

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**



**772nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 6 October 1958,
at 3 p.m.

THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (translated from French): The important events which have occurred this year, some of them gravely threatening the peace of the world, give a special significance to this thirteenth session of the General Assembly. Increasingly heavy responsibilities face the United Nations. The exchange of views which traditionally takes place in this Assembly on the various problems of the day is proving to be more than ever necessary.

2. His Majesty's Government, which I have the honour to represent, attaches particular importance to this coming together of nations, large and small, for the purpose of finding solutions conducive to peace and understanding among peoples. True to the principles of the Charter, the Moroccan Government fully supports each and every effort to reduce international tension and to promote a policy of sincere co-operation among the nations. It is in this spirit that Morocco has tried, since its accession to independence, to solve the difficulties of all kinds which it has had to face.

3. Notwithstanding the serious dispute still going on with France and Spain, the Moroccan Government has enthusiastically embarked on a task of reconstruction and renewal. In regard to domestic organization, the basic institutions have been established. The first step towards the country's democratization has already been taken. A policy of mass schooling has been set afoot. The new social legislation ensures the advancement of the working class. Still, the task that remains to be done is immense, our purpose being to make Morocco a politically free, socially just and economically strong democracy.

4. My Government is fully alive to the importance of the economic problems confronting the country and it intends to pursue a bold policy of planned economic and social development with a view to bringing about the conditions necessary for raising the standard of living and providing full employment in town and country.

5. Our first objective is by mechanizing agricultural production to raise it to a level commensurate with the nation's consumer and foreign exchange require-

ments. The Government also intends to ensure the establishment of industries based on our national resources by helping to create large industrial units and encouraging the investment of private capital in the priority sectors of the economy with the offer of long-term guarantees and substantial inducements. In order to achieve these objectives, the Moroccan Government looks first of all to national savings. However, in view of the inadequacy of domestic capital, it also intends to seek outside assistance, financial, economic and technical alike.

6. While assistance rendered by the great Powers to the new countries could be a factor making for peace and stability in the world, it would be acceptable only if it were furnished without strings and without the ulterior motive of establishing some new brand of colonialism. In such conditions the assistance of the United Nations becomes increasingly necessary. Morocco places great hopes in the work this Organization can do to sustain the under-developed countries, to help them face and solve their problems and embark upon their struggle for a better way of life with a real chance of success.

7. That is why we have eagerly welcomed the idea of the creation of a special fund to finance economic development. Unfortunately, the establishment of this fund has not made much headway. After hesitations and delays, it is now to be supplanted by the Special Fund, which will extend the programme of technical assistance. We hope, however, that this new body will serve as the embryo of a future Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), which in our view is the only type of institution that can effectively help to speed up the economic development of new countries.

8. At this point, I must emphasize that my country will be unable to complete this task of renewal so long as its national sovereignty and freedom of action are heavily mortgaged by the presence of foreign troops on its soil. The withdrawal of French and Spanish troops was to be the necessary corollary of our independence. Unfortunately, France and Spain, which have solemnly recognized that independence, still refuse to accept all its consequences. Morocco is entitled to be concerned about, and to question, their intentions and their motives.

9. In maintaining their troops on our territory, France and Spain allege that they are acting out of an overriding concern for the safety of their nationals. We wonder what international rules entitle a State to station its army on foreign soil in order to protect its nationals, however numerous they may be. This is a curious conception of good relations between sovereign States. Moreover, French and Spanish nationals living in Morocco enjoy ample protection. They have nothing to complain of, and they certainly do not require the elaborate protection of an army with its arsenals and its general staff.

10. Far from making for stability, as the Governments of France and Spain allege, the presence of foreign soldiers on our soil is a source of trouble. Their movements about the country create insoluble problems and give rise to awkward situations and unfortunate incidents; they constitute an intolerable provocation to public opinion, which is very sensitive and simply cannot agree to our territory being used as a base of operations against embattled Algeria.

11. The Moroccan Government cannot compromise on the principle of total and unconditional evacuation. However, in its concern for maintaining good-neighbourly relations with France and Spain, it has always endeavoured to find a solution to this problem by way of peaceful negotiation and conciliation, without recourse to other means. But time and time again it has come up against obstinacy and lack of understanding from the other side. We cherish the hope that France and Spain will sooner or later show wisdom and a sense of reality, and so put an end to a dispute that is a great obstacle to our relations with these two Powers.

12. The internal problems confronting our country do not prevent it from taking a keen interest in the development of the international situation. Here, the vital necessity of our policy is to stand aloof from quarrels between blocs. This attitude is dictated, in the first place, by our history and our geographical position as a country situated at the crossroads between two worlds and two civilizations. Secondly, we feel that the formation of opposing military alliances must inevitably endanger world peace and security. It raises barriers between nations, which must learn co-existence and co-operation, and it speeds up the headlong armaments race we are witnessing today.

13. Since we cherish peace and are anxious to protect our liberty and preserve our independence, we are quite naturally opposed to the installation on our soil of foreign strategic bases which might make our country the centre of the cold war.

14. At the same time, we have no intention of crawling into our shell and living in splendid isolation. Only free co-operation among nations on the basis of mutual respect will safeguard peace and consolidate friendship among peoples. Morocco fully subscribes to this policy and has lived up to it on numerous occasions.

15. Thus our country became one of the adherents to the principles proclaimed in 1955 at the Bandung Conference, and then at the Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra in April 1958, we joined in the efforts to promote fruitful co-operation among the African nations. This important Conference, at which an African personality clearly emerged, has had a profound effect. Today community of interests in Africa is a living reality; it will not remain limited to independent countries but will have deep repercussions on the development of other African territories.

16. The African continent, long regarded as a province of colonial exploitation, is more and more feeling its own strength and realizing the contribution it can make to the strengthening of stability and equilibrium in the world.

17. This same concern of ours to contribute to the development of international co-operation is responsible for our constant efforts to strengthen the natural bonds which link us to the rest of the Arab world. The close community of interest in the Arab countries obeys

the laws of history; it derives from the common heritage of culture and civilization bequeathed to them by the past; it is also a result of their struggle and their efforts to achieve emancipation and rebirth.

18. In spite of the ordeal to which it has often been subjected, the community of Arab States is steadily becoming stronger. This has just been demonstrated in the crisis which once again gripped the Middle East. The resolution presented by the Arab States and adopted unanimously [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] points the way towards a solution which would stabilize the situation in that key region.

19. While the Assembly's efforts are thus opening the door to a satisfactory settlement of the Middle East crisis, other dangers continue to threaten the peace of the world.

20. We view with concern the development of a tense situation, this time in the Far East, which seriously affects international security. Although the problem of the Taiwan Strait is not new and this is not the first time that the sound of guns has been heard in that region, we are aware that the present crisis is more acute than past crises.

21. The possibilities of a peaceful settlement are of course by no means exhausted; negotiations are under way at Warsaw, and we are still hopeful that they will be crowned with success. Actually, the problem would be less difficult if one of the parties chiefly concerned in the dispute were present among us. How is it possible to solve so grave a dispute or even tackle the other problems confronted by the United Nations with a country as important as China absent? In our view, the Peking Government should occupy its proper place in this Organization and we regret that the General Assembly has not seen fit to examine the question of the representation of China at the present session.

22. There is another dispute which causes us particular concern and alarm. Our Assembly will once again have to deal with the distressing problem of Algeria; it will have to do so in full awareness of its responsibility. The time for procrastination is past. Ruthless war is raging in Algeria, with its train of misery and ruin. The flames are spreading beyond the territory of Algeria; they gravely endanger the security and stability of all North Africa and seriously jeopardize the peace of the world. The problem is becoming more serious every day and urgently calls for a solution.

23. Once again the recommendations of the General Assembly have remained a dead letter. France has in no way justified the faith placed in it nor has it acted to meet the renewed time limit allowed by the United Nations for finding an equitable solution in conformity with the Charter. Well known is the dramatic course of events since the General Assembly, at its twelfth session—taking note of the offer of good offices made by Tunisia and Morocco—called for pourparlers with a view to a peaceful solution of the problem [resolution 1184 (XII)]. The French Government has continued to intensify its military effort, and the operations to repress the rebellion are becoming more and more savage. They are going beyond the Algerian frontiers, and this is giving rise to serious tension between France and the countries of North Africa—witness the grave incidents of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef and Remada.

24. However, notwithstanding the deterioration of the situation, the countries of the Maghreb have not entirely

abandoned the idea of finding a solution to the France-Algeria dispute. To this end they have spared no effort. Unfortunately, France has not responded to the appeal they made at the Tangiers Conference in May 1958 for negotiations on the basis of the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to independence. Contrary to what might have been hoped, the new French Government rejects any idea of talks or negotiations and continues to think in terms of unilateral solutions imposed by force.

25. Having had the famous loi-cadre of 1956 — whose chequered history is well known and which has never been applied (although the French Government presented it to us last year as the key to the problem) — we are witnessing today a last and vain attempt at integration.

26. In utter defiance of the firm will of the Algerian people to recover its independence, the French Government decided to apply the referendum to Algerian territory. More than 95 per cent of the voters, it seems, voted in favour of the new constitution. This result, which exceeded the forecasts of the most optimistic French quarters and even seems to have caused them some embarrassment, requires no comment. It is difficult to take seriously a referendum held under such odd conditions, in a country at war, under the control and with the active assistance of 800,000 soldiers. The referendum cannot, any more than the loi-cadre, constitute a valid settlement of the problem, because it too is based on the fiction of Algeria's being an integral part of France. We believe that any solution which does not obtain the consent of the Algerian nation is doomed to failure.

27. The French Government will have to give up its shamming and negotiate with the representatives of the Algerian people. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic is their spokesman and is fully qualified to play a part in working out a just and peaceful solution. Morocco has recognized the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and considers its establishment to be an important step towards a final settlement of the conflict. As emphasized by Mr. Balafrej, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Morocco, this recognition "must not be construed in any way as an act of hostility against France; we are resolved, more than ever before, to work for a negotiated solution in keeping with the wishes of the Algerian people, and for the restoration of peace and stability in North Africa".

28. My country is closely linked with both sides, and is as ever motivated by the deep desire to assist in finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. That is why, in agreement with Tunisia, it is renewing its offer of good offices and holding itself at the disposal of the French and Algerian Governments. Our most ardent wish is to see the French Government respond to this appeal and put an end to this ruinous and unjust war. Only thus will free and fruitful co-operation between France and the countries of the Maghreb become possible.

29. So many clouds darken the horizon of our planet at the very time when humanity is scaling the peaks of progress and science. The world is worried and fearful about what the future holds in store. Will we find here, in this Assembly, the solutions that will dispel our worries and our fears? It is our fondest hope. The United Nations must not disappoint those who have placed their faith in it.

30. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from Russian): when we spoke in the general debate [765th meeting], our delegation had not had an opportunity of studying carefully the Secretary-General's first report [A/3924/Rev.1] on the implementation of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 21 August 1958 at its third emergency special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)]. The matter is of such outstanding importance that we cannot pass it over in silence. The adoption of the resolution of 21 August was greeted with relief by the people of the world and increased their hopes in the potentialities of the United Nations. There can be no doubt that these hopes were contingent upon the rapid and unconditional implementation of the resolution. However, in the past six weeks the hope that the situation in the Middle East would be brought back to normal has not been realized; despite the resolution of the emergency special session, United States forces are still occupying Lebanon and United Kingdom forces are still occupying Jordan. No one can be satisfied by the symbolic gesture of the withdrawal of a few units, which has been represented to us here as an alleged proof of goodwill. The publicizing of such symbolic gestures may improve the position of certain political leaders of the United States, when the pressure of public opinion becomes too strong, but it can in no way change the facts. The facts are that foreign troops are still in Lebanon and Jordan, that they are in no hurry to leave and that their presence there is appreciably aggravating the situation in those countries.

31. The question of the unconditional implementation of the resolution of 21 August 1958 is not a limited or a local problem. This question is of great international significance and it is most acute. It cannot fail to interest all delegations. However, attempts have been made here to minimize the importance of the problem and to persuade us that this is a question which concerns only the King of Jordan, or very nearly. We feel obliged to protest vigorously against attempts to foster the notion that, when the United States and United Kingdom forces are sent to various parts of the world, in this case the Near and Middle East, this is of no concern to countries which are not directly affected, that is to say, countries in whose territories foreign troops have not been landed. It is in the colonialists' interests to carry out their aggression on the quiet, so to speak, and to allow no voice to be raised in defence of the nations which are their victims. In the case of Anglo-American aggression in the Middle East, no one can be expected to ignore the fact that the most substantive part of the General Assembly resolution of 21 August 1958, that providing for the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops, is not being implemented. That resolution is of interest to everyone and concerns everyone. This is not only an Arab problem. While it is true that the intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan has most directly affected the Arab countries, it is also true that the interests of all peoples fully coincide with those of the Arab peoples, which are fighting to do away with the remnants of colonialism and to prevent interference by imperialist Powers in their domestic affairs.

32. It is indeed high time to allow the Arab peoples to settle their domestic affairs in their own way, to achieve full State sovereignty and national independence and to start remedying their economic backwardness, which is the more unjustifiable in view of the fact that these countries possess incalculably rich

mineral resources. The United States and the United Kingdom must once and for all abandon their ambition to lay down the law to the Arab peoples concerning what Governments they should or should not have. The Bulgarian people supports the legitimate struggle of the Arab East for its independence. The interests of the Bulgarian people fully coincide with the interests of those peoples fighting for their independence. Accordingly, when we speak of the situation which has arisen in the Near and Middle East as a result of the presence of United States and United Kingdom forces in Lebanon and Jordan, we, the Bulgarian delegation, have in mind not only the interests of the Arab peoples, but the interests of our own country as well. The United States would like to establish military bases in the Arab countries against all socialist countries, including ours.

33. We have already stated, both at the third emergency special session [737th meeting] and at this thirteenth session of the General Assembly [765th meeting], that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is directly concerned with the course of events in the Near and Middle East. The presence of United States armed forces in the Eastern Mediterranean is one of the reasons for the tension prevailing in that region. The Bulgarian people cannot remain indifferent to the fact that, in a country which lies near Bulgaria there is a concentration of all kinds of armed forces and armaments belonging to a State which has on many occasions openly expressed disapproval of our social structure and the hope that it may be changed.

34. It may well be asked what defensive operations are being carried out by the United States Sixth Fleet and other United States armed forces in the Eastern Mediterranean. In what way do the countries of the Near and Middle East and of the Balkan Peninsula threaten the security of the United States? The countries of that region are allies of the United States, newly formed Arab countries whom no one could suspect of intending to jeopardize the security of the United States, and socialist countries which have fought most consistently for peace and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and which have no aggressive intentions against the United States.

35. When the armed forces of the United States entrench themselves in the Eastern Mediterranean, it is clear that they can have no defensive purpose, and that their objectives have nothing to do either with the defence of the United States or with the maintenance of peace. The best proof of this is the interference of these forces in the domestic affairs of Lebanon and the interference of the forces of their ally, the United Kingdom, in those of Jordan.

36. That these forces now resort to direct action in foreign territory represents a threat not only to the immediate victims, but also to the peoples against which such action may be directed in the future. Accordingly, tension in the Near and Middle East can be eliminated by only one method; namely, by the withdrawal of all interventionist forces from that region.

37. Although we do not wish to minimize the Secretary-General's efforts, we feel obliged to express our disappointment at the fact that his first report gives no clear answer to the question when the armed forces of the United States and the United Kingdom will be withdrawn, to the last man, from Lebanon and Jordan.

38. The Secretary-General's report was eagerly awaited, not only by the representatives at this session of the General Assembly, but by the peoples of the whole world, in the hope that the threat of war created by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Near and Middle East would be promptly removed. But neither the report nor the annexed memoranda from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom make it clear when this action, which would promote peace, will be completed. On the contrary, it is obvious from these documents that a number of conditions and, moreover, vague and indefinite conditions, open to all kinds of interpretations and allowing for arbitrary delays, have been advanced for the final withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan. There is a well-known proverb that with the help of one "if", Paris can be thrust into a bottle. Where the word "if" is used, it is clear that the given decision will not be carried out. We categorically protest against these "ifs" with which the whole report of the Secretary-General and the annexes thereto are interlarded. In these confused conditions, which are even impossible to carry out, we cannot fail to discern the wish of the ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom to delay the implementation of the General Assembly resolution.

39. Nearly three months have passed since the date of the landing of United States and United Kingdom forces in Lebanon and Jordan. During that period, all the so-called arguments originally advanced to justify the intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom have collapsed. There is scarcely any need to dwell on Jordan where, as is generally known, United Kingdom troops are strengthening the existing régime against the will of the Jordanian people.

40. So far as Lebanon is concerned, the United States has declared that it was invited to send troops by the Government then in power. It was clear even then that that argument was invalid, since responsible Lebanese leaders immediately stressed the illegality, from the constitutional and all other points of view, of the action taken by the then President, Mr. Chamoun. United States leaders subsequently stated that they would withdraw their forces when asked to do so by the legitimate Government of Lebanon. Now that argument also has collapsed, because the most responsible present Lebanese leaders have publicly stated that they want United States troops to be withdrawn from the territory of their country as soon as possible.

41. A new so-called argument is being advanced, to the effect that negotiations should be conducted between the Government of the United States and the Government of Lebanon. We now have the following situation: the Government of a small country, whose army is equal in numbers, but considerably inferior in fighting power to the troops of the foreign State which are occupying its territory, is being forced to carry on unequal negotiations or, in other words, to submit to the will of the occupier.

42. All reports clearly indicate that the United States is not even trying to conceal its open and flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of Lebanon. The United States diplomatic representative takes it upon himself to recommend the composition of the Lebanese Government, to demand that three or four supporters of former President Chamoun should be included in the Government and to suggest the quantitative and qualitative composition of the Parliament.

43. If this is not shameless interference by a foreign Power in the affairs of an independent State, we may well ask what is. The people will no longer allow themselves to be deceived by the duplicity of United States diplomacy, such as we have witnessed recently. On the very day when the United States Ambassador tried to establish a Government corresponding to his own and his Government's wishes, we were told from this forum that the United States was not interfering in any country's domestic affairs. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the presence of United States forces in Lebanon is aggravating internal conditions in that country and that United States leaders are delaying the withdrawal of forces with a view to achieving certain objectives which run counter to the interests of peace. The United Nations should not tolerate such a situation, especially since it is contrary to its own decision and represents a direct threat to peace.

44. The basic purpose of the resolution adopted on 21 August 1958 at the third emergency special session was the early withdrawal of United States forces from Lebanon and of United Kingdom forces from Jordan. Without this provision, the resolution would have been meaningless and would not have received the votes of all delegations.

45. We think that the attitude to that question adopted in the Secretary-General's first report is scarcely compatible with this basic point of the resolution. The report lays stress not on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Arab East, but on the relations between the Arab States, although a necessary condition of these relations is the absence of interference on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom.

46. It cannot be gainsaid that the core of the resolution of 21 August is the demand for the early withdrawal of the interventionist troops. It is not enough, moreover, as is done in the afore-mentioned memoranda, to fix the date for the beginning of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan without stating the final date for such withdrawal.

47. The United States and the United Kingdom have set themselves up as arbiters of the final time limit for the implementation of the General Assembly resolution. This is a self-appointed task, and they themselves voted for the resolution. At the present time, six weeks after the adoption of this resolution, there is no longer any room for argument about the meaning of "early withdrawal". United States troops in Lebanon may become the cause of disturbances which might be used as an excuse for their continued presence in that country. The same may be said of the United Kingdom troops in Jordan.

48. The only request that the United Nations can rightly make at the present time is for the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from Lebanon and Jordan as soon as possible and within a specified time limit.

49. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Guatemala has asked for the floor to exercise the right of reply under rule 75. I shall therefore now recognize the representative of Guatemala.

50. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Guatemala finds itself obliged to ask for the floor again in order to refer to a problem which vitally concerns the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of its country.

51. This morning [771st meeting], the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, in the course of his wise and in other respects well-reasoned speech, referred to the question of Belize. He repeated arguments already used at previous sessions and refuted time and again by the Guatemalan delegation on the basis of solid juridical historical arguments which support the claim of the Republic of Guatemala to Belize.

52. The Guatemalan Constitution categorically declares that Belize forms part of Guatemalan territory and that its reincorporation within the boundaries of our State is a matter of national importance. It is by virtue of the precepts of our Constitution, based on reasoning which has its origins in law and history, that the inhabitants of the Territory of Belize are one with the Guatemalan people and possess the rights derived from that status.

53. Guatemala has always respected the principles embodied in the Charter and, in making its claim to Belize, it has the interests of the inhabitants of that Territory at heart. The Guatemalan position on this question has been strengthened by the unanimous decision reached on 5 March 1957 by the Central American Economic Co-operation Committee firmly to support Guatemala's claim to Belize. In addition, a further resolution — also unanimous — was adopted by the Economic Council of the Organization of Central American States, which called for the inclusion of Belize in the movement towards Central American economic integration.

54. Furthermore, I must repeat that, in the document known as the "Declaration of Antigua Guatemala", the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the other Central American Republics refused to countenance the survival of colonialism in America and expressly stated that the Territory of Belize was an integral part of Guatemala and thus of Central America. They went on to say that steps aimed at recovering that Territory were a matter of concern to all the signatories.

55. Without in any way detracting from the cordiality of the close relations we enjoy with the Republic of Mexico, we wish to make this categorical and explicit reservation about the rights of Guatemala. The boundary disputes which marked the early years of the independent life of our peoples have receded into oblivion as a result of agreements, treaties, declarations and other demonstrations of American friendship and co-operation, to which Mexico and Guatemala were parties.

56. The Republic of Guatemala, which played an important part in the formation of the new nations that have come into being since the Second World War, and which has viewed with the most sympathetic interest the entry into international life of countries that in recent years have come to occupy a distinguished place in the United Nations, could not but view with even greater sympathy the desires of our fellow-countrymen in Belize, since their fate is intimately bound up with that of Guatemala and of the other Central American nations.

57. Guatemala has been carrying on a lonely struggle against one of the great Powers; but this cannot be taken to imply that there is any connexion between our claim and the interests of any third party, except in so far as it involves the general interests of the Central American peoples with which the Republic of Guatemala and its Territory of Belize have such close links.

For a hundred years past, Guatemala has been trying to recover the Territory which was taken from it in the days when might took the place of right and justice; but our claim has always been supported by our sister nations in Central America. We are confident that a solution to this problem will soon be reached as a result of the energetic action taken by the present

Guatemalan Government and without departing from normal standards of peaceful coexistence. We are also sure that the attitude taken by Mexico will be in accordance with the words of its Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he said that his country was ready to pay scrupulous regard to the rights of others.

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.