

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

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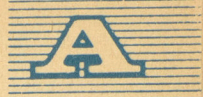


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Third Emergency Special Session [1958] - Aug. 19

(Verbatim record)

- Filali (Marocco)
- Engen (Norway)
- Smith (Canada)
- Belaunde (Peru)
- Palamarchuk (Ukrainian SSR)



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL  
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ENGLISH

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Third Emergency Special Session  
PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING  
Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 19 August 1958, at 3 p.m.

President:

Sir Leslie MUNRO

(New Zealand)

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

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

- (a) DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE USSR (A/3870 and Corr.1)
- (b) COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (A/3876 and A/3877)
- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY CANADA, COLOMBIA, DENMARK, LIBERIA, NORWAY, PANAMA AND PARAGUAY (A/3878)

The PRESIDENT: I shall make an announcement now which I shall repeat later in the afternoon. I propose that we should complete the general debate tomorrow. For that purpose I propose to hold a night meeting at 8.30 p.m. tomorrow. We have a number of speakers, of course, for tomorrow, and some are set down for the next day, but I think the urgency of the matter amply justifies a night meeting tomorrow. I therefore expect those speakers who are down on the list for the general debate to be ready to speak tomorrow, whether in the afternoon or in the evening.

Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The Moroccan Government has welcomed with satisfaction the calling of this third emergency special session of the General Assembly. We believe that this organ of the United Nations, whose functions and purposes are clearly defined by the Charter, must constitute the main instrument of negotiation and of conciliation among the Member States. This is why we are glad to note that the Members of this Assembly intend to discuss the problems of the Middle East on a constructive and realistic basis.

This, unfortunately, is not the first time that the United Nations has had to contend with events in the Middle East. I could even say that these constitute a permanent question on our agenda. Indeed, this is in no way surprising, for as we all know, the problems of the Middle East are complex and manifold.

No doubt, it is the events which have occurred in the past few weeks in Lebanon and Jordan which brought about the calling of this special session of the Assembly. These must certainly require all our attention; they impose on us the task of seeking an adequate solution, but if we are to limit our efforts to this single aspect of the situation in the Middle East, we incur the risk of

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

acting, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland has said, "like a physician trying to treat a symptom without seeking out the causes of the disease". It would perhaps be more convenient to isolate the Lebanese and Jordanian problems from the general context, to find a provisional settlement for them, but we believe that this method is artificial and dangerous, for it would serve no purpose to seem to resolve a crisis if the essential problem persists and if the General Assembly, sooner or later, must again consider it.

It is in this spirit that I shall set forth the point of view of my Government with respect to the situation in Lebanon and Jordan; but first, I shall say a few words on what seems to us to be the deep-seated reasons for the unrest in this region.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Why should Middle Eastern events constantly crowd the international scene? For what reasons should this part of the world suffer from a particularly acute chronic crisis? Is it because the Arab peoples are profoundly divided? Is it because this area is particularly sensitive to what is called the cold war? Certainly not. To be frank, we believe that the principal cause of this unrest resides in the conflict between the national aspirations of the peoples of this region on the one hand, and the stifling of these aspirations resulting from the lack of understanding which they encounter, on the other.

What is really at issue? As you know, the Arab peoples, like a number of other peoples of Africa and Asia, have, over a long period of time, undergone the mistreatment of colonial occupation. This occupation has manifested itself -- and manifests itself still -- in numerous forms, both direct and indirect: military occupation, political domination, economic exploitation, cultural frustration, to mention but a few of its aspects. But we perforce must note that the world is in full process of evolving. The awakening of the colonial peoples is one of the essential characteristics of our time. Indeed, everyone is in agreement in saying that the era of colonialism is ended. Let us then hasten to bring words and deeds into harmony with each other.

Everyone knows that the satisfaction of the demands of these peoples is one of the imperatives of our time. Some countries are still struggling to consolidate their recently acquired independence; others are struggling for recognition of the very principle of this independence. Thus it is that, concerning my own country, the Powers in question have indeed recognized the independence of Morocco, but, contrary to logic and common sense, foreign armies remain stationed on our territory.

In addition, the Algerian people, which only aspires to live free and independent, has for four years undergone a murderous and inhuman war. Some might think that we are now discussing a problem which is not on our agenda. We believe that it is in the interest of this Assembly, which is trying to understand the profound causes of the crisis in the Middle East in particular and of Arab nationalism in general, to understand once and for all that freedom is one and indivisible.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The struggle of the Middle Eastern countries also fits in this general framework, and it is not surprising that under these conditions these countries are waging such a struggle against the vestiges of colonialism. The demands of the peoples of this region are legitimate and natural, and we believe that it would be unwise to continue to ignore them.

We understand the direction of their struggle, for we ourselves are engaged in a similar effort. Moreover, owing to the many bonds which link us to the rest of the Arab world, the events in the Middle East, as our Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Balafrej, has stated, will have serious repercussions in North Africa.

In this part of the world we are faced, not with abstractions, but with sociological and human realities. We are convinced that Arab nationalism is neither subversive nor dangerous; it is in keeping with the Arab tradition of liberty and tolerance and symbolizes long-repressed demands.

Without doubt, the definitive solution of the Middle Eastern crisis is not easily attainable; it requires that we retain our composure and forsake a great number of prejudices, but we are persuaded that the Assembly is now in a position to draw up a broad outline for a total solution. In the opinion of my Government, such a solution must be inspired by the following principles:

(1) The recognition of the justness of Arab nationalism, which means that any solution to this crisis must answer the wishes of the peoples of this region and that these peoples must be free to determine their own fate.

(2) The Middle East must no longer be considered as a field for international competition, and its exploitation for political, economic or military ends must be prohibited.

This brings me to speak a few words on the situation in Lebanon and Jordan.

Indeed, as I have already said, the Assembly must study the manifold aspects of the Middle Eastern situation, but it remains no less true that we are at the same time confronted by an immediate problem, that is, the presence of foreign troops in Lebanon and Jordan, to which an urgent solution must be found. In this connexion, I must state that the Moroccan Government regrets the sending of United States and United Kingdom troops to these two countries; we believe that the presence of these troops in Lebanon and Jordan is totally unjustifiable. The reasons invoked to justify the presence of these troops are artificial: in the first place, it seems to us that the arguments used are in conformity with neither the letter nor the spirit of the Charter. In the second place, Article 51 of the Charter has more particularly been

cited. In this connexion, I must say that our interpretation of the situation in Lebanon and Jordan is that the difficulties through which these countries are passing are of a purely internal nature. Indeed, as we all know, the Security Council did not establish the existence of any aggression whatsoever against these two countries. This is why our delegation has serious doubts as to the applicability of Article 51 in these circumstances.

The presence of these troops is certainly not able to reduce the tension existing in this part of the world. We believe that this Assembly's first objective must be to seek a solution which will facilitate the withdrawal of these troops within the briefest possible time. Such a measure would relieve the tension which exists in this region and would, consequently, allow us to study in an atmosphere of calm the other aspects of the Middle Eastern crisis.

Such are the observations which we have seen fit to make today.

It is evident that the problem is psychological as well as political. The psychological aspect of this crisis is all the more serious as a readaptation to the requirements of the national movements is not always as rapid and as sincere as these movements might wish.

The Moroccan delegation is nevertheless happy to note that the justness of Arab nationalism has begun to be recognized. We are convinced that this nationalism will triumph over the difficulties which it has met, for, as His Majesty the King of Morocco recently stated:

"The Arab peoples have awakened and are on the way towards a renaissance... We are certain that their unity will enable them to frustrate the plots and machinations directed against them, and that they will emerge from the crisis through which they are passing with their strength unimpaired and their dignity respected, and that they will rid themselves of the vestiges of imperialism and of all forms of exploitation."

The PRESIDENT: I propose to repeat an announcement which I made at the commencement of this meeting. We are engaged on an emergency special session, and I think it is important that we should show to the world that we do regard it as an emergency session and that we shall proceed with it expeditiously. Under those circumstances, I propose to hold meetings tomorrow morning, tomorrow afternoon and tomorrow night. The meeting tomorrow night will commence at

8.30 p.m. I think there should be no difficulty in our disposing of the general debate by some time tomorrow night, and I therefore ask speakers to be ready. It is my intention, if I may say so with great respect to the Assembly -- and I am sure it meets with the approval of the Assembly -- that we should conclude the general debate some time tomorrow night.

Mr. ENGEN (Norway): I have asked for the floor in order to make some observations with respect to the draft resolution (A/3878) which Norway, together with Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Panama and Paraguay, has submitted to the General Assembly.

This draft resolution is based on one basic premise, which is that whatever the United Nations can legitimately contemplate doing in the present crisis in the Middle East it can only be through measures taken, or safeguards created, in order to assist the Governments concerned.

The extent to which the United Nations efforts are to be crowned with success or doomed to failure must ultimately depend on the attitude and the actions taken by the Governments directly concerned.

(Mr. Engen, Norway)

This philosophy, if I may use that expression, has been the point of departure for the endeavours of the sponsors of this draft resolution. We have, through a process of constant negotiations and explorations with the parties most directly concerned, sought to devise not only a formula which could win approval of the constitutional majority of this Assembly but one which also entrusted the Secretary-General with a task which it is within the realm of reality and possibility for him to accomplish. I am stressing this point because, as we all know, the Secretary-General is the executor of the Assembly's decisions, and it flows from this that the Assembly must take great care in formulating the instructions which it wants the Secretary-General to carry out in order not to put him into untenable positions.

The basic rule for the Assembly to follow in this respect flows, of course, from the Charter provision that no action by the General Assembly can be carried out in matters directly concerning Member States without the consent of the Governments of those Member States. From this it follows, speaking in practical terms, that the Secretary-General should never be instructed to act from extreme positions. His field of operation is the middle ground, the ground of mutual accommodations, the ground of conciliation and of mutual sacrifice. The draft resolution of the seven sponsors seeks to establish this middle ground position from which the General Assembly may want the Secretary-General to act in these particular circumstances.

During the long and extensive discussions which the sponsors have had with all the directly interested parties, one basic fact has emerged. It seems to us to be firmly established that an area of agreement exists between the parties which may be the key to a solution of the present difficulties. This agreement is the following: all the parties want to see established at the earliest possible date a situation in the area where the peoples of that area will be free to shape their own life, undisturbed by violence, interference from outside, and strife.

If this is the case, it seems to me that the approach to shaping United Nations actions is an obvious one: that is, to enable the Organization through its chief executive officer to assist Member countries concerned to achieve this goal.

(Mr. Engen, Norway)

This approach explains the philosophy of our draft resolution. The draft resolution starts out by noting the explicit undertakings of the United States and the United Kingdom, two countries directly concerned in the present situation, with respect to their intentions to withdraw their military forces now in Lebanon and Jordan. The form in which these undertakings are expressed will be found in official United Nations documents circulated to the Members of this Assembly.

After a statement of the principle of coexistence between States in tolerance and good neighbourly relations, a Charter aim which also has found specific expression during the great conference in Bandung of African and Asian nations more than two years ago, the draft resolution goes on to its first operative part. I shall deal with that part. This part seeks to formulate a policy in specific terms, which it would be incumbent upon all Member States to pursue in their relations with each other and especially in this instance, since we now deal with the Middle Eastern area, with respect to and between the countries of this region. The specific terms of this policy are taken from a resolution which is in the records of the General Assembly; that is why we have put them in quotation marks. As all students of United Nations history will know, these formulations have emanated from "both sides of the House", so to speak.

The stating of this policy in section A of the draft resolution seems to us to be a necessary basis for the request the Assembly is invited to make to the Secretary-General in the next section of the draft resolution, section B. In this section we seek to define the role of the United Nations when assisting the Governments directly concerned in establishing the situation of normalcy of which I spoke a moment ago.

The terms of the request to the Secretary-General are admittedly rather general in nature. We feel, however, that there are very valid reasons for this. In our view, the emphasis should be on the statement of policy and obligations for the Member States, and that is the case as far as section A is concerned. However, when it comes to practical measures which the United Nations could take, through the Secretary-General, in order to assist the Member States in their endeavours to pursue the policy of which I have spoken, then I think we are well advised in not being too specific but in leaving a fairly wide field for the discretion of the Secretary-General, because, as we must always bear in mind, the practical arrangements which we ask him to make cannot be made unless it can

(Mr. Engen, Norway)

be with the consent of the Governments concerned. It goes without saying, of course, that membership in the Organization should invite the utmost of co-operation from Member Governments in this respect. In fact, representatives will find such an appeal to Members in paragraph 1, section D, of our draft resolution.

Then I come to section C of our draft resolution. The two provisions in this section are admittedly of no immediate consequence to the concrete problems before the Assembly. Nevertheless, we have felt that the Assembly should on this occasion lift its eyes for one moment above the immediate business of the day, and take a look into the future. There is not here a question of arriving at decisions. There is solely a question of giving this emergency session of the General Assembly an accent of a forward looking spirit, not merely the matter-of-fact spirit of the fire brigade.

I am representing a small country which on occasions has been able to share in the contributions of many Members to United Nations measures dealing with critical situations. We, for our part, are prepared to carry on with this policy. Our experience is such, however, that we could not but welcome the news that the Secretary-General has been giving thought, for some time, to the many problems of a practical and principal nature which naturally arise in connexion with contributions in personnel or kind in times of emergency.

We, for our part, have felt that the Assembly should not disperse without expressing a desire to have the Secretary-General's studies thoroughly discussed at the coming regular session. While we recognize that this desire could be expressed in another way, we, for our part, find it natural that it should be done in the way here proposed.

With respect to paragraph 2, section C, I should like to say this: we are glad that the Arab countries in the area have developed organs for economic co-operation. This corresponds, I am sure, to the deep wishes of the people of the Middle East. If they should want co-operation and assistance in this work from the United Nations and from other agencies outside the area, we feel that such co-operation and assistance should be made available. But in order to meet such requests from the countries, the United Nations must be prepared.

(Mr. Engen, Norway)

It was therefore with real appreciation that we learned from the Secretary-General in his statement on the opening day of this session that studies have been under way in the Secretariat for some time in order to prepare the United Nations to respond positively to any requests from the countries in the area in this respect. I think that the Assembly could very well encourage the Secretary-General to carry on with his studies of these problems.

Finally, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the last paragraph in our draft resolution. This invites the Secretary-General to report not later than 30 September on the implementation of this draft resolution. It is our hope, indeed it is our firm belief, that the Secretary-General's first report will show us a picture of the Middle East where tranquillity and normalcy are the reigning features.

Members of the Assembly will have noted that I have carefully refrained from entering into any discussion of substance with respect to the situation in the area. To have done so would certainly have been contrary to the spirit and the purpose of the draft resolution which we have submitted. I have ventured to point out a road forward where the roadblocks of condonement as well as those of condemnation do not appear. It is a road along the middle ground where the Assembly has its best opportunities for constructive action -- indeed, I would say where the Assembly has its only opportunity for constructive action. The **draft resolution** we have submitted may not be perfect, but I know that it contains very fundamental elements representing some of the positions of all the parties directly concerned. This is the reason why we confidently commend its adoption to the Members of the Assembly. We firmly believe that this is the basis upon which the United Nations can act in this situation, and thus avoid the alternative of letting things drift aimlessly into an uncertain future.

Mr. SMITH (Canada): I am sure that Members of this Assembly by now have had time to study the draft resolution which the Canadian delegation is pleased to sponsor with the delegations of Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Norway, Panama and Paraguay.

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

After the lucid presentation of this joint draft resolution by the representative of Norway -- with whom it has been an honour and a pleasure for me to co-operate closely during the past week -- there is no need for me to analyse again the contents of the draft resolution. Instead, I wish to dwell for a moment on some of the considerations which we have had in mind during the discussions leading up to the introduction of a draft resolution in the form now before us.

Along with Mr. Engen, I concede immediately that this draft resolution is not perfect, it is not ideal. It will probably be found entirely satisfactory or perfect to no country or grouping of countries. That is perhaps inevitable, but I do suggest, that it is not necessarily a weakness when the objective of the draft resolution is a reconciliation of conflicting interests, for if it were otherwise there could be no common ground, no point of departure from which to seek conciliatory and compromise solutions which will safeguard the essential interests of all parties without requiring of any undue risk or sacrifice.

This draft resolution is designed, therefore, to serve as a point of departure and a basis of discussion, and we would hope that it would lead to further developments in two main areas where special support to it must be given if the draft resolution is to achieve its purpose.

I speak first, very frankly, of the Arab States themselves, without whose positive and indeed active co-operation there can, of course, be no durable settlement of the problems of the Middle East. It may be that some of the Arab countries have their difficulties with this draft resolution, some parts of which may seem to fall short of what they may believe they have a right to expect. But we earnestly hope that they will weigh the merits of the draft resolution as a whole and find in it not an impediment to evolution but a new basis for harmony, prosperity and growth in the Middle East.

But regional support by itself cannot resolve issues which, as recent events have shown, can have repercussions extending far beyond the Middle East. Complementary to the co-operation of the countries of the area, and not necessarily of secondary importance, is, therefore, the need for recognition by the major Powers, including the Soviet Union, the special recognition, of the obligations which rest upon the major Powers as a consequence of their involvement

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

in different ways in the affairs of the Middle East. Of course every nation represented in this hall has an interest in seeing to it that the Middle East is not allowed to become a part of the world that endangers global security and peace. I now ask this question: would it not be reasonable to look to the four great Powers for at least their unanimous support of this draft resolution as a form of acknowledgement of the risks which can flow from a great Power confrontation in the Middle East or perhaps for some more tangible expression of their common interest in pursuing policies of restraint in that troubled area?

It was precisely because my Government considered that a durable Middle East settlement required the active endorsement of the major Powers that we welcomed some weeks ago the original proposal for a meeting of the great Powers at a high level to deal with Middle East matters, and we welcomed the further proposal that these high-level talks should take place within the Security Council where the responsibility under the Charter for matters affecting international peace and security properly belongs. Those early efforts had to be abandoned, but I for one believe that in the General Assembly today we have been given an equal or even better possibility of engaging great-Power support for a Middle East settlement through the joint endorsement on the part of the great Powers of whatever resolutions and action may flow from this emergency session. One might even be permitted to hope that on the basis of a recognition of joint great-Power responsibility in a limited area such as the Middle East, it might be possible to develop a wider approach to other problems requiring four-Power agreement for their effective settlement, problems such as the testing and control of nuclear weapons, disarmament and such other topics fundamental to international security and peace concerning which preparatory discussions for talks at the summit have been proceeding now for many months.

I repeat, then, that in my opinion the active co-operation of all the Arab States and the identification of all the major Powers with the purposes underlying this draft resolution are essential underpinnings on which its successful fulfilment must be founded. That is not, however, to say that there does not rest upon all of us, and in particular those with direct interests in the Middle East, a solemn obligation to exercise self-denial and restraint while our search for answers to the immediate needs of the current crisis and for a peaceful and prosperous pattern for that area in the future is in progress. The first responsibility of nations, both inside and outside the area, is to see to it that no word or deed of theirs precipitates a dangerous situation which could jeopardize the whole of the efforts of this Assembly. Any nation which failed to heed this warning would bear a grave responsibility before the bar of world opinion.

Turning to parts B and C of this draft resolution to which Mr. Engen has referred, dealing respectively with the short- and long-term problems with which we are attempting to grapple, may I say first a word about the Secretary-General's role.

The fact that this Assembly is going about its tasks in a purposeful way can, I think, be attributed in large measure to the Secretary-General's timely intervention on 8 August, at the first meeting of the emergency session, when he outlined in such broad but comprehensive terms the course which this Assembly could most usefully steer. In identifying what he described on that day as "basic needs for action in the area", the Secretary-General focused attention on the constructive purposes of this meeting. He provided us with a cogent survey of the problems of the area which require urgent attention -- a survey which has, in fact, guided the discussions here in large measure, from the outset of this session, along productive channels -- and that is reflected in no small measure in the proposals embodied in the draft resolution before us. The nature of the Secretary-General's statement illustrated the ever-increasing burden of responsibilities which he has been called upon to assume in recent weeks, acting always within the broad powers which the Charter confers upon him. Because the United Nations has now been called upon to attempt an entirely new role in the maintenance of stability and peace in respect of a particular area, and because the Secretary-General symbolizes the authority of the United Nations, he will be asked, under this draft resolution, to take on even more responsibilities. The draft resolution seeks to strike a balance between the

support and guidance which he must have from this Assembly in approaching his task, and the need to give him scope for consultation and effective action on his own initiative as circumstances may require. None of us should underestimate the difficulties or delicacy of the tasks which we are asking him in this draft resolution to assume, but I am sure that I reflect a unanimous opinion when I express confidence in his unique qualifications to meet successfully this new challenge.

The immediate issues with which the Secretary-General is being asked to deal are those relating to Lebanon and Jordan where there is the matter of troop withdrawal to be faced, and which is not unrelated to the political future of those two countries. Perhaps we should reconcile ourselves now to the thought that no formula can be wholly and universally satisfactory to cover the question of troop withdrawals. We have the statements of the leaders of two great and friendly Powers of their desire to remove their forces as soon as the United Nations has taken action appropriate to the circumstances prevailing in those countries. For our part, we are prepared to accept those assertions at their face value as an earnest of their desire to withdraw quickly. The United States and the United Kingdom simultaneously with their landings recognized the risks and thankless responsibilities which would flow from prolonging their presence in the area, and they then gave thought, and expressed that thought, to their withdrawal. Every consideration, including self-interest, would dictate that their action be brought to an end at an early date. In the letters which each of these nations has delivered to the President of the Assembly, we have renewed evidence to support this judgement, and I urge that all Members of this Assembly accept those letters as a renewed manifestation of their desire and intention to bring about an early termination to a situation which they recognize, and all of us recognize, could have unfortunate consequences.

But the problems of Lebanon and Jordan are more complex than the presence or otherwise of foreign forces on their soil. The search for solutions to the longer-term problems of those countries, and of the Middle East generally, raises, I am bound to observe, very difficult issues of practical policy and questions of principle which could have disturbing and far-reaching implications for the United Nations. The questions of principle relate to the extent to which the United Nations is at liberty to intervene in matters which Member States could

regard as of domestic concern. I think that it will be generally agreed that the United Nations has neither the right nor the duty to interfere in a country to support one form of government or one political party, or to prevent another form of government or political party from taking its place. Similarly, the Charter would seem to confer no right or duty on this Organization to promote or prevent a political union of sovereign countries which may wish to merge their separate sovereignties in a larger union or federation.

This seems to be clear as far as it goes, and it would be well if we were to recognize the relevance of these principles to the mandate that we are asking the Secretary-General to accept. But does this doctrine mean that the United Nations can have no interest in or answer to questions so fundamental to the original complaints which gave rise to the holding of this emergency session of the Assembly? It may be good international law, but is it an adequate answer to the urgent problems of policy with which the members of the international community are now confronted? It is equally good international law that a duly constituted and legally recognized Government can request another Government to send troops into its territory to buttress its security, and that the State so invited is at liberty, under international law, to respond to this request. To describe the response of the United States to the appeal from the Lebanese Government for help, and the response of the United Kingdom to that of the Government of Jordan, as "aggression" is ridiculous and really makes no sense, and indeed could make nonsense of the most central and serious provisions of the Charter. Having said that, I hasten to make this observation: At the same time, the generalized assertion of such a right to seek and receive assistance from any Government willing to give it could greatly complicate the search for peaceful adjustments of situations that might contain a threat to peace. These are problems of policy for which our present canons of international law do not give adequate guidance.

Similarly, the way in which the succession to power in a State is effected may have a profound impact on the structure and sense of security of neighbouring States. A sudden and violent change of regime in one country may have repercussions which may lead neighbouring countries to feel that their external security is threatened. How can we work out a tolerable reconciliation between the principle, central to the whole conception of the United Nations, that each State has the right to determine for itself what its form of government shall be,

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(Mr. Smith, Canada)

and the equally important consideration that no country should have the privilege of jeopardizing the peace and security of its neighbours? These considerations must both be taken into account in attempting to formulate an appropriate United Nations treatment of the problems which are before the Assembly.

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

In attempting such a reconciliation, it will help, I think, for us to recognize that not all the concepts of international law, or all the assumptions on which our Charter is based, are realized with equal fullness and precision in all parts of the world.

We in the British Commonwealth of Nations, for example, are independent sovereign countries, freely accepting the obligations which arise from our membership in the United Nations and in the international community. At the same time, we attach a high degree of importance to the special relationships, often very hard to define and delineate, which link us, one with another, in the Commonwealth connexion. We do not think of the other members of the Commonwealth as "foreign". There is a large body of opinion in each of our countries within the British Commonwealth which would, I believe, resent and resist any suggestions which might come from other parts of the world that we should reduce our mutual relationships within the Commonwealth to the bare minimum that international law expects of the relationships between members of the international community.

I cite the Commonwealth example because I venture to suggest that we would do well to recognize that the members of the Arab region in the Middle East may feel that they too are in a special relationship with one another. Their relationship with one another may come under the heading of external affairs, but it is probably misleading to regard them as foreign affairs in the classical meaning which diplomacy gives the term. The relations among the Arab nations in the Middle East have been developing and evolving very rapidly. Similarly, national sentiments and aspirations are rapidly taking political and constitutional shape in what not so long ago were the non-self-governing parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire. In a sense, the emergence of new national governments and groupings in the Arab area represents a challenge to the imagination and sympathy of older and longer-established members of the international community in somewhat the same way as the emergence of new Asian and African Commonwealth countries has represented a challenge to the sympathy, the understanding and the support of older members of our British Commonwealth.

It is for reasons like these that I should be doubtful of the wisdom of anyone attempting from the outside to prescribe and codify any very precise pattern for the relationships of the Arab countries inter se, or even for their individual

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

or collective relationship to the countries that make up the rest of the world. The United Nations has, perhaps, a collective responsibility to show its sympathetic concern for the political evolution of the Arab countries, but even the United Nations cannot dictate the pace of that development or attempt to influence the political form that it may ultimately assume. What is important, particularly in this transitional stage, is that we should recognize that the pattern of economic and political relationships has not reached a settled equilibrium in the Middle East any more than it has reached an equilibrium in the British Commonwealth or, for that matter, in Western Europe, where economic, social and political forces are creating new systems of international and, in some cases, supranational co-operation in forms whose ultimate shape none of us can foresee.

While these processes, all natural enough, perhaps even inevitable, are working themselves out, our chief responsibility in the United Nations is to see that our thinking and that our institutions should be sufficiently flexible and realistic to accommodate themselves to the facts of change. Changes will have to come, but they must come peacefully. This much the world has a right to expect, and all our efforts, either within this Organization or in fields of policy beyond it, should be directed to this task. This is in the common interest of all of us, whether we are members of the Warsaw Pact, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or whether we belong to that group sometimes referred to as the uncommitted nations in the cold war. The whole world has ultimately a single interest in preventing the strains and stresses arising from rapid and unequal rates of development in these areas from bringing us all into fatal collision.

I am on surer ground when I turn to the economic provisions of the resolutions before us. Just as the unequal pace of political development in the Middle East has produced stresses in the relations among the States of the area, so also has the unequal distribution of economic resources had its impact on the rate of economic and social development in various parts of the Middle East. The invitation -- that is what it is -- to the Arab States to create for themselves, with the technical assistance available through the United Nations specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations, development institutions serving the interests of the region as a whole, is an attempt to make possible the lessening of the economic disparities between one part of the area and another.

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

The need for a regional approach of this nature was foreshadowed in the Secretary-General's able statement on 8 August to which I have referred, and has already met with a quick and constructive response on the part of the United States Government. The proposals which President Eisenhower outlined on 13 August from this platform could have far-reaching and beneficial consequences for the Middle East, and no one, I suggest, should under-estimate the significance of the new policies which President Eisenhower thereby enunciated. The willingness of the United States to support materially and technically the kind of initiative envisaged by the Secretary-General to solve problems which have been a source of friction and an obstacle to progress in the Middle East for so long is to be highly commended, as is the recognition on the part of the United States that it is through the United Nations that the means to carry out these proposals should be found. It is unfortunate that bilateral economic programmes which ought to have benefitted this area should often in the past have been spurned for political reasons, or have been the occasion for an intensification of political rivalries within the area and political rivalries between the great Powers. The Canadian Government, for its part, has already endorsed in principle the concept of a Middle East regional economic development plan under United Nations auspices, and we would sincerely hope that the Arab States will themselves see the advantage of taking the initiative to implement the suggestions contained in paragraph 2 of section C of this resolution.

A further long-term project which will be carried a step further if the present resolution receives the general support that it deserves is that relating to the creation of a stand-by United Nations Peace Force. The Canadian Government's support, over many years, for the creation of such a force is a matter of record in this Assembly, reaffirmed as recently as last September when Prime Minister Diefenbaker addressed the opening meeting of the twelfth regular session.

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

It is indeed an essential element in Canadian policy to accord high priority to the honouring of commitments to preserve the peace through United Nations action, and to provide the Organization with instrumentalities to accomplish its purposes. Canada welcomes a new, or perhaps I should say a renewed effort in the direction of a more permanent and workmanlike arrangement to meet the requirements of the United Nations in this regard. Our willingness to respond to specific United Nations requests has led to a long record of United Nations service of which Canada is justly proud.

Operations of the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza have required the greatest numerical contribution on the part of Canada, but we have borne, with equal willingness, our share of responsibility in other United Nations peace efforts: in Kashmir, in the Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, and now in the Observatio~~n~~ Group in Lebanon. It is no more than a coincidence that three of these efforts in which Canada has found itself involved under the aegis of the United Nations are in the Middle East, a region in which we otherwise would have no more direct interest than that which flows from the normal cultural and commercial intercourse between nations. But as a middle Power we do, however, have a very direct interest in the preservation of international peace and the promotion of understanding among nations, and it is as a manifestation of that interest that Canada has men in the Middle East participating in UNEF, in UNWISO, and now in UNOGIL.

The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, at **this emergency** session of the General Assembly, has endorsed the suggestion that a "stand-by United Nations peace force" should be created to make possible quick action in an emergency, and he has referred to the studies which the Secretary-General has been conducting. This important matter will require most careful study. I have been somewhat disturbed in the last day or two to hear from some of my fellow representatives that there is a set plan in that regard. I repeat what I have just said: It requires the most careful study. The experience of the past has shown that United Nations requirements can involve a wide variety of types of service, none of which may offer an exact precedent for a more permanent type of stand-by force.

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

The further examination of alternative possibilities will be greatly assisted by the report which the Secretary-General will make to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly next month.

Although the immediate situation with which we are faced may well not require the kind of action for which a stand-by force may be designed, it will give, I pray, renewed impetus towards the creation of such an instrumentality, an objective which was clearly in the minds of the authors of the Charter in 1945, and which we would do well to explore further at a moment when the role of the United Nations as a peace-preserving body is once more uppermost in our minds. Despite the darkness of this crisis, yet there are lessons to be learned from it. May we profit from those lessons and let us not forget these lessons.

There is a third long-term objective that we hope to see result directly or indirectly from our present deliberations. **This objective** is not to be found in the draft resolution. I refer to Canada's hope that there could be laid a network of interlocking non-aggression agreements in the Middle East region, which could guarantee the independence and the integrity of each and all of the States of the area, and thus provide a solid basis for the economic and other constructive proposals which are within the grasp of the States of that area if this draft resolution accomplishes the objectives which we and the other co-sponsors have in mind.

I have spoken about the results which we are confident would flow from individual parts of the draft resolution, but I would revert to the thought that I expressed earlier, that the draft resolution be assessed as a comprehensive approach which attempts to reconcile widely divergent points of view. It deserves careful study for it points the way to constructive action through and by the United Nations.

The draft resolution does not attempt to apportion responsibility for the past in relation to the problems of the Middle East. It does not invite the Assembly to commend or condemn the national policies that any of us has pursued. It asks us all to recognize the situation that exists de facto, and outlines a course of action which, if we all pursued it scrupulously, could lead us out

(Mr. Smith, Canada)

of that situation. It requires good will, it requires restraint, and it will require the best efforts of the Secretary-General, on whose shoulders we have perforce to place so heavy a load.

It is our hope, in commending this draft resolution to the Assembly that everyone of us will find it possible to endorse it. This, I believe, is a moment in the history of the United Nations where a conventional majority is not enough. In the minds of some this may not be a perfectly balanced draft resolution, but time does not always work on the side of peace. It is important to make a beginning, and a beginning in the right direction. If we could all -- and I address this argument directly to the members of the Soviet delegation -- vote for this draft resolution, we would have made a start -- a transforming start -- in the slow process of bringing order and mutual respect into our several approaches to the questions relating to the Middle East. This emergency session of the General Assembly thus would make a great, a unique, contribution towards the foundation of peace in an area from which war could all too easily come.

I am not saying this by way of winding up my remarks, but I say it very solemnly and with deep feeling. Humanity today awaits our decisions. Will we fail humanity?

Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The United Nations was founded on the postulate that there would be complete harmony and co-operation on the part of the great Powers. Unfortunately, however, the ink was not as yet dry on the signatures to the Charter when this postulate was jeopardized. Yet, despite this, a veritable miracle has taken place. The United Nations has fulfilled its mission. Under the atmosphere created by the United Nations, an atmosphere of justice and peace, and through the generosity of the United States, Europe was rehabilitated after having gone through the war, and Greece and Turkey re-emerged. In this same atmosphere of hope we have seen the admirable re-establishment of Germany, Italy and, later, of Japan.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

Despite the disagreements on the part of the great Powers -- and this is the truly miraculous fact in the history of mankind - we have overcome such serious crises as the blockade of Berlin, the Korean crisis and the Suez crisis. The problem that seemed to be insoluble was finally achieved because we have almost become universal here. We had to be universal so to have full moral authority so that we could also speak in behalf of all humanity.

This rapid narration which is well-known to all, but which I felt I ought to stress here, allows me to start my statement with words of faith and hope. But there is another reason for which I have a deep-rooted faith and hope. I still believe in the Charter of the United Nations where it refers to peaceful understanding, and which is of great wisdom. The Charter of the United Nations has placed upon us a great responsibility. And do you know why? Because it has given us all the means to achieve peace.

It may be difficult to apply coercive measures. We may require certain bodies, certain organs. The Security Council has not been able to act effectively. But as far as peace itself is concerned, the **attributes of the** General Assembly, the attributes of the Security Council, and finally the General Assembly when the Security Council is paralysed, are so wide that we cannot evade, we cannot fail to fulfil our tasks unless we wish to shoulder tremendous responsibilities regarding humanity. In fact, there is no limitation. The only limitation that exists is that referred to in the Charter where it calls for specific peaceful measures agreed upon by the parties. And it is only with the good-will of the sovereign parties that we can settle questions.

As far as peaceful settlement is concerned, there is no limitation. All controversies and all disputes must be subject to the Assembly; and any problem that arises is either a situation or a controversy or a dispute. There is no limitation in time, because the Charter very clearly states that at any moment, in a controversy, the Assembly may study the question and the Security Council may take up the matter.

Finally, there is no limitation as far as means are concerned. Article 37, which gives the powers to the Security Council, and which powers are referred to the General Assembly in the case of an emergency session, permits us to take resolutions. And Article 36 goes even further. If we cannot come to a

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

resolution, we can recommend procedures or methods of adjustment; in other words, some way of bringing together the differing points of view; a solution in one word, a solution which will guarantee peace.

Today we have to face the possibility of finding methods of adjustment before we try to decide on a resolution. We must weigh the responsibility upon our shoulders. We are all equally weighed down by this responsibility, and we must find a peaceful settlement to this dispute. This is the spirit underlining the Charter. This, too, was the spirit that obtained in Europe despite the conflict of the great Powers. May I here quote one of the remarks of Disraeli, and if I am not mistaken, he spoke on 9 February 1876 in the House of Commons. Will the English speaking representatives forgive me if I mispronounce these words. Disraeli said:

"We live in a world of continuous alterations. We are obliged to accept transactions and compromise, the respect of the rights of others coupled with assertions of our own and settle the matters by peaceful means."

Well, if in 1876 a great British Prime Minister and Head of a Party said that we had to respect the rights of others, to adapt ourselves and them to our rights, to accept transactions and compromise, and adjust ourselves -- as the Charter itself says -- and solve all questions by peaceful means, then surely, seventy-odd years later we should plan along the same lines.

This is not only the plan that must lie in the minds of generous peoples of the world, but it does lie in the juridical statements of the Charter. I realize full well that despite this mysterious power of the United Nations, despite the tremendous power of the Charter, we are, nevertheless, facing a most serious problem. Now, this problem cannot and must not only be seen from the point of view of its wording or enunciation. We must consider the problem from the point of view of its background which outlines it, the framework within which it is circumscribed, the atmosphere in which we see it.

I believe it would be most erroneous to try in diplomacy or history or sociology to use "ifish history" or apply in this case the methods one uses in mathematics to isolate the problem and consider it in vacuo and to look at it only from one point of view. That system cannot be applied; it is unfeasible in international affairs.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

The problem of the Middle East is a unique and specific problem. We know full well that there are economic factors. We know that there are vestiges left behind by the liquidation of the old spheres of influence, naturally coming from these colonialistic policies. But this is not the fons et origo of the problem of the Middle East. We must recognize that today, as well as at any time, international problems are interrelated. Today we are living under the sign of international tension, and a most serious situation, much more serious than heretofore. In times of balance and equilibrium, one could create an atmosphere to the solution of a problem where the conflict of power, the desire for power, the conflict between the great Powers themselves had only one aspect -- and that was the limitation imposed on the Powers by the weapons to which they could lay their hands. This was the limitation that permitted the risks to be calculated ahead of time or at least to diminish those risks as far as possible. In those days, either because of the desire for power which was resisted by a desire for defense, be it because of the competition caused by an arms race borne of mistrust, the psychological supremacy desired from war, the objectives that might be obtained without fighting it, whatever these reasons may be, mankind today is in anguish and is living under anxiety.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

The word "atomic" was used at one time. Now the word is "nuclear". Our age today is neither; it is an age of nuclear ballistics with the gravest dangers for all. The facts of life seem to blind us to this extreme danger that surrounds us everywhere, but events seem to open our eyes again to this agonizing understanding of the era in which we are living. It is with this tragic aspect of the truth that we must face the problem of the Middle East. Certain aspects of the problem cannot otherwise be explained. With these dark forces pressing on humanity not understood, if we did not live under constant danger of annihilation, we could not understand the reasons for pressures and anxiety.

For the moment, I want to look at the problem realistically. It is a problem which primarily concerns the inhabitants of that region and, specifically, the Arab nations. I must say here and now that there is a deep relationship between the Latin American nations and the new Afro-Asian countries. I have said this from this rostrum before and my words were sincere because they were spoken under very different circumstances than those which obtain today. Since the nineteenth century, when the Latin American nations were born, to the twentieth century, which was marked by the appearance of new nations in that part of the world where human culture was born, we were brothers with those people, especially with the Arab nations.

Yesterday we heard the eloquent words full of wisdom of the representative of Spain on the deep link that exists between Spanish and Arab cultures. In our own America, we find still witness to the Arab culture the Moorish balconies in some of the capitals of Latin America, especially in Lima, my own capital, and in the veils that women wear. How many aspects are there in addition to the superb contributions of Arab culture to Latin American culture? This has been mentioned by the President of the United States himself. Therefore, between these countries and our own there is a great link.

Besides these romantic aspects, however, there is a greater and closer solidarity. What do these countries want? They want freedom, independence, absolute autonomy. What is it we need? We need exactly the same thing. It is this for which we fought and bled and will continue to fight and bleed. What do they need? They need development through work. What do they need for this? They need peace, and so do we -- a programme of work and of peace. It is this

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

that has constructed an indissoluble link, a sacred tie, between the Afro-Asian nations of the Old World and the young democracies of the New World. Therefore any problem affecting them must touch us too. Any legitimate aspiration that they feel must be warmly received and understood by us.

We must say here frankly that statements have been made regarding the respect that is owed to the movement of Arab nationalism. Nationalism is one of the great dynamic forces of history. We might say that contemporary history, the history that began with the French and American Revolutions, is a history written under the sign of nationalism. The nineteenth century gyrated around nationalism. Our own history is the fruit of nationalism and our freedom is the daughter of our nationalism. So when we speak of nationalism, Latin America has one stand and one stand only, and that is the stand that we took traditionally years ago, basically because European nationalism, as it was called then, was a metajuridical formula. But the formation of nationalism in America was due to the juridical norm of self-determination. In the New World, self-determination brought about independence. It created nationalities and a process of integration. In North America, the process was an obvious one. In South America, by means of self-determination of these nationalities we created States and countries which were independent yet linked together.

So we do know something of Arab nationalism and we know full well how worthy of respect is Arab nationalism. But we also know that nationalism acts and moves within certain principles. America has contributed greatly with two -- I would almost say three -- principles to the evolution of international law. One is the principle of self-determination for the setting up of nationalities, and the other is the principle of non-intervention so that nationalities can develop. These principles are complementary; they are the two sides of a coin. All nationalistic movements, whether to integrate or to differentiate for reasons of understandable localism and to create new national personalities, have to be carried out spontaneously. They must be caused by indigenous factors without any alien influences, without any material pressures. We must respect spiritual forces because they are intangible and cannot be controlled. In accordance with the principle of non-intervention, they must be watched and respected.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

In Latin America, we have studied intervention to such an extent that the Bogota Conference of 1848 defined the personality of the State as something that must be respected not only in its own territory, in its economic structure and in its political institutions, but even in its cultural physiognomy. That delicate respect, that balanced position, is the requirement for understanding nationalism. That is why we were pleased to hear voices raised here from all sides of the Assembly to say that no one could or should oppose the right of Arab nations to integrate peacefully, respecting one another's physiognomy and one another's integrity -- nations which may want to maintain their own individuality within a federation or a superior integration.

We meet these problems. But how are we to solve them? As I have said, there are background factors involved. There is but one thing we can do: we can hope that international tension will be dissipated. We can take full advantage of this emergency special session to make a sincere and heartfelt appeal to the great Powers so that once and for all they will permit the setting up of that juridical institution which will control the arms race and substitute a policy of co-operation, understanding and harmony for that arms competition.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

As far as the problem itself is concerned, there can be no better solution than that offered by the presence of the United Nations in the Near and Middle East. But we must very carefully define what that presence means and stands for. That presence of the United Nations in the Near and Middle East must only represent a model authority, offending none. That is the advantage of a moral authority which does not represent the abuse or limitation of anyone's freedom or independence. It represents a body of exploration, of observation, of negotiation; and negotiations must be free on both sides. Finally, it is an institution of economic understanding. Therefore, I say that, if in these three aspects the United Nations succeeds--as a moral authority, as an organ of negotiation and compromise and as a body of economic assistance--then we can never be told that the presence of the United Nations constitutes a threat or a trusteeship; then we can never be told that we are taking collective action against them or filling what has been called a vacuum. I do not believe that a vacuum can exist, since there is sovereignty there.

The spheres of influence, the spheres of dependence, are things of the past. The United Nations merely represents a juridical body based upon the absolute equality of its Members. The United Nations, as shown by the history of its behaviour in the past, has always equally dealt with the great and the small countries, and this is indicated by the latest actions taken by the United Nations. Because of the tasks entrusted to the Secretary-General -- tasks which have been so successfully carried out -- the United Nations has carefully respected the rights of all and before taking any action has sought the full consent of the parties concerned. The United Nations Emergency Force has consolidated and strengthened peace, and against that Force no complaint can be made. Our observers are still there as the first and most respectable elements representing the freedom of the countries of the United Nations.

So I say to you that in the United Nations we have enough powers. We have in the Secretariat of the United Nations an instrument adequate for that work of exploration, of negotiation, of understanding, still under the banner of the United Nations. Under that banner the Arab countries, with the co-operation of all the Powers great and small and all the countries with interests in that part of the world, can together create an agency which will rehabilitate and will strengthen the economic development of that part of the world.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

The Secretary-General has been given many powers by the Charter. The needs of an ever growing Organization have made it necessary to increase those powers within the Charter. Let us take advantage of the way in which the Secretary-General, with the support of the Assembly, has been carrying out his work. We could not take a decision today; we have to have the consent and approval of the countries concerned. That consent and approval is to be sought by our Secretary-General.

Today more than ever we can say that, in order to do away with anything that may have been left over from past spheres of influence, the United Nations must be the broom that sweeps clean. The United Nations can avoid the dangers inherent in the unleashing of forces that cannot be stopped -- those machines that might well have been good for controlling nature but were not meant to dominate and control other men, since if they were to do so they would become like Frankenstein's monster and turn man into a slave of the machine which he himself created. The United Nations can avoid what humanity looks on with fear: the spreading through other parts of the world what I would call the spheres of conflagration.

There is another very important point that must be taken into account. The new international law is based not upon simple coexistence and the sharing of freedoms, as Kant thought; it is based on close collaboration between human beings in the individual field and between nations in the international field.

Let us become a family of nations, so that we wish not merely to coexist but to live together; not merely to exist but to help one another. Obligations are not only negative; they can also be positive. Co-operation must replace competition. Generous co-operation, human co-operation, must replace spheres of influence. Here I cannot but praise most highly both the proposal of the Secretary-General and the admirable words spoken in this Assembly by the President of the United States.

We cannot overlook the economic aspects. Without being a Marxist, I would say that it is obvious that many aspects of human life are contingent upon the economic well-being of people. But economic co-operation is only a part; it is a symbol of something much more valuable and much greater upon which peace must exist: that is, spiritual understanding.

With this plan, I think we have sufficient upon which to build. May I mention, in passing, that we have the basis here for a resolution of the kind formally submitted to the Assembly today by the representative of Norway and drafted by him in conjunction with the representatives of other countries.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

Now we must find some way of getting out of the difficult situation in which we find ourselves, a type of crossroads in the history of the United Nations, perhaps the most serious we have so far faced. I would think of the future with terror and trepidation if the United Nations were unable to adopt a resolution, were we to add to the failure of the Security Council the failure of the General Assembly. After all, the eyes of all humanity are focused on us here; all the hope of humanity rests on us here. Where would we stand if a resolution were to be adopted that lacked the authority of the General Assembly, if one were adopted which did not represent a real chance of co-operation and effort?

The statements made in this debate have been extremely interesting, and, with very few exceptions, the debate has remained at the high level which our President expected us to keep. If in the minds of all there is a true desire to achieve peace, if in this Assembly we have accepted the task of saving humanity, and if in spite of all this we are unable to find an answer, I should not like to face humanity.

(Mr. Belaunde, Peru)

I think that with the co-operation of all concerned, making use of all the elements at our disposal -- first and foremost the Charter which is imperative, categorical and which cannot be overlooked, the Secretary-General's outlined plan, the admirable statement made by President Eisenhower, so many other ideas and suggestions made in the Assembly, and even the last part of the Soviet resolution which recognizes the jurisdiction of the United Nations -- with all this, merging all this, we should be able to come to an agreement similar to that proposed by Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Norway, Panama, and Paraguay.

It well may be, as they said, that it is not a perfect one. We are told that the best is an enemy of the good and that theoretical perfection at times is incompatible with realistic events, but we have to face realistic facts today. We have to find something that can be used.

I represent a country that has behind it a long juridical tradition and, I would say, a millenary tradition, because to the Spanish culture I have to add the admirable cultures of the Incas and the pre-Incas. I represent a group of people who live and want to live under the symbols of freedom, justice, and peace. I take the liberty of making a warm appeal to all countries, excluding none. Let us wind up this emergency session with one greater triumph for the United Nations which will be one greater triumph for the cause of humanity.

Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)(interpretation from Russian): The emergency special session of the General Assembly has been convened on the proposal of the Soviet Union in order to examine the situation which has arisen in the Near and Middle East as a result of the intervention of the United States in Lebanon and of the United Kingdom in Jordan. It is to search for solutions which would avert an aggravation of the situation and help secure safety for this region of the world.

It appears manifest to the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic that it is the duty of the present session to call a halt to the aggressive actions of the United States and the United Kingdom in the Near and Middle East and to effect the withdrawal of their troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

(Mr. Palamarchuk,  
Ukrainian SSR)

Therefore, the assertion of Mr. Lloyd that the purpose of the present session is to examine the complaints of Lebanon and Jordan sounds more than bizarre. Those present here are fully alive to the fact that the world is beset with alarm not because of the revolutionary hurricane -- an exclusively internal process -- which swept away the erstwhile venal regime of Iraq.

Millions of human beings are not profoundly concerned because social and political forces have come into motion in Lebanon in order to solve its own problems. The world is alarmed because the United States and the United Kingdom have invaded Lebanon and Jordan with their armed forces, thus placing the world on the brink of a military catastrophe.

There is, therefore, no reason for beclouding the basic issue that faces the emergency special session. The United Nations can in no way cover up the fact of armed invasion in the Near and Middle East, the fact of flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of two small Arab countries. What are we supposed to do here? We are not supposed to consecrate or sanction aggression. We are supposed to take a stand against it.

Having perpetrated bald armed intervention against Lebanon and Jordan, the United States and the United Kingdom have violated the United Nations Charter which obliges Member States to refrain from the use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Likewise flouted is the resolution (1236 (XII)) of the General Assembly concerning peaceful and good neighbourly relations among States. Along with other important principles of peaceful co-existence, this resolution, which was adopted unanimously less than a year ago, calls for the mutual respect for the sovereignty, equality, and territorial integrity and inviolability, and likewise calls for non-intervention in the internal affairs of all countries.

The events in the Near and Middle East which now confront the United Nations are not separated from the grave events of the recent past by some wall. The aggressive invasion of Egypt in 1956, the military campaign against Syria which was being prepared in 1957, and the current intervention against Lebanon and Jordan are links of the same policy, a policy of stifling the national liberation movement. This is the objective virtually proclaimed by

(Mr. Palamarchuk,  
Ukrainian SSR)

the well-known Dulles-Eisenhower doctrines and by the Baghdad military pact. We must not forget this even though some parties, for easily understandable reasons, refrain from mentioning these points.

The causes of the extreme aggravation of tension must be sought not in the profound internal processes which are caused by the laws of socio-economic development, and which are occurring in the countries of the Arab East. But the causes of this aggravation of tension must be sought in the attempts of the colonial Powers to suppress the inexorable aspiration of the peoples of these countries to change their old forms of life so as to retain their mastery and to reserve to themselves these self-same colonial Powers, the possibility of pumping oil and other riches out of this region.

We are living in an epoch when the tide of the national liberation movement is washing the shame of colonialism off the face of the earth. Like the floods of the Nile which quench the thirst of the parched fields, this flood, as Arab patriots say, is quenching the century-old thirst of peoples for national freedom and independence. That is how the great State of the East, the Indian Republic, gained independence and freedom. That is how independence and freedom were gained by Indonesia. That is how the United Arab Republic arose, a live embodiment of the ideas of the unity of the Arab nation. The world colonial system is crumbling before our eyes.

That is why imperialistic circles of certain Western Powers -- especially those who have set up such monstrous creatures as NATO, SEATO and the like, designed to retain colonialism and suppress the freedom of peoples -- are seeking to retain their privileges by all possible means.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

Economic benefits are taken by the American, British and other Western monopolies through the plundering of the resources of the small and under-developed countries there. The unwillingness to forego their privileges is the thing that impels the Western countries to engage in the most desperate adventures. This is well known. The large monopolies of the United States own more than half of the reserves of the oil of the Near East. Huge profits flow through the pipe-lines into their safes but, as was very aptly pointed out by the head of the Saudi Arabian delegation, Mr. Shukairy, oil is the natural resource and wealth of the Arab countries. Is it a legitimate and just desire that this oil should bring profits to the Arabs themselves? Is this just desire a danger to American farmers, let us say? Do the Arabs jeopardize the profits which the United States can get and does get from the extraction of oil from its own soil? Of course not. But the oil monopolies which determine the direction of the foreign policy of the United States in the Near and Middle East have swept aside altogether the notion of relations with Arab countries on a footing of equality. When the Arab peoples demand in one form or another that their aspirations and rights should be satisfied or that they should be allowed to solve their own problems, the United States and the United Kingdom defend the interests of the monopolists and their puppets by force of arms.

In this connexion, it is useful to recall the statement of Senator Kefauver who addressed the Congress of the United States on 1 March 1957 during the consideration of the Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine, which I have already mentioned. He said at that time:

"There are indications that Mr. Dulles wishes to organize international intervention" -- this is a reference to the Near East -- "capable of leading to war, and all of this in the name of the defence of the enormous profits and capital investments of certain international oil companies."

This warning of this United States Senator came to fruition earlier than even this well informed political leader of the United States, Mr. Kefauver, could have foreseen.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

After having played at anti-colonialism for some time, the United States has now taken an overt stand in defence of colonialism. This can no longer be disregarded regardless of the plans that may be used to cover up this fact. American intervention has become a fait accompli. The armies of the interventionists have invaded the countries of Lebanon and Jordan, and for more than a month they have been keeping the population of two Arab countries under their cannon and automatic weapons.

Even though more than enough time has elapsed to take measures to put an end to aggression, the organ of the United Nations which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace --the Security Council -- has turned out to be incapable of fulfilling its duty for the maintenance of peace, incapable of eliminating the danger of the outbreak of military conflict, and this because of its present composition, because of the position taken by the representatives of States which have committed warlike intervention.

Will it also happen that the General Assembly will prove incapable of contributing usefully to the liquidation of intervention? We have been told that if the Security Council had not rejected the resolutions of the United States and Japan, then the armies of the United States would have already been withdrawn. Now this mellifluous formula cannot induce anyone into confusion since it is at variance with the substance of events and reflects the profound gulf between the words of the United States and its deeds. The Security Council, as is well known, decided to send observers who then proceeded to the performance of their duties in order to ensure that there would be no illegal infiltration of persons or materiel across the Lebanese border into Lebanon. These observers determined that there was no infiltration and no intervention on the part of one Arab State into the affairs of other Arab States.

Mr. Dulles, speaking yesterday before the convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars, said that there was such intervention, that there was such indirect aggression, that there was such infiltration. Whom are we to believe here, the impartial observers of the United Nations who are in Lebanon or Mr. Dulles, who states in New York that from across the seas he sees better what is happening in Lebanon? No, gentlemen, we shall believe the observers of the United Nations; we will not believe Mr. Dulles in this case.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

The Security Council has not ascertained the existence of a danger to international peace. This danger and threat arose only when the United States committed armed intervention in Lebanon. The resolution of the United States, presented in the Security Council on 15 July 1958, was designed to cover up and sanction this intervention in the name and authority of the United Nations. A paradoxical situation has arisen. The United States has committed intervention and now seeks to justify the retention of its troops in Lebanon on the ground that the Security Council has rejected the United States resolution which was designed to sanction that military incursion.

We have heard statements from this rostrum which were designed to minimize the degree of tension in the Near East. More than that, we have heard some speakers who declared that the invasion of Lebanon and Jordan by Anglo-American troops was no more and no less than a highly moral action for peace. But all those who do not close their eyes on purpose, all those who look at the true state of affairs in this region will realize that the armed forces of the United States and the United Kingdom which were sent to Lebanon and Jordan have created a situation in which the inspirers of the "brink of war" policy already have one foot dangling in the chasm across that dangerous brink. The experience of history teaches that great wars always begin with attacks on small States. Can we be reconciled to this? No, we cannot. The actions of the United States and the United Kingdom are unjustifiable. If we wish to eliminate the threat and danger of a world conflict, we must not be reconciled to a situation where the aggressors are seeking to achieve their objectives by force. We must not take a position of appeasing the violators of the peace. Only the immediate withdrawal of the aggressors and the aggressor troops from Lebanon and Jordan will reduce tension and improve the situation which has arisen in the Near East and throughout the world.

There have been reports to the effect that the Defence Department intends to withdraw an additional battalion of marines from Lebanon. Where are they going to be withdrawn to? They are being placed on United States warships which remain in Lebanese waters. The United Kingdom Government resorted to a similar tactic at the end of November 1956. Having announced the withdrawal of one battalion of troops from Egypt, this was seized upon by the zealous defenders of the Atlantic Pact as a symbol of the virtues of Britain.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

As we all remember, this was used for the purpose of unworthy manoeuvres in the General Assembly against the immediate and complete withdrawal of all the troops of the aggressors. This is indeed an amazing coincidence in tactics. But did the General Assembly meet here in order to allow itself to be befuddled or have the wool pulled over its eyes by such stratagems as these? What is the General Assembly expected to do at the present time, after all? It is expected to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Jordan and Lebanon first of all. Let us first get those troops out, then we can ponder other questions.

A draft resolution of the Soviet Union has been presented to the General Assembly. It would have the General Assembly recommend to the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom that they should withdraw their troops from the territory of Lebanon and Jordan without delay. It would likewise instruct the Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon and to send an observation group to Jordan with a view to the supervision of the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom troops from Lebanon and Jordan, and of the situation along the frontiers of those countries. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR fully endorses and supports the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union contained in resolution A/3870. We are convinced that the adoption and implementation of these Soviet proposals would eliminate the danger to peace in this region. It would call a halt to actions which constitute violations of the United Nations Charter. It would enhance the confidence of the people in the United Nations, which has been called upon to maintain international peace and security throughout the world. At the same time the carrying out of the Soviet proposal on the withdrawal of troops constitutes the first prerequisite for the settlement of other Near Eastern problems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and of harmony with the national interests of the peoples of the Near Eastern countries.

So long as the question of the immediate withdrawal of American and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan has not been solved, one cannot even think in terms of a stabilization of the situation in the Near and Middle East; one cannot even think in terms of a settlement of Near Eastern problems in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

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In approaching an evaluation of the United States plan set out in the speech of the President of the United States, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is guided by these considerations. What is striking about this plan in the first place is that while it pretends to lay the foundations for a new, great era in Arab history, it fails to mention the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. As may be seen, the United States of America wishes to inaugurate this new era in Arab history with the bayonets of American Marines.

Even though the present moment cannot be regarded as suitable for the consideration of general comprehensive plans relating to the problems of the Near East, since this would divert the emergency session of the General Assembly from its main task, it is nevertheless essential to dwell on the proposal for the establishment of forces of the United Nations that would be ready for action to maintain peace. The argument put forward in support of the establishment of special United Nations armed forces does not hold water. Those who seek to attribute the tension in the Near and Middle East, as is done by the representatives of the United States, to the alleged existence of some sort of indirect aggression are distorting the true picture of events in order to advance their own interests.

The danger to peace and security in the Near East originates not from the aspirations of the Arabs to be masters in their own home, not from their desire to dispose of their own resources, but from the intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in their internal affairs. Why not stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Arabs and see how well they will very soon be managing their own affairs and solving their own internal problems?

The attempts to supplant United States and British intervention with United Nations intervention are unworthy schemes. Self-respecting peoples will not permit themselves to be led by the nose with talk of United Nations peace maintenance forces that are ready for action. Behind this name is hidden one thing: the desire of certain circles in the United States and the United Kingdom to keep the peoples of the Arab countries dependent on them. What will these troops do there? Against whom will they be used there? Perhaps in order to defend the Arabs against Israel? Of course not. These United Nations police forces are to be used in order to drag through the rear areaway what it has

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proved impossible to get through the main entrance, and that is to clear the way for the Dulles-Eisenhower doctrine.

The United Nations is an international organization for the maintenance and defence of peace, not an organ for the suppression of the freedom and independence of peoples. Were we to travel the road the United States is beckoning us to travel, then the United Nations would be transformed into a tool of aggression, and this must not be.

This is the way, after all, in which the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles, understands the purpose of special United Nations forces, since he stated at his press conference on 31 July of this year:

"There ought to be a standing group of the United Nations which could go to any place which felt itself endangered by this type of indirect aggression and throw a kind of mantle of security around it."

Today this force would be used in the East, tomorrow against the countries of Latin America, and the day after tomorrow Mr. Dulles would presumably start settling affairs in the United Kingdom and France, in turn.

We cannot support those who are pushing the United Nations along this fatal path. Not the introduction of any additional troops, even though they be United Nations troops, but the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan is the first and foremost condition for the normalization of the situation in the Near and Middle East.

Having juggled with the concept of indirect aggression, the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom in the General Assembly are taking the pose of accusers, but as the Arab proverb says: The pitcher goes to the well so often that at last it breaks. The story of indirect aggression is a very delicate and very fragile burden to bear for the United States and the United Kingdom alike. Who can name any country other than the United States where subversive activity against other States has been promoted to the level of official State policy and consecrated in legislation. On 10 October 1951 the President of the United States, Mr. Truman, signed legislation for mutual security which calls for the special appropriation of \$100 million in order to finance any selected persons residing in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, or persons who have fled from these countries, in order to form them into detachments of armed forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes.

This legislation incorporated the Kersten amendment, whose sponsor explained the purpose of his amendment as follows:

"My amendment provides for the possibility of extending assistance to subversive or underground organizations which may exist in these countries."

I should like to ask: Was this not the law that the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, had in mind when he said:

"If we, the United States, are one of those who have been at fault we stand ready to be corrected"? (A/PV.733, p. 8-10)

The law of 10 October 1951 is more than a mere mistake. Are we to understand President Eisenhower's words in the sense that the United States is now prepared to revoke this law, which stands unprecedented in history, and therefore, in so doing, the United States will be prepared to correct one of the host of errors which it has committed?

There is a good deal of evidence that this legislation is being applied in respect of other countries, especially the States of the Arab East. As an illustration of this, we may bear in mind well-known facts about close relations existing between plotters who prepared a coup d'état in Syria in 1957, on the one hand, and the appropriate governmental organ of the United States, on the other. No less notorious has the United States become as a result of its overt support of the Jordanian King Hussein when, in April of last year, he carried out a reactionary coup d'état in his country, eliminated the democratically formed Nabulsi Government from power and stopped the activities of parliament, a parliament which had been elected by the people.

Direct military intervention in the Near East has become the logical sequel to indirect aggression, indeed. In the light of all this, you may judge for yourselves whether it is proper for the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom to appear here as the champions of the independence of small countries. Almost all small countries are Members of the United Nations, which is called upon, according to its Charter, to safeguard the States Members of the United Nations from intervention into their internal affairs or the threat of direct aggression.

Why is it that the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom have arrogated the right of judging and keeping any foreign States at their beck and call and at their own discretion? This is an utter abandonment of the norms of international law. Today, with their armies, they are trying to teach the Lebanese and the Jordanians order and reason. Tomorrow, they will wish to do this in other countries. They are far from the principles of Hugo Grotius. This is rather the law of the jungle. Small countries are countries which have equal rights; they make their contribution to general culture and to the general cause of the maintenance of peace. They should not have their behaviour dictated to them. They should be regarded and dealt with as equals. They should not be subjected to the dictates of the oil monopolies of the United States and the United Kingdom. They should be helped to strengthen their independence and develop their economies and cultures, but this should be done not by introducing troops, not by threatening them with atom bombs, not by intimidating them with stories of indirect aggression. These small countries, especially those that recently acquired independence, do not need anything more than to be left in peace by the oil and banana monopolies of the United States and other Western countries. They should be respected, their independence should be respected, and their equal rights should be respected. The cause of the maintenance of peace will only gain and so will all peoples.

We have another resolution before the General Assembly, the Norwegian draft resolution, which is also sponsored by certain other countries. This resolution, in our opinion, sidesteps the main issue for the sake of which the special emergency session of the General Assembly has been convened. The very name of the session indicates that it has met on a matter of emergency. The possibility of war in the Near and Middle East must be forestalled. This can be done by getting American and British troops out of Lebanon and Jordan. This resolution does not recommend that the United States and British troops should be withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan respectively. Instead of that, the second paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution proposes that we take note of the declarations addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the United States regarding United States forces in Lebanon and by the United Kingdom regarding British forces in Jordan and their withdrawal. These are documents A/3876 and A/3877. This, in essence, indirectly approves the motives of the intervention of the United States

and the United Kingdom in the Near East. This draft resolution represents nothing but a rather renovated variant of previously considered proposals whose sense was that the favour of the interventionists should be curried, that the United Nations should essentially intervene in the internal affairs of countries of the Near East.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that this draft resolution of Norway (A/3878) is not acceptable and will vote against it. The Ukrainian people and the Government of the Ukraine, alarmed by the situation in the Arab East, insist that the destinies of millions of people should not be played with for the purpose of satisfying the egotistic wishes of certain States. Our delegation supports the proposal of the Soviet Union designed to search for solutions which can bring about a relaxation of tension in the Near and Middle East in the interests of the maintenance of universal peace.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.