by circumstances endangering their independence? This is a pertinent question. I leave it to this Assembly to ponder over it and to seek and formulate an answer.

23. My delegation wishes to express its gratitude for the Secretary-General's report and the deep concern he has shown to provide ways and means whereby the state of instability in the Middle East will be successfully eradicated. It is not the intention of my delegation to point out where we agree or disagree with the suggestions presented by the Secretary-General in his report. We will, of course, do so when the opportunity is afforded to the Secretary-General to discuss such measures with the Governments of the Arab States. Most of the points raised in his report are the entire concern of the Arab States, and we respectfully submit that they be left entirely for the discussion, agreement, and decision of the Arab States. It will be more gratifying to my delegation if such discussions with the Secretary-General take place in the Political Committee of the League of Arab States and not with individual Arab States. This, if accomplished, will give an expression of recognition to the surging Arab nationalism.

24. My delegation does not hesitate to admit readily that there is instability in the Middle East and that the causes of such instability come from within and from without. It is our humble opinion that the General Assembly at its third emergency special session is faced with some pertinent questions which call for positive and practical answers. What are we to do to preserve world peace and international security, especially in

the Middle East? What are we to do to safeguard the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of every individual State and particularly the small States?

25. It is our respectful submission that any resolution that does not positively answer these pertinent questions and provide practical measures for the implementation of the principles which it embodies will not provide any remedy for the precarious position of peace and international security. This Assembly must face realities fairly and squarely. It does not help the cause of peace and international security to pay lip service to them from the rostrum of the United Nations whenever the opportunity presents itself. We must practise what we preach.

26. As for the internal problems of the Middle Eastern Arab countries, the discontent and discord that obtain between them, their ardent needs for economic development and their ideological differences, it is the candid view of my delegation that the place to solve them is not here but inside the League of Arab States. Solutions are not impossible, and with good will and good intentions the Middle Eastern Arab countries will be able to respect each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; furthermore, they will be able to co-ordinate their foreign and economic policies, leaving a margin of freedom for each of them to act within the framework of that co-ordinated policy.

27. May I end with a note of regret and hope—a note of regret that the conditions in the Middle East have led us to this most unfortunate position whereby some sister Arab States were compelled to lodge complaints against another sister Arab State, and a note of hope that Arab nationalism has been given recognition by every one of the representatives who participated in this debate. This should be a source of pride to all the Arab States and should give them the strength and courage necessary to reconsider their position and technique and rally together to strengthen and safeguard each other's independence, settle their disputes at home, and work together, hand in hand, for the promotion and realization of Arab nationalism—not in words but by deeds which will once again enable the Arabs to take a leading place in science, the arts and literature, as they did in the past. It is a great task, and its fulfilment is in the hands of the leaders of the Arab world.

28. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): You can well imagine that the situation in the Middle East, which has occupied the attention of the Assembly for more than a week now, is a matter of the deepest concern to the Government of the Republic of Tunisia. Our country's desire is that peace, harmony and brotherly co-operation should prevail in this part of the world, whose fate is so closely bound up with our own.

29. Nevertheless we shall try to remain objective in our approach to the thorny problem that confronts us. That does not mean that Tunisia believes that it can stand apart from the Arab world to which it belongs in order to examine in a spirit of lofty detachment the problems which are now those of the entire Arab world.

30. Belonging essentially to Africa by its destiny and to the West by its geographical position, Tunisia is nevertheless an Arab country because of its origins. Our effort to be objective is principally due to our sincere and burning desire to see a final settlement of the Middle East question.

31. A brief review of the facts will make it easier to pass judgement on what has happened. Lebanon, a

Member State of the United Nations, laid before the Security Council a complaint against another Member State, the United Arab Republic, claiming that it was being threatened by infiltrations which endangered its territorial integrity and threatened its sovereignty.

32. I shall not attempt to judge the validity of this allegation, which has been denied by the United Arab Republic in the Security Council, and which the United Nations Observation Group has not been able to confirm definitely. At any rate, the Council decided to send a group of observers to investigate the facts.

33. Lebanon subsequently reached the conclusion that the group sent to the area by the United Nations was incapable, by reason of its size and the means available to it, of undertaking the responsibility entrusted to it, and therefore asked that the group should be reinforced, and perhaps later be aided by armed forces. The Security Council did not feel able to accept that proposal.

34. In the meantime, revolution broke out in Baghdad, and the Republic was set up. Thus the "Arab Union", the Iraqi-Jordanian Federation, was broken up, and Jordan considered that it was the object of threats to its territorial integrity. Losing hope, apparently, of any action by the Security Council, and overwhelmed by the pressure of events, Lebanon and Jordan appealed to the United States and the United Kingdom respectively for troops to protect them against a possible move from without their borders. The United States and the United Kingdom responded to those appeals.

35. Those are the essential facts that emerge from the events of recent months. My delegation wished to give them in bare outline, and without comment, in order to trace the main lines of the crisis.

36. Tunisia would certainly have preferred that all the Middle East States could together have found a fitting solution to allay the various fears and improve the general atmosphere in this part of the world, but that did not happen.

37. Tunisia would have wished that the Security Council, in its turn, could have arrived at a solution of the crisis. That might have saved this very sensitive area from being engulfed by the cold war. As it was, a solution of the crisis came to be looked for from a summit conference, much more than from the considered will of the Arab nations. However desirable a summit conference might be to deal with the "cold war" aspects of the crisis, such a conference, if held outside the framework of the United Nations, could certainly not find a final solution to the present situation in the Middle East without the effective participation of the representatives of the Arab States concerned. The Tunisian delegation believes that no lasting solution of the Middle East crisis can be found without the participation of all the Arab States concerned, and that is why we welcome the convening of this emergency special session which, we believe, is about to bring about what I venture to hope will be a relaxation of tension followed by a final settlement of the problem.

38. Recently, on 25 July 1958, on the first anniversary of the Republic of Tunisia, President Bourguiba clearly and frankly defined the principles governing my country's stand in the present Middle East crisis.

39. On the basis of those principles, and in the light of the debates that have taken place here, I should like to define our position.

40. The atmosphere in which our debate has opened permits us to hope for a successful conclusion, and we do believe that a generally acceptable solution can be found here.

41. Much has been said during this debate about Arab nationalism, and one or more explanations of this phenomenon have been put forward. We will not undertake an analysis of Arab nationalism and its origins, its nature and its aims. I believe that it is useless to make an evaluation of this nationalism in order either to encourage or hamper it. It is one of those natural movements whose existence and effectiveness cannot be denied, and will assert itself to the extent that it is allowed to follow its natural course without hindrance, along the peaceful and progressive lines of similar movements, with a sure feeling of mutual understanding among its various components and of sound co-operation with the rest of the world.

42. The word "nationalism" has often been given different and sometimes even contradictory meanings. It has often been used, for example, to mean patriotism pure and simple, of a peaceful and constructive character, as in the case of Algerian nationalism.

43. Others before me have given a sufficient analysis of Arab nationalism. However, my delegation would like to stress the fact that a rapid and profound evolution is taking place throughout the Arab world as each part of that world seeks the best expression of its own identity.

44. Thus in discussing this vast problem one cannot forget the tragedy which, for the last four years, has drenched Algeria in blood. In that country too a people has clearly demonstrated both its national identity and its desire for a free and independent life in its own country, and has thus earned the right to the help of the United Nations in regaining its independence in conditions of peace and security.

45. The main essential in dealing with nationalism and the evolution of a national character is that those developments should be allowed to take place in an atmosphere of peace and harmony, and with the honest co-operation of all those concerned.

46. But I must return to the problem before us, and join with the other delegations which have expressed such an intention during the course of the debate in undertaking the search for short-term and long-term solutions that can rescue the Middle East from a situation which, if prolonged, might endanger the harmonious development of the Arab peoples and threaten world peace.

47. The short-term problem is the presence of American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan. These landings of foreign troops in independent Arab countries, at the request of those countries, although they took place in different circumstances, raise problems, which, while dissimilar, are of the same kind.

48. Should those troops leave the countries concerned or remain there? A country like Tunisia feels impelled to give the bare answer that they must leave. But to give such an answer would be to follow the dictates of emotion rather than reason, since a closer and dispassionate appraisal of the situation will show that no State, small or large, can be prevented from appealing to a friendly or allied State for help in protecting itself against what it believes to be a threat to its independence.

49. That is not to say that Lebanon or Jordan are in fact threatened, but it is undeniable that they believed themselves to be threatened. So, because they believed that their national sovereignty was in grave danger, they appealed for foreign troops, whose presence in these territories can in turn be considered as a threat to other countries, and in any case as a factor tending to intensify the cold war. We repeat that we do not assert that the independence of Lebanon or Jordan are threatened, any more than we believe that the United Arab Republic is threatened by the presence of American or British troops. We merely wish to halt the process which has drawn us to the brink of a world conflagration, and which has damaged the fraternal bonds that govern, and should govern, the relations between the Arab nations of the Middle East.

50. Happily some relaxation of tension has since taken place, which enables us to look at the situation calmly. My delegation is firmly convinced of the need for the speediest possible withdrawal of foreign troops from the Middle East, but we must point out that in our view the presence of those troops has not led either in Lebanon or Jordan to any worsening of the internal situation; in fact we are not aware of any evidence of any major action by the United States troops in Lebanon, for example, against the opposition, although that opposition is armed. Nor do we know of any movements of United States troops in frontier areas that could be considered as constituting a direct threat to the United Arab Republic.

51. This gives us a breathing space, and enables us to set about removing the deeper causes of the crisis, instead, of simply treating its effects. Thus the withdrawal of United States and British troops is necessary, but it will not be sufficient unless it is accompanied by solid guarantees safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of the Arab States of the Middle East. Without such guarantees, the current apprehensions, whether well-grounded or not, will remain, and the process described above could repeat itself and once more threaten international peace and security. We believe that no solution can be effective in putting an end to the dangerous situation that has brought about this session, if it separates the two complementary aspects of the question, the guaranteeing of the independence and integrity of all the Arab States of the Middle East, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. That is the only basis for the restoration of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and the resumption of fruitful and brotherly co-operation among the Arab States.

52. The statements by the representatives of the Arab States concerned make it seem possible that the aim I have just described can be attained. Once those principles have been laid down, it would of course be necessary to decide upon the substance and scope of the guarantees I referred to, and the Tunisian delegation believes that we should leave to the Secretary-General the task of studying the question and establishing, in co-operation with the States directly concerned, procedures or measures that will facilitate a rapid withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom troops. My delegation is ready to give active support to any draft resolution that takes account of those principles, for I note that, unfortunately, neither of the two drafts submitted thus far indicates clearly the connexion between the withdrawal of troops and the required guarantees.

53. The Soviet draft [*A/3870 and Corr.1*] stresses only the withdrawal of troops, and in our view falls short in not referring to guarantees. I hope that it is not any consideration arising from the cold war which has led to the emphasis in the Soviet draft on the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces, but rather that the draft is inspired by the Soviet Union's honest objection to the presence of any foreign troops on the soil of any country. If that were so, the Tunisian delegation would take it as an encouraging sign revealing a change in Soviet policy on this question since the sudden invasion of Hungary by Soviet forces.

54. The draft submitted by the seven Powers [*A/3878*], on the other hand, fails to state clearly the need for a rapid withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from Lebanon and Jordan. Whatever justification there may be for the presence of troops in the Middle East, it must be remembered that their presence makes for tension, and a balanced resolution cannot fail to recognize that aspect of the problem.

55. Those are the two essential principles which in our view should govern any immediate solution of the present Middle East crisis.

56. It goes without saying that the taking of urgent measures should not lead us to overlook the long-term plans that will make it possible to achieve a final equilibrium in this area which is so vital to the maintenance of international peace. That is why the Secretary-General has laid down general ideas and principles for a general plan to improve economic and social conditions in the Arab States. We are among those who believe that the stability and peace of an area are the offspring both of political freedom and independence and of economic prosperity and progress. A steady and harmonious economic development of this part of the world is therefore to be desired. It would be eminently satisfactory if the great Powers could participate in a disinterested spirit in this long and exacting task.

57. In this connexion I feel impelled to refer to the general plan for economic recovery proposed here by the President of the United States of America. It is a plan that lacks neither imagination nor daring, although, like any other human creation, it is capable of improvement, and repays careful study. But its supreme merit in our eyes is that it is a proposed solution and not an imposed one. The plan appears to owe nothing to the outworn and highly unwelcome paternalism that we sometime meet with from the great Powers. It is moreover of prime importance that the President of the United States wishes the plan to be brought within the framework of the United Nations; but it is first and last for the Arab States of the Middle East themselves to study the plan and modify it to the extent that they believe their interests require.

58. Nevertheless these economic plans depend above all on stability and on good feeling among the various States concerned. That is why this emergency special session of the General Assembly must first find a solution which will relax the present extreme tension and allow calm to return, not only to the streets, but also to the minds and above all the hearts of the brother-peoples living in the same area.

59. I do not believe that this session will disappoint the hopes which all have placed in it. This frank and honest exchange of views will make it possible to find an acceptable solution that will hasten the end of the Middle East crisis, and, by dissipating the misunder-

standing between the Arab States directly concerned, restore old ties of friendship and make possible a sound and fruitful co-operation.

60. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the agreement brought about on this subject by the present Assembly may be such as to make possible the solution of many other even more bitter disputes, in the furtherance of international peace and security. We who have a firm belief in the principles of the Charter and in the value and effectiveness of the United Nations will not deny ourselves that hope.

61. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): We are assembled at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly to find solutions to questions considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958. These questions are basically related to the unstable and uneasy situation prevailing over the years in the Middle East, which has now become the most sensitive area in the world. Nothing could have been more ideal than to have an over-all settlement of the Middle East question at this emergency special session itself, but I am afraid the circumstances in which this session was convened do not warrant a comprehensive approach to the question.

62. I have carefully listened to the debates in question for the past few days. There seems to be a wide measure of agreement in the Assembly, at least on the following points: first, the situation in the Middle East has always been a grave and continuing threat to world peace; second, the threat to peace in the Middle East does not come from one side alone. In a sense, there was a threat to peace in that area before the United States and United Kingdom landings took place in Lebanon and Jordan, and it could be said that the threat would remain there even if these troops were withdrawn. The withdrawal of troops might bring to an end the critical phase of the situation, but the general threat to peace would still be there unless the nations assembled here could utilize the opportunity presented by this session and the sense of urgency created by this crisis to achieve a just and enduring peace throughout the entire region. In the opinion of my delegation, a lasting peace can be established only on the basis of a comprehensive agreement embracing all the major problems which have been the cause of tension and conflict between the States of the area itself and between the great Powers.

63. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that any lasting settlement of the Middle East question should take into account the following realities: first, the potentiality of Arab nationalism; secondly, the interests, in this highly strategic region, of the United States and the USSR as two great world Powers, if only from the point of view of their overwhelming responsibility for international peace and security; thirdly, the pattern of economic interdependence and interrelation between Western Europe and the Middle East; fourthly, the emergence of the State of Israel.

64. I hardly need emphasize here that Arab nationalism is a factor which has to be reckoned with very seriously in any evaluation of the situation in the Middle East. There has been wide agreement among the nations in this Assembly that these Arab States should have the fullest opportunity to unfold their national and international personalities freely and without external pressure.

65. It is heartening to find that the two great world Powers, the United States and the USSR, have openly

and publicly undertaken to plead for this kind of freedom for the genuine expression of Arab nationalist aspirations both in the political and economic spheres. The President of the United States declared in very clear terms, in the course of his address to this special emergency session of the General Assembly: "In this context, the United States respects the right of every Arab nation of the Near East to live in freedom without domination from any source, far or near." [733rd meeting, para. 16.] At the same meeting, the statement of the distinguished Foreign Minister of the USSR showed a similar kind of concern for the free growth of the nations in this area. In his own words: "An agreement among the great Powers on non-interference in the domestic affairs of the Near and Middle Eastern countries and on strict respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity would be a major advance in this direction" [para. 102].

56. However, in actual practice, the Middle East is becoming increasingly an object of cold war between the two world power blocs, as is clear from the shipment of arms to the area from both sides. In the humble opinion of my delegation, a declaration by this Assembly concerning the neutrality of the whole region, along the lines suggested by the Foreign Minister of Ireland, if recognized by the United Nations and guaranteed by the great Powers, would very much contribute to the interests of world peace and also to the stabilization of the situation in the Middle East. A definite undertaking by the Member States not to supply atomic weapons of any sort to the region, along with the acceptance of an embargo on the shipment of weapons to that area, might help the situation in the Middle East settle down in a normal way, thus enabling the region as a whole to gain the maximum advantage from co-operative economic development programmes of any kind and also to raise the living standard of the people, which is one of the immediate and crying needs of the area. Once passions subside and emotional strains are reduced, there is nothing to prevent the Arab countries from evolving a pattern of economic relationship with the West on the basis of mutual benefit and co-operation.

67. The last point, and probably the most difficult one, relates to the emergence of Israel. I am aware that many delegations have set aside this problem because of the immense complications and the emotional strains it involves. However, the fact remains, and the experience of all these years seems to confirm, that this aspect of the problem can no longer be ignored. We cannot think of any lasting peace in the Middle East unless relations improve between Israel and her Arab neighbours. Furthermore, any regional project for economic development in the area also presupposes co-operation and understanding between them, which have been utterly lacking so far. Any step this Assembly might be able to take towards reducing this Arab-Israeli antagonism will no doubt strengthen the foundations of peace in the Middle East.

68. The partition of Palestine and the resulting plight of the refugees have always lain at the root of this problem. We have already waited long enough for time, the great healer, to heal the wounds inflicted by the sad events that followed in the wake of the above partition. It is high time that some constructive steps be taken to solve the question of the Palestine refugees. The settlement of this question could be attempted through repatriation and compensation, provided both sides are really interested in a settlement.

69. My delegation is fully aware of the difficulties of securing a just and stable peace in this most sensitive and inflamed area that is the Middle East today. We feel convinced that for the Assembly to deal with the complaints of Jordan and Lebanon first would be to go after the symptoms rather than the causes of the disease.

70. It is with understandable trepidation that I address myself to the specific questions now before us. Our responsibility and obligations under the Charter alone compel us to address ourselves to these questions. Our record in past Assembly sessions amply proves that we have always tried to assess international issues on their merits and always in the light of our own judgement. We have always expressed our opinions on international questions without consideration of anybody's fear or favour, and have always shown the courage to state plainly what in our judgement constitutes right and is correct in a given situation. This is not to imply any reflection on the policy and judgement of other Member States. Nor do we claim any sort of superiority for our own judgement. But it is our humble submission that we are less inhibited in the exercises of our moral judgement as compared to bigger nations, because we have no disputes and far fewer commitments. We earnestly feel that as a small nation we can contribute most to the deliberations of the United Nations by retaining our independence, impartiality and objectivity of judgement in every case.

71. Turning to the questions under our consideration, all that we as a small nation ourselves can say is that we deeply share the concern shown by the Governments of Lebanon and Jordan for the protection of their territorial integrity and political sovereignty and independence as equal members of the international community. As a small nation that has always been intensely proud of its own sovereignty and ever zealous to safeguard its own freedom and frontiers, we can but welcome the guarantee and recognition of the inherent right of collective self-defence, but only as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. We feel really unhappy about the landings of the United States and United Kingdom troops in Lebanon and in Jordan. Of course, in strict legal terms and in terms of the United Nations Charter itself, the presence of the foreign troops in the countries mentioned above can in no way be regarded as aggression, since the troops were sent there in response to the requests of the legally constituted Governments of the two countries. However, the endorsement of such a right to demand and to receive military assistance of this kind from any Government willing to render such assistance could greatly vitiate the atmosphere for the peaceful judgement and settlement of situations fraught with tension and grave consequences to world peace.

72. The second point which my delegation wishes to make clear in this connexion is that foreign military intervention in any country, at the request of a particular political party or Government that is finding it difficult to maintain itself in position, might in effect amount to interference with the fundamental right of every people to choose the kind of Government under which it wants to live. My delegation earnestly hopes and believes that the great Western Powers—the United States and the United Kingdom—that have always been responsive to public opinion both at home and abroad, and that have always stood as champions of the right to freedom and self-determination of nations,

will realize at this time the gravity of the dangers inherent in such a situation and will readily and willingly withdraw their forces from Lebanon and Jordan. To allay the fears and apprehensions of Lebanon and Jordan about the threat to their independence, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon could be strengthened and trusted to secure the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of the countries which feel themselves threatened. After all, the legally constituted Government of the countries concerned are the best judges of the threat and extent of danger to their own freedom, and the United Nations, to which every small nation has to look for the protection of its freedom and sovereignty, cannot remain deaf to appeals from Member States for such protection. However, in this connexion, we cannot but praise the United Arab Republic for welcoming and accepting with such grace the establishment of the United Nations Observation Group, whose findings have to a very great extent clarified the real position in Lebanon.

73. Since there has been a good deal of talk about the desirability of having a stand-by United Nations peace force, we should like to express ourselves briefly on the subject. Though it might not be possible just now to have a collective force of the United Nations so organized as to be employed on the decision of the Security Council, the creation of a stand-by force for peaceful and non-combative purposes, such as securing or implementing the agreement already arrived at through discussions in the General Assembly, will greatly strengthen the hope and confidence of the small nations in the United Nations as an instrument for securing their rights and freedom. Simply because the kind of collective force envisaged by the Charter provisions could not come into being because of the deadlock in the Military Staff Committee as early as 1947, and simply because the status of relations between the two great Powers or between the two power blocs does not even now seem to favour the creation of this kind of force, there is no reason why some concrete steps cannot and should not be taken in this direction following the publication of the studies undertaken by the Secretary-General in this respect.

74. Now that the General Assembly is being compelled by the force of circumstances to undertake some of the functions which were not originally intended for it by the United Nations Charter, there appear at times inherent limitations in the Assembly's actions with regard to every crisis that it is called upon to handle. The Assembly has been compelled every time to act on a more or less *ad hoc* basis and in an expedient manner. The creation of a stand-by peace force would not leave the United Nations as ill-prepared as now to undertake such responsibilities in the future, and would equip it better to meet such contingencies. However, in the opinion of my delegation, the consideration of this question of having a stand-by peace force could be better taken up at the thirteenth regular session of the General Assembly, after the publication of the studies and investigations undertaken by the Secretary-General regarding the possibility of having such a force.

75. The considerations I have set forth in the preceding paragraphs will determine the attitude of my delegation towards any proposals that might be submitted. However, my delegation will unhesitatingly vote for any draft resolution acceptable to the Arab coun-

tries directly involved in the question at present under consideration by the General Assembly at its emergency special session, provided such a draft resolution is forthcoming. It is heartening to find that the initial outcome of the efforts of the Arab nations to find an agreed solution of the question, first among themselves, has so far been very, very hopeful. The Assembly is eagerly expecting the final result of this most fruitful endeavour of the Arab nations, which I have no doubt will receive the unanimous support and the backing of the nations assembled here. However, I reserve my right to speak on the draft resolutions at a later stage, should it be necessary.

76. In the end, let us hope that the General Assembly at its third emergency special session, will be able to find a solution to the questions with which it is confronted. If it fails to find a satisfactory solution, the impression might get around quickly that the General Assembly has become as ineffective as the Security Council. If the paralysis of the Security Council implies the failure of the big Powers, then the failure of the third emergency special session might imply the failure of the United Nations as a whole. We hope that all Member nations will rise to the occasion and grow up to their sense of responsibility. It is a fact that the major Powers have a greater responsibility for peace than the small nations, but we have our own obligations to fulfil towards the United Nations Charter, as we also have a voice and a vote in the Assembly. Let us not, by our actions, prove the fears and apprehensions that are being expressed in certain quarters that if the veto has paralysed the Security Council, the two-thirds majority rule might render the General Assembly as ineffective. On the other hand, let us show by concrete results of our work that there is no problem which the collective wisdom and determination of the United Nations cannot solve.

77. Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): At this point in our debate and at a time of much anxiety and consultation when responsibility is shared by all, may I come to this rostrum to explain briefly, on behalf of my delegation, our views on the problem that was referred to the General Assembly, in emergency session, after immediate action by the Security Council had proved impossible.

78. Leaving aside academic definitions, we are faced with a grave problem of great scope and dangerous implications. Our own work, here in this General Assembly where I have the honour to address you in plenary session, is sufficient proof of that fact. The draft resolutions before us today are not, or do not appear to be, exactly the same as those that were before us yesterday or even last night. Consequently, before entering into a detailed examination of proposals which may no longer have the same wording or scope as they had yesterday, and which may even be withdrawn in favour of more promising drafts, may I be allowed, in these last stages of the general debate, to outline the views which my delegation holds not so much on the present crisis itself as on the hopes of humanity in general. For this debate demonstrates that all such problems are within the province of the United Nations and hence, the responsibility of us all.

79. As regards the specific question before us, I wish to say that we were and are in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Canada,

Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Norway, Panama and Paraguay [A/3878]. We have arrived at this conclusion after weighing a number of fundamental considerations.

80. The first is a question of principle. My country upholds, to their very limits, each and every one of the principles defended throughout our own history, affirmed in inter-American conventions and declarations and embodied, as the postulates of the democratic faith of our continent, in the life and history of all American peoples.

81. I may say that one of the most important principles in the continent's legal order is that of non-intervention. It is also one of the fundamental rules of my country's international policy, and at this moment we consider that it points the way to the fairest and most suitable means of ensuring the maintenance of peace and security in the area of the world under discussion—the Near East.

82. We have always maintained this principle of non-intervention, direct or indirect, in affairs affecting the life and sovereignty of States. In my country, this principle has been handed down to us from our liberator. It was implicitly affirmed and ratified by us at The Hague in 1907, when my country advocated, as one of the means of ensuring a system of collective security and peaceful sovereignty for each in his domain, the principle of compulsory and comprehensive arbitration in the settlement of disputes or differences between States.

83. Furthermore, when we speak of the principle of non-intervention, we refer to its obvious corollary, the principle of self-determination, in the name of which my country shed its colonial status and joined the universal family of independent nations. In exercising such sovereignty and independence, peoples like mine, peoples all over the world, show that they are competent and qualified to ensure, within the framework of their independence and sovereignty, the exercise and observance of those fundamental rights which reflect, according to the Charter, the dignity of the human person.

84. When we address ourselves to the problem of the Near East, we are dealing with an area of the world which has its own individual values. Each one of the peoples of that area, each one of those States, each nation of the Near East no doubt wishes, like ourselves, to have and to maintain its own social and political personality. As has already been said from this rostrum in much better words, those of us who belong to, and come from, the Spanish part of the American continent have many ties with those peoples, particularly one unbreakable tie—culture.

85. For eight centuries, Spain was the central repository of three cultures, Spanish, Arab and Jewish. Side by side with the main flow of thought in Spain's golden era, Jewish scholars and Arab scholars and artists, under the banner of Islam, saved scientific culture for the future progress of mankind at a time when the feudal systems of the Middle Ages were becoming stifled by strange beliefs.

86. Let me give two clear examples to illustrate the point I am making. That epoch saw a unity of cultures. Among those who came to live on Spanish soil, the great Maimonides was one of the most symbolic figures. Jewish though he was, and writing in Spain, he expressed his thoughts in Arabic and when one of the Spanish

king, Alfonso, proclaimed his dominion over the whole of Spanish territory, Maimonides proclaimed himself at the same time the Emperor of the two, or rather the three, religions. The components of those original cultures were brought to us in America in the ships of the discoverers and through the teachings of scholars and artists. Since then, reflected in our own ideals, they have maintained their unity and assisted in the advancement of our area.

87. That is why, today, we do not wish to see conflicts aggravated by words of hatred and war; we wish to see peoples who, for their children's sake, join the cause of progress, the cause of the future. We must therefore remember—and now I am coming to the draft resolution submitted by the seven Powers to which I have referred—that the various aspects of this problem are inseparable.

88. We consider that the interests and rights of all the peoples of the area should be taken into account. Consequently, when we note—as we do with great satisfaction—that under this draft resolution the Assembly is to entrust the Secretary-General with certain tasks, we believe that in the plans to be formulated, both on the political aspects of this question and within the framework of the plan so admirably outlined by the President of the United States, none of the peoples of that region should be excluded, discriminated against or left out of reckoning. We also consider, mindful of that ancient unity and of the coming generations, that the interests of Israel should be given due weight in this plan and in the whole examination of the problem. Why? Because we do not wish the peoples of the Near East to be torn apart; we wish to see them progress in peaceful labour, in solidarity, in understanding and peace. We do not want a continuation of this seemingly endless struggle in which every apparent slackening in the din of battle is inevitably followed by an intensification in words of hatred. We want to see Jews and Arabs continue, in the Middle East, the brilliant course they pursued in past centuries. We want them to join as forces of progress and peace, mindful of their traditions and the lives of their children, and to co-operate with all other peoples, nations, delegations, governments, scientific institutions and cultural bodies in promoting all forms of social work and world progress, thus contributing their share to the realization of mankind's hopes.

89. We believe that, whatever the final form of the draft resolution to be placed before us, these points should be taken into account and the essential unity maintained. It would be wrong to attempt any division of the indivisibles. An equality of rights must be assured to the Arab nations, to the Jewish nation and to all the peoples of the Near East alike. That area, where they all have their homes, once rang with the voice of the ancient prophets calling for peace and justice and today rings with the voice of all Arab and Jewish workers longing to forsake the din of battle and to join hands, at long last, conscious of their destiny in the quest for work and tranquillity.

90. In this connexion, may I refer again to the message we heard here from President Eisenhower. The plan outlined by the head of the great democracy of the United States is of profound social significance. It has been said, and will perhaps be repeated, that such matters do not readily fall within the scope of the problem with which we are dealing. On the other

hand, when we are discussing the political aspect, the question of achieving and consolidating peace in a given part of the world, can we disregard everything pertaining to economic progress, to social welfare, to tranquillity, to the level of living, or to the right of each man and woman in that part of the world to assist in their children's lives, education and training, as our Charter stipulates, in the exercise of those rights which, as I have said, reflect the dignity of the human person?

91. These are other aspects of the question, such as those mentioned in the preamble of the draft resolution under review. In this connexion, my statement applies equally to this text as to any other which may be put to the vote at the final stage of this plenary session. For example, with regard to the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon and Jordan, my delegation is prepared to vote in favour of this draft resolution or of any other which takes into account and confirms the repeated statements of the United States and United Kingdom delegations in the General Assembly and in the Security Council concerning the withdrawal of their troops and their adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. We have heard those statements, and we will vote for the desired objective trusting in their sincerity. In affirming this, we fully adhere to the views which have guided the action of my country and of other American countries in the establishment of a juridical system of general security based on the principles of non-intervention and self-determination, which enables all peoples to fulfil their destiny and live in peace.

92. Since we are concerned not only with a political problem but with all the manifold problems of this historically troubled area, so productive of human thought and progress, we must maintain these principles, our confidence and our faith.

93. When the General Assembly resolution is carried into effect and the Secretary-General can continue his action; when the work of the United Nations Observers is permitted to continue, under the immediate direction of that great Latin American, Mr. Galo Plaza, the former President of Ecuador; when we find that all these things have come to pass, permitting the withdrawal of troops and the return of all to their calling and their peaceful labours, we shall be able to say that this special emergency session has not been in vain, that its work has not been wasted and that we have not dashed the hopes of humanity, which, at this historic moment, wants to see not a new rift among the nations but universal solidarity and peace in the name of human progress.

94. This is the democratic philosophy of America, of our indivisible continent; a democratic philosophy which I express on behalf of my delegation and my country, and which reflects our principles and our hopes. This is what I wanted to say to you, reserving my delegation's right to deal with the draft resolutions again when they come up for detailed consideration.

95. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bulgaria who wishes to exercise the right of reply in respect to a statement in the speech of the representative of Cuba.

96. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from Russian*): At last night's meeting, the Cuban representative took it upon himself to make slanderous statements about my country which cannot be left without an answer,

although perhaps the Cuban representative does not deserve it personally.

97. In the first place, Mr. Núñez Portuondo dared to say that Bulgaria does not fulfil its international obligations and that it has been censured for this by the United Nations on several occasions.

98. Of course, the representative of Cuba has adduced no facts; it would be difficult even to invent them. It was precisely because Bulgaria fulfils its international obligations that it was admitted as a Member of the United Nations three years ago, in 1955. It is precisely because it not only meets the conditions laid down in the United Nations Charter, but respects the Charter and is devoted to the principles and the noble purposes of the United Nations that it represents an important factor of peace and tranquillity in the geographical area of the Balkans, where it is situated.

99. We can understand that Mr. Núñez Portuondo has no particularly friendly feelings for a country which for fourteen years now has closed its doors to international tobacco speculators and has long ago eliminated their allies in Bulgaria, the tobacco monopolies.

100. Only the truth should be spoken in the United Nations. And yet we have heard it asserted that in our country and in other socialist States Jews and their cultural institutions and their religion are persecuted. But the truth is that in Bulgaria, during the dark days when all Europe was under Hitler's heel and when Hitler was destroying the Jewish nation, the Bulgarian people did not allow a single Jew to be harmed and not a hair on the head of any Jew was touched. On the contrary, Jews who now live in Israel still have friendly and warm feelings for their former fatherland. Those who remained in the country enjoy the civil liberties which only a classless society can ensure for its members.

101. Finally, Mr. Núñez Portuondo asserted that we, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are victims of Soviet colonialism. But the truth is that in 1944, thanks to the Soviet Union and its victories in the Second World War, Bulgaria was liberated from German domination and occupation. Soviet forces left Bulgaria within the time-limit prescribed in the peace treaty. Since then, the Soviet Union has given our Republic such unstinting economic aid that its economy is flourishing as never before. Suffice it to say that Bulgaria's present industrial production is more than seven times greater than that of the old, pre-war Bulgaria of 1939. The truth is that there is not a single Soviet soldier in Bulgaria now; the truth is that, for the first time in its history, the Bulgarian people have been given the opportunity freely to establish its own economy, culture and system of Government, its own educational and health services and thus to ensure its present and future well-being.

102. These slanderous statements are made by an individual from a country where a real civil war has been in progress for many years, where the constitution has been suspended and where foreign troops were landed some time ago. What need is there to say any more? What are this gentleman's fairy tales worth, and how much does he respect the truth? Here is an example of what I mean. In this city where our Assembly is meeting, all the most important and widely read Soviet newspapers are obtainable. I have before me copies of *Izvestia* and *Pravda* of 15 August, containing the full text of Mr. Gromyko's statement, which we all heard on 13 August; but the Cuban representative alleged yesterday that the Soviet Union had not even informed its own people

of the statements made either by Mr. Gromyko or President Eisenhower at the Assembly. That is how much all the Cuban representative's assertions are worth.

103. The PRESIDENT: As Members of the Assembly will notice, there are conversations proceeding

at the present time in respect to the matters now before us. I have no further speakers on my list for this morning, and I think it would be proper that the Assembly adjourn until 3.00 o'clock this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.