

Middle East conflict - Lebanon. Third Emergency Special Session: Middle Eas...

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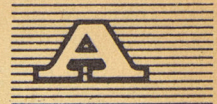
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Third Emergency Special Session [1958] - Aug 14

(Verbatim record)

- Rifai (Jordan)
- Walker (Australia)
- Aiken (Ireland)
- David (Czechoslovakia)

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Third Emergency Special Session

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 14 August 1958, at 3 p.m.

President:

Sir Leslie MUNRO

(New Zealand)

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

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QUESTIONS CONSIDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 838TH MEETING ON 7 AUGUST 1958

(continued)

DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE USSR (A/3870)

Mr. RIFAI (Jordan): This emergency special session of the General Assembly came about as a result of deep concern regarding the situation in the Middle East, which situation followed a deterioration of conditions in the Arab countries. Subversive aggression, organized and directed from without, broke out vigorously in the area and intended to complete its rounds in Jordan. This tide of indirect attacks and disguised armed activities against the Arab countries will no doubt continue to rise until it covers all parts of the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. The future international complications will then be far more serious than at present and beyond the skill of international diplomacy.

The latest events in the Arab lands are preliminaries to further plans of aggression designed by the same source to dominate that strategic and important part of the world. The discussion of these events at such an important meeting, and on such a high level, necessarily and essentially demands a general survey of their causes and aims. Such causes and aims are sometimes intentionally or unintentionally misinterpreted and misreported by certain politicians and political commentators. Therefore, in order to lead a constructive discussion and to find an effective remedy to the present crisis in the Arab East, my delegation will try to describe the real picture of conditions in that area.

There is no doubt that there is in the region a violent struggle. But what kind of struggle is it and what are the driving powers behind it? Those who are not very familiar with the inhabitants and the history of that region describe it as Arab nationalism. They give it such identification even when it is a struggle among the Arabs themselves, and within the same nation, or even when it does not serve any national aspirations, and even when it is degraded to the level of sin and crime.

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

As an Arab, with an Arab background, and coming from an Arab country, I wish to put forward to the General Assembly, on behalf of my delegation, our remarks on this important subject of Arab nationalism. It has become more or less the duty of every true Arab to save Arab nationalism from the ambiguities and abuse into which it has fallen.

It does not, however, escape my delegation that this subject is a purely Arab affair. But because it has been considered as a factor in the present crisis of the area we feel that it should be presented in its proper perspective.

Arab nationalism is not a new movement in the Arab world. Nor could any present Arab leader claim that it is his production. Arab nationalism rose in the latter part of the nineteenth century when the call for Arab aspirations was first heard in Lebanon and then echoed and developed into more practical ideas in other parts of the Arab homeland.

It was as early as 1911 and 1913 that the national Arab movement developed from concepts and feelings into serious talk and real preparations.

In 1916 the great Arab revolt broke out in Hejaz under the leadership of late Hussein Bin Ali and enveloped Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, led by the four sons of old King Hussein. That great Arab revolt, whose anniversary is still celebrated in several Arab countries, had as its first and ultimate aim the freedom, independence and unity of all the Arab countries.

From 1916 onwards the Arab countries passed through national, political and military developments, marked by a series of minor national revolutions, until each Arab country individually and separately achieved its independence and sovereignty, with the exception of Palestine, whose problem is well-known to everybody.

Yet, in spite of the establishment of several Arab States, the idea and feeling of Arab unity continued to exist and grow and develop, and to follow in its application a natural evolutionary pattern. The League of Arab States was founded and then the Arab Collective Security Pact. Other agreements and pacts were concluded among some Arab States with the purpose of strengthening the ties of pan-Arabism and Arab unity to the strongest possible degree. In most of the constitutions of the Arab States the emphasis is laid in the very first articles

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

on the fact that the Arab country concerned is a part of the great Arab homeland, that its people are a part of the Arab nation, and that its policy is to achieve a complete Arab unity.

But in the last eight or nine years a new movement of violent political events has been introduced into the Arab region, a movement which set back Arab progress into a state of inter-Arab differences and conflicts.

In 1949 the President of the Syrian Republic, Shukri el-Quwatly, who was the foremost national leader of Syria, and the man who spent most of his seventy years in a struggle for his country, was overthrown by the Chief of Staff of the Syrian Army, Colonel Husni Az-Zaim, who later proclaimed himself as the President of Syria with the general consent of the Syrians.

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

Colonel Az-Zaim was in turn overthrown by two other colonels who ruled the country successively. Each of them claimed national leadership and that he had won the general support of the nation. Yet, each of them ended with failure.

The Syrians then turned again to their old former President who was living in exile. He, who was thrown out by his own people, was called back by the same people and was elected again as President of Syria. This fact upset the scales of true nationalism, and proves that real nationalism should not be confused with political events.

A regrettable outcome of the unconstitutional changes which took place in Syria in recent years was the suppression of a large number of nationalistic Syrian leaders. They were men who contributed substantially to the independence of their country, and who personally took part in the battle of national liberation. They now wither as prisoners in Syria doing hard labour, or are in compulsory confinements, or in exile, sentenced to death.

In spite of the natural progress of every nation with the passage of time, the unconstitutional political events that happened in Syria in the past few years did not strengthen the Syrian national Government which was already strong there, but they only established the military regime.

However, another political event took place in Egypt as a result of which the King was dethroned and Colonel Mohammed Naguib came to power. Developments there led to the coming of Colonel Nasser, who became the President of Egypt and then of the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria.

Similarly, outstanding Egyptian statesmen and political leaders who were nationally and internationally highly reputed were no more on the scene.

It was a big task for the Government of the Arab Republic to keep the internal situation under control unless the change in the regime could be justified by offering the people real gains and new conquests. But as public opinion was barred from expressing itself in the two parts of the Arab Republic, questions were raised in the Arab public opinion regarding the achievements and failures of the new Egyptian regime in matters which are of concern to all the Arabs, or which fall within collective Arab responsibility.

Yet, for the sake of preserving solidarity, none of the Arab rulers failed to support President Nasser in every issue to the very end.

King Hussein of Jordan sided with him all the way. He signed with him a mutual defence pact. He placed his army under the command of the Egyptian Chief of Staff. An Egyptian officer was appointed in Jordan as commander of the military operations of the Jordanian armed forces. The King accepted President Nasser's word for replacing the British financial aid by an Egyptian contribution. King Hussein was ready to go along with President Nasser even farther than that during the military attack against Egypt in 1956. He followed that line vis a vis President Nasser, prompted by true Arab nationalism and national brotherhood.

It was exceedingly disappointing to King Hussein to have been rewarded by hostility and enmity on the part of the Egyptian President who seemed to have had certain aims in Jordan itself. This fact is the source of conflict and one of two basic factors in the present trouble in the Arab countries. It represents one side of Jordan's case in the present deliberations.

As the expansionist aims of Cairo failed to succeed in Jordan, they unfortunately found their way in Lebanon.

In Lebanon, the agents of the Arab Republic were able to create disturbance against the lawful Government and the peaceful inhabitants, taking advantage of certain internal issues. Evidence of such interference has already been made available.

While trouble and bloodshed in Lebanon were welcomed and cherished in Cairo, another tragedy occurred in the Arab world, which made Cairo claim another success. A military coup took the lives of all the members of the Royal family in Iraq. Cairo claimed a victory and considered this tragedy a successful Arab national movement.

What was not a coincidence is the fact that Moscow hailed the events in Iraq as much as Cairo did. The representative of the Soviet Union at the Security Council said on 17 July, and I quote:

"Those who cherish the feelings of any country which wishes to achieve independence cannot fail to welcome the events in Iraq".

(S/PV.831, p. 42)

I should like to ask: What is it, in the views of Cairo and Moscow, which would make such an internal event in Iraq an Arab national movement? What Arab national programme has it got to offer so that we all could cherish it? But it seems that there is a common reason for both Moscow and Cairo to welcome such events and any other possible similar events in the Arab countries.

This brings me to the second basic factor in the present troubles in the Middle East. The Soviet Union on its part seeks opportunities for penetrating the Middle East.

In this region, the Middle East, there is the bitter feeling of the Arabs because of the creation of Israel and because of the Algerian problem. There are also one million desperate Arab refugees receptive to any ideas which might raise their hopes and strengthen their morale. In the Arab countries there is a substantial degree of poverty and under-development.

The Soviets found an easy entry to the United Arab Republic through various doors. They concluded with it many agreements, military, economic, technical, cultural, and agreements for transportation. The two Powers worked jointly within the Arab zone. Their joint activities in the Arab homeland could better be presented by the Jordan delegation in the continued attempts of both forces against the present regime in Jordan.

My delegation requests, therefore, to submit to the Members of the General Assembly a documented report about the attempts at indirect aggression against my country. But to submit all the facts on all the attempts would consume a considerable part of the present debate. I, therefore, shall outline the major incidents.

In April, 1957, a state of chaos, inspired from outside, prevailed in Jordan. Students broke out of their schools and joined the mobs in revolutionary demonstrations, carrying red banners on one side, and the pictures of President Nasser on the other side. For no apparent cause they were shouting slogans denouncing Western imperialism and hailing friendship with the Soviet Union. Pamphlets were scattered here and there against King Hussein and his regime.

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

Explosions echoed everywhere. Certain government officials went around addressing the crowds with fiery speeches. Personal safety became uncertain. Shops and stores closed to avoid the mobs. During that confusion a military coup d'Etat was plotted by the Chief of Staff against the King. He ordered the encirclement of Amman, the capital, by one brigade. He ordered a number of key-post officers to go out on manoeuvres. On the other hand, the Syrian forces which were stationed in Jordan, in accordance with the mutual defence pact with Syria, changed their dispositions in such a way as to separate Amman from the northern district of Jordan which borders Syria. Investigation later showed the existence of a big file of secret correspondence in the office of the Egyptian military Commander in the headquarters of the Jordan Army in Amman. It contained information from him and instructions from Cairo about the progress of those events and, I quote, "the weakening position of the Palace". Moreover, the Cairo Broadcasting Station and the Egyptian newspapers day and night kept calling upon the Jordanians to revolt. The situation deteriorated into actual fighting within the Jordanian armed forces between the loyalists and those misled by their officers. The King, therefore, asked his Prime Minister to resign, but the Prime Minister received a telegram from President Nasser of Egypt asking him not to do so.

King Hussein then took matters into his own hands, and by his personal courage restored order and re-established his authority. Details of the incident must surely be known to many of the representatives.

The success of King Hussein on that occasion was the starting point for the launching of open hostility by Cairo against the King and his kingdom. Since then, the 23-year-old Hussein has become the target of Cairo and of Moscow. Since then, the Jordanians have been accused of lack of Arabism and nationalism. We should like to take this opportunity to assure those in Cairo and those in Moscow that Arab nationalism is our cherished ideal. Its doctrines lie deep in the blood and spirit of every Jordanian. It derives from time immemorial throughout the long history of Arabism in Jordan. It shines from the first early conquests and victories of the Arabs in our homeland. It rises from the tombs of Arab martyrs buried in every spot in our native land. It is a necessity to our life and existence. It is the dream and hope of our future. Genuine Arab

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nationalism in Jordan is expressed in the tears and sighs of every Palestinian refugee whom we sheltered and with whom we share our loaf of bread. Arab nationalism is reflected in the high morale of our army that stands in defence of what is left of our dear Palestine. And Arab nationalism was proved in the real measures which our young and gallant King took to bring about unity among the Sister Arab States, and with Egypt itself before any other.

But because we refused to be subjects and because we wish to defend our independence and dignity, they keep plotting against us and call us traitors and imperialists.

The persistent attempts of the United Arab Republic to overthrow Jordan's constitutional regime continue in the form of propaganda, shameful Press attacks, radio incitement, conspiracies and plots prepared in Cairo and Damascus or on the borders of the Arab Republic with Jordan. Infiltration of terrorists and smuggling of large amounts of money and arms have gone on on a large scale. I am not going to detail all the incidents of the smuggling of arms and money and infiltration from the Syrian borders into Jordan since the crisis of April 1957. Nor am I going to read extracts from what was written in the Egyptian and Syrian Press against King Hussein and of what was said in the Cairo and Damascus broadcasting stations. That would cover a large number of pages and would consume considerable time. I will only refer to what has taken place very recently in giving examples of such activities:

A plot from within was discovered in Amman a few days before the Iraqi events. It involved a few army officers who are still being investigated.

Last week a wide net of espionage and saboteurs was discovered in Amman, a net which included Government employees. They confessed that they had relations with the outside.

The following incidents happened from without during the last few weeks:

1. On 10 July 1958 a Jordan Army patrol detected near Wadi el-Yutm a caravan approaching Jordan territory. Some of the infiltrators managed to escape when challenged, but the patrol managed to capture five of them and seized the five camels with their loads of twenty-six sacks containing 1,954 kilograms of high explosive (TNT), made in Egypt.

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

Wadi el-Yutm is situated to the south of the Dead Sea in the area of Ma'an in the Southern District.

2. On 27 July 1958 a Jordan Army patrol clashed with a band of eight infiltrators in Kafr Soum on the Syrian border in the Northern District. Following an exchange of fire, the patrol wounded one of the infiltrators and captured the rest. The Jordan Army patrol also seized all the arms, ammunition and explosives which the band was carrying. Investigation revealed clear intervention by Syrian Army authorities and some wanted Jordanians now residing in Syria, whose sole purpose was fomenting trouble and disturbance in Jordan and causing instability there.

3. On 29 July 1958 the Jordan Security Forces seized an arms cache on the Syrian-Jordanian border which served the infiltrators as an arsenal. Large quantities of these hidden arms, ammunition and explosives were confiscated.

4. On the night of 30 July 1958, a Jordan Army patrol observed an armed band of infiltrators with five horses crossing the Syrian border into Jordan, north-east of Ramtha and proceeding towards the village of Tourra. An exchange of fire with the band resulted in the killing of two horses and the capture of one member of this band whose name was Hassan Fahed whom investigation showed to be from Dar's and a member of a Kurdish clan. The rest of the band managed to escape into Syria leaving behind all the arms, ammunition and explosives which they were carrying.

5. Following is a list of quantities and type of arms which were captured by security forces in the second, third and fourth incidents mentioned above: Rifles (British manufacture), 99; antitank guns (Blenside), 2; antitank Blenside (Cartridges), 18; gun barrels, 3; Sten gun magazines of fifty rounds, 32; Beretta gun magazines, 2; rifle ammunition (British manufacture), 5,275; LOH explosive (sticks), 104; safety cord (in feet), 40; detonators, 27; Bren guns, 5; Bren gun magazines, 107; Sten guns, 22; Sten gun magazines, 28; Sten gun ammunition (rounds), 7,410; bags of TNT, 81; fuse (in feet), 40; timing detonators, 10; rifle ammunition (rounds, Czech manufacture), 2,220

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Photographers took several still, movie and television pictures of this arsenal.

6. On 29 July 1958 an explosion took place in the British Consul building in Amman, while another explosion occurred on 2 August 1958 on the premises of the Jordanian Development Board. Earlier, a number of explosions had taken place in various places in the capital. The security forces succeeded in discovering the band that had carried out these activities and in capturing its members, who have clearly confessed in tape recordings and in written statements that they had direct connexions with the Syrian Deuxieme Bureau and that they were working under the guidance and directives of this office in order to disturb public security in Jordan.

Another kind of indirect aggression against Jordan is incitements by broadcasts. In addition to the "Voice of the Arabs", the Cairo Broadcasting network, and Damascus station, there was heard recently a new station calling itself "Jordanian People's Radio". The last one operates somewhere within the Syrian territory near the Jordanian borders. It was first heard at 2100 hours Jordan local time, on 4 July. Its first address was to the students and young men in Jordan, calling on them to "attack the enemy of the people, Hussein and his Premier the imperialist".

I am not going to dwell on this part. All that I would say is that this station, with the three other stations in Cairo and Damascus, keeps playing these tunes day and night to the Jordanians.

Of late, the danger against Jordan increased very considerably and the threat against our independence became imminent. The Iraqi regime fell suddenly. The new rulers of Iraq immediately broke their union with Jordan. The Iraqi armed forces which were stationed in Jordan returned home.

My Government at that crucial moment received reliable information regarding a large-scale attack planned to start from the Arab Republic borders against Jordan on 17 July. We realized that our frontiers all around were surrounded by hostilities. We felt that the burden on our shoulders had become too heavy in maintaining public order and watching the very long frontiers all around the country. We therefore had no choice. We had to ask for help. We made a request for urgent help from certain democratic Powers. We asked the

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

United Kingdom and the United States of America for such help. We appreciated their prompt response.

The Jordanian request was not made by the decision of the King alone or by Jordan's Council of Ministers alone. It was decided unanimously by the Jordanian National Assembly and approved by the Government and the King. The arrival of British forces in Jordan was received by the Jordanians with satisfaction and calm.

Jordan's request was based on its inherent right of self-defence in a state of emergency, recognized by the United Nations Charter. This request was made for defensive purposes and through constitutional and democratic methods. The presence of the British troops in Jordan could not by any means, and in view of the present circumstances, be interpreted as intended for aggressive purposes.

Those who call for the withdrawal of these forces from Jordan under the existing circumstances mean, in fact, to give a free hand to indirect aggression against Jordan in particular and the area in general. It is quite unreasonable to ask for withdrawal in the present hostile atmosphere prevailing all over the region. How could withdrawal be called for while attempts against the existence of Jordan continue daily, almost without interruption?

Having outlined the facts of our case, my delegation feels that we should now come to the constructive stage of dealing with this situation. It seems to us that there are various current ideas on how to bring about a settlement. I therefore wish to clarify the position of my Government.

The presence of British forces in Jordan is a temporary measure necessitated by the special circumstances in which Jordan was subjected to the threat of aggression and conspiracies plotted from without. As soon as the Government of Jordan is convinced that the measures and arrangements taken by the United Nations will in fact ensure Jordan's integrity, safety and independence, the stationing of British forces in Jordan will no longer be required. Jordan will then ask for their withdrawal.

It becomes the responsibility of the United Nations, therefore, to decide on the adoption of practical arrangements and to secure effective international guarantees which will prevent aggression as well as direct and indirect interference in the internal affairs of Jordan.

(Mr. Rifai, Jordan)

Such measures and arrangements must not envisage by any means the despatch of United Nations Forces or United Nations Observers to be stationed on Jordan territory or to guard the Jordanian frontiers. My Government will oppose such decisions.

Jordan will continue to depend on its own army and its security forces in maintaining law and order within the State and in combatting outside infiltration, smuggling of arms, and other means of destruction and sabotage.

What Jordan needs and asks for in this respect is effective material assistance which will provide the necessary funds and arms to reinforce and strengthen its army and security forces, so that they will always be on a satisfactory level of efficiency to accomplish their duties.

However, it is imperative that a stop should be put to hostile and inciting propaganda, both in broadcasting and in the press. On this point my Government will not object to the establishment of a United Nations Committee or a special international organ to monitor broadcasts and press used for incitement and interference in other countries' internal affairs.

Having expressed our views, I feel I have to end my statement with the following expression of the sentiment of my delegation. How sad it is for the Jordan delegation to expose this real but unpleasant picture of the situation in the Arab countries. And how sad it is for an Arab to submit his complaint against his Arab brother. But we are compelled to do so. We are leading a battle imposed on us. What is at stake is our honour and our integrity. We therefore call upon every Arab, whoever and wherever he may be, to appreciate the present dangerous situation in his homeland and the future consequences. We also appeal to the family of nations, meeting today in this great Organization, to take adequate steps for protecting peace in our region and eventually in the whole world.

Mr. WALKER (Australia): Before addressing myself to the grave questions we are assembled to discuss, may I take this opportunity, Sir, to express the satisfaction of my delegation that the General Assembly in this special session will continue to work under your capable and impartial presidency.

We are here to discuss the present serious situation in the Middle East. This situation results from the sustained attempts at intervention in the affairs of Lebanon and Jordan by a sister member of the Arab League. These interventionist activities became so serious and fraught with such grave dangers to the territorial integrity and political independence of those countries that they were impelled to complain to the United Nations. In the case of Lebanon an Observer Group was established, which has rendered useful service but has encountered some difficulties in developing its activities. In Jordan no United Nations action has yet been taken. As the external pressure developed and the threat to the security of Lebanon and Jordan grew, their Governments made specific and urgent appeals to the United States and the United Kingdom for aid. The aid which they requested was the stationing of armed forces to assist them in defending themselves against the threat of armed aggression.

At this point, I think we should clear our minds on the origin and purpose of this debate. It was evident from Mr. Gromyko's remarks yesterday that the Soviet Union wishes to present the objective of this present Assembly as being primarily to secure the withdrawal of American and British forces from Lebanon and Jordan. This reflects a certain confusion in the mind of the Soviet Union delegation and that same confusion runs through the wording of the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union. This special emergency session was convened because the Security Council, finding itself frustrated, adopted unanimously a resolution under the Uniting for Peace procedure. I repeat, "unanimously"; even the Soviet Union representative voted for the resolution convening the Assembly. In what way was the Security Council frustrated? It was frustrated, in that it had failed to reach any agreement on how to deal with the complaints made to it by Lebanon and Jordan. The preamble of the resolution calling this session, which the Council adopted on 7 August, says this in black and white. It reads as follows:

"Having considered items 2 and 3 on its agenda as contained in document S/Agenda/838,"
and it proposed the calling of the session.

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

What were these two agenda items? If we refer to the document we find that they were as follows:

Item 2 "Letter dated 22nd May 1958 from the representative of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning: 'Complaint by Lebanon in respect of a situation arising from the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the internal affairs of Lebanon, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security' (S/4007)"

Item 3 "Letter dated 17 July 1958 from the representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning: 'Complaint by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan of interference in its domestic affairs by the United Arab Republic' (S/4053)"

The immediate and most urgent task of the present session of the Assembly is to act on these complaints by Lebanon and Jordan where the Security Council has failed to act. The Assembly is called on to take speedy and effective action to assist the Governments of the Lebanon and Jordan to protect their integrity and independence against the pressures that have been applied to them.

The Assembly has not been convened primarily for the purpose of considering and terminating the presence in Lebanon and Jordan of United States and United Kingdom forces that have entered those countries at the express request of their legally constituted Governments to assist their defence against threatened aggression but we can be sure that if the Assembly fully discharges its responsibility in relation to the Lebanese and Jordanian complaints, the withdrawal of the United States and United Kingdom forces will promptly follow. We all know that the action of the United States and the United Kingdom in responding to the requests of the Governments of Lebanon and Jordan for this assistance has been attacked by the Government whose activities have been the subject of complaint by Lebanon and Jordan, namely the United Arab Republic, and also by the Soviet Union. But there is no ground whatever for describing as intervention in the domestic affairs of Lebanon and Jordan the lending of the assistance which they have officially requested.

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

It is the height of absurdity to suggest, as the Soviet Union delegation appears to suggest, that the Charter of the United Nations does not permit a country which considers itself threatened, and which has appealed to the United Nations for assistance that is not yet forthcoming, to request and to receive assistance from friendly countries. There is nothing in our Charter or in international law that forbids a nation from providing such assistance pending effective action by the United Nations to preserve the security of the country that is threatened. It would be a calamitous situation full of the most disquieting prospects for many small nations if the doctrine were accepted that it is illegal to lend military assistance when it is requested by a country facing the menace of aggression.

The Australian Government therefore fully endorses the action taken by the United States and the United Kingdom to assist Lebanon and Jordan in response to their request and commends the United States and the United Kingdom for the promptness with which they responded to these calls for help. Their action was a courageous one, taken as it was in an atmosphere of world tension in which both those Governments recognized the risks inherent in the situation. Their over-riding consideration was the obligation of Members under the United Nations Charter to maintain international peace and security. We have no doubt that their action has contributed to the preservation of the peace and has prevented a rapid deterioration of the security situation in the Middle East.

The Australian Government welcomes the declaration by the President of the United States before this Assembly that the United States reserves, within the spirit of the Charter, the right to answer the legitimate appeal of any nation, particularly small nations. This, indeed, is the right of every Member State. On the other hand, we, too, would doubt whether any free government in all the world would willingly forego the right to ask for help if its sovereignty were imperilled.

The United States has given the United Nations the solemn assurance that its troops will be totally withdrawn whenever this is requested by the duly constituted Government of Lebanon or whenever, through action by the United Nations or otherwise, Lebanon is no longer exposed to the original danger. The United Kingdom has given the same assurance with regard to its forces in Jordan. We all hope that the withdrawal of these forces can take place in the very near future. The essential thing for this emergency Assembly to do is to take the action that will remove the danger of aggression from Lebanon and Jordan, and thereby permit the rapid termination of the military assistance that those Governments are at present receiving at their own request.

It is the earnest hope of the Australian Government that, as the General Assembly takes up this task, it will put on one side the mutual recriminations that have characterized so much of the discussion of Middle East problems and will seize the opportunity, now presented, to lay the foundations for a constructive programme of peaceful development and progress throughout the region.

The Australian Government, like other Governments that share the world's anxiety over the dangers inherent in the Middle East situation, has been giving consideration to the sort of programme that might be acceptable to the United Nations, including, we would hope, the countries of the Middle East. Following this consideration by the Australian Government, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Casey, in a statement before the Australian Parliament on 6 August, indicated several proposals that the Government considered to be worth advancing at this stage. These proposals have already come to the attention of many delegations and I should like to refer to them briefly.

It may be too much to hope that the deep-seated antipathies, rivalries and imperialist ambitions underlying past crises in the Middle East can be eliminated at one stroke. But it seems to us that the first step is to endeavour to create an environment in which individual Middle East Governments can work out their policies free from external pressures.

It is indeed the inalienable right of all States small and large to work out their own destinies in their own ways, and the United Nations must protect this right in the Middle East as elsewhere. With a view to providing an assurance to the countries of the Middle East that their independence will not be jeopardized through threats and pressures from outside sources the Australian Government would

favour, first, the creation of a United Nations commission composed of representatives appointed by Governments and located in the Middle East. This commission would be charged by the General Assembly with the task of investigating, verifying and publicly reporting to the United Nations all external acts or threats of interference and subversion, whether direct or indirect, against countries in the Middle East. The commission should remain in force until the Middle East showed signs of enduring stability.

Secondly, the investigations of the commission, Mr. Casey suggested, would need to be supplemented by a United Nations police force which could be called upon at need to control threatened borders. Vigilance on the part of the commission, backed by action as required from the United Nations police force, could reduce tension and clear the way for the establishment of normal political relationships between the Governments of the countries concerned.

It could also help to establish a calmer and more favourable atmosphere for the examination of the immediate and long-term problems of the area. The cost would be small in comparison with the recurring dangers to peace in the Middle East, with which we have been faced.

Thirdly, the aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East for economic advancement must be recognized. Economic development for the benefit of the peoples of the Middle East should be a matter of world interest founded on the concept of interdependence. This interdependence exists and cannot be denied. The Australian Government favours the creation of an international organization to assist countries of the Middle East to develop their resources and to develop mutually beneficial trade with the rest of the world. Progress in this direction, we believe, would facilitate the resettlement of nearly one million Palestinian Arab refugees, with Israel making its due contribution.

These suggestions were put forward by the Australian Government in the hope that they might contribute to the constructive consideration of a programme that would bring both peace and progress to the Middle East. Along such paths as these, we hope that Arab nationalism can find the fulfilment of its aspirations in harmony with the interests of the rest of the world and to the mutual advantage of each other.

There have of course been other proposals from various sources that are worthy of consideration by this Assembly. The statement made by our respected Secretary-General at the first meeting of the present emergency session on 8 August contained a number of lines of possible action by the United Nations, which we know are receiving the careful consideration of Governments in the region and of other Members of the United Nations. Yesterday, the President of the United States placed before the General Assembly the elements of a generous and constructive programme which cannot fail to command the closest and most favourable consideration of this Assembly.

The Australian delegation is glad to find, in the Secretary-General's statement and in the programme expounded by President Eisenhower, and again in Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's statement this morning, a number of points in common with our own thoughts about this problem.

We welcome, for example, the great emphasis that is being laid on the need for co-operation among the countries of the Middle East and between the region and the rest of the world in the field of economic development. In the Middle East the disparity of wealth among States and the absence of continued economic development have made the area specially susceptible to political ferment, which itself has retarded development. I have had opportunity to refer to this matter on previous occasions. More than two years ago in a statement before the Security Council about the Middle East I expressed my doubt whether there is any part of the world where there is a greater need for a more determined attack upon the evils of poverty, or greater opportunities for economic progress if the necessary resources can be provided to improve the productivity of the region. I was glad to hear the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, this morning, offer to give such help as may be within the power of the United Kingdom and acceptable to the countries concerned.

We welcome also the stress laid by President Eisenhower in his statement on the need for an expansion and intensification of international assistance to the countries of the Middle East in their campaigns against the appalling health problems of the region.

We see no reason why steps should not be taken in the course of the present emergency session to initiate a great co-operative effort for the social and economic progress in the Middle East, an effort to which many countries throughout the world will be ready to make their contribution -- unless we fail

to provide the framework of security without which it is impossible to make any effective attack on economic problems.

From what I have already said regarding the suggestions advanced by the Australian Government, it will be clear that we support the proposal of the United States that this Assembly should take action, looking toward the creation of a stand-by United Nations police force. We agree wholeheartedly with President Eisenhower's statement that the need for such a force in being is clearly demonstrated by recent events involving imminent danger to the integrity of two of our Members.

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

We also welcome the growing recognition of the need for the continued presence of the United Nations in the Middle East until such time as the danger of war between the countries of the region has receded. Moreover, this is part of the immediate practical problem that confronts the Assembly of affording Lebanon and Jordan protection against existing threats to their integrity and independence, and removing the need for the continued presence of American and British forces. The best method of organizing this continuing presence of the United Nations in the area clearly requires very careful consideration in consultation with countries of the area. Our suggestion for the establishment of a United Nations Commission for the Middle East is advanced for consideration in this connexion. I may add that when this matter was debated in the Australian Parliament a few days ago, the idea of a Commission was supported by all parties. We are ready to support, as a further practical measure, President Eisenhower's important proposal that the Assembly consider means for monitoring broadcasts directed across national borders in the Middle East, a proposal which Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has also commended to the Assembly. As we see it, the examination of complaints from nations that consider their security jeopardized by external propaganda might well be among the functions of the proposed United Nations Commission.

These comments and suggestions are intended as a contribution to the constructive discussion by this Assembly of the problems before us and as indicating the sort of proposals that Australia will gladly support. We look forward to hearing the views and suggestions of other delegations and we realize the importance of acting swiftly to meet the most pressing dangers of the present situation. This situation calls for a great effort of good will and a determination to carry out the principles of the Charter. We hope that all Members of the Assembly will approach this task in the spirit of the Charter.

Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): There is, I think, as this debate has already shown, very wide agreement in this Assembly on two things.

The first is that the situation in the Middle East represents a grave and continuing threat to world peace. That threat, over more than a decade, has been at times acute, at times apparently quiescent, but has never been dissipated.

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

We become indeed, after each crisis, more conscious of its gravity. Each nation represented here, no matter how remote geographically from the area, becomes increasingly aware that its own future and the future of the world may depend on what happens there, because world peace now hangs to such a disquieting extent on the choices that must be made in and concerning that strategic hub of the world, with its vital oil resources and communication facilities.

The second aspect on which, I believe, there would be fairly widespread agreement, is that the threat to the peace in the Middle East does not come exclusively from any one quarter. A threat to the peace existed before the American and British landings in Lebanon and Jordan: that threat was neither created by those landings, nor removed by them. If all those troops were withdrawn tomorrow one critical phase would be over but the general threat would still remain. It is bound to continue, we think, unless the nations represented here can take advantage of this crisis -- and of the sense of urgency we all must feel in the presence of growing danger -- in order to build a just and stable peace throughout the region as a whole. The Irish delegation believes that this peace, which is in all our interests, must be based on a comprehensive agreement covering all the major problems which cause tension and strife between the States of the area itself and between the great Powers.

The main responsibility for peace in the Middle East lies with the great Powers and with the Middle Eastern States themselves. But the other Member nations also have a responsibility, the obligation which a voice and a vote in this Assembly imply: to make the best contribution we can to an examination of all the outstanding problems of the area, evading none of them, and to suggest practical solutions according to the best of our judgement.

Events in Lebanon and Jordan were the immediate cause of the convoking of this special session. Most of us would, I suppose, agree that the immediate problem is to enable the peoples of these States to determine their own futures freely, with no outside pressure of any kind. This Assembly will, no doubt, discuss a resolution aimed at that object, with a clause dealing with the withdrawal of the American and British troops. My delegation would certainly vote for any soundly-conceived resolution in that sense which might find support in this Assembly. But we must ask ourselves the question: is it realistic to suppose that such a withdrawal in itself could end the threat of war ever present in this region?

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

We all know that the events which have taken place in Jordan and Lebanon are not an isolated phenomenon: that they are immediately related to what happened in Iraq a month ago; closely related to the consequences of events in Egypt two years ago; and profoundly affected by decisions regarding Palestine more than ten years ago, and by the artificial fragmentation of the whole region thirty years ago. I understand the attitude of mind of those who say: "Let us not widen the debate. Have we not our hands full with the immediate problem?" "We cannot," they argue, "expect to reach agreement on the wider aspects of this complex, entangled and embittered situation." "Let us try therefore," they say, "to achieve, piece-meal, the best solution we can for each local crisis, in turn, as it comes up." That is a tempting attitude, and appears to be the practical approach. But, as we all know, the results to date of this one at a time approach have not eliminated the basic problems which lead to the intensification of these recurring local crises.

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

The persistent threat of war in this region has, in the opinion of our delegation, been due to a failure to work for a general regional solution. Although the problems of the area are so closely interrelated that they can hardly be solved in isolation, there has been this tendency to treat them as a series of separate problems concerning individual States. They have been considered in terms of the foreign policy alignments and the vital resources of these States. In practice this approach has led to intensive diplomatic competition between the great Powers, a situation where Governments, favoured by one or more of these Powers, are confronted by oppositions, often revolutionary oppositions, favoured by another Power. There follow accusations between the Powers: accusations of unfair competition, of imperialism, and of indirect aggression. In recent years every change or overthrow of a Government in the area, every shift of alliance, one might say every important political development of any kind, leads automatically to a sharp increase in international tension. Each such increase brings us near -- perhaps a little nearer each time -- to the ultimate calamity, the outbreak of general war.

This Assembly will prove to have been a historic one if it can check that fatal drift which has brought three major crises in two years and if it can establish the outline of a general settlement in the Middle East region.

It is obvious that that is no easy task. Some of the key problems involved, without a solution of which no general settlement is possible, have been on the agenda of this Organization for years without any perceptible progress being made. Is it too much to hope that, as the terrible dangers inherent in the situation have come so sharply into focus in recent weeks, a greater will to find practical solutions may make itself felt? If that is so, our delegation will be happy to support, to co-sponsor or to help in framing any constructive general resolution which proposes comprehensive and adequate solutions, capable of establishing good neighbourly relations between the States of the region and of freeing them from their present dangerous involvement in the rivalry of the great Powers.

The exact form which such a resolution would take would have, of course, to be the subject of very careful discussion among a number of delegations. It may, however, be not altogether amiss, even at this stage, for a delegation of a country like Ireland, which is in a detached geographical position and has no

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

military or economic commitments in the area, and no share in the fateful decisions taken regarding it in the past, to state what, in its view, might represent the outline of a comprehensive settlement.

The area for which the special attention of the Assembly and special measures are required consists principally of the Arab States of the Middle East and Israel -- that is to say, the region comprising Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the United Arab Republic and Israel.

Our delegation believes that a just and stable settlement in this region ought to include the following:

First, a recognition that the right of self-determination, enshrined in the Charter, includes the right of all States in this region either to maintain their separate existence or to unite or federate with one another. This implies that if the Arab States of the region demand political unity, they shall not be impeded by outsiders in the achievement of this goal, nor shall outside interests determine what form that unity should take, or what its leadership should be. It has been gratifying to note that in recent weeks this principle has been gaining more and more widespread acceptance. Its formal endorsement by this Assembly should not, I imagine, give rise to any insuperable difficulties.

The second point for a settlement would be a declaration by this Assembly that the neutrality of the whole region, guaranteed by the United Nations and recognized by the great Powers, would be in the interest of world peace. In addition, Members should be asked to undertake not to supply atomic weapons or long-range bombers or missiles to the region, or maintain such weapons or equipment there; and that Member States in the region itself should be asked to undertake not to acquire or manufacture such weapons or equipment. The endorsement of this principle by the United Nations could, I believe, be an important contribution not only to peace in the area, but towards the creation of a psychological atmosphere favourable to negotiation for peace in other critical areas.

Neutrality would be obviously in the interests of the people of the region itself, for if this vital strategic area does not become neutral, it cannot hope to escape immediate devastation in time of war, involving destruction of its cities, communications and productive centres, and the radioactive poisoning of its scanty agricultural and water resources.

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

Again, the neutrality of the region is in accord with the natural interest of each of the great Power groups as the neutrality of Austria has proved to be. This would ensure that if they cannot use the region themselves, it will not be organized and equipped as a base of attack against them. This non-use by a potential enemy of the region as a developed modern war-base is, so far as we can judge, the best that either group can now hope to achieve short of a successful war. The principle of regional neutrality, if it is accepted, should imply also the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the States of the area, and, if necessary, its enforcement by the United Nations. The cessation of violent propaganda and incitement would logically follow such an agreement. I may add that even at the present stage a propaganda truce would make it very much easier to reach such an agreement.

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

The third point, and in many ways the most difficult, concerns Israel. I know that because of the great difficulties of this problem and the tremendous emotional forces involved, many delegations are tempted to set it aside, and to restrict their attention to more approachable and less forbidding aspects of the Middle Eastern question. Unfortunately, experience suggests that this aspect cannot be ignored. Unless better relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours are made possible there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East. To attempt to find a solution for the domestic problem in Jordan, for example, without taking into account the terrible Arab-Israel antagonism is in essence to treat a symptom without examining the root causes of the disease. The United Nations should now, we believe, make a supreme effort to reduce that antagonism. Here, our delegation would like to make a concrete proposal.

Most people agree that the greatest embittering factor between Israel and its Arab neighbours is the position of the Arab refugees. As we know, the refugees demand for each individual the choice between repatriation and compensation. Israel, however, refuses to readmit any significant number of refugees. The compensation which the refugees demand is not only for the property they have lost, but also for the damage suffered by them because of their expulsion from what is now Israel. Israel, I understand, does not refuse compensation but limits it to property lost and stipulates that it should form part of a general agreement, including recognition of Israel by the Arab States -- a recognition which the Arab States refuse.

That deadlock is perhaps the greatest single obstacle to the establishment of peace in the Middle East region at present. It represents, therefore, a serious threat not only to local peace but to world peace. In that situation should not the United Nations be prepared to undertake a really extraordinary effort to break the deadlock? If so, we think that it is in guaranteeing full compensation to the refugees -- compensation by the United Nations -- that the greatest hope of a solution lies. And we should remember that even if the most generous terms were given to every refugee, the total cost would be much less than the damage that might be caused by a single H bomb.

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

The refugees are seeking not merely material help and rehabilitation. They are seeking either rehabilitation or compensation with all that that word implies -- an acknowledgement that they have been injured, that they are the victims of wrong. The Irish delegation thinks that that acknowledgement is owed to the refugees; they have been wronged; they have the right not merely to generosity but to justice. But we repudiate the idea that their injury is the result of Israel's actions alone or that Israel alone ought to be required to carry the full burden of compensation.

There is no need here to recapitulate the tragic series of promises, decisions and conflicts which have led to the present desperate enmity between Jew and Arab -- these two great Semitic peoples who have contributed such wonderful pages to the history of mankind, both of whom endured persecution, oppression and betrayal over the centuries. It would be worse than useless, however, now to attempt to apportion blame for the events of which this enmity is the bitter fruit. But while we should not waste time in recrimination, in considering what can now be done we must recall that there is hardly a major Power free from a share in that responsibility and that, finally, some of the key decisions have been taken here in this Assembly.

In these circumstances, would it not be fitting and fruitful for peace if this Assembly were to acknowledge that the refugees are entitled to compensation for the property they have lost and the damage they have suffered by reason of their expulsion and exclusion from their homes, and to assume responsibility -- this Assembly to assume responsibility -- for that compensation? If the Assembly is willing to assume that responsibility, this long-drawn-out and terrible human and political problem might at last be in sight of a solution. The Secretary-General could inform the refugees that in all cases where repatriation was not practicable at present, the United Nations was prepared to assume responsibility for full compensation. Israel would be invited to state in these circumstances how many refugees it was prepared to receive back and how much it would contribute to the compensation scheme. The Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Director-General of the UNRWA, would arrange for the

(Mr. Aiken, Ireland)

repatriation of the maximum number of refugees and for full compensation -- not merely resettlement -- for the remainder. As far as the refugees are concerned, although in some cases individuals might be denied the repatriation they desire, they would collectively benefit more from the operation of such a scheme, both morally and materially, than from either the continuance of the status quo or any other probable outcome. As far as the United Nations is concerned this solution would be costly, but it would be less costly -- even if every member of every family were given \$1,000 -- than the alternative, the maintenance of the refugees in the camps indefinitely. Certainly it would lift a heavy political and psychological mortgage from the area as a whole, and not least from Israel itself, and from one of the States -- Jordan -- whose situation this special session has been summoned to consider.

If this problem is put on the way to settlement, it would greatly facilitate the attainment of satisfactory solutions for the remaining problems which must be faced if a general settlement is to be attained. The improvement in Arab-Israeli relations which ought to be ushered in by progress on the refugee problem should, in particular, help to bring about a just solution of the problem of the Holy Places, under an international regime which would be responsible for their preservation and accessibility. This problem also, in the inflamed atmosphere of the past years, has made no progress towards solution. Surely, however, if the general atmosphere can be improved this Organization can achieve what, throughout the world, Christian, Jew and Moslem so profoundly desire: the effective protection of the Holy Places in Palestine.

Improvement in Arab-Israeli relations should also make possible a general convention under United Nations auspices for the protection of civil, religious, educational and cultural rights, both for native minorities and other residents, and provide for legitimate commercial access to the resources and communications of the region on the same basis as is expected of a neutral State.

The many countries, both in the East and West, who regard access to the oil and to the air, sea, canal and pipe-line communications of the area as almost a necessity, would find in such a freely negotiated convention a better and more enduring safeguard of their interest than political or military intervention has ever been able to provide. The convention would be of no less benefit to the States and peoples of the region itself. Matters which have in the past offered occasion for endless disputes, boycotts, tensions and difficulties for the individual States of the region, and which have led other countries to develop super ships and new oil resources, would henceforth be the subject of orderly proceedings within an international organization of which the Middle East States are influential members.

It is clear that an integral part of any general plan for stabilizing the area should be a Middle East development organization, set up by the Middle East States themselves, as suggested yesterday by the distinguished President of the United States. There is a similar organization already in Europe, of which my country is a member, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation. This organization has proved to be one of the most successful examples of peaceful international co-operation that the world has ever seen. Through a similar organization for the Middle East, to which the United Nations should give every support and assistance, all outside State grants and loans to that region, or to any part of it, should be channeled, as President Eisenhower has emphasized, and should be used co-operatively to raise the standard of life of the peoples instead of increasing their war potential. Both the oil-rich States in the area and the oil companies operating there should be invited to invest, through the organization, in the development of the region as a whole.

Although our delegation fully realizes the difficulties of securing a just and stable peace in this entangled and inflamed area, we are convinced that a general declaration by the United Nations on some such lines as these, improved and strengthened by the collective wisdom of this Assembly and backed by its authority, should be made at this session.

Finally, may I say that all our interests, whether they are based on considerations of ordinary humanity, of special sympathy with Israel or the Arabs, of economic needs or of concern for our common fate under the impelling threat of general war, impose upon us the duty and the necessity to find a way of ending this sinister deadlock.

If by dint of quiet negotiations, assisted by the devoted exertions of our Secretary-General, a convention can be reached along the lines of the suggestions I have made, we believe it would not only secure a drawing back of foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan, but be the opening of a new and happier chapter for all the peoples in the Middle East. Not only that, but by abolishing the causes of war in the most critical strategic areas in the world, by laying a broad carpet of peace between the Great Powers, by assisting the development of resources and communications which are the lifeblood of modern civilization, this Assembly would be building a model for similar settlements in other troubled parts of the world. Thus we would transform, with God's help, these sorely tormented lands which were once the cradle of civilization into the prototype of the world we want.

Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia)(interpretation from Russian): May I, first of all, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, welcome the representatives of the States of the United Nations here present and express the hope that the results of this emergency special session of the General Assembly will justify the hopes of world public opinion and will contribute to the consolidation of peace and security of the Middle and Near East and throughout the world.

The present session convened in order to discuss the serious threat to the peace and security in the Near and Middle East that has arisen as a result of the American armed intervention in Lebanon and of British armed intervention in Jordan.

The United States, in attempting to suppress the popular movement in Lebanon and consolidation of its independence has used as an excuse for its intervention the quite unjustified complaint against the United Arab Republic to the effect that the latter was allegedly engaging in subversive activity against Lebanon, and also the unconstitutional request of President Chamoun for American military assistance.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

As regards Jordan, the United Kingdom, in concerted action with the United States, committed its intervention with a view to maintaining an unpopular regime. The present position in the Near and Middle East is all the more serious in that notwithstanding the many protests on the part of the Governments of the peace-loving countries of the world and also on the part of world public opinion, the American and British armed intervention has not ceased. On the contrary, the United States and the United Kingdom are landing further troops. The manoeuvre of the United States which after having landed many thousands of troops in the Lebanon and which today, on the eve of the General Assembly, announced the withdrawal of one battalion has not changed anything. In fact, the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was convened after the negotiations in the Security Council because the negative attitude of the Governments of the Western Powers did not lead to positive or desirable results. Notwithstanding the fact that open intervention in the domestic affairs of countries of the Near and Middle East was carried out and the threat of war hung over the world, the United States and the United Kingdom, that is to say the interventionists themselves, through their pressure prevented the Security Council, upon which the Charter of the United Nations places main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, from taking effective steps that would bring about an immediate end to the intervention and the withdrawal of British and American troops from Lebanon and Jordan. This was facilitated by the fact that the majority of the members of the Council is made up of States that are members of aggressively military groups and blocs, and that instead of the legitimate representatives of the Chinese People's Republic, the seat of China is held still illegally by an agent of the Chiang Kai-Shek gang. Thus, the United States and the United Kingdom, in placing ever new conditions and in delaying negotiations in an obstructive manner, prevented the attempt of the Government of the Soviet Union to bring about a summit conference of the Heads of Government of the United States, the USSR, United Kingdom, France, India and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

According to the proposals of the Soviet Union Government, these consultations would lead to urgent measures being taken in order to liquidate the military venture that has been started in the Near and Middle East. There

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

is no doubt that the success of such consultations, of such a conference, would greatly contribute to the settlement of the dangerous situation that has arisen in the Near and Middle East and would be a major contribution to the consolidation of peace and security.

As a result of the continuation of armed intervention by the colonists in Lebanon and Jordan, the danger of a military conflict in the Near and Middle East continues. This is of great concern to the peace-loving peoples of the world, who would like to put a decisive end to the imperialistic intervention in the domestic affairs of the Arab countries and to bring about a consolidation of peace in the Near and Middle East.

The position held by the Czechoslovak Government in regard to the American and British intrusion in Lebanon and Jordan is known by its official statements. These statements express the indignation of the Czechoslovak people over the actions of imperialistic intervention and the demands of the Czechoslovak people to bring about an immediate end to this intervention.

The Czechoslovak people expresses its sincere sympathy with the just struggle of the Arabs for freedom and independence, and it is convinced that, even though it may be a hard struggle, it will end in complete victory. The Czechoslovak Government was one of the first to recognize the young Iraq Republic. I would like to take advantage of this occasion in order to extend my best wishes to the people of the Iraq Republic on behalf of the Czechoslovak people and to congratulate it for achieving real independence.

The developing situation in the Near and Middle East cannot be seen apart from the situation throughout the world. It is an integral part of the national independence movement and national liberation movement throughout the world against which the imperialists are continuing a struggle that is doomed to failure.

As a result of the Second World War, the position of the colonial Powers has been greatly weakened. The gradual disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism is being speeded up as a result of the ever-expanding national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the voice of which was heard in Bandung with such eloquence. The countries of the Near and Middle East could not remain apart from this great historical process. This area, since the

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

dawn of time, was the object of the egoistic designs of the imperialistic Powers. Aside from the desire to retain strategic positions and control in the Near and Middle East, where three continents merge, imperialists are applying their efforts in order to maintain and consolidate the disintegrating domination of their oil monopolies. Whatever phrases they use to conceal their actions, the smell is that of oil.

The success of the national liberation and struggle of the Arab countries which led first of all to the establishment of the United Arab Republic, the overthrow of the hated monarchical regime in Iraq and the increase in the resistance against the Government of Lebanon, which is serving foreign interests, has caused indignation and awakened the hatred of the imperialistic countries; and this brought about the intervention in Lebanon and Jordan.

The armed intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan is the expression of a systematic policy on the part of the colonizers against the countries of the Near and Middle East. The use of armed force in order to secure the imperialistic interests also follows from the very nature of the foreign policy of the United States and the United Kingdom as applied to the Near and Middle East, with the aid of the aggressive Baghdad Pact and the ill-famed Eisenhower Doctrine.

The present state of the situation in the Near and Middle East is a result of the carrying out of this Doctrine, and that is why the responsibility for the situation rests squarely on the ruling circle of the United States. The aggressive policy of the United States in the Near and Middle East in recent times has torn off the mask of the so-called friends of Arab freedom and has revealed them as they were, namely, as desiring to suppress the national liberation movement in the countries of the Arab East and to restore colonial domination over them. The Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine are major threats to the independence of the Arab countries. Convincing proof of the aggressive nature of this Doctrine can be seen in the fact that Lebanon, the Government of which endorsed the Doctrine a year ago, has now become the victim of armed intervention. That is why the Arab countries have decisively rejected and are continuing to reject both the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

The developments in the United Arab Republic and in the young Iraq Republic show that the emancipated Arab countries have decided to follow their own destiny and have decided never to allow a return to the obsolete colonial state of affairs.

The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, in attempting to delude public opinion and to give a sense of legality to their actions, are referring even to the Charter of the United Nations and specifically to Article 51. This Article recognizes for the Member States the right to engage in collective or individual self-defence if there is an armed attack from outside against any Member of the United Nations.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

However, can one thereby justify armed intervention in the domestic affairs of Lebanon and Jordan? Neither with regard to Lebanon nor in regard to Jordan was there such an armed attack. The assertions that the United Arab Republic was intervening in the domestic affairs of Lebanon was rejected even by the United Nations Observation Group, and the latter also confirmed the strictly domestic nature of those events. The only armed attack that occurred there was that which was undertaken by the United States in Lebanon and by the United Kingdom in Jordan.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the reference on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom to Article 51 of the Charter was to serve both Governments merely to cover up the real reasons of their intervention.

Lebanon and Jordan are independent sovereign States. Nobody gave the United States and the United Kingdom the right to decide their domestic affairs for them. The settlement of all the problems of Lebanon and Jordan, including the solution of contemporary internal crises, is the exclusive prerogative of these States. That is why reference to Article 51 of the Charter cannot change the fact that the United States and the United Kingdom through their intervention in the Near and Middle East grossly trampled under foot the Charter of the United Nations and placed a fait accompli before the Organization.

The armed intervention against Lebanon dissipated the legend that the United States is the so-called defender of the liberty of small nations. This is another instance of gross intervention in the domestic affairs of small countries who are seeking to free themselves from American influence. The history of American imperialism offers a sufficient number of such examples: in Latin America and in other parts of the world.

The ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom are attempting to camouflage their military intervention in the Near and Middle East and to move out of the dock, where they stand indicted, into the chair of the prosecutor by alleging so-called indirect aggression, the United States thereby accusing other States of what it is doing on a large scale itself. It is the United States which is carrying out intervention and subversive activities against these countries. It seems to us that it would be an expensive lesson if the lesson of indirect aggression were taught by the Americans.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

Under the Mutual Security Act of the United States no less than \$100 million is allocated yearly in order to finance subversive activities against the socialist countries. The so-called Free Europe radio station broadcasts mutinous appeals; diversionist spies are sent into the socialist countries; balloons are sent over these countries; discriminatory economic measures have been taken against them.

American statesmen are again proclaiming the doctrine of the liberation of the peoples of the Eastern European countries. I should like to quote, for instance, one of them which is a statement by Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, who in August 1952 characterized the policy of the United States vis-à-vis the so-called question of the liberation of Eastern European countries, and stated, that the policy of the liberation of the peoples enslaved by the Communists will be carried out as follows:

"The Voice of America and other agencies will begin to foment the spirit of resistance behind the iron curtain in telling the Poles, the Czechs, and others that they enjoy the support of the United States."

Further:

"...the resistance movement will expand among the patriots, and these patriots will be supplied and organized by private organizations, such as the Committee for Free Europe, through air-drops and other liaison measures."

The purpose of these campaigns is to overthrow the legitimate Governments of these countries with whom, nevertheless, the United States continues to maintain diplomatic relations. Such intrigues and hostile actions are being used also against other countries by the United States and the United Kingdom, including the peoples and countries of the Near and Middle East.

The direct armed intervention in Lebanon and Jordan was preceded by a reactionary coup d'état in Jordan, pressure on Syria and a number of conspiracies against the United Arab Republic, and so on. The United States and the United Kingdom over a period of years have engaged in indirect aggression against the Arab countries. That is why the manoeuvres which they are engaging in now by invoking an alleged indirect aggression cannot fool anyone.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

In this connexion the Czechoslovak delegation deems it necessary to express its most emphatic protest and to rebut the statements of the leaders of the United States who continue to cite the glorious February victory of the Czechoslovak people over reaction in 1948 as an example of indirect aggression. Nowadays everybody knows that the events of February 1948 were completely constitutional; they were carried out by parliamentary measures and they expressed the will of the Czechoslovak people. If one is to speak of intervention in this case, this intervention was carried out by the United States which in February 1948 supported the attempts of the reactionary putsch on the part of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which was seeking the restoration of the capitalist regime in the Czechoslovak republic. That is why we in Czechoslovakia have ample experience of the intervention of the United States in the domestic affairs of other countries.

A component part of this intervention is the attempt of the United States to discuss in an international forum the so-called problem of the countries of Eastern Europe. The Czechoslovak people condemn these attempts as an intolerable intervention in the domestic affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic and as something contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the generally accepted principles of international law. The Czechoslovak people chose its own fate freely, and will not allow anyone to turn it away from the road of socialism.

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Antonin Novotny, in his interview with the press in March of this year emphatically denied the right of the United States Government to consider in an international discussion the situation in the countries of Eastern Europe. He said that the position of the United States was in sharp contradiction with reality since in Eastern Europe we had only sovereign and independent States, with the majority of which, including the Czechoslovak Republic, the Government of the United States is maintaining diplomatic relations.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

However much the United States and the United Kingdom may seek to justify their open armed intervention in the domestic affairs of the Arab countries by claiming that they are concerned over the integrity of Lebanon, or wish to help the Government of Jordan against indirect aggression, the whole world knows that the real reasons for the American armed intervention in Lebanon and the British armed intervention in Jordan is an attempt to maintain or to reconquer their past colonial positions in the Near and Middle East and to create a strategic arsenal that will be directed against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

The Czechoslovak people never had any illusions about the policy of the United States and other imperialistic countries. The present military adventure on the part of two countries in the Near and Middle East shows us once again that, in order to secure their egoistic interests, the colonists, notwithstanding their indications of humanism and peace, do not hesitate to make use of their armed force and to suspend the threat of war over the world.

The United States and the United Kingdom started their military interventions in the Near and Middle East at the very time when the Soviet Union, seeking to reduce international tension and to strengthen world peace, unilaterally ceased nuclear tests and was making every effort to call a summit conference which, besides other urgent problems, would also consider the threat that exists as a result of the situation in the Near and Middle East. The countries of the Socialist systems also undertook other steps in order to strengthen confidence among peoples. They suggested to the Western Powers that a number of measures be taken which would contribute to the reduction of international tension. In this connexion, we should like to mention the reduction of the armed forces of the countries members of the Warsaw Pact, a reduction of 419,000 men, of which the **Czechoslovak** share was 20,000 men, the suggestion of the Polish Government to establish a missile-free zone in central Europe, the proposal that a non-aggression pact be signed between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries, the proposal that a friendship agreement be signed between all European countries and so forth.

A further danger to international peace and security is seen in the fact that as a result of the negative position of the Western countries, these important proposals of the Government of the USSR and other Socialist countries have not yet been implemented. The course of international events, when the danger of a new war has not yet been averted, demands of all countries that they apply all their efforts in order that the points in dispute be settled exclusively by peaceful means and that the principle of peaceful coexistence of States with different political, economic and civic systems be further applied.

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

That is why the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, seeking a reduction in international tension and a strengthening of international co-operation, suggested an item for inclusion in the agenda of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly entitled "Measures to extend the principles of peaceful coexistence between States." One of the measures would be the end of military intervention in the Near and Middle East and the end of interference in the domestic affairs of these countries.

The Government of the Soviet Union on 11 February 1957 suggested to the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France that they draft a common declaration which would lay down basic principles for the maintenance of peace and security in the Near and Middle East, including the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other States. According to this proposal, the participating countries, in their relations with the countries of the Near and Middle East, would undertake the obligations to maintain peace, to settle all points at issue by means of negotiation, not to intervene in the domestic affairs of these countries and not to seek to drag them into military blocs. Furthermore, the proposal also had in mind the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from these countries, an end to the supply of arms to this area and the granting of economic assistance to these countries without political, military or other strings which would be incompatible with the sovereignty and independence of these countries.

The persistent striving of the Soviet Government to assure the peaceful development of the Near and Middle East can be seen in the January proposals of this year which were published by the Tass Agency to the effect that the Near and Middle East become a zone of peace free from the production and location of nuclear weapons, a zone of peaceful relations and friendly co-operation between all States.

The Czechoslovak Government, which is carrying out the will of the Czechoslovak people in regard to the countries of the Arab East, is pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence and comprehensive co-operation to promote particularly the economic development of the Arab countries. The striving to prevent the intervention of the imperialistic countries and to secure the

(Mr. David, Czechoslovakia)

peaceful development of the Arab countries can be seen in all the actions of the Czechoslovak Government. In 1956, Czechoslovakia welcomed the nationalization of the Suez Canal and emphatically denounced the Anglo-French-Israel aggression against Egypt. Czechoslovakia also insisted that the aggressors bear full responsibility for their actions.

In 1957 the Czechoslovak Government emphatically condemned the preparation of an aggression against Syria. Our country also showed its desire to ensure peace and security in the Middle East in the statement of our Government dated 15 February 1957 which supported the Soviet proposal that the great Powers join in a general declaration on the Near and Middle East and voiced its readiness to join in this declaration. We could quote a number of official documents in which the Czechoslovak Government warned the countries concerned in the Near and Middle East against the dangerous designs of the imperialistic Powers. Czechoslovakia, along with the other peace-loving countries, stands at the side of the Arab peoples, the Arab nation which is fighting for its freedom and independence.

The imperialistic interventions of the United States in Lebanon on 15 July and of the United Kingdom in Jordan on 18 July were decisively condemned by the Czechoslovak people. A wave of protest swept Czechoslovakia demanding an end to the imperialistic interventions and a recognition of the right of the Arab peoples to independence. The Czechoslovak Government in its statements of 17 July, 19 July and 6 August of this year condemned this aggression most emphatically.

At the time of the convening of this session, the situation in the Near and Middle East continues to be grave. Large numbers of interventionist troops, American troops, are in Lebanon. They are greater in number than the strength of the entire Lebanese army. British troops in Jordan are also being reinforced. The United States and the United Kingdom have concentrated in these countries large military forces which constitute a permanent threat to peace and security in this area.

The USSR delegation on 13 August 1958 presented a draft resolution (A/3870) which offers a way to eliminate this threat to the peace and security of the Near and Middle East.

The Czechoslovak delegation fully supports this proposal and demands the urgent withdrawal of the American and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan. In order to supervise the withdrawal of American and British troops, the Observation Group of the United Nations in Lebanon could be strengthened and a similar observation group could be sent to Jordan.

The Czechoslovak delegation, for its part, will apply every effort in order that effective measures be taken with a view to re-establishing peace and security in the Near and Middle East and, primarily, that the interventionist troops be withdrawn forthwith from Lebanon and Jordan.

We are convinced that with goodwill a decision can be devised which will achieve the main purpose of this session.

The Czechoslovak Republic, which maintains friendly and extensive relations with the Arab countries and which is extending to them all economic and technical assistance, is prepared to take an active part in the discussion of various proposals dealing with the economic development of the countries of the Near and Middle East. However, the discussion of these proposals at this time prior to achieving a decision on the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist troops, the presence of which in the Near and Middle East constitutes such a great threat to the peace, would merely result in diverting attention from the main purpose of this session of the General Assembly.

The Czechoslovak delegation is convinced that at this session of this most representative organ of the United Nations, where both the large and the smaller peoples are represented, if there is goodwill and understanding, steps can be taken which would contribute to the elimination of the danger of a military conflict caused by the armed intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom and also, consequently, which would lead to the strengthening of peace and security in the Near and Middle East.

There is no doubt also that if the General Assembly were successfully to carry out this task, this emergency session of the General Assembly would greatly contribute to the success of a summit conference of statesmen of the East and the West who would discuss the most urgent problems which face mankind, the urgent solution of which has been stressed by the events that have occurred recently in the Near and Middle East.

Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (interpretation from French): I did not intend to speak today, but the accusations that have been levelled against us by the representative of Jordan make it imperative that we make certain remarks. I do not intend here to reply in detail to all that has been said. I do, on behalf of my delegation, reserve the right to speak at the appropriate time.

Today I shall limit myself to referring to the historical views expressed in the statement of Mr. Rifai, but I shall only turn my attention to certain accusations he levelled against us. The representative of Jordan spoke today about infiltration of arms and weapons. In order to support his views, he cited certain cases where arms were supposedly found as having been brought in by infiltrators. I have already replied in the Security Council to the accusations coming from Jordan which were along the same lines.

These accusations, to put it mildly, are vague. They are isolated cases which have not been proved, and that cannot in any case be laid at the door of any Government whatsoever. It is superfluous to repeat that in revolutions which take place and in the overheated atmosphere that obtains, it is very easy to get light weapons.

Mr. Rifai spoke also of the question of radio broadcasts. The only explanation that can be found to this is to listen to the secret stations and to the broadcasting stations of Amman which have all attacked the United Arab Republic. I have also listened to broadcasts from both secret and official stations in Amman. It is difficult for me, although I have the information before me, to state these things to the Assembly because of the respect I have for the Assembly. But I must tell my fellow-representatives here that if there is one among them who wishes to know what these broadcasts say, I am more than ready to show him what I have been able to gather.

Furthermore, the Head of State of Jordan has very often attacked the Head of the United Arab Republic. This has been no secret. It has been published in the newspapers all over the world. Mr. Rifai today from this rostrum referred to certain events that took place over a year ago. Why, might I ask, wait until these days before bringing these matters up again? Well, there can be an explanation, and that is that such allegations as he made were made here to justify what occurs in Jordan. I mean the landing of British troops there.

My general conclusion is quite clear. This is merely malicious propaganda tending to try to justify the call on the part of Jordan for British troops which are now stationed in that part of the world.

I am duty bound to state here that the position recently adopted by the present Government of Jordan is not such as to help to dissipate fears and relieve tension in that part of the world. Not only does that country not have diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, presumably because we recognized the Iraqi Government, but, besides this, the Government of Jordan has repeatedly stated that it was intending to liberate Iraq, requesting the aid of the population to overthrow the new Government and this because the sovereign of Jordan simply wanted, against the will of the people of Iraq, to be king of what had been known as the Arab Union. This Union was denounced by the new Government of Iraq. Such accusations can only serve to justify the position of the British troops in Jordan. But we are not convinced. If there are troops there, we are aware of it.

The Government of Jordan certainly does not enjoy the confidence of the people of Jordan, and I can prove what I have said. Simply read what the international Press had to say when this matter was discussed at great length. This matter was even discussed in the British Parliament. But despite what the representative of Jordan has said, I do not want in the United Nations to go into a discussion of the domestic affairs of Jordan. For that reason, I shall not labour this point. But in his statement today, the representative of Jordan stressed the fact that his Government does not want the United Nations presence in Jordan.

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

Each Government can decide the position it wishes to take. But I ask: does the Government of Jordan -- and this is what is serious -- prefer the British troops to continue the occupation of Jordan? If that is the case, then the Government of Jordan will take the responsibility before history and before all the Arab peoples and States.

As the head of my delegation stated yesterday, as long as British troops remain present in Jordan, we feel ourselves threatened and hurt. At the same time, the peace of the world will be threatened and hurt until the British forces leave Jordan. The presence of foreign troops in that part of the world is a threat to international peace and security. One of the most serious problems at present is that the present Government of Jordan does not enjoy the support of the people of Jordan and therefore has to appeal to foreign forces. This was expressed very well by Lord Attlee, the former British Prime Minister, in the House of Lords on 18 July last when he said:

(continued in English)

"When a Government cannot control its own people with its own troops and calls in someone from outside, it is an extremely doubtful thing to agree to go".

(continued in French)

I think that this statement from this eminent British statesman does not require any comment.

I am sorry that I was forced to make this statement. We are not here to level accusations and to indulge in recriminations. We are here to find adequate and constructive solutions to these problems in the interests of the Arab peoples, and in conformity with the Charter and in co-operation with the Members of this distinguished Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.