

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

HS L 179:102



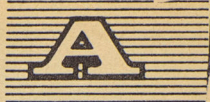
Dag Hammarskjölds saml.

Third Emergency Special Session [1958] - Aug. 18

(verbatim record)

- de Leguerica (Spain)
- Sastroamidjojo (Indonesia)
- Jomard (Iraq)
- Shtylla (Albania)
- Pazhwak (Afghanistan)
- Piccioni (Italy)

L 179: 102



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL
A/PV.739
18 August 1958
ENGLISH

Third Emergency Special Session
PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING
Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 18 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)

Corrections to this record should be submitted in one of the three working languages (English, French, Spanish), preferably in the same language as the text to which they refer. Corrections should be sent in triplicate within three working days to the Chief, Meeting Services, Department of Conference Services, Room 1104, and also incorporated in mimeographed copies of the record.

AS THIS RECORD WAS DISTRIBUTED AT 0930 HOURS ON 19 AUGUST 1958,
THE TIME-LIMIT FOR CORRECTIONS WILL BE 0930 HOURS ON 22 AUGUST 1958.

Publication of the final printed records being subject to a rigid schedule, the co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

58-19446

QUESTIONS CONSIDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 838TH MEETING ON
7 AUGUST 1958 (continued)
DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE USSR (A/3870 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly are aware that we are participating in an emergency special session. I should like to stress the word "emergency". I think we could meet a little more promptly than we have been doing.

I am informed that the resolution which I hoped would have been processed this morning is now in the course of being processed again. You will, I take it, shortly see it.

As I have said, the list of speakers will close at 6 p.m. today. I propose that we should sit until we hear all the speakers on our list even if that means that we prolong this meeting until it becomes a night meeting. I think members of the Assembly should bear in mind that they can be reasonably expected from now on to participate in night meetings as this is an emergency session.

Mr. de LEQUERICA (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The Spanish delegation feels that there were very special reasons that called for this third emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly. At a moment when the peace of the world is at stake it was a very felicitous undertaking to invite all the peoples to deliberate and to exert their efforts in order to maintain that peace.

The decisions were well timed on the part of those who, because they have a greater military strength and because they feel the consequential responsibilities, might more than anyone else influence the reaching of solutions of these problems. This is a fact, and no one would be blind enough not to see it or try to disregard it. There is a providential development within which we have to operate and we cannot go beyond it. However, in this new type of diplomacy symbolized by the United Nations, which is an obvious progress in the general march of relations between peoples, there is a great responsibility for us all, and each of us must shoulder it knowing that thus we will gain in dignity in our positions because we are helping to shoulder the common burden. We are also showing that we are able to participate in the good fight.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

We would be almost lacking in dignity and underestimating ourselves were we to avoid such **responsibility** or pass it to others. Furthermore, those who might one day be able to meet and discuss will gain, hearing our words, and will also be able to be sure that the work they do will be supported by us all.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

From the representation of so many peoples, each well known for a different aspect of its knowledge of life, many clarifications of ideas can be expected; and the happy results that we all hope will be arrived at will, to a large extent, be due to the common effort made by all these countries.

This Assembly was called for because of the disquiet in the Near East and because of the difficulties facing two countries in that part of the world, namely, Lebanon and Jordan. The origin of these events has been debated, and we are still widely debating it. To many of us it is not too dim; it is quite clear. But we ought to know what it is about because the remedy will be determined by knowing the origin. Once we know the origin, once we know where these events will lead, and once we have clarified the reasons, we shall be able to seek these remedies by means of understanding the situation. Although we may approach it from different points of view, there will be areas of agreement. The intervention of the United Nations in the solution of similar problems must encourage us and lead us to follow the same road, that is, the road laid out by the Secretary-General in his statements. It was used in the Suez question, to recall the most recent and the important event.

It was also used in maintaining the truce after a previous conflict in the Middle East. There are other problems that might be brought up also as similar examples, but my delegation is quite in agreement with that way of approaching the question. These problems of the Near East are part of one great, general, all-around problem. This does not mean that we can turn a blind eye to it whenever a concrete question arises. This would be unwise. This would be contrary to the interest of the peace of the world. But in considering them, we must keep in mind that general aspect. All these questions should lead towards a final solution.

The general problem is the renaissance of the Arab world and the need to help in the establishment of a stable basis to achieve such a renaissance in accordance with history, in accordance with the national requirements of these Arab peoples, and in conformity with their new status and their ancient rights which must be liquidated in such a way as to tranquillize whatever disquiet may occur.

At the present time, and even today, I read how the former frightening questions of Suez are finally being solved and we are already entering the peaceful atmosphere of negotiating compensations, loans, and credits and reaching a satisfaction of contractual obligations. The Arab problem is broader. Yet, we must persist in seeing it with the same eyes and with the same underlying desire for a solution.

There is in the Middle East an extensive and considerable Arab world. It has historical characteristics. It has aspirations of unity. It would be unwise not to see it or to blind ourselves to it if we wished to do a job worthy of the United Nations.

Perhaps the most considerable part of our work and the most important part of the statement made by the President of the United States of America, which we were fortunate to hear on our opening day, is that part where in very brief words fraught with content he defined the historic reality to which I am referring. Instead of attempting to paraphrase President Eisenhower, I shall quote him directly. These are his words:

"Let me state the position of my country unmistakably. The peoples of the Arab nations of the Near East clearly possess the right of determining and expressing their own destiny. Other nations should not interfere so long as this expression is found in ways compatible with international peace and security." (A/PV.733, p. 11)

With these words the President of the United States very solemnly made known his views to the United Nations. I think that he was facing it with a very international view. They in themselves would determine the impact of our meeting. I trust that we will never forget those words.

If the representatives to the Assembly, many of them coming from the northern parts of the two continents on either side of the Atlantic, would accept a more southern approach in the preparation of wise formulae, I would propose to them not to forget the words of President Eisenhower when called upon to vote on the preamble of the draft resolution.

After these words were spoken and after they were applauded by many of us, there came the interpretations, the polemical interpretations of the problem of the Arab nations based on so-called individual aspirations, ambitions of Chiefs of State, the expansionist intent and the imperialist intent of many, and the

dictatorship that can be compared to others of an unwelcome memory in the present-day world -- spectres that at times are raised and distract our sights from the essential question. But there is one Arab reality. It has been studied and it is well known. We must take it into account. We must leave open a free road to these people within right and avoiding in any way damaging or hampering international peace and security, and letting them re-establish their relations among one another in such a way as to contact one another, ally themselves with one another, and set up coalitions and even fusions when such are the fulfilment of their desires and purposes.

Once a powerful empire, later a people subject to foreign domination, reborn in division and the natural limitations after a long eclipse, the Arab peoples of the Middle East today are seeking emancipation from foreign tutelage. They are trying to unify themselves. The best observers, the British who know it so well, have recognized this. The proof is known to all. They have brought some of it to us. For twenty years they governed there, and they base themselves on facts which they have been able to find out. After their lengthy eclipse -- for example, the same type of eclipse experienced by India -- and especially since 1945, the evolution of Oriental-Arab conscience has been rapid.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

Not only has a new generation been born there, but also a new educated class has grown up and made the decision to make itself the owners of that part of the world which is theirs.

There is also recognition of Arab culture, of its weight in the course of history and how much it has done for the progress of humanity in the speech of the President of the United States, as well as its inherent possibilities for the future.

Some may think that the Spanish delegation, basing itself on the traditions of the hero of Cervantes, may feel not very strongly regarding this question because, although material resolutions may have been suggested, we may feel a certain weakness towards a quixotic view of life. But nevertheless we know perfectly well that in the pragmatic field we also have to bear in mind the spiritual titles of the Arab people. To think in any other way would be a lack of respect not only for the Assembly but also for ourselves.

The Arab people has during the course of many centuries lived in close contact with Spain. There was violence, which is natural and is to be expected. For many centuries Spain went through great developments thanks to the Arabs. In the twelfth century Cordova in Spain, under the regime of the Arabs, was able to compete with Baghdad as the centre of a splendid Arab culture. The Arabs were not only the masters of our territory and did not only develop the territory, but also they developed their thoughts and promoted their culture. They gave expression to the poetic and creative imagination which is characteristic of them. But Spain itself gave something. Much of Spain was merged with the Arab culture. It was the common task of all the people which came from those countries, peoples who are now discussing this matter with us, as well as the Andalusians in the south of Spain who created the sensitivity and thought that culminated with the minds of Avicena, Aben Tofail, Averroes and the other great Moslem lyric mystics who are the glory of Hispanic-Arabic culture. We have participated in this culture, we feel it and we thank them for it. We pay tribute to it. We have taken something from them and they have taken something from us.

That is why we know full well what they mean today. That is why they know full well what we mean when we say we want to co-operate with the rest of the world to find a solution to this problem because we feel that their fuller

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

responsibility and their full personality should be recognized by the world. We did not always judge in this way. Errors have undoubtedly been made because of a short-sighted view of the problem. Very often it has been thought, for example, and already within the framework of good intentions and a desire for a solution, that we should only settle for the material aspects of the problems of the Near East. It has been believed that by merely satisfying such material aspects we would calm down the understandable passions of those who might want to reconstruct their national framework and place themselves in their right place within the international comity of nations. But this was a grave mistake. This overlooked human nature in general; this overlooked also Arab nature itself, which is a limitation. These material satisfactions are not enough and were not enough. Even if they had been satisfied, they still would not have satisfied the patriotic desires of the Arabs. We as Spaniards, in our limited intervention in the affairs of the world, have acted differently.

After the war the friendship of Spain with the Moslem nations, our contact with them, the exchange of cordial and reciprocal assistance, friendly considerations -- all this has been the basis of our political actions. We are sorry that very often we have not been able to get closer to other countries of the Near East. The head of the Spanish State, General Franco, in some statements that were widely publicized in the United States, said, somewhat harshly perhaps but he was basing himself on a generous understanding of the question of the Near East:

"A general revision of the policy, taking into account the realities existing in those countries, cutting and avoiding any possible abuse, going along with the natural current and not against it and making the general common interest triumph over the particular and specific interests of the financial and capitalistic views, avoiding all excuses for communist propaganda upon which to base itself, will solve the problems. If we wish the freedom and independence of those peoples, we have to prove it."

This is very close to what President Eisenhower said in his speech, only it is stated in different words from the paragraph I quoted earlier from President Eisenhower.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

Previously certain aspects of American policy that was perhaps not well interpreted by the Arab nations was also intended to lead to the same goal. This may have been a misunderstanding on their part. General Franco also said:

"A foreign policy has to take into account the domestic situation and the current of opinion in the countries to which such a policy is addressed, and the truth of the matter is that the foreign policy of the West towards the Near East is going against the natural current of the people's desires while their adversaries take advantage of that current."

Because we cannot overlook the fact that we are living in a most complex world, we cannot feign indifference to Soviet imperialism because we want to be conciliatory, because we want to be friendly. We cannot overlook such intervention by Soviet imperialism in other countries. We would have to suppress the other factors if we wanted to do this. There is an Arab renaissance, but there are other powers that come into play there. Such a power at times exploits the legitimate feelings of the peoples against the Western nations. The head of the Spanish State said that what occurred in Korea, in Indo-China, in Hungary and in the Middle East, over and above its special characteristics, reflects one specific fact, and that is the existence of a powerful nation which, against their will, holds other nations in bondage, taking full advantage of subversion, threatening their peace, conspiring against the domestic order of such countries and using every means in its power to cause subversion. This action, allowed year after year by nations, is the overriding fact that must be taken into account. But he added that we must not overlook the domestic situation existing in countries, the economic and social conditions in many countries, the low standard of living, the misery and want in such countries, the political divisions, the lack of authority of the Governments of such countries and the lack of confidence by the people in their Governments, the resentment towards all protector nations and the nationalist exaltation. What may appear important to the West may appear secondary in other countries.

Countries that are not subject to these terrifying pressures of patriotic anxiety and the unjust distribution of wealth, as exist in the countries of the Arab East, must understand that this exploitation does exist and that it is utilized by countries for their own benefit, sometimes with very noble pretexts in mind or in mouth.

(Mr. de Lecuerica, Spain)

Our gravest error would be to let the Soviet Union remain the only great Power to which the countries of the East might turn their heads and their hopes for the purpose of avoiding imposing the will of other nations on the countries of the East. What the Arabs want is to be authentically, truly and autonomously independent. This policy will prevent these countries from achieving that independence.

Our policy must be to point out this universal danger. Let us, therefore, not confuse the freedom of choice of these countries with hatred for the West. It is only with confidence and a generous policy that we can avoid the alienation of those who should be our friends. These problems of the unity of peoples, and we have seen examples of this in Europe, have always been complicated and difficult. They have always been similar obstacles in Europe, and sometimes they have even appeared to be insoluble. Arab unity cannot escape that general law. We are Europeans and we think with a European mentality. But we remember the merger of the different Italian States and how much difficulty it caused to unify Germany. How do we expect anything different in a territory as gravely affected by the shocks of different civilizations, victims of many of its aspects, of lack of good distribution and wealth? The Arab peoples themselves will give the greatest example, I know, of understanding and moderation.

(Mr. de Iequerica, Spain)

Their own patriotic passion cannot blind them to the danger. In order to achieve their unity they have to understand the dangers inherent in outside enemies. My delegation believes in the Arab understanding. I am well aware of the fact that there is a current of studies tending to deny such values -- the moral values as well as the cultural values of the Arabs -- and to suppose them to be under the influence of historical materialism and moral destruction. We are not of that opinion. As I said before, because many Spanish at a point in history were subject to the Arab cultural life, we are better able to interpret the idealism of these countries that are today at odds. Once they have overcome their political difficulties, we have faith in their co-operation in the work of true civilization. Those countries that today speak of such grave errors will one by one join us and understand how to solve them.

It is not necessary to look further than Spain; it is sufficient to look at the world from the Alhambra of Granada or from the Mezquita of Cordova in order to obtain a sample of the great treasures of the mind and the spirit that have thus been enshrined in Arabian culture. We cannot forget, we that are Christians, that three wise men coming from the east were the first to bow before the Child of Bethlehem and offer him presents.

This duality of the problem, and the truth and justice in the Arab requests, as well as the obvious policy of agitation and perturbation -- and I am merely speaking of the period since 1945 -- which was visible in recent Korea, justify much of the concern expressed by the Western peoples and explain, without any need to call for imperialistic or colonialistic interpretations, the military movements of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan.

In this debate we have seen a general desire to end this intervention as soon as possible. Although this intervention may be fraught with good intentions and it may be understandable, it is nevertheless not palatable to many countries, including those directly concerned. But the concern for maintaining international peace and for avoiding explosions and dreadful conflagrations and the constant possibility of such conflicts, I think, explains the reason for the sending of United States and United Kingdom troops to Lebanon and Jordan after prior agreements had been arrived at with those nations which called for such help.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

My delegation is not concerned with that fact itself but with the possibility of its being set up as a policy, in other words, that this latest military movement by countries of the West towards countries of the East may become a policy. The difficulties will begin when we try to establish a doctrine according to which people threatened by aggression may call on others for help. What type of aggression? Naturally we immediately think of foreign aggression, aggression from outside. It may become domestic agitation provoked, and even armed, by a foreign Power. This is more difficult to understand; it is more vague. There is a confused zone of interpretation here. There even is at times confusion regarding foreign or outside aggression of national movements which tend to alter the free life of a people. Very often there is honest political activity in a country which cannot be juridically defined, and my delegation represents a nation which vies with the Netherlands and its great man Hugo Grotius in its efforts in the setting up of international law. Spain is the country of Vittoria and Suarez, and this requires that we respect juridical law. Our way of respecting it is not to try to define it too precisely when the nature of the subject of law and its relationships makes the definition impossible and the fulfillment of such a definition absolutely inapplicable.

The representative of Argentina, in raising this question, said that he forgot about sanctions in questions of war. This is something that has to be considered very carefully. We are able to obtain sanctions here but we cannot improvise, we cannot generalize on a concrete case, no matter how justified we may believe we are. The present case is not one to be set down as calling for a doctrine or policy. If this policy of sanctions is applied by other persons of less authority, it might turn this Organization into a tremendous tacit Warsaw Pact with frightening results. Let us recognize with humility that there is a zone that can only be calculated on the basis of the facts themselves. It is frightening not only because of the tremendous authority of the United Nations but because we are afraid of dangerous generalizations, because we do not know their consequences.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

Must the Western countries and the United Nations itself retreat when this aid is sought against an obvious foreign aggression proved and thinly disguised? There is a well-known story attributed to the Countess D'Aulonoy of France, more or less imaginary. She is supposed to have travelled in Spain in the seventeenth century. The story is about the Infanta whose clothes caught on fire by accident. The Infanta must have been like the subject in one of Velasquez paintings, covered by an enormous framework of whalebone and cloth, and it is not difficult to understand how the accident occurred. This created a question of protocol. According to the rules of protocol, the Countess relates, only the Lord Chamberlain of the palace could touch the body of the Infanta and put out the fire. If the Lord Chamberlain was absent, the first gentleman in waiting might do so, but nobody of lesser rank. The Lord Chamberlain was sought in vain. The first gentleman in waiting was sought in vain. Consequently the Infanta was burnt. This may be a jibe against protocol, but there is a positive lesson to be learnt from it. A generous movement for defence should not be distorted and misunderstood as contrary to protocol. We cannot permit the extension of the fire to places where the tragic cauldron boils and bubbles constantly. We cannot bind ourselves by these legalistic interpretations. It is not necessary to speak of this type of thing as a doctrine. Rather we should leave it to the principles of higher justice. It is our hope that the Western world and the United Nations will never permit anyone's clothes to burn and will never allow the borders of nations to be threatened by the dangers of subversion.

The President of the United States, taking into full account the position of the Arab peoples, submitted a comprehensive proposal, expressing his concern for peace in Lebanon and Jordan, his desire to avoid civil war, and his desire to strengthen the United Nations -- a plan for economic development aimed at raising the standard of living of the Arab countries and avoiding an arms race in that area. With all these views we agree. The creation of an agency, with important financial support, intended to establish all forms of assistance to raise the standard of living of the nations of the Near East, with the wise provision of leaving it to the Arab peoples to guide this agency, also is in accordance with our views.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

The attention concentrated on the political problem is based upon a delicate point -- the improvement of the economy of the Arab countries. We respect the title of those who have started the movement and the right of the peoples to participate in their own wealth. The legendary King Midas was able to turn to gold everything he touched, and yet he died of starvation and thirst. The immense majority of the population of the Middle East is in the same position as Midas. Though living close to the black gold of oil, they live an existence of constant hunger and thirst. As far as the world is concerned, we ought to try to solve this problem, and the only possible solution, preserving the independence and honour of the Arabs, is that suggested by the President of the United States.

We do not know what draft resolutions may be submitted to the General Assembly, but I have read in the newspapers that certain draft resolutions are to be submitted, which will strengthen the United Nations in the Middle East and facilitate the withdrawal of foreign troops and allow the maintenance of peace with freedom for all. We do not feel that this will offend anyone or bring about a trusteeship, if it is in conformity with the wishes of the countries concerned. Not all countries enjoy Swiss tranquility.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

What we are trying to do is establish such tranquillity, peace and calm in the most difficult part of the world.

I must say that all delegations speaking here have been extremely calm and the discussion has taken place on a very high level. This is most flattering and we are very pleased. It is most encouraging. We shall vote in favour of resolutions without letting ourselves be enticed by the blandishments of language of others. Sometimes they may agree with our basic ideas, but at the moment, because of the possibility of explosions, these resolutions, despite their blandishments, may not be the right ones.

The statement made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom also expressed hopes. The reply of the representative of the United Arab Republic, however, did not discourage us. We must say that aside from the usual polemics, no one has spoken in excess and no one has raised insuperable obstacles to understanding. I believe that we are now achieving confidence in the United Nations. Tragic situations are not solved by premature violence. As far as quarrels are concerned, we can use any suggestion, I know, but what we have to do now is avoid such quarrels. To avoid having such quarrels break out, we must also try to delay conflicts, not in order to overlook and cast them aside, but in order to try to solve such quarrels as quietly and calmly as the classic precept requires when we cannot act otherwise.

The delegation of Spain, in this hopeful atmosphere, while understanding the limited and concrete nature of this debate -- wishing also to reserve our right to discuss this matter at another moment, if necessary -- does not wish to leave the rostrum without reminding the Assembly of its great interest -- and in this respect I speak together with many other people of similar religious conviction -- in the independence of the holy places. We wish to add our words to those of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland. We do this warmly in this short statement. We could speak at great length on this matter because we consider it to be essential for the religious freedom of the world and the tranquillity of Christian conscience.

This Assembly must explicitly recognize the reality of the Arab problem in all its scope. The achievement of Arab aspirations will one day be a stable element, and this has happened previously in history. Once its legitimate nervousness is overcome, once many of its desires have been realized, the Arab

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

people will understand many other problems -- and we know which one, I think everyone knows which one, we are thinking about -- and they will be able to apply wisdom in a full knowledge of reality. The representative of Ireland said this also.

The Arab nations were not born fully armed from the brow of Zeus. All nations have wanted to fulfil their dreams and their desires. All nations have had to face problems of justice. All nations have had to face obstacles that were created in their path. But finally, when we do live, it is not happily with all our ambitions satisfied. We still have to march towards progress. I repeat, this is not the time to solve all the problems of the Near East, but now that the United Nations is taking up this problem -- and, naturally, reserving our right to speak again in the future if need be -- we do not feel that the Spanish delegation has to stress the need for setting demilitarized zones within the authority of the United Nations to separate Arabs and Israelis and thus avoid incidents and frictions.

The opinions of this delegation on the question of the Near East may be valuable if you consider that we are not a neutralist or eclectic nation. The present-day world, as far as Spain is concerned, does not permit of neutralism, that is, systems of neutrality, with all due respect for those who feel otherwise. We are far from believing that we can legitimately and respectfully take a position of neutralism. We must co-operate in achieving the purposes of peace. We have to stand equidistant between the two tendencies which are presently at work. We have a purely Western attitude, we know, undoubtedly and unhesitatingly. It is quite in keeping with our thinking and with our history. We wish to advance such a view. We are occidentalists but we wish to defend this position and take our stand with the Near East and the Middle East.

Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): It is a great privilege to have the opportunity of participating in this historic emergency session of the General Assembly -- this body which is not only the forum but also the conscience of the world.

It was on the expression of the unanimous desire of the Security Council that this emergency special session was convened to consider a situation which

(Mr. Sastroamidjojo, Indonesia)

had become explosive in character. This unanimity of the organ of our Organization, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, should be regarded as a good omen. In our view this unanimity reflects the great concern of all the members of the Council with the situation in the area, and I am confident that this view is shared also by all the Members of this Assembly. We express the hope that this same spirit prevailing in the Council when deciding to convene this special session will also guide us in our deliberations.

My Government has followed with the greatest care and attention the developments in the region of the Middle East with which it enjoys close ties of friendship. Significant events have indeed taken place in the past few years in the Arab world. Some may have been revolutionary in character and some may have taken the form of peaceful changes, but they all are part of a process, which emerged long ago, towards the crystallization of a true Arab identity. As a matter of fact this turn of events is not limited only to the region we are discussing today. The rise of nationalism has engulfed the continents of Asia and Africa in the past two or three decades.

To students of Asian and African affairs it is plain that all efforts of forces, external as well as internal, to stem or retard this rebirth of nationalism of the Asian and African peoples have proven of no avail. On the other hand, these efforts have in some instances unfortunately created bitterness and suspicion.

Turning back to the question of the Middle East, my delegation is of the view that the upheavals taking place in that part of the world are precisely a conflict between these opposing forces, from within as well as outside of the region, in their surge to establish their true identity. The intensity of these struggles can be fully understood in view of -- and here I would like to quote the Foreign Minister of Ireland -- "the artificial fragmentation of the whole region thirty years ago".

Indonesia, itself a new country born in the midst of this Asian-African resurgence, fully appreciates and sympathizes with the difficulties which go hand in hand with these struggles in various parts of the Middle East and is convinced that, left to themselves, the Arab peoples, known for their wisdom and tenacity, can successfully solve their own national difficulties.

Therefore, in the opinion of my delegation, we can make the greatest contribution to peace in the Middle East by confining our discussion at this stage to the immediate issue which gave rise to the emergency, namely, the presence of foreign troops in two States of that region. Once this irritating element has been removed from the scene, it will become possible for the natural forces within these States to reassert themselves, to establish an equilibrium and to create a climate in which their peoples and Governments will be able to co-operate with United Nations agencies and other nations in the solution of the deep and underlying social and economic problems which confront these areas.

In this connexion, I would like to refer to the statement of the President of the United States. Last Wednesday we had the honour to listen to his address outlining plans for the solution of problems of the Middle East. There is no doubt that President Eisenhower's statement has left a deep impression on all the representatives assembled here. My delegation is especially interested in the non-military part of his plan. His blueprint for economic development of the Middle East deserves our earnest consideration. We view with equal interest the thoughts expressed before this body by the Secretary-General on economic development of the Middle East.

While, therefore, all men of goodwill cannot but applaud the sentiments which inspired these proposals for social and economic development, it would seem essential to deal with first things first, namely, the presence of foreign troops. Once this immediate problem has been disposed of, there will be a more opportune time for full consideration of the most important proposals for economic development in the Middle East at the forthcoming regular session of the General Assembly.

Apart from the ever present danger of armed conflict which these troops engender, we must also consider the general principles which should govern the grant of foreign assistance to nations threatened with civil strife. Should we

not bear in mind that in certain circumstances the giving of such assistance may create a possible danger to the free expression of the forces seeking to bring about social, political and economic changes in those areas of the world which have so long been deprived of independence?

In our opinion, we must act with discretion, lest we find ourselves at some time endorsing practices under which Governments, which do not have the support of their own peoples, may be able to perpetuate themselves by calling in foreign assistance. If this should happen, it might mean the giving of our approval to foreign intervention whenever the opposition within such a country becomes strong enough to bring about changes in the Government or institutions of that country.

This position is, of course, not intended to diminish the legal right of nations to grant assistance to other nations threatened with civil strife. Rather, it is designed to emphasize that the right must be applied with extreme caution, to avoid the revival in modern form of the reactionary concept of the Holy Alliance which inspired the interventions against popular movements for changes in Governments in the nineteenth century.

Let us also recall that we are not dealing with a situation where there is a threat to a Government from external sources. In such a case the issues to be considered would be of an entirely different nature. But here the reports of the Observation Group appointed by the Secretary-General under the resolution of the Security Council dated 11 June 1958 failed to support the allegations of the existence of any massive infiltration with respect to Lebanon.

In its second report, the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon, in summing up its findings, stated that it could not produce adequate evidence of massive infiltration of arms. With regard to the question of illegal infiltration of personnel, the report said that in no case have United Nations observers been able to detect the presence of persons who have indubitably entered from across the border for the purpose of fighting.

It cannot be denied that the presence of the Observation Group in Lebanon had the effect of reducing tension to the extent that both parties to the conflict had begun to take steps to solve their differences. In the Observation Group, the United Nations thus has an effective instrument which, in the words of the Secretary-General, "is fully equipped to play a part envisaged for it in the total United Nations effort".

In our view, the present situation in the Middle East calls for the rigid application of the lofty sentiments expressed in the Charter, particularly Article 2 (4), which calls upon all nations to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state". These noble sentiments were also reaffirmed at the Conference of the Asian-African nations at Bandung, particularly in the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, from which I quote the following principles adopted for the guidance of nations in relations with each other:

"Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

"Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

"Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country."

In the light of these principles, I trust that it will be possible for us to reach unanimous agreement on the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan, so that the peoples of these countries may be in a position to go forward to the achievement of the common aspirations which inspire the rising nationalist movements throughout the world. The task of preserving the integrity and independence of these States may well be left to the United Nations in the spirit of the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General.

Mr. JOMARD (Iraq): It is both a great pleasure and honour to convey to this Assembly the greetings of the Iraqi people and the Government of our Republic. We earnestly hope that the task undertaken by the Assembly will be brought to a successful conclusion and, thus, relieve the anxieties and dissipate the tensions that disturb people and endanger peace in the Near East.

I would have preferred to be very brief. I would have liked to be able to deal only with the problems under discussion, that is to say, the dangers to peace. But some speakers preceding me at this rostrum felt called upon to make certain allusions to the Iraqi Republic. Therefore, first of all, I will express my gratitude to those representatives who have been good enough to welcome us to this great family of nations.

(Mr. Jomard, Iraq)

On the other hand, I do not think that I need take up certain comments made regarding the Iraqi Republic. The new Iraq has already proved to the world, in a very short time, that it is the true and genuine expression of national aspirations.

From the very outset the Iraqi Republic has given evidence of its unequivocal determination to co-operate with all other countries within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations in order to promote the ideals of mankind represented in this august Assembly.

We are convinced that at present there are two types of danger threatening the peace and security of the Near East: One is invisible and the other is not. What is not always obvious to the eyes of all is the role played by the policies of certain Powers of well-known colonial traditions in that region. Small peace-loving nations in the Near East have, against their will, been compelled to pursue foreign policies incompatible with their national interests. Due to the constant pressure on the part of these big Powers on certain small States of the Arab world, power was placed in the hands of Governments made up of partisans of their policy who ruled these countries by force and who employed methods and pursued objectives inconsistent with the interests of the peoples of those countries. As a consequence of this situation an ever-widening and unbridgeable gap separated the people and the rulers imposed upon them. Finally, this state of affairs was bound to lead to a justifiable revolt on the part of the long oppressed people. The events in Iraq, a month ago, are only the most recent and perhaps the most remarkable illustration of these natural trends. Iraq had been ruled by a small group of individuals who had no regard whatsoever for the national dignity and true aspirations of the people of Iraq. For years they alternated in power. They openly falsified elections. They brought in obedient parliaments that were ever ready to approve and support the policies inspired by the interests of the big Powers who backed them in the first place.

In view of the constantly popular mounting discontent, they abolished political parties. They went further: they deprived the people of such fundamental human rights as freedom of the press, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. They went so far as to withdraw Iraqi nationality from citizens solely because they opposed their policies. Prisons were filled to overflowing. Anyone who was guilty of whispering of the word "peace"

(Mr. Jomard, Iraq)

was punished. Demonstrators were fired upon and hundreds of innocent people were killed. In order to try to consolidate themselves in power and to assure the continuance of the policies dictated to them, they surrounded themselves with self-seeking individuals on whom they showered wealth and position. Corruption became an institution. National wealth was squandered while the brigands and their supporters entrenched themselves solidly in power.

The people of Iraq suffered in chains. Public funds were spent on false propaganda seeking to mislead world public opinion regarding the true situation extant in Iraq. When there was no other alternative but to take arms to regain their freedom, the people of Iraq rose and liberated itself from tyranny. The Iraqi revolution emanated from the deep desires of our people. It was in no way prompted by outside instigation. The people gave to the revolution their immediate and unanimous support, and it is for this reason that the revolution was able to attain its objectives in less than two hours and met with no opposition whatsoever. That revolution was welcomed with great joy by all sections of the population throughout Iraq, and in all countries as well.

The Government of the Republic of Iraq was formed on the same day of individuals who represented all trends of public opinion in the country. The peaceful character of the Government of Iraq was demonstrated by its declaration regarding its intentions to abide by the Charter of the United Nations, to act in accordance with its principles, to honour Iraq's international obligations, to protect and to preserve its oil resources, and to increase production in order to meet world needs. Then, too, a few days after the formation of the popular Government, the nations of the world granted recognition to the Republic, and now its delegation is welcomed to this Assembly so as to co-operate with the other delegations for the maintenance of international peace.

The example that I have just put before you makes it quite clear that the interference of certain Powers in the domestic affairs of the Arab States is one of the main factors which endangers world peace. In all sincerity I must say that the situation in Iraq before the revolution was similar to the situation prevailing in certain Arab States. The gulf between the peoples of those States and the puppet Governments imposed upon them is gradually getting wider and wider. Tension will continue to rise so long as these causes remain.

This is what I wanted to say regarding the hidden dangers threatening international peace.

(Mr. Jomard, Iraq)

Let us now turn to the visible, obvious dangers which also threaten peace and which have also arisen as a result of the presence of American armed forces in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan. We are all aware of the perilous situation that has arisen in the Middle East. However, it was no coincidence that these forces entered Lebanon and Jordan a mere day or two after the Iraqi revolution.

The Government of the Republic of Iraq considers the landing of foreign troops in neighbouring countries not only as a threat to its own security but likely to endanger world peace as a whole. The continued presence of foreign troops in the territories of these countries must cause doubt and suspicion regarding the good intentions of the two Western Powers concerned.

No matter what justification may be offered, no matter what expressions may be used, no matter what reasons may be adduced, whether it be direct or indirect aggression, whether it be infiltration or any other idea, the delegation of the Republic of Iraq considers that this intervention is both unwarranted and dangerous. The delegation of Iraq also considers that the reasons already adduced or that might be adduced are essentially artificial. They cannot in any way convince those who objectively know exactly what occurs and who are informed as to the situation.

To pretend that the landing of troops was merely to protect the independence of Lebanon and Jordan convinces absolutely no one. In fact, the integrity of these two countries has been and must remain the constant and exclusive concern of the Arab States. The presence of foreign troops in the territories of these two countries must obviously intensify this concern. The Government of the Republic of Iraq, while reaffirming its determination to defend the independence and integrity of its country, must reiterate its declaration that it will respect the sovereignty of its two sister nations, Lebanon and Jordan, and will not allow itself to contemplate any interference whatever in the domestic affairs of Lebanon or Jordan.

The Government of Iraq sincerely hopes for a return of normal conditions in these two countries and a return to peace and security in the region.

(Mr. Jomard, Iraq)

I shall certainly not take the liberty of discussing the internal affairs of any country in the world, nor would I take the liberty of judging the acts of a foreign Government when such acts have nothing to do with us. However, when we are all called upon to meet here and to act in order to avoid a universal devastating catastrophe, I am duty bound to express from this high rostrum our very real concern and our anxiety at the landing of American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan. Our reaction and that of the rest of the Arab world must be fully understandable.

Arab nationalism today is an established fact. It is a historical phenomenon recognized both in the Near East and in North Africa. The Arab people is but one nation. The slightest harm, the least aggression directed against any one of them, must have powerful echoes throughout all Arab lands.

Thus, the landing of foreign troops in Lebanon and Jordan against the wishes of the people of the two countries was and will remain a source of anxiety and insecurity for the entire Middle East.

To this we must add that besides the immediate danger created by the presence of these forces, their position will become precarious in view of the hostility of the people to whom they are undesirable guests. The presence of these troops will undoubtedly impede the attainment of the constructive and peaceful objectives we are all seeking. The local Governments will eventually lose all authority. They will be rendered incapable of discharging their duties in view of the lack of confidence and, more often, the outright hostility of their people. For these same reasons, the foreign troops themselves will be in constant fear of conflict with the population they were called upon, presumably, to protect.

So we will be faced with a paradoxical situation where the troops landed will be held by those whom they were supposed to come to help. Such a situation cannot last without provoking dangerous reactions.

Having thus very briefly stated our views which we believe to be views that come from simple common sense, and after having studied with great attention the opinions expressed on this question by all those speakers preceding me, the Iraqi delegation believes it to be its duty to declare unequivocally that the forces of the United States and the United Kingdom should be withdrawn immediately from Lebanon and Jordan and thus allow for a return to normal political life in the region.

Such action would give evidence of the wisdom of the Powers concerned. It would in no way damage their prestige. They would contribute greatly to saving humanity from the terrifying menace of a world war which could break out as a result of the instability which they themselves have brought on the Middle East.

The Iraqi delegation reserves its right in the course of the debate to discuss at a later stage, if we deem it necessary, and in greater detail some fundamental aspects of the situation in the Middle East to which we have already referred in outline.

Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (interpretation from French): A month has elapsed since the United States and the United Kingdom, in concert with each other, intervened with their armed forces in Lebanon and Jordan. This unprovoked aggression on the part of the two major Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, against two small countries, also Members of the United Nations, has aggravated to the maximum degree international tension and has brought the world to the brink of catastrophe, to the brink of a third world war. The United Nations and public opinion have been brutally placed before a fait accompli. The vigorous and firm action of the peace-loving countries and the wave of unanimous protests of all the peoples have prevented the aggressors from threatening the independence of other countries. However, the threat of a general conflict remains constant. It is to be noted that the armed intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan took place at a time when the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries were making great efforts and taking concrete steps with a view to eliminating the danger of an atomic war and to relaxing international tensions. Among such measures was the decision of the Soviet Union to stop unilaterally nuclear tests, its proposal to convene a meeting of the heads of government of the countries of the East and West, a later reduction of the armed forces of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and its proposal to sign a non-aggression pact with the member countries of NATO. There is good reason to think that one of the purposes of the action against Lebanon and Jordan was to undermine these efforts.

The People's Republic of Albania, a peace-loving country and a country adjacent to the Near and Middle East where the imperialists have created a focal point of war, cannot fail to express its alarm over these serious events. The Albanian people protested loudly against the intervention of British and American armed forces in Jordan and Lebanon, and it has expressed its brotherly solidarity with the Arab peoples to whom it is linked by bonds of traditional friendship. In a declaration published on 18 July 1958, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania condemned the aggression of the United States and the United Kingdom and requested the Security Council and the General Assembly to take steps in order to put an end to this military adventure and to maintain peace. In the opinion of the Albanian Government, in this grave situation the proposal of the Soviet Union for a meeting of the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States, the

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

United Kingdom, France and India with the participation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in order to prevent a general conflict and to re-establish the normal situation in the region of the Near and Middle East, has had a particularly positive effect. It is to be regretted that the United States and United Kingdom Governments, because of their obstructionist attitude, have prevented this meeting. Let us hope that the present emergency special session of the General Assembly, called on the initiative of the USSR Government, in taking an adequate decision for the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist troops in Lebanon and Jordan, will thereby prepare the conditions for a meeting at the summit between the East and the West, a meeting which has so long been desired by the peoples of the whole world.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has noted with satisfaction that during the present debate only a few representatives deemed it necessary to defend the interventionists or to pretend to believe this intervention was justified. This shows how broad and how vigorous is the condemnation against the aggression perpetrated on the Lebanese and Jordanian peoples. And indeed, how could it be otherwise? The Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom have striven in vain to give some semblance of legality to their armed intervention by invoking without justification Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and by citing also the requests for assistance which were addressed to them by the Chiefs of State of Lebanon and Jordan, requests which were unconstitutional and which seemed to have been fabricated for the purpose of this operation. In the statement of the White House issued on 15 July 1958, it was said that the United States had sent its troops to Lebanon "in order to demonstrate the concern of the United States for the integrity and the independence of Lebanon and to protect the American citizens in this country". For his part, the British Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons that the British intervention in Jordan had been carried out to help the Government of that country to "resist aggression". It might be appropriate to recall in this connexion that two years ago, during the aggression against Egypt, the United Kingdom Government did not hesitate to state that it had intervened also in order to prevent the Israeli attack against Egypt. Now the charges of an alleged threat by the United Arab Republic against Lebanon and Jordan have shown themselves to be completely unjustified. The reports of the United Nations Observers on the spot in Lebanon

have completely refuted the allegations of the Governments in Beirut and Washington regarding the alleged infiltration of armed personnel and arms from outside. As we know, for the past three months there has been a people's revolt in Lebanon. That is the domestic concern of the Lebanese people. In Jordan, on the other hand, there is nothing new. The intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom has no justification either in law or in fact. As to the claim of protecting its citizens, this does not hold water for nothing has happened to these citizens and nothing is threatening them. If States were to follow such principles in international relations, where would it end? With such a pretext Hitler launched the Second World War, with all its consequences. Mussolini also invoked a similar pretext in 1939 when fascist Italy attacked Albania. Aggressors always look for alibis for their crimes, but nevertheless they remain aggressors.

The Lebanese and Jordanian peoples are violently opposed to foreign intervention. Not only the leaders of the revolt, but the President of the Lebanese Parliament himself has condemned this intervention on behalf of the people and the Parliament of his country, and he has requested the withdrawal of the American troops. After a prolonged and bitter struggle two years ago, the Jordanian people succeeded in chasing out the British invaders. Who can now believe that they wish to see them back again?

The United States and United Kingdom Governments have arrogated to themselves the right to intervene in those countries in order to keep the regimes there in power. Here also we heard that the United States would be prepared to intervene again anywhere under similar circumstances. But who has given them permission to proclaim themselves as the arbiters of the affairs of others, to play the role of a sort of holy alliance in order to defend certain regimes against their own people, to contest the inalienable right of each people to choose the regime which it wishes, to send, over and above the United Nations and in trampling the Charter underfoot, armed forces to these foreign countries to subjugate the will of the people of these countries? If this is allowed to be done, what remains of morality, of principles of justice and equity in international relations? The aggression against Lebanon and Jordan has revolted the consciences of all honest people. It is an integral part of the policy of force and provocation of imperialism. Lebanon and Jordan are the recent victims of this policy, but they are not the last, as the events in Cuba are more recent. From the days of Colonel Lawrence

up to the last mission of Mr. Murphy, passing through the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine, the policy of the Western Powers has always had the same objectives: to retain this region for its oil resources and for its strategic importance. At present the upholding of this policy has passed into the hands of the United States which holds 50 per cent of the capital invested in the oil industry in this region which, after the defeat of the United Kingdom and France at Suez, became the sole claimant to fill this so-called colonial "vacuum" and which, as the principal imperialist Power, aims at world domination.

As was rightly pointed out by President Nasser, the Government of the United States took advantage of the internal revolution in Lebanon to achieve its aims of occupying Lebanon and of threatening the independent countries of the Middle East which refuse to submit themselves to imperialism and which have decided to follow an independent policy.

The systems set up by the Western Powers to maintain the colonial domination over these countries, systems such as the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine, have been fought by the Arab peoples and are disintegrating under the force of their blows. Let us see what happened in Iraq. The regime of Nuri es Said was considered the cornerstone of the policy of imperialism in this region, but the valiant Iraqi people, within a few hours only, overthrew it and set up the Republic of Iraq in its place.

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

I would like, from this rostrum, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, to welcome and congratulate the friendly people of Iraq on their historic victory which is a great event in the cause of the freedom of peoples and of peace in that area. On 14 July, in Iraq, the Bastille of the monopoly of oil crumbled. That blow was too great and too unexpected, and therefore it is not surprising that on the very morrow of the event American troops landed in Lebanon, while British troops landed in Jordan two days later. As the Press of the United States and the United Kingdom reported, the plan for the landing of American and British forces was agreed upon in advance by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan during their Washington meeting. The details were perfected, after the intervention, by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two countries. The Sunday Times of London wrote on 20 July that this plan went beyond the borders of Lebanon and Jordan, and that it was equally valid for the Persian Gulf, the Sudan and Libya. Furthermore, according to the New York Herald Tribune of 23 July, Mr. Lloyd asked for the assistance of the Americans in the British occupation of Quattar. Mr. Dulles, it was reported, had agreed to that to a certain extent. For their part, the British agreed that the Americans should seek to annex and to preserve the province of Al Hassa, which contains the greater part of all the oil wells of Saudi Arabia.

In the light of these events it is understandable that the two Powers have refused for so long to accept the proposal for the signing with the Soviet Union of a treaty of non-intervention in the Near and Middle East, a proposal which was made on 11 February 1957. One understands the nature and the real purposes of the intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. As we can see, the occupation of those countries constitutes a step in the efforts to liquidate the struggle for national liberation of the subject peoples and against the national independence of the peoples that have already freed themselves. Those plans, however, are destined to fail. The struggle for national liberation is one of the most definitive and positive trends of our time. The colonial system is condemned and is about to end. The peoples formerly subjugated by colonialism are, one after the other, acquiring freedom and national independence and are participating in an ever more active manner in the struggle for the maintenance of peace and for international co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

An important part in this last struggle against colonialism is being played by the great Arab nation. I believe, in this connexion, that one should rebut as a negation of truth the allegation according to which it was the colonial Powers themselves which promoted nationalism and brought the subject peoples to freedom, and which would like to preserve the integrity and independence of the small nations. In our belief, such an allegation is an insult to the many sacrifices of the peoples who have overthrown colonialism at the cost of a long and heroic struggle. This is proved daily by the blood that is flowing in the streets of Amman, Cyprus, Algiers, Kenya and so on.

The General Assembly expected that the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom would inform it about the withdrawal of their armed forces from Lebanon and Jordan, but they have said nothing on the subject. They have even left it to be understood that their Governments do not propose to withdraw their troops, and they have attempted to force upon others the major responsibility they have thus assumed. In this connexion they have advanced the theory of indirect aggression and have made accusations concerning radio propaganda on the part of the United Arab Republic. My delegation does not deem it necessary to discuss the theory of indirect aggression, but we would like to put a question. What indirect aggression can there be in the case of Lebanon and Jordan when it has been proved that nobody but the United States and the United Kingdom has intervened there, and when the whole world knows that a direct aggression was committed against those countries and that it was committed by the United States and the United Kingdom, whose armed forces are still there?

The delegation of the United Arab Republic has already dealt with the merits of this allegation relating to radio propaganda. For my part, I should like to say this. Is it not surprising that such a charge should be levelled by the United Kingdom and the United States Governments, which have made it a part of their cold war policy to engage in subversive propaganda -- the United States and the United Kingdom which, through radio broadcasts, are conducting a ceaseless campaign of hatred and incitement to violence against the peoples and countries of the socialist camp and other independent countries? Thus the Voice of America, with its eighty-five radio stations, is poisoning the atmosphere with hysterical charges against those countries. The United States has set up a network of radio stations,

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

broadcasts from which are directed against the socialist countries. These stations are set up not only on United States territory and on the territory of members of NATO, but also on board ships which navigate the high seas. The American so-called Radio Free Europe, which is installed in Western Germany, is a huge centre of espionage and conspiracy. The BBC of London is following suit in this campaign of hatred against the legitimate Governments of the socialist countries and against other free countries of Africa and Asia.

In these circumstances, is it not surprising that the United Nations resolutions directed against war propaganda are being invoked by the very Governments which have never respected them? We would hope that they would themselves change their attitude in this respect. We would hope that they would put an end to their broadcasts and accede to the proposal made by the Soviet Union for a long time past calling for the prohibition of propaganda of this kind. In Albania, as in other peace-loving countries, such propaganda is banned by law. Why do not the United States and the United Kingdom and other countries do the same? There is no doubt that such an action on their part would be welcomed.

In his statement before the General Assembly the President of the United States suggested the establishment of a United Nations police force which he called "the permanent force of the United Nations for peace". My delegation is opposed to the establishment of such a force, because not only would it not contribute to the relaxation of tension but, on the contrary, it would be dangerous for the cause of peace and for our Organization as a whole. It is our view that in the present case, given the situation in Lebanon and Jordan, there is one solution -- a simple solution -- namely, that the British and American forces should withdraw from those countries forthwith and unconditionally. Moreover, the existing machinery of the United Nations Observation Group for Lebanon, which could be extended to Jordan as suggested in the Soviet draft resolution (A/3870 and Corr.1), would, in our belief, suffice.

The delegation of Albania believes that the Near and Middle East might require friendly and unconditional assistance for its economic development, but can we say that the plan which was suggested by the United States delegation corresponds to that end and to the real interests of the countries of that area?

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

The first reaction to that plan in those countries was clearly cold and reserved. The peoples of the Near and Middle East already have ample experience of plans proposed by the Western Powers. The Arab people has a great culture and great ability. It has been able to settle its own affairs, and it taught others to do so many centuries ago at a time when a number of countries which today would like to teach the Arabs lessons did not even appear on the map of the world. Indeed, the proposed plan has more the appearance of an attempt to divert our attention from the fundamental problem, the occupation of Lebanon and Jordan, and to create a new means of penetration and domination.

The British and American oil monopolies derive several million dollars a year in profits. If the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom sincerely wish to assist these peoples, why do they not take a simple step? In other words, why do they not ensure that the oil resources of the Middle East shall not be pillaged by the oil monopolies but shall be purchased from the Governments of the Arab world at world prices?

The Albanian delegation considers that the primary problem for which the General Assembly must find a solution is that of the re-establishment of the national independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and Jordan and the restoring of peace and security in the Near and Middle East.

(Mr. Shtylla, Albania)

The situation continues to be serious in this area. The threat of war persists because aggression persists so long as the British and American forces will not have left the territories of Lebanon and Jordan.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, in expressing the position of the Albanian people and of the Albanian Government, insists that the American and British forces withdraw forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanon and Jordan.

Our delegation considers that the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of the USSR offers the fairest and most realistic solution. It offers the General Assembly the opportunity to fulfil its noble mission and to guarantee the independence of Member States and international peace and security.

The General Assembly has just been seized of a draft resolution introduced by Norway, Denmark and Canada -- all three of whom are members of NATO, an organization led by the United States and which is the aggressor, as we know, in Lebanon and Jordan -- and sponsored also by four other countries. It appears from a first reading of the resolution that it cannot offer a fair solution to the problem before the General Assembly, for it avoids the crux of the issue. It contains no concrete provision demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. We believe that the withdrawal of these troops is the sine qua non for tackling all the other problems in this area of the Near and Middle East. For that reason the new draft resolution is unacceptable to our delegation, and we hope that it will also be unacceptable to the great majority of the Members of the General Assembly.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania will vote in favour of the draft resolution of the Soviet Union, which offers the best solution, and it invites all other delegations to whom peace, the freedom of peoples, and the principles of the United Nations are dear to do the same.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) took the Chair.

Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): In this Assembly of the United Nations we represent a small nation at a time when the issue before the Assembly is one that affects the small nations more than anybody else. This is one of the reasons for our intervention in the debate of this emergency session on the item on its agenda which, as described by the Secretary-General, refers specifically to situations in the Middle East which have arisen only recently.

(Mr. Pazhwak, Afghanistan)

Another reason for our participation in the debate is our belief that the United Nations is an Organization of small nations, while we do appreciate and recognize the place of the big Powers, inasmuch as it is occupied and preserved by these Powers by the laws of international justice and democracy.

Another reason which persuades my delegation to take part in the debate is the deep conviction of my Government that all nations should devote their efforts to contribute to the cause of peace through the United Nations.

A constructive contribution can be made only if the Members of the United Nations would allow themselves to be led by an unselfish and impartial judgement and an earnest and sincere desire for the strengthening of the spirit of reconciliation, not only as an act of diplomacy, but as evidence of adherence to the principles which have brought them together in the Assembly of the United Nations for the purpose of peaceful and friendly negotiations.

Afghanistan, as you all know, is an impartial country following a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples and nations of the world. We consider this the only natural policy for a small country that has suffered in the past. While we are trying to forget these sufferings by hoping for a better future, we are naturally disturbed when we are reminded of regrettable events which still confront small nations of the world with great difficulties.

On the basis of our friendly relations with all nations inside and outside the United Nations Organization, we can have but one cause, and that is the cause of peace and security in the world. We cannot speak but in the interest of small nations, and I repeat, our views are led by an impartial and independent judgement.

In putting these views before you I must say that in the face of all difficulties with which we are confronted we do not feel disappointed in finding a solution to the problem of the Middle East for which this emergency session of the General Assembly has been called.

To explain this note of hope that we cherish, I wish to express the appreciation of my delegation of certain developments, after the failure of the Security Council, which resulted in bringing the question of the Middle East before the General Assembly.

1. It was a source of encouragement for the Afghan delegation that the General Assembly was convened. We always believed that all major problems should be solved through the United Nations, particularly its supreme authority.

(Mr. Pazhwak, Afghanistan)

2. We were happy to see that the Secretary-General of the United Nations preserved his policy of making the efforts of the United Nations as fruitful as possible by outlining some of the basic needs for action in the region.

3. It was a source of encouragement that the President of the United States addressed the General Assembly.

We were glad to hear the Head of a big Power proclaim that "without respect for each other's sovereignty and the exercise of great care in the means by which new patterns of international life are achieved, the projection of the peaceful vision of the Charter would become a mockery". (A/PV.733, p. 6)

We were pleased to hear Mr. Eisenhower stating that "the United Nations has a particular responsibility" (A/PV.733, p. 7) in the problem of the Middle East.

We were happy to hear him when he spoke of the right of nations and peoples to determine their own destiny and of the preservation of this right to be consistent with the obligation to respect the rights of others, and his statement that "the peoples of the Arab Nations of the Near East clearly possess the right of determining and expressing their own destiny..." and that in any institution "the function of leadership must belong to the Arab States themselves". (A/PV.733, p. 12) It made everything sound better when the President of the United States spoke of the coming to life of the modern Arab community and that the goals must be Arab goals.

We wish also to give a most sincere expression of our support to the words spoken by the President of the United States of America when he said: "This world of individual nations is not going to be controlled by any one Power or group of Powers." (A/PV.733, p. 18)

In the same manner, it was a source of encouragement when Mr. Gromyko expressed the trust of his Government that the General Assembly will carry out the task which faces it and that he described the task as "the restoration of peace in the Near and Middle East in a worthy manner". (A/PV.733, p. 46) We wish to support him in his belief that "this session can serve the cause of peace well, if we are filled with the feeling of profound respect for the outcome of its work". (A/PV.733, p. 46)

(Mr. Pazhwak, Afghanistan)

We believe that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR was completely right when he said that with the genuine desire to contribute to the work of the General Assembly it was not difficult to find a formula. We do appreciate his statement that the USSR was prepared to enter into official or unofficial consultations, any sort of consultations, with any delegations, including the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom, concerning the preparation of such a constructive decision which could be adopted by the General Assembly in the interests of peace.

In the light of this statement we think that the draft resolution put forward by the delegation of the USSR should receive most serious consideration. As I reserve the right of my delegation to make our views known about the draft resolutions which might be presented to the General Assembly at a later stage, that is, when all drafts are presented to the General Assembly, I shall not speak about this draft resolution at the present time.

The final source of encouragement to the Afghan delegation is the fact that many delegations are engaged in searching for a suitable formula.

Now I would like briefly to put our general views before the Assembly.

First of all, we would like to emphasize the necessity of a firm and quick action to be taken by this emergency session, which action should recommend the necessary steps to be taken without delay and with the view to end the emergency situation in the Middle East.

In this connexion, we believe that a recommendation of the General Assembly for the withdrawal of the American and British troops from Lebanon and from Jordan at the earliest possible time is essential.

The consideration of the long-term programmes, economic or otherwise, for the solution of the basic problems facing the United Nations in the Middle East is obviously of great importance, which we think should be dealt with in a separate resolution of the General Assembly, which would give the Secretary-General of the United Nations the authority and the time for the proper consideration of these problems in consultation with the countries directly concerned, upon which the Secretary-General should be asked to report to the General Assembly, if possible, at its thirteenth session.

While we shall not oppose a resolution that would combine these two purposes, we would like to state that we would favour separate resolutions.

(Mr. Pazhwak, Afghanistan)

In the opinion of the Afghan delegation, two considerations should lead our thinking, namely, that no resolution would be either desirable or useful if it did not have the support of the Arab States and if it did not keep the solutions within the framework of the United Nations.

I think it is proper repeatedly to remind ourselves of the fact that the United Nations cannot ignore its great responsibilities in connexion with any situation that has arisen or might arise in the Middle East. The United Nations -- and we would like to emphasize this -- should by all means avoid the creation of new problems in this region.

It should always be kept in mind that, if the solution of serious problems concerning small nations is not sought through the United Nations, this Organization will no longer exist as a place of hope in the minds of small countries. It should be remembered that this Organization will no longer mean what it does without small nations.

At this point, we wish to address ourselves particularly to the small nations represented with us in the United Nations and to call upon them to think of their common responsibilities on such occasions most seriously in their own interests, as we are sure they do.

If nowhere else, at least in this Organization these small nations can play their role in support of the cause of preservation of their own interests, which in no way could be considered apart from the cause of peace.

Speaking of the desirability of a resolution by the emergency session that would be acceptable to the Arab States, we had in mind to add that the responsibility of these States is great indeed, not only to themselves, but to the whole world. Their demonstration of a spirit of understanding and co-operation with the United Nations is of great significance and of great importance. Their attitude and their approach to the ways and means for the solution of their problems should be such that would not allow the creation of any such precedents that would confront them or other nations in other areas of the world with situations which would not be in the interests of all nations, including their own interests, in the future.

(Mr. Pazhwak, Afghanistan)

We are not an Arab country. We do not belong to any bloc. We are not committed to anybody. We have no obligation towards anyone. But we are closely related by bonds of culture and friendship to the Arab world. We belong to the United Nations. We are committed to the United Nations and we have obligations to the United Nations.

That is why we can only appeal to the Members of the United Nations to do their duty in a manner worthy of this world Organization and not let this General Assembly fail. The failure of the Security Council could, in the circumstances, be considered the failure of the big Powers, but the failure of the General Assembly would mean the failure of the United Nations and, consequently, the disappointment of the people of the world.

The President resumed the Chair.

Mr. PICCIONI (Italy) (Spoke in Italian: unofficial translation furnished by Italian delegation): At the stage we have reached in the current debate, I believe we can already draw some positive conclusions.

However, before setting forth the views of the delegation of Italy in this respect, I should like to express our sincere satisfaction for the fact that these discussions have taken place and that the survey connected with the recent crisis in the Near East has been kept within the framework of the United Nations, as my Government has suggested and recommended since the very beginning of the crisis. I wish to specify that at no time has Italy favoured the choice of one or the other body of the United Nations or raised objections against any one of them.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

I will not dwell on the circumstances which have brought about the calling of this special session of the General Assembly, for they are indeed too well known. Here I merely wish to emphasize that, if the Italian delegation is taking part in the current debate, we do so without pretence, convinced as we are that, owing to the geographical position of our country as well as to the traditional relations which we maintain with the Near East, we are in the condition to offer some suggestions which may prove to be useful and constructive.

I have followed closely the statements made by the speakers who have taken the rostrum before me. I have noted with interest and satisfaction that the constructive and positive approach, which we consistently held to be the only way to cope with the problem of the Near East, has here been supported by many distinguished representatives; in the first place by the President of the United States.

It is quite clear that the reason for which we are meeting here is the situation in Lebanon and in Jordan. I believe that on this point, as well as on the need to undertake adequate measures in respect of these situations, there is apparently a general agreement in this Assembly. We should, however, not stop at a superficial diagnosis of the illness and merely try to eliminate its exterior symptoms and be satisfied with it. This would mean to lose sight of the real nature of the illness and to fail in our task. I feel, on the contrary, that this Assembly should face the basic problems. These problems should at least be approached in a realistic way if we are to meet the expectations of our respective nations and of the world.

First of all, due consideration should be given to the fact that a situation has arisen in the Near East which risked extending over the whole region and endangering the peace. As a matter of fact, it should be admitted that the prompt response of the United States and the United Kingdom to the appeals of Lebanon and Jordan has had a timely stop-gap effect.

In the second place, it should be kept in mind that, in the absence of an adequate international machinery which could be put into action speedily to cope with situations of this nature, it would appear, to say the least, unreasonable to challenge the right of every State to seek appropriate means of defence when its integrity and independence are imperilled. Failing to recognize such a right

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

would be tantamount to denying one of the essential attributes of sovereignty and thus denying one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, a principle upon which international relations rest.

Until the rules which govern international relations have provided otherwise, this right evidently entails an independence of judgement on the part of each individual State. Although the merit of each case might be subject to scrutiny on the basis of the practical forms of implementation, this principle should nevertheless be considered beyond challenge.

What is important for me is to keep close to the real facts. In my opinion, these facts should be examined in the light of the following circumstances: two countries, feeling their independence and integrity imperilled, made a formal appeal for help to two friendly Powers. But the United States and the United Kingdom were certainly not frivolous in responding to such a request. Suffice it to recall, in this connexion, the statement made by Ambassador Lodge on 15 July in the Security Council in which he declared that this was not the ideal method and that the United States hoped to see the United Nations take over such responsibilities in the near future. May I also recall the statements of the representatives of the United States and of the United Kingdom in which they have declared repeatedly and specifically the intention of their respective Governments to withdraw their forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

In other words, the cases of Lebanon and Jordan should suggest the urgent necessity of defining, by means of international instruments, the measures applicable to similar cases in the future. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has already given some attention to the possibility of establishing a permanent specialized force and groups of observers that could speedily be sent to the spot upon the request of any legitimate Government. Italy feels that this idea should be promptly and seriously taken into consideration and is determined to offer its contribution if requested, in the belief that the creation of such bodies would precisely serve the purpose of eliminating the gap which we have noted. Such means would enable every Member State of the United Nations that might feel imperilled to have recourse to them rather than to individual Powers, thus discharging the latter from a serious responsibility.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

It is our contention that the smaller States would apply for assistance to these new bodies of the United Nations all the more confidently, the more perfect the balance of the international composition of such units, which would be formed by nationals of countries having neither general political positions nor specific interests in the area in which they are to operate.

We also realize that when such bodies would be operating they might possibly entail a temptation for certain regimes to utilize them for their own purposes. Accordingly, at the same time, adequate rules should be studied and devised - entailing specific engagements from the States requesting the assistance -- in order to ensure the possibility of orderly and peaceful evolution, which is indeed desirable.

The Italian delegation realizes that a problem of such magnitude cannot be dealt with during this special session of the Assembly, but that it should be approached in the course of the next regular session of the Assembly. The Secretary-General, who has been so responsive in this respect, intends to submit then a report on the matter. We feel, however, that the current situation in the Near East should be considered in the light of these general ideas. In the first place, taking into account the gap in the present international order which we have noted and the desirability of adopting adequate measures to fill it, as well as taking into account the intention so explicitly expressed by the United States and the United Kingdom to proceed to the withdrawal of their forces, we feel that the most urgent task before us is to examine the procedure and means which would allow us to overcome the situation currently existing in Lebanon and in Jordan.

The Secretary-General has already submitted, at the first meeting of this session, some ideas and proposals which, in our opinion, should be considered and carried out in so far as they meet the wishes and the requests which will be set forth respectively by the Governments of these two countries.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

As Mr. Hammarskjold said, such measures are merely measures of safeguard. The Italian delegation feels that it is advisable to pursue, within the framework of the United Nations, the search for permanent solutions which would take into account adequately the special characteristics of Lebanon and Jordan.

Secondly, we should approach the overall political problem of this area. The Near East is today the scene of historical movements, sprung from autonomous forces of an Arab nationalism in full development. The attitude of Italy in respect of the changes which have taken place in the area under the impulse of the Arab national movement, has been consistently inspired by an objective evaluation of this historical reality and by a full and impartial understanding of it. In this connexion I recall the prompt recognition by my Government of the union between Egypt and Syria as well as of the new Republic of Iraq. Italy, having the utmost interest in the events occurring in an area which is so close geographically, has equally at heart that such changes should take place in ways that will not affect order and peace and that will be fully consistent with the freely expressed will of the peoples concerned. Furthermore, we believe that this Assembly cannot but share this anxiety. Allow me, therefore, to point out in this respect that a settlement of the preceding specific cases would be precarious, should further disturbances occur in the near future, and the autonomous strengthening of the internal texture of the Near East not be encouraged against new serious troubles. The Italian delegation realizes that whatever the measures on which we may agree and whatever the powers to be delegated to appropriate United Nations bodies, they would be altogether ineffective should they lack the broadest and most spontaneous co-operation. I thus feel that the reference to prior resolutions approved by the General Assembly, calling upon the countries of the region and outside it to refrain from actions or interference in the internal affairs of each other, is most wise indeed.

However, this is but one of the aspects of the basic problem. Aside from the political causes there are others, just as important and real, which have to be eliminated in order to guarantee the orderly and peaceful evolution of this area.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

I am referring to the aspirations of the Arab peoples to benefit from the material and moral advantages that higher standards of life offer to the individual and to populations economically more advanced. Italy has for a long time made clear its understanding for such legitimate aspirations, being convinced that independence and freedom of the peoples are inseparable from certain standards of prosperity. The idea that the Italian Prime Minister, Mr. Fanfani, offered on this subject on several occasions are well known. I therefore do not feel it necessary to repeat them. I wish merely to recall certain essential points which may help to focus the problem.

The ancient social structure of the Near East appears more and more inadequate under the pressure of the new needs which, for their satisfaction, demand bigger and bigger investments as well as a better use and a more equitable distribution of the local resources. Certain characteristics of the local production would also require the establishment of a special fund with the participation of the Near East countries themselves in order to:

- (a) ensure stabilization of the economic life through periodic interventions in the purchasing and marketing of the products; and
- (b) promote the relief and the rehabilitation of refugees.

My delegation wishes to confirm its opinion that the desirable economic development of the Near East is a necessary element for a real and lasting recovery of the internal situation of those countries. We also feel that every initiative in this field belongs, in the first place, to the Arab countries themselves.

In this connexion we also believe that the proposals set forth by President Eisenhower deserve the most careful consideration, particularly where they call upon the Arab countries of the Near East to set up a regional institution for the development of their water, agricultural, mining and industrial resources, as well as to further progress in the fields of instruction and health.

My delegation cannot but reject the hint advanced by the Head of the Soviet delegation that this proposal was aimed at diverting the attention of this Assembly from the question of the withdrawal of the Anglo-American forces from Lebanon and Jordan. And the more so inasmuch as my country had voiced this necessity a long time before the present emergency situation arose.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

No one will fail to see that such an institution, if its establishment is decided by the countries concerned, would create the strongest basis for a strict and effective regional co-operation, whose management and control would be kept by the Arabs themselves. It would be up to them, besides uniting their efforts in a development plan for their territories, to decide to which international agencies and friendly Governments they should call upon for assistance in carrying out the specific projects.

As far as Italy is concerned, we would give favourable consideration to any request for co-operation, whether through our means or through the experience gained from the economic development of our own territory, in the solution of similar problems now existing in the Near East.

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

In short, the Italian delegation is of the opinion that:

Firstly, the Secretary-General should be entrusted with the study of means and procedures that would enable the United Nations to respond promptly to the pleas of any State which felt that its security was endangered and to determine at the same time the conditions to which the granting of such assistance would be automatically subject. This would avert the danger that safeguarding the independence of a country might be confused with the maintenance of the protection of a given regime.

Secondly, we should take into account the reasons which have prompted the United States and the United Kingdom to take action in Lebanon and Jordan and to take note of their intention to withdraw their forces from these States.

Thirdly, we should entrust the Secretary-General with the adoption of the measures which would be suitable, taking into account the wishes expressed by Lebanon and Jordan and the characteristics of those two countries.

Fourthly, in conjunction with or in support of the above-mentioned measures or others that may seem fit, reference should be made to existing general provisions calling on the countries of an area as well as outside it to refrain from actions or initiatives which might foment new disorders and thereby hinder the peaceful development or evolution of this region.

Fifthly, immediate consultation between the Secretary-General and all Arab Governments of the Near East be recommended with a view to establishing an institution for regional economic development. This institution, pooling the resources of those States with contribution from other countries, international agencies, as well as private enterprise, would undertake the effective utilization of the resources in that area and implement specific projects in order to raise the standards of living of the peoples concerned.

As I have already said, my country feels the deepest understanding for Arab aspirations. I was pleased to note that the statements of the heads of delegations who have gathered here show that these aspirations are meeting with increasing understanding. A chance has thus been given to the countries of the Near East to pool their forces, with the assistance of the friendly peoples,

(Mr. Piccioni, Italy)

in order to raise their standards of living, strengthen and develop their political institutions, and promote a programme of economic development in an area to which they belong. They will thus be able to pursue peacefully and in full freedom of decision the political and economic aims which they have set for themselves.

If I may conclude by expressing a wish, this would be that this appeal be heeded by the Arab peoples of the Near East. It would be a great undertaking which they would assume, and its success would yield undeniable benefits for them and also would strengthen peace and welfare in one of the most vital areas of the world.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.