

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



**773rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 7 October 1958,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Agenda Item 9: General debate (continued)	
Speech by Mrs. Meir (Israel)	349
Speech by Mr. David (Czechoslovakia)	352
Speech by Mr. Fawzi (United Arab Republic)	354
Speech by Mr. Rahim (Yemen)	356

President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): There is deep anxiety throughout the world at the illness of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, and I should like to express the respectful wish for his full and speedy recovery.

2. This Assembly is gathered again at a moment when the talk is of peace while our hearts are heavy with the fear of war. Only a few weeks ago an emergency special session of the Assembly was called to consider a very grave situation in the Middle East, and now, almost without any respite, our attention centres on the dangerous developments in the Far East.

3. The tempo of these happenings has made it tragically clear how tenuous is the balance on which the peace of the world hangs. The character of these events has also demonstrated unmistakably that world peace may be imperilled by situations developing in small as well as in large States. Not only the great Powers with their ultimate weapons hold our fate in their hands. No State, large or small, can escape the realization that the world today is indivisible. We are inextricably joined for good, and perhaps even more so for evil. Upon our full, unqualified acceptance of this truth depends the tranquillity of the world community. This awareness places a grave responsibility on every State, the small as well as the great, the weak as well as the powerful. Unless each individual State freely faces the implications of this responsibility, all will be forced to endure a common doom. Such is the teaching of our time.

4. One of the potent forces of our age affecting the international situation has been that of emergent nationalism. The desire of peoples and States for the unhampered right to develop their own institutions of government and to shape their own destinies free from foreign domination has been responsible for great creative achievements. Under the banner of self-determination we have in our day witnessed the political and cultural liberation of millions in Africa and Asia.

5. The upsurge of Arab nationalism, of which we have heard so much recently, would, I am sure, be un-

hesitatingly welcomed by this Organization in so far as it is a manifestation of a legitimate desire for progress and national well-being. None of us can object to a nationalism which is constructive and wholesome. The world is enriched by a nationalism only when that nationalism means that a people is achieving awareness of its unique national character; endeavours to give expression to its cultural heritage; strives for economic and social progress; seeks ways and means of broadening and deepening the ties of friendship and co-operation with other peoples, and when that nationalism is accompanied by the realization that every country is itself a part of the community of nations and that other peoples are also entitled to their nationalism. Indeed the precondition for the acceptability of nationalism must be its strict respect for, and observance of, the legitimate national aspirations of others. This, it seems to me, is the test—the borderline—between acceptable nationalism and national aggressiveness. For, in the exhilaration of newly-won freedoms nationalism has in some instances turned expansionist in its objectives and destructive in its methods. Such expansionism, even if it is that of a smaller Power, then becomes indistinguishable from unbridled imperialism with its vaulting ambition for control over the territory, the régimes and the policies of other States. Such nationalism menaces the objects of its belligerence and the peace of the world.

6. Two conflicting concepts, on the one hand the right of small States to independence, and on the other, the will of a single country determined by every method to impose its dictatorial authority on its neighbours, lay at the root of the clash which led to the third emergency special session of the General Assembly. It is a pattern which calls for vigilance on the part of all who value peace and the principles to which our Organization stands committed. No national cause can be worthy of support if it is not accompanied by full respect for the national existence of others.

7. We have heard the representative of Iraq, speaking for "the new free Republic of Iraq", announce that Iraq: ". . . can now be counted upon to play a more vigorous and constructive role in the work of this Organization." [760th meeting, para. 3.] However, as far as his remarks about Israel were concerned, they were neither more vigorous nor more constructive than those of previous representatives of Iraq before that country was "freed from the shackles of oppression". About Israel, the representative of Iraq had this to say:

"... we are now ... convinced that Israel was not created solely for the purpose of finding a home for the Jews, but primarily to make Israel an instrument that can be used whenever it becomes necessary to impose the will of some big Powers against the rising nations of the Arab East." [Ibid., para. 6.]

8. The representative of Iraq clearly lacks the most elementary knowledge of the history and aspirations of

an ancient people nurtured for thousands of years on the hope of restoring its independence and its equality with other nations. Surely he must know from his own experience that the 130,000 Jews who fled from Iraq in 1950 and 1951—with the recollection of persecution still vivid in their minds—came to us for no purpose save to live in peace and dignity and with firm dedication to the restored nation of Israel. The same holds good for the additional hundreds of thousands of our people who have joined us from other Arab-speaking countries of the Middle East and North Africa as well as for all those who came to us from so many other parts of the world. Israel is not an "instrument" of anything excepting its people's own passionate will for freedom and peace.

9. Iraq was one of the ten countries which sponsored the resolution unanimously adopted during the third emergency special session of the General Assembly [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] and which:

"Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs ... and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles."

10. Is what we heard here from the representative of Iraq, who declared that the crux of the problem is the existence of Israel, in keeping with this noble declaration? The existence of Israel in a region where ten Arab States exercise their sovereignty over a vast area is not the crux of any problem whatsoever. Neither Iraq nor any other Arab State has any claims to independence or to sovereignty or to integrity which are in any degree superior to those of Israel. No problem arises from the existence of any State. Problems arise only from the refusal of some States to apply the United Nations Charter to their relations with all other States. There is no country in the Middle East which cannot well afford to live in peace with any other country, in mutual respect for the independence and integrity of each and all. It is difficult, when listening to such verbal assaults, not to feel regret at the manner in which an Organization consecrated to harmony and tolerance between all its Members finds its platform exploited for tirades full of sterile rancour and misguided hostility.

11. Recently [766th meeting] we were again treated, if that is the correct word, to the representative of Saudi Arabia's ludicrous proposal for the future of the State of Israel. Such fancies do not, of course, injure Israel. They may even serve the unwitting purpose of strengthening our resolve and reminding other delegations of the anti-Charter policies avowed and followed by some of our neighbours. Such speeches do, however, affront the dignity of the United Nations itself and prejudice its stature as the world's central forum of peace, justice and law.

12. Another statement with reference to Israel in the course of the debates, and one of a somewhat surprising character, calls for brief reference. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in the course of his speech last Thursday [768th meeting], saw fit to resurrect what in the third emergency special session he described as talk in the lobbies about possible action by Israel if British troops leave Jordan. The answer to

this lobby gossip was given in unequivocal terms by Israel's representative at that session, who said:

"Our policy, as I have just explained, has been and is based on mutual respect of all Middle East States for the integrity and independence of each other; on the need, in our view, to defend and guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of States; and, under strict observance, on integral implementation of existing agreements on the basis of reciprocity. This is our policy". [744th meeting, para. 29.]

This statement applies without change today. I can assure the Foreign Minister that despite his innuendo Israel's policy is neither a dictated nor a subservient one. The policy of Israel, small State though it be, will continue as in the past to be determined by the Government of Israel and that Government alone.

13. My Government has studied with great care the report submitted by the Secretary-General on his mission to the Middle East [A/3934/Rev. 1]. The resolution adopted unanimously on 21 August 1958 at the third emergency special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] contained certain clear and simple precepts. It called for the cessation of practices whereby some Governments in the area seek to overthrow and subvert the independence of their neighbours, to interfere with their internal régimes and to dictate their international policies. It also required all States to respect the integrity and independence of all other States, be they Arab or non-Arab, in the Middle East. If the will of the General Assembly had been genuinely carried out, there would not have been any blockades, any violent radio and press incitement in the Middle East since 21 August. The economic boycott practised for the past ten years by the Arab States against Israel would have terminated. Nor would there be anti-Charter incitement against Israel by Arab representatives from the very rostrum from which only six weeks ago they exhorted all Member States to full Charter observance. And Israel could afford to relax the concern for its security imposed by these menacing policies and actions. The fact that these practices have continued and still continue reveals how far some Governments have yet to go before they live up to the standards of international tolerance which they themselves profess and formulate.

14. We cannot ignore the disparity between the hopes expressed in the report of the Secretary-General and the realities. The Secretary-General refers to the need for a "good neighbour policy" amongst the States of the Middle East. The phrase is a felicitous one. It recalls the most familiar recent use of that phrase to designate the relations between the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere. The good neighbour policy as thus understood embodies co-operation and peace between all States in an area, whether they are akin or divergent in their language and culture, regardless of any difference in outlook or historic origin. A good neighbour policy must be universal within the limits of the region to which it applies. In terms of the Middle East this means that principles of peace and harmony should prevail not only among the Arab States, but also equally between each of them and each of the non-Arab States in the region. In this connexion I should like to remind the Assembly again that the non-Arab population of the countries of the Middle East is substantially

larger in number than the Arab population. History teaches that good neighbour policies are either applied to all or not at all. The truth is that no good neighbour policy is not being applied in the Middle East today; and this sombre fact should be frankly faced and recognized.

15. At the same time we join our voice to that of all those in this General Assembly who have expressed a sincere longing to see a peaceful atmosphere, based on the law of the Charter, prevail in the great region which first brought mankind the message of peace.

16. The year now drawing to a close, the tenth anniversary of Israel, has been a memorable one for the people of Israel. A single decade is but a fleeting moment in the history of nations, especially so perhaps in the context of the long eventful history of my own people. But the tenth anniversary of Israel's re-establishment as a State has in fact been more than just another milestone on the way and has been celebrated by friends far beyond the confines of its own territory.

17. In the course of these ten years one million people, most of them refugees from scores of countries of the world, have come to our shores and have found new homes in their ancient homeland. They have come from over fifty countries with scores of different languages, cultures and backgrounds, from Eastern and Western Europe, Asia and Africa, the Americas, and the Commonwealth countries. The integration of these diverse elements into a united, vigorous and democratic society has perhaps been our greatest single achievement. The problems—political, economic and social—have obviously been immense, some of them unique. But in the very magnitude of the task we have found stimulus and challenge.

18. The people of Israel look back with pride on the crowded events of the past ten years, the absorption of this mass immigration, the establishment of a democratic society, the development of the country's neglected resources, the advancement made in the fields of education, learning and science, and not least the establishment of diplomatic relations with sixty-three other nations of the world. Moreover, the revived language of the Bible has replaced the many tongues formerly spoken by our people and has become a potent bond of union.

19. All this has received generous acknowledgement in the great volume of sympathy and congratulation which reached us during this anniversary year from governments, parliaments and peoples of so many countries in all the five continents. We approach the beginning of the second decade encouraged by these manifestations of friendship. The peoples and Government of Israel, however, are well aware that, whatever the accomplishments, formidable tasks still lie ahead which will tax all our resources and energies.

20. Israel, I believe, has honourably striven towards a nationalism which is fruitful instead of sterile, creative instead of destructive. Though we have been obliged to defend ourselves against invasion and attack, our purposes since the establishment of our State have remained unaltered: to rebuild a poor, barren land, to enable the return of an ancient people to its source, to regain our independence and national self-expression, to live in peace with all peoples near and far and to take our place in the community of free nations.

21. Across the newly awakening continents there is a passionate thirst not only for the status of nationhood but also for the building of societies, economies and cultures in which men can express their renaissance in a corresponding dignity of individual creativeness. It has been my privilege to visit several countries in West Africa, and I can only express the sincere hope that individual Member States, as well as our Organization as a whole, will in every way possible help these peoples rapidly to develop their almost limitless natural resources and attain the goal which they have set for themselves—a progressive, dynamic society for the benefit of all. The same holds good for the newly established countries in Asia.

22. The question of economic aid to less developed areas is a matter of deep interest to this Organization. The Secretary of State of the United States has outlined [749th meeting] some major steps that his country would be prepared to support in the coming year. It is a programme which will encourage all those in need of help for the development of their economies. It constitutes a challenge to all countries able to provide technical or other aid. I wish to comment on point three of the United States proposal, which speaks of regional development in addition to the maintenance of existing bilateral programmes. Any truly regional development scheme must have as its basis the principle that no country in the region can be excluded at the behest of another country in the area.

23. We were deeply impressed by the plea from this rostrum of the representative of Burma [757th meeting]. The needs for economic development that he has enumerated are the needs of many new nations, and we support every word of what he had to say. We can only add our most earnest hopes to those expressed for many years in the United Nations and referred to three weeks ago by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [750th meeting] that expenditures for armaments be reduced and these resources used for development projects in new countries. But in addition it must be emphasized that these new countries need this aid now, immediately, and that they should not be compelled to postpone their progress because the big Powers cannot reach an agreement on disarmament as quickly as we would all wish. For the economic development and stabilization of such countries is not in their interest alone; the well-being of the entire world depends upon the pace of their progress and the degree of their agricultural and industrial advancement. There can be no real feeling of equality between the hungry and the satisfied; between the illiterate and the educated. This disparity is a curse to us all. It must be done away with. The children of the world cry out for equal opportunities. In this Organization, at least, their call must be heeded. Nor can the answer be merely in the form of aid for immediate relief. What is called for is a programme of development which will assure a better life for all, based on available resources, on new skills and the discoveries of modern technology.

24. In the universal striving towards higher levels of living, Israel has been a recipient of economic and technical aid from larger and richer countries. Within the limits of our own modest means we in our turn have extended technical assistance to other States, both on a bilateral basis and through United Nations organs. We have provided experts and have trained students in various fields in which we are able to make a useful

contribution. Living in a very small country and one that is poor in natural resources, we have had to place the greatest emphasis on education and training, on scientific and technical skill and organization. And it is in these areas that we have also been able to extend some measure of assistance to other countries. Indeed, our own experience well illustrates the fact that there is no clear dividing line between developed countries on one hand and under-developed countries on the other. Technical assistance in all its forms has proved a highly suitable framework for mobilizing constructive forces wherever they may be found for the benefit of all.

25. We may well ask ourselves whether we are wiser today in our search for peace than we were in 1945, when our Organization was founded and our Charter adopted. Is it a new formula that we need? If so, it continues to elude us.

26. The selfsame achievements of science which have brought power and light and unlimited possibilities of development to the farthest corners of the earth and which are now leading man to master the mysteries of outer space have linked us all in ever more intimate association, but at the same time have cast upon us the shadow of potential destruction.

27. The unresolved issue of disarmament is no academic one. The Israel delegation will again give careful attention to the discussion in the First Committee on that subject. Last year we expressed the view ^{1/} that the deadlock could be broken only if agreement were approached on the institution of a control system. We are encouraged in some measure by the decision of the nuclear Powers to consider a system for controlling an agreed suspension of nuclear tests. The report published by the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838] underlines the urgency of securing an agreement which would prevent radiation and fall-out from reaching a dangerous level even in time of peace. The question of tests is, however, but one element of the disarmament issue. Despite past disappointments, we hope that during this session we shall see further progress towards agreement on the limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons.

28. A significant development of international law was the successful United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held this year at Geneva. The fact that one weighty issue was left unsettled at the Conference should not obscure the great measure of agreement on other issues of no less importance which that Conference recorded.

29. Our Charter expresses our determination to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from international law can be maintained. Ten years ago the General Assembly passed one important milestone on its road to these goals when it adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in an effort to prevent the repetition of the most ghastly atrocity in human history. These events will be appropriately marked later in this session. Affirmations such as these afford encouragement to all who see in the United

Nations a positive instrument for international co-operation in a common humanitarian endeavour.

30. We, the Members of the United Nations, have all undertaken certain basic obligations. We are all committed in our international relations to live in accordance with our Charter. Under this law which we ourselves have made, war and aggression and even the threat of war are outlawed. This Charter of ours has received the unqualified assent of countries with the most varying types of régime and ideology. By its adoption we are pledged to peaceful coexistence, we have undertaken to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, and we have given a solemn obligation to settle all our disputes by peaceful means.

31. The Charter must be applied simply and sincerely by each State individually and by the United Nations collectively. Just as death in war does not discriminate between man and man, so too the application of the Charter, which seeks to establish a world at peace, must be the same and equal for all.

32. If Charter violation is tolerated and condoned, if compromises with principle and conscience, for whatever reasons of expediency, are permitted in the case of some States at the expense of another, the Charter is weakened not only for the victim—it is undermined for all. In our age war, like peace, is indeed indivisible and the United Nations dare not be an accomplice in condoning the violation of its own constitution.

33. Is this solution—the complete and faithful implementation of the Charter—too simple? For years we have been in search of more complicated solutions and have failed. Is it not possible that the time has come to turn to the simple one? The capacity for limitless destruction is too well distributed in the world of today to hold out hope of victory for any side. We can all either live together as we are, with our varying ideologies, philosophies of life and social order or face the uniformity of death—there is no other choice.

34. Let us therefore determine to live together in tolerance, hoping perhaps that by our example we may influence others to our own way of life. Let us rededicate ourselves to these principles in the most solemn and indeed grim realization that the alternative spells utter destruction. Let us in addition to impassioned pleas for peace determine to practise it whole-heartedly. Only if these things will indeed come about can we leave this Assembly in the knowledge that the cause of peace has been advanced.

35. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): In his speech in the general debate on 24 September 1958 [756th meeting], the Czechoslovak delegation emphasized the serious nature of the situation brought about by American-British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan.

36. The Czechoslovak delegation feels it should again take the floor in the general debate and draw the attention of the General Assembly to the danger of that situation, in the light of new facts concerning the withdrawal of American and British forces from this region.

37. The threat to the peace and security of the Arab States brought about by the American-British aggression has not yet been removed. Not only the Arab countries, but all the peace-loving peoples deeply

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, First Committee, 883rd meeting.

disturbed by the threat to peace and security in this area, are interested in the improvement in the dangerous situation in the Near and Middle East.

38. The basic requirement of the resolution adopted on 21 August 1958 by the General Assembly at its third emergency special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] has not been fulfilled to this very day. American and British forces, as confirmed by the Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly [A/3934/Rev.1], are still in Lebanon and Jordan and are occupying these countries despite the insistent appeal of the United Nations to withdraw. The United States and the United Kingdom keep putting forward more and more conditions in order to delay the withdrawal of their forces as long as possible.

39. We fully concur with the Sudanese Foreign Minister who said yesterday [771st meeting] that he considered the withdrawal of these troops as essential if peace was to be stabilized and tension reduced in this region, and that the troop withdrawal should be carried out without any conditions.

40. The Czechoslovak delegation fully supports the demand made here that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain should fix the earliest possible date for the final and unconditional withdrawal of their forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

41. In the United States Government's memorandum annexed to the Secretary-General's report [A/3934/Rev. 1, annex I] the withdrawal of American armed forces is made dependent upon the international situation. The withdrawal of British forces from Jordan, according to the United Kingdom Government's memorandum [Ibid., annex II], is also made dependent on a satisfactory situation in this area. In other words, the American and British forces—who ought to be able to find their way back, having invaded Lebanese and Jordanian territory so rapidly—are to be withdrawn, as they say, in God's own time.

42. In a statement [768th meeting], Mr. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of the USSR delegation to the United Nations, has proved quite clearly that the excuses offered by the interventionists are groundless.

43. What do the interventionists wish to gain? The conditions put forward by the United States and the United Kingdom for the withdrawal of their forces, namely, when the international situation permits, are by no means fortuitous. They are deliberately calculated to postpone compliance with the clear requirement contained in the resolution adopted at the third emergency special session.

44. The true cause of the threat to peace and the tension in the Near and Middle East, relaxation of which the United States and Britain supposedly desire, is the continued intervention by these countries in Arab affairs.

45. By advancing the above-mentioned conditions, the interventionists hope to create a vicious circle so that they can postpone the withdrawal of their forces until they think fit. In actual fact the United States and the United Kingdom are creating a fantastic situation—a situation which looks roughly as if they want the patient to recover completely before they lance his abscess. There will be a real relaxation of tension in the Near and Middle East and an improvement in the situation only when the Western Powers renounce their policy of

intervention in the internal affairs of the Arab countries and of inciting one Arab State against another, when they withdraw their interventionist forces from the territory of those countries.

46. The United States is also trying to justify its reluctance to withdraw forces promptly from Lebanon by asserting that the problem of withdrawal should be negotiated with the Lebanese Government. But what sort of negotiations could these be if they are held in the shadow of American tanks, warships and aircraft? There can be no question of talks on an equal footing or of any freely-taken decision by the Lebanese Government in such circumstances, but merely of a unilateral diktat on the part of the United States. Lebanon, after all, has been asking for the withdrawal of American troops for a long time already and is still doing so. The American Government has nevertheless not complied with the demand and is putting forward more and more conditions.

47. In the light of these facts the assertions made by prominent representatives of United States foreign policy—even at this session of the General Assembly—that they are not intervening in internal affairs of Arab States, appear very strange. Mr. Lodge has given his word here that the principles of the United States foreign policy are not at all self-seeking. He said on 2 October 1958 [768th meeting], for example, that the United States had committed no aggression against Lebanon, that his country was not trying to put off complying with the General Assembly's resolution and was not obstructing the withdrawal of American forces, but unfortunately for Mr. Lodge the world, which is now well acquainted with United States foreign policy, no longer believes such statements, especially when they are accompanied by further intervention in and pressure on the Arab countries.

48. The recent actions of the United States Ambassador to Lebanon, which caused universal indignation and censure, are proof of this intervention and pressure.

49. The United States has even gone as far as demanding that the new Lebanese Government should include persons acceptable to the United States Government. This gross intervention backed up by the presence of American armed forces is a violation of the principles of the Charter. It has met with firm resistance from the Lebanese people and has been rejected by the present Lebanese Government.

50. As regards the Secretary-General's report, it should be pointed out that, despite the care with which he has drafted it, he interprets the resolution of the third emergency special session incorrectly by asserting that the "political essence" of the resolution is the problem of relations between Arab States.

51. We cannot agree with this interpretation which just suits the interventionists. The main point of the joint draft resolution of the Arab countries, which the Assembly adopted unanimously, was the demand for the withdrawal of the troops. The efforts of the Secretary-General should have been concentrated primarily on ensuring that the requirement was carried out. And about that point we learn very little in the Secretary-General's report.

52. The peoples of the Arab countries, with whose just struggle against the colonialists for freedom and independence we sympathize, have the right to settle their own affairs by themselves without any outside

intervention. These peoples protest against the presence of the interventionist forces of the United States and the United Kingdom on their soil.

53. If the United Nations intends to carry out the mission for which it was instituted, it must rise to the defence of the Arab peoples and take a resolute stand against the continuing intervention and interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries; it must call for the immediate withdrawal of the United States and British interventionist forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

54. Mr. FAWZI (United Arab Republic): I feel it to be my first duty, as the representative of one of the ten sponsors of resolution 1237 (ES-III) which the General Assembly adopted unanimously on 21 August 1958, to recall the highly commendable spirit of conciliation and sense of responsibility which marked the Assembly's deliberations and consultations and which led to that rewarding and encouraging result.

55. The Assembly has before it for its information and consideration the report [A/3934/Rev.1] which the Secretary-General presented to it on 30 September 1958 in pursuance of that resolution. In a world of imperfection, this report is not perfect. But, I submit, it is both timely and abounding in useful elements of information and material for careful thought although, mostly through no fault of the Secretary-General, it falls short of clarity and definiteness in relation to a few relevant matters of basic importance, particularly the time of the completion of the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

56. The burden which the Secretary-General and his aides have been carrying for several years has been as heavy and unwieldy as they have been patient, courageous and resourceful; and the least we should say in this regard is that they are as well deserving of our plaudits and our deep gratitude as they are of every co-operation that we have in the past or shall in the future extend to them.

57. Since 15 July last and until this late hour, the peoples of the United Nations and the world have been deeply concerned over the stationing of armed forces from the United Kingdom and the United States in Jordan and Lebanon. Serious questions were asked. Could the dispatch of those forces be justified in point of law? Has it been warranted by facts? Is it proper international practice? Is it not a reversion towards primitivism in human relations? Is it wise? For our part, we have constantly believed with virtually the whole world that, besides being an extremely disturbing event, that action has been as unjustified and unwarranted as it has been unwise, and that those forces should be promptly withdrawn. There are indications that this withdrawal will be affected soon. We trust that it will happen without demur and that the sad story of which it is a counterpart will not happen again.

58. I do not propose to dwell for long on this topic. We have all convened in this hallowed place of assembly not in order to condemn or to condone each other's acts, but to serve, in humility and as well as we can, the purposes of constructiveness and of peace. And peace is riding rather rough seas nowadays. While we all talk about peace and try to do whatever we can in its behalf, tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons continue in spite of strong and repeated appeals by the peoples of the world and by their

Governments for the cessation of those tests. The United Arab Republic which, as Egypt and Syria, participated in the Bandung Conference in 1955, and which this year took part in the Accra Conference,^{2/} wishes, equally as a member of the United Nations and of the world community of nations at large, to reaffirm the stand it has always taken on this supremely vital issue—for the immediate cessation, and against the continuance, of those tests. The United Arab Republic finds it, furthermore, natural to welcome the progress which has been made at the Geneva talks relating to the detection of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions.^{3/}

59. Looking in another direction, we find that there has recently been commotion over the Middle East, and that there is alarm at present in relation to developments in the Far East.

60. Obviously, whenever peace is affected in any way, our first duty is to give it first aid. But this is not enough. We all know that peace must rest on solid foundations and must be devotedly and adequately served if it is to be maintained. This cannot be accomplished by the tight-rope-walking-over-the-inferno which some leaders of some Powers recklessly take for a hobby and a sport. Nor can peace be maintained by palliatives or tranquillizers or by the mere existence of solemn commitments.

61. It did not suffice, before, to have the Covenant of the League of Nations; and it does not suffice now to have the Charter of the United Nations. These are all empty things unless and until they are matched with palpable realities and sober deeds, deeds and realities which are consonant with our days, their impact, their concepts, their relationships and the vigour of their dynamisms. Dominating the present scene is science, with its giant stature, its accomplishments, its dangers, and its promise.

62. Then there is the new posture of a growing number of States as dedicated to the welfare and the elevation of all their people and not as a monopoly for only a few.

63. Then, again, there is the United Nations, representing a further endeavour, after the League of Nations, to serve all mankind and help the world community to become a community of really free peoples and equal sovereignties, instead of consisting, in great part, as unfortunately it still does at present, of serfs, vassals and pawns of some big Powers. Thus shall the United Nations, in active devotion to its own Charter and principles and in heartening and fascinating parallelism with the evolution within national boundaries, help in the exclusion of domination and exploitation from the relations between the peoples of the world. Such, in part, is the vision before us or, as some might prefer to call it, the dream. And ours is distinctly an age of active longings, of positive hope, of visions becoming facts and of the realization of dreams. Yet, before dreams become realities, one has to wake up and, waking up, one is apt to find that the road is still rugged, though not impassable.

64. While the area of freedom is spreading and deepening in some parts, it recedes and shrinks in

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, held in April 1958.

^{3/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

others; and the struggle for human dignity and welfare will have to continue against such plagues as foreign domination, race discrimination and appallingly low physical and moral standards of living.

65. There have been on the road some luminous signposts, such as Geneva, League of Nations, 1919; Cairo, Arab League, 1945; San Francisco, United Nations, 1945; Bandung, Asian-African Conference, 1955; and Accra, Conference of Independent African States, 1958.

66. But we are all duty-bound not to lull ourselves into the illusion that the battle is even half won. In fact, it has barely begun and victory is not brought nearer by the failure or the refusal of many leaders of men and some powerful Governments to recognize the full portent and the inevitability of the present mighty evolution towards a new world, one world, a world of freedom and of respect for the dignity and the worth of the human person. Even when those leaders and Governments seem to step out of some of their anachronisms, out of postures and positions of theirs which have become indefensible and untenable, they often try hard, try desperately, to retrieve and recapture whatever they have abandoned. We all remember or watch the happenings of this greatest of all games, the game between slavery and freedom, which has been going on with increasing intensity and with mankind as its prize.

67. It is heartening to see that most of Asia has regained its freedom, but it is distressing to note, on the other hand, that most of the peoples of that vast continent remain poor, uneducated and in an unsatisfactory state of health. A similar and sometimes more distressing picture can be drawn of some other parts of the world, especially of the greater part of Africa, which is still groaning miserably under the yoke or in the wake of foreign domination and exploitation.

68. Whether in Asia or in Africa, the Arabs, whose power had temporarily waned, particularly during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, have had the degrading and humiliating misfortune—some of them still have this misfortune—of falling under the yoke.

69. Most of the Arabs have, by now, regained their freedom and rehabilitated themselves, and the world is watching what many call the resurgence of Arab nationalism. Some of us prefer to describe this phase of history as the reassertion of Arab nationhood, and are reluctant to—as they say—unrealistically crowd it with the many dissimilarisms of human gregariousness which have been in vogue for quite some time. Be that as it may with the busy terminologists, Arab nationalism—or nationhood—is there, genuine and real. Denying it its right to be, to grow and to express itself freely in peaceful ways, is one of the many peace-shattering denials of which the Powers and the leaders to whom I have referred are guilty. They deny evolution. They call it revolt. They deny freedom for others. They call it chaos. They deny other people's right to choose their own government. They call it connivance. They deny other people's right and duty to tell the truth. They call it roundabout aggression—or do they call it indirect aggression? And they—these determined deniers—deny the very time in which we all live, and they act as if that were centuries ago, back in the dark Middle Ages.

70. How otherwise can we explain the policy and the

actions of some Governments and groups in relation to such problems as those of Algeria, Palestine, the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, Oman and Cyprus?

71. The answer to the by now unnecessary question whether the people of Algeria want to be independent has been given already, in no equivocal terms, by the sons and daughters of Algeria, who have decided, with their sacrifices and their blood, to live or die in dignity and to be free. This is the real referendum which all the fair-minded and the peace-loving can honestly recognize; this and not the spurious one manufactured in France—in a France which may not yet have run out of glory and of noble deeds, although too many of its leaders are by no means at their finest hour.

72. The formation of a provisional Government of Algeria was announced on 19 September 1958. A few days later that Government made a statement of policy in which it declared that the Algerians will not lay down arms until their right to national sovereignty is recognized; that the Algerian people are not the enemies of the French people, but are the enemies of French imperialism; and that the Government of Algeria is ready to enter into negotiations with France at any time. The road to a sane and peaceful future in relation to Algeria is therefore clear, and we should all rejoice in realizing that today is indeed a new day and that the hands of the clock will not be set back.

73. Regarding the question of Palestine, the rights, equities and injustices remain the same. So does the policy of my Government.

74. In the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula and in Oman there can be no peace and stability as long as foreign armed forces fight the people and deny them their inalienable rights.

75. As to Cyprus, the mess which some quarters in London call policy must be speedily gotten out of, and the right of the valiant and martyred people of that island to self-determination must be recognized.

76. During the last few years the Arabs have had a relatively big share of problems and of cares due, probably, to the geography of their lands and to the sequence and rhythm of historical events. The Balfour Declaration, 1917; Palestine, 1947; Algeria, 1954; and Suez, 1956, are only a few of the many crises which have beset the Arabs' road to finding themselves again and to being themselves.

77. It is no wonder, therefore, that, within the brief space of thirteen years since the inception of the United Nations and besides the discussions on Arab questions at the regular sessions and meetings of this Organization, the General Assembly has held three special sessions to discuss problems and crises in relation to the Arabs and their lands, and only one special session to deal with a non-Arab question. In 1948 there was a special session on Palestine; in 1953 an emergency special session was held to discuss the Suez crisis; and in 1958 it was again in relation to the Arabs and their lands that the third emergency special session of the General Assembly was held.

78. Meanwhile, the Arab nation is there, not in isolation from what is going on in the world but commingling and reacting with much of it, particularly with the renaissance, the awakening and the heeding of the call

of freedom which have recently accompanied the most significant events in such sprawling areas as Asia, Africa and South America. And Arab nationhood is there, with no less claim to being and to self-expression than that of other nations, including several big Powers, whose people are not linked together with ties of race, language and culture as close as the ties permeating the very soul and the very substance of Arab existence.

79. History will, naturally, take its course. It will not and cannot be unduly deviated or hustled, but will flow into the coming years and centuries with whatever individuals or groups or nations have contributed to it. My people and my Government firmly believe that it would not be wise to try to do violence to history, and they are shaping their policy in the light of this belief. While history is taking its course, and wherever this course will ultimately lead, the world has recently seen unfolding, pending other developments and later growth, the birth certificate of what might be called the United Arab Nations.

80. The Arabs live in an area which, like several other areas of the world, is potentially rich to the extreme. It is potentially so rich in agriculture, in minerals, in oil, in trade and in industry. Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that the gap between this potential wealth and the prevailing low standard of production and of living is painfully large. The Arab States are organizing and redoubling their efforts aiming at filling this gap, and they wish to trust that they will not be distracted by such interruptions, interventions and aggressions as those which have been absorbing much of their energy and sapping much of their strength in recent years.

81. The Government and people of the United Arab Republic are fully aware of the great and worthy task of economic and social progress which is so imperatively incumbent upon them; and they have made and will continue to make determined efforts in this direction. My Government is at the same time consulting and concerting action with the other Arab Governments for the activating of the resolution which was adopted on 3 June 1957 by the Economic Council of the Arab League on the establishment of an Arab investment fund for economic development. In drafting that resolution the members of the Arab League had principally in mind such relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter as those of Article 55.

82. One of the basic freedoms of the Charter and of our times is the freedom of peaceful self-expression on which, as I have done already on economic and social development and rehabilitation, I ask leave to make some brief comment.

83. It has been claimed that some Arab broadcasts do not conform to certain standards. The fact is that these broadcasts are feared and hated, not because they have a stronger financial backing, or are technically better equipped, but because they tell the truth which people today understand readily with their minds and feel deeply in their hearts, and because they tell this truth in the plain sun-baked language of 1958.

84. At the same time, those who are so critical in that respect are turning deaf ears to all the criticism, even by some from their own ranks, of their broadcasts of intrigue and of slander against the Arabs and their real leaders. It should, therefore, be clear to all

by now that the Arabs hold no monopoly of verbosity or of piquant language, and that the self-complacent accusations in this regard against some of us Arabs must forthwith be disposed of. It might be that some broadcasts, including some of ours, require a little pruning here and there. As far as we are concerned in the United Arab Republic, we are already attending to this part of our business.

85. None of all this should mean, however, that the freedom, for all, of peaceful and constructive speech should be stifled or tampered with under the guise of moderation, or any other guise, or that we should be entitled to describe as nasty and destructive every word which does not exactly coincide with our way of thinking or which does not fall softly enough on our delicate ears. Nor should we allow ourselves even faintly to suggest that a comparison and a choice be made between the freedom of speech, even if occasionally roughshod, and the artificiality and spinelessness of the standardized, prefabricated and dolled-up kind of chatter which some wish us to adopt as our way of self-expression.

86. Not unrelated to the freedom of peaceful self-expression, there is still another freedom regarding which my Government welcomes the fact that, though in degrees varying from unhappy reluctance to near acceptance, the big Powers are showing more understanding of our neutrality, of our freedom to be neutral, than heretofore, and are outgrowing the childishness of being peeved and suspicious every time they note that we are on reasonable terms with all, and not exclusively so with one or the other of their respective blocs. They show less irritation than they did before, and less surprise, when we recall that ours is the stand of the Charter of the "United" Nations not the "divided" nations; and they appear to be almost resigned to the thought, even if less than almost resigned to the fact, of our neutrality.

87. In my statement to the Assembly today, and at the risk of seeming unduly self-conscious as an Arab, I have ventured, in my turn, to say a few words about the resurgence of Arab nationhood. In doing so, I have been speaking, as others have before me, of a wide range of problems, problems of growth, problems of cleavages and of struggles between old and new, and between so-called vested interests, which are war prizes of domination, and the inherent, legitimate rights of the erstwhile browbeaten peoples of the earth.

88. In this and similar connexions some friends, and some others, have been telling us facetiously or maliciously what a lot of quarrelsome people we Arabs are. "It is not being quarrelsome", we say, "it is being alive". It is that we find ourselves in this cycle of history and are faced with this avalanche of events. It is the time in which we live and the air which we breathe. This is what it is, we say; yes, this is what it is.

89. Mr. RAHIM (Yemen): Mr. President, your election to the high post of President of this Assembly is a source of real pleasure and pride to all of us, but especially to the Arab Members of the United Nations. May I express to you my hearty congratulations on the well-earned confidence in you which the Assembly has displayed. The spirit of sportsmanship which has been shown by you, Mr. President, and by your Arab colleague, Mr. Mahgoub, the distinguished Foreign

Minister of the Sudan, whom we all hold in high esteem as one of the most prominent statesmen of the Arab world, fills us—the Arab nations—with great pride. It shows beyond doubt a healthy competitive spirit between two Arab colleagues aspiring to serve this great Organization. Moreover, it portrays in bold relief the importance which we in the Arab world attach to the United Nations.

90. Last night we heard the shocking news about the serious illness of His Holiness Pope Pius XII. A great and wise religious leader who has dedicated his whole life to the cause of peace and understanding is now hovering between life and death. We in the Moslem world believe in the continued understanding between Islam and all other religions. May I express from this rostrum our sincere wishes for a speedy and complete recovery of His Holiness the Pope so that he may, in good health, continue his efforts in the cause of peace.

91. Once more we meet together to take stock of the past and try to plan and build for the future. Unfortunately, in reviewing the events which have taken place since the twelfth session, we must note with regret that the balance-sheet of world peace is still in deficit.

92. Our meeting today is held in a cloudy and highly charged atmosphere. The cold war has intensified, threatening to bring the world to the brink of war. Foreign troops are still stationed in two Arab countries; Algeria is still bleeding courageously for its independence; the southern Arabian Peninsula is in constant turmoil because of persistent colonial aggression. Efforts to reach agreement on disarmament are frustrated and the Disarmament Commission is still paralysed.

93. Through this cloudy and charged atmosphere we nonetheless detect certain rays of hope. Faint as they are, they still encourage us to believe that—with good will—we can advance during this session and take a step forward towards world peace and security.

94. Among these rays of hope are the Warsaw talks, which we hope will be crowned with success, so that the current tension in the Far East may subside. We are also greatly encouraged by the prospect of a one-week armistice in this area, a period which we earnestly hope may lead to a complete cessation of hostilities. But in this respect, let us all be frank and realistic and admit the elementary fact that, so long as the People's Republic of China is barred from this Organization, there is no hope of a lasting settlement, because an important and influential party to the dispute is denied a seat in our assemblage. For the sake of world peace, let us sincerely hope that this will be the last year in which the People's Republic of China is barred from this world Organization.

95. Another ray of hope is the agreement reached in the scientific conference on detection of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.^{4/} Let us pray that this agreement may be a milestone on the road to banning nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. We earnestly hope that we reach during this session a unanimous agreement on the immediate suspension of these weapons tests, thus ridding the whole world of the dreaded spectre of radiation.

96. A third ray of hope is the agreement between the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union to hold a conference next month to discuss means of

preventing surprise attacks. It is hoped that this, too, will mark a milestone on the road to disarmament and world peace.

97. One bright ray of hope also came from the Arab world. During this past year the consolidation of Arab countries and the unity movements among them became a concrete reality. Egypt and Syria merged in the United Arab Republic. Yemen confederated with the United Arab Republic as United Arab States. And just a few days ago, Morocco and Tunisia became members of the League of Arab States. These unity movements are decidedly a potent factor for world peace.

98. This surge towards Arab unity stems not from governments, but from the hearts of the people, and springs from the wells of their past and recent hardships coupled with their hopes for the future. Arab nationalism is a strong, torrential current which, instead of being opposed, should be reckoned with and channelled into the best direction and use.

99. The unity movements now taking place in the Arab world are, indeed, peaceful, constructive and voluntary. We hail the admission of Morocco and Tunisia to the League of Arab States. Needless to say, their Arab brothers take great pride in the new members of their organization. Now we all look forward to the day when a free Algeria—a precious missing link—will be admitted as a sovereign and independent State and so complete the unity of the Arab world from the Atlantic to the Arabian Gulf.

100. I submit that these unity movements between various nations—Arab or non-Arab—should be welcomed and encouraged by all the means at the disposal of this world Organization. Regional unity is a step forward towards the goal of one peaceful world, the high ideal for which this Organization was originally established and which it is still striving to attain.

101. This leads me to the question of specific regional organizations and their relationship to the United Nations. There is a whole chapter in our Charter devoted to this question. Chapter VIII recommends the development of pacific settlements through regional agencies, and their utilization for enforcement action. Furthermore, the regional groupings are asked to keep the Security Council informed at all times of their activities.

102. In the view of my delegation, these provisions of the Charter should be fully activated, and regional organizations such as the Organization of American States, the League of Arab States, and others, should be formally recognized and encouraged to fulfill the role assigned to them in the Charter. For its part, the League of Arab States—acting in the spirit of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter—has always endeavoured to further and strengthen its relationship with world organization. In 1950, one of the League's charter members, Syria, proposed that the General Assembly of the United Nations extend an invitation to the Secretary-General of the Arab League to attend Assembly sessions as an observer. This proposal was adopted, and the League's Secretary-General has subsequently been attending all meetings of this august body. Furthermore, the League has established a permanent mission here to maintain liaison between the United Nations and League headquarters.

103. The third emergency special session of the General Assembly blazed a trail in this direction when

^{4/} See note 3.

it acted unanimously on a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] which took note of one of the main provisions of the Arab League Pact. This was a significant step forward. In our view this step should be followed up by stronger and more comprehensive ties and relationships with the world Organization. Such ties, which would be welcomed by the League of Arab States, would be in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and would certainly contribute to the promotion of peace and the general well-being of our area.

104. Before touching upon the grave problems besetting the Arab world, I would like to refer to other international issues with which my Government is greatly preoccupied.

105. The first is the status of West Irian. It is a matter of deep concern to my Government that this problem has not yet reached an amicable solution, despite the resolution adopted by this Assembly [resolution 915 (X)]. It is high time that we recognized that West Irian is an integral part of Indonesia, for the sake of peace in an area already plagued with dangerous hostilities. A just and equitable solution for this problem should be found as soon as possible.

106. Second comes the burning question of Cyprus. My delegation believes that if this problem is not settled in a way that protects the rights of the people of Cyprus and realizes their lawful aspirations on the basis of justice and self-determination, then the issue will continue to be another disruptive and explosive factor in the troubled Middle East.

107. The third problem is that of Guinea, which recently opted to secede from the French Empire and declared itself an independent and sovereign republic. From this rostrum we salute this new African republic and wish it well on the road of freedom and democracy. I submit that this newly-born republic should be the concern of the United Nations, and my delegation hopes that before this session comes to an end Guinea will be admitted as a Member of the United Nations and will be afforded all possible technical, economic and administrative assistance.

108. I would like to turn now to a discussion of the problems besetting the peace of our area, the Arab homeland. First and foremost comes the Palestine question, the most important cause of strife and instability and a constant threat to peace. For over ten years Israel has been refusing to implement the numerous resolutions adopted by this Assembly on the Palestine problem. I am referring, of course, to the resolutions calling for the repatriation of the Palestinian Arabs [resolution 194 (III)], the internationalization of Jerusalem [resolution 303 (IV)], and the withdrawal of Israel from territory not allotted to it. Every time any phase of the Palestine problem is considered in the United Nations, this Assembly keeps recalling and reaffirming its previous resolutions. Yet Israel, which owes its very existence to this Organization, keeps ignoring and defying those selfsame resolutions.

109. At the same time certain big Powers, by their studied inaction in relation to this problem, coupled with their generous military and economic assistance to Israel, have contributed to a further deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. On one pretext or another, we have lately witnessed the landing of troops in two Arab States and even military aggression against another. Nevertheless, those Powers who participated

in these operations take no effective action on the vital problem of Palestine, which is the real cause of tension in the Arab East. Indeed, one cannot but wonder why the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on questions involving the Far East seem so sacred to these Powers, while those adopted on the question of Palestine in the Middle East do not.

110. Today, we find one million Arabs displaced from Palestine, innocent victims of unprecedented aggression. Through no fault of their own, they find themselves paying for the sins of others. For the past decade they have been living in huts, tents and caves—prey to hunger, sickness and misery. These people insist on repatriation to the land of their birth, to the family homesteads which they have cherished for many generations. In his annual report to the General Assembly at its twelfth session, the Director of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East portrayed this fact in the following terms:

"The great mass of the refugees continues to believe that a grave injustice has been done to them and to express a desire to return to their homeland."
[A/3686, para. 6.]

111. This is a right, based on justice, and until justice is restored in the Holy Land, there can be no peace in the Land of Peace. The Israel representative spoke this morning of a "good neighbour policy". Indeed, the Israel representative should be the last to speak of peaceful relationships. The aggressive record of Israel is well known; it has been indicted several times by this Organization, and the first emergency special session of the General Assembly is still painfully alive in our minds.

112. An equally notorious denial of human justice is to be found in Algeria, where the Arabs have been shedding their blood for four long years to achieve their liberation from an oppressive foreign yoke. Despite the fact that Algeria has already sacrificed about 10 per cent of its population in this struggle, and despite the Assembly resolutions [1012 (XI) and 1184 (XII)] expressing concern about the events in Algeria and calling for a peaceful settlement, we find that the occupying Power is still persisting in its intransigent claim that Algeria is a part of France. Algeria is not and never will be part of France. Racial origin, history, language, religion, and its way of life are eloquent proofs of this fact.

113. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the Algerian people have formed their own Government which today has already been recognized by many Governments. Others undoubtedly will follow suit. We believe that this new Arab Government is a step in the right direction and a contribution towards peace in our area. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic represents the free will of the Algerians and the embodiment of their hopes and their future.

114. Lately a so-called "referendum" took place in Algeria, and reports claim that polling was heavier in Algeria than in France itself. We all know under what conditions this referendum took place. Algeria is at war, and 800,000 French military and police units patrol the land. The Algerian people under their immediate domination had no other choice than to go to the polls. One article published in a widely-circulated Western newspaper summed up conditions in Algeria as follows:

"Under army rule there, opportunities for campaigning against the Constitution were almost non-existent and, because of the unsettled state of the country, the polling took place under army escort and guard in most localities."

115. Eye-witness accounts from the embattled country also provide conclusive evidence that massive interference was used to force the people to take part in this election. One war correspondent, writing for the same influential Western newspaper, described an incident he viewed in the following words:

"The other day about 400 French soldiers clamored up into hills near here. When protecting platoons were in place on the crests, 200 soldiers marched into a village, a stocky French captain in the midst of them.

"The soldiers, several making moderate use of cudgels, herded the village men into a group. The captain then made a brief speech to the effect that they were all good Frenchmen and that they would have to vote tomorrow. He did not tell them how to vote, but said that anyone who did not show up at the polls would 'passer par les douze balles', meaning the firing squad."

116. It is thus clear that the "referendum" was held under conditions of duress and coercion. It is surely a significant fact that within France itself, where the elections were not "supervised" by the French army, 400,000 Algerians abstained from voting.

117. History repeats itself. Last year at this time the so-called loi-cadre was invoked here to lull the United Nations into inaction. This year a so-called "referendum" is introduced as an element for evading the real solution of the Algerian problem. These delaying tactics have been most detrimental to the peace of North Africa and to France itself.

118. One of the most disquieting features of the Algerian situation is that hostilities are no longer localized in Algeria, but are extending to neighbouring countries. The tragedy of the Tunisian border town of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef is painfully alive in our minds. From this rostrum, a few days ago, the representative of Libya called our attention [766th meeting] to the latest French aggression on Libyan territory bordering Algeria, an action which caused death and severe damage to property. These acts of violence are inexcusable. But so long as our Organization shirks its responsibilities on this burning question, as it has in past years, and so long as this problem is not solved according to the principles of justice and self-determination, all the North African countries lie under the menacing shadow of increasingly dangerous hostilities.

119. A proposal has been advanced in certain quarters to make Algeria a land of milk and honey. But I say to those who may be impressed by such projects that the Algerian people will never live on bread alone. They will continue to fight for their dignity and freedom.

120. Moving eastward in the Arab world to Jordan and Lebanon, we find that a large concentration of foreign troops is still present. Their presence represents a source of great danger to the entire area, and a major factor of insecurity and unrest. The cardinal point of the resolution unanimously adopted on 21 August 1958 by the General Assembly at its third emergency special

[resolution 1237 (Es-III)] was the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the Secretary-General paid a special visit to the area to facilitate this objective. We are sure that his contacts and consultations will prove most valuable; his unstinted efforts for world peace deserve our gratitude.

121. My delegation has carefully studied the Secretary-General's report and notes his expression of: "appreciation for the way in which Governments in the area engaged in a full and frank discussion of the difficult and delicate matters involved. . ." [A/3934/Rev. 1, para. 20]. The report also mentioned that the Governments of Lebanon and the United Arab Republic have undertaken: "to grant all the facilities, including liaison offices in Beirut and Damascus, needed in support of the establishment of a United Nations organ in Jordan." [Ibid., para. 30]. The Secretary-General in his report referred also to: "encouraging contacts about the supply of oil to Jordan through the Syrian region and the supply of oil from Iraq on a commercial basis." [Ibid., para. 22].

122. Thus we can see that the Arab countries, which sponsored the unanimous resolution of 21 August 1958, are intent upon carrying out the provisions of the resolution. Given the necessary time to ease the tension prevailing in the area, and provided no outside interference intrudes, the Arab countries will readily compose their differences and live up to the spirit of the Pact of their own League and the Charter of the United Nations.

123. However, on the key feature of the resolution--the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Jordan and Lebanon--the report of the Secretary-General contains no binding commitment from the two Powers which originally dispatched these troops. In two annexes from the United States and the United Kingdom, we find only a qualified promise of withdrawal expressed in the following words: "provided the international security situation with respect to Lebanon continues to improve" [Ibid., annex I, para. 2] and "provided satisfactory progress is being made [in Jordan]" [Ibid., annex II, para. 3]. This terminology means, unfortunately, that withdrawal is still conditional and tentative; and we do not yet see a formal and final date for the removal of those troops whose presence is a great source of danger to peace and security in our area.

124. After surveying the related problems which endanger other areas of the Arab world, I would like to call to the attention of this Assembly the explosive situation which exists in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, a situation which is obviously of immediate and pressing concern to my delegation.

125. It is no secret that this section of the Arabian Peninsula has long been subjected to colonial domination in the guise of "protectorates". In recent years, however, this foreign domination has taken a new and dangerously expansive turn. Our own country has repeatedly been the victim of incessant attacks mounted by the colonial Power which is desperately seeking to maintain its outmoded influence in the peninsula. Some of these attacks, in direct violation of the territorial integrity of free Yemen proceeded as far as fifty miles inside free Yemen, causing irreparable losses in human life and property.

126. Despite the unprovoked nature of this aggression, we have tried repeatedly to reach an amicable solution

of this dispute—but to no avail. Only last November, the Crown Prince of Yemen flew to London in a vain effort to negotiate a peaceful agreement which would put an end to unnecessary bloodshed.

127. Therefore, we have reached the unavoidable conclusion that the attacks upon Yemeni territory constitute part of a well-premeditated scheme of colonial domination for the entire southern Arabian Peninsula. In the southern occupied Yemeni provinces, my Government has noted with grave concern the increased concentration of colonial troops—an action which we can only regard as direct aggression against Yemen and a threat to the peace of our area.

128. Furthermore, we cannot escape cognizance of the repressive measures which have been taken against our Arab brethren in other parts of the Peninsula which are still under foreign domination. Throughout these areas, the Arab people have been inspired by the same urge for freedom and self-determination which is a hallmark of our era. But whenever and wherever they have attempted to express their desire for these basic human rights, they have been opposed by naked military force.

129. In the Yemeni province of Lahej, for example, the Arab people and their leaders vigorously rejected a colonially-inspired plan to create a "federation" among local tribes in the southern occupied provinces of Yemen. As a result, the Sultan of Lahej, who had previously flown to London to protest against this proposal, was not permitted to return to his homeland. Lahej itself was invaded by colonial forces; some of its citizens, including the Minister of Education, were arrested without trial; others—such as the President of the Legislative Council—fled to Yemen for safety. And a few days after Lahej was completely occupied, loyal Lahej troops took refuge in free Yemen.

130. In other parts of the south-eastern section of the crease in colonial aggression directed against the national aspirations of the Arab inhabitants. The merciless military action taken against the people of Oman has already been brought before the Security Council.^{5/}

^{5/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twelfth Year, 783rd and 784th meetings.

This aggression, which is depriving the Omani people of their legitimate rights to self-determination, is still continuing.

131. Close to Oman lies the Saudi Arabian oasis of Buraimi, which was seized by British forces in October 1955. This oasis is beyond doubt an integral part of Saudi Arabia. However, despite the fact that Saudi Arabia agreed to submit its dispute with the United Kingdom to peaceful arbitration, no solution has yet been reached.

132. When we seek for the reasons behind this increase of repressive colonial tactics in our area, the obvious answer which confronts us is the discovery of oil in the interior of the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. If oil has been a great blessing to independent sections of our homeland, here—in territory subject to colonial designs—it is proving to be a calamity to the Arab people. Its discovery has resulted in a rebirth of harsh military manoeuvres in Omar and Buraimi, depriving the local people—and, indeed, all the people of the so-called "protectorates" and "sheikhdoms"—of their God-given rights to liberty and independence, and subjecting them to merciless exploitation.

133. Brute force can never separate the southern Arabian Peninsula from the rest of the Arab homeland. No power on earth can isolate this area for long from the strong surge of Arab nationalism. The peoples of this area intend to fight for their inalienable rights of freedom and self-determination. If the present occupying Power refuses to see the clear handwriting on the wall and persists in the use of force, denying the people of their God-given right of freedom, I solemnly warn this Assembly of the danger of a new Algeria in the southern Arabian Peninsula.

134. I have sketched in brief the debit and credit side of world peace—the dark clouds and the charged atmosphere, together with the faint rays of hope which pierce the gloom. May we all dedicate ourselves to work through these rays of hope, enlarge their radius and increase their brilliance, so that light will break through darkness and humanity will at last be blessed by peace.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.