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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 5:	
Questions considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958 (<i>continued</i>).....	39

President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 5

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

1. Mr. ZORLU (Turkey): The Turkish Government has welcomed the decision of the Security Council to request an emergency special session of the General Assembly in order to discuss the items on its agenda.
2. The Security Council had been seized of these questions ever since 22 May 1958, the date on which the Government of Lebanon requested the consideration of its complaint. World opinion has followed with attention and anxiety the proceedings of the Security Council. At a later stage of the proceedings, when the Security Council was not in a position to fulfil its duties because two resolutions had been vetoed, we were informed of an exchange of views concerning the possibility of holding a "summit conference" inside or outside the Security Council.
3. For our part we consider a discussion within the General Assembly more appropriate and, indeed, more promising as to fruitful results which might be expected in connexion with certain fundamental principles of particular interest to one and every Member of the United Nations. It is true that our subject for discussion centres around a specific region: the Middle East. It is also true that these discussions arose out of certain specific situations which have occurred recently, and which have involved a number of countries more directly. However, these recent discussions have given rise to a divergence of opinion on some fundamental principles which transcend in their importance the immediate problems under consideration and of which the scope stretches beyond the geographical region in question. Among such fundamental principles is the inherent right of any sovereign and independent State to request and receive assistance for the defence of its independence and territorial integrity.
4. To uphold such a principle, regardless of the circumstances or the geographic region in which it is involved, should be a matter of vital importance for every country in the world and more particularly of the smaller countries which constitute the majority of the Members of this Assembly. When principles of such universal applicability or when the interests of countries

in a particular region are concerned, we cannot accept a distinction between "big Powers" and "small Powers". We believe that an exchange of views in such a distinguished gathering as this General Assembly will shed more light on the various attitudes concerning the immediate subject of discussion while at the same time it will provide a unique opportunity for co-ordinating constructive efforts in the direction of peace, security and welfare for the general area of the Middle East. At the same time, this gathering will make it possible to place on the record the views of a large number of countries on some principles which are not bound by any geographical limits. The Turkish delegation has therefore welcomed this opportunity to participate in the special session of the General Assembly and to make known the views of the Turkish Government on the matters under discussion.

5. Today, despite the efforts which have been made by the great majority of the nations of the world for more than a decade both inside and outside of the United Nations, it is unfortunate that the world has not yet attained that state of true peace and security, that state in which every nation large or small may be allowed to live its own life and prepare its own future in the manner that it considers appropriate for its own needs. Ever since the end of the Second World War, the peoples of the world have been kept in a state of constant anxiety about the preservation of peace, the defence of their freedom and independence, the maintenance of security and confidence which are all indispensable for the pursuit of happiness and for the devotion of efforts to the attainment of a higher level of economic and social development.

6. For more than a decade the threat of a new catastrophe has weighed upon the fate of every nation in the world. And yet, it may be said that there is no part of our globe which has had more to lose from the perpetuation of tension and anxiety than the region of Asia and Africa in general and the area of the Middle East in particular.

7. My country, Turkey, is part of this region of the Middle East. Having consolidated their freedom and independence thirty-five years ago, the people of Turkey have embarked today upon a new era of economic, social and cultural development. The people of Turkey have no other aspiration than to devote their efforts and their resources to the attainment of a higher level in these fields. During our struggles for nearly half a century, we have constantly witnessed the degree to which the success of our efforts has depended on the existence of conditions allowing us to concentrate our efforts and our resources in confidence and tranquillity. It is in the light of common aims and common experiences that we understand and fully sympathize with the aspirations which are dear to the people of the Middle East.

8. During the last decade the outstanding achievement in the Middle East has been the attainment of full in-

dependence and sovereignty by the Arab countries of the region. This happy development is considered by the people and the Government of Turkey as of paramount importance to pave the way towards a bright and prosperous future for the entire Middle East.

9. This attitude is not a new outlook or a policy of temporary expediency on the part of Turkey. It is in line with an active, conscious and positive policy practised by the Turkish Republic since its foundation.

10. On 28 January 1920, at a time when the very existence of Turkey as an independent sovereign State was in peril, the Turkish Chamber of Deputies voted a resolution called the National Pact. Several articles of this document proclaimed the integrity and sovereignty of territories of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Turks. But the first article proclaimed and demanded self-determination for territories which were inhabited by Arabs, and which were at that time under foreign occupation. So that in the darkest and the most difficult years of its history, Turkey had taken up the freedom and independence of its own people parallel to that of the Arabs.

11. Later on, during the negotiations for the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey refused to accept any provisions which might directly or indirectly imply its approval of the system of mandates over Arab countries, and demanded the application of the principle of self-determination for these countries.

12. This statement was made over thirty-five years ago. At a later period, in 1932, when Turkey was admitted to membership of the old League of Nations, our acceptance was made with the reservation that it would not imply recognition of the mandates over Arab countries which were applied within the framework of the League.

13. Today too, we consider the full independence and sovereignty of the Arab countries and the full opportunity for them to forge their own destiny without egotistical interferences from the outside as essential prerequisites for the establishment of peace and security, as well as for the progressive development of the entire Middle East towards a bright future.

14. The Arab States certainly occupy a very important position in the Middle East. The countries which have common frontiers with the Arab States on the north and the south nourish sentiments of friendship and affinity for their Arab neighbours. Turkey is among these countries. The sentiments of the Turkish people towards their Arab neighbours stem from a common tradition of co-operation during many centuries and from moral ties.

15. We sincerely hope to see the Arab nations united in a manner conforming with their own desires. However, as is commonly observed, the cause of Arab nationalism which will undoubtedly unite the Arabs is at present giving rise to fraternal divergences and, I may regretfully add, even to disputes. We would have preferred to see these disputes find their solution within the Arab League as has often been the case, thus excluding any interferences from foreign States.

16. On the other hand, it is generally admitted that nations of a common race which have been separated from each other through the vicissitudes of history during prolonged periods, and which have formed distinct entities within the family of independent countries, can regain their unity only after a period of adaptation which might be short or long according to the desires

and circumstances obtaining in each of these nations. Although racial and historic ties are factors that tend towards unity, any such movement requires a lapse of time. We hope that this lapse of time may be a short one in the attainment of Arab unity. However, what is essential in this process is that the unifying action of the moral ties should be permitted to exert its influence without pressures and free from a spirit of domination. It is equally important that activities aiming at unity should not take the form of attempts to deprive sovereign States of their independence by force.

17. Turkey has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the fraternal Arab countries, and wishes them early success in their national aspirations. While endeavouring to bring about their unity and realizing their national aspirations, these States should not lose sight of the fact that there are other countries in the region and that they too are concerned with their own freedom, security and well-being. Furthermore, this desirable evolution towards unity among Arab States should not result in the creation of conditions liable to endanger the security and tranquillity of other States in the region.

18. Much has been said in recent times about the existence of oppositions and divisions within some Arab countries. In reality, the existence of diverging and, I may even add, conflicting opinions in any young and vigorous society can only be considered as a normal indication of health and growth. What constitutes the opposite of a healthy approach in these circumstances is interference from the outside which turns one country of the region against the other, and inflames the passions of sectors of a nation against its own brothers. It is not the existence of divergent opinions in the Middle East that can cause a danger to peace and security. It is the attempt to exploit this natural state of affairs for purposes completely foreign to the aims of the Middle Eastern peoples that has created a perilous situation.

19. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union has stated that the presence of United States and United Kingdom forces in Lebanon and Jordan constitutes an act of aggression and that the purpose in convening this session of the General Assembly is to bring about the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces.

20. On our part, we were amazed to hear that it constitutes an act of aggression to extend assistance in response to the appeal of a legitimate government which feels itself in danger and that this action is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that, on the contrary, it is the denial of such assistance which might be tantamount to encouraging aggression and would therefore form a negation of the principles and purposes of the Charter. The official records of the United Nations prove beyond any possibility of doubt that in the case under consideration such requests were made by the legitimate Governments of Lebanon and Jordan.

21. On the question of the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from Lebanon and Jordan, we have heard the declarations made in the United Nations by the United States and the United Kingdom to the effect that they would withdraw their forces if the legitimate Governments of Lebanon and Jordan requested it or if the United Nations adopted adequate measures that would make possible such a

withdrawal. These declarations also appear in the official records of the United Nations.

22. Indeed, the withdrawal of friendly forces which have been landed in response to a request of a legitimate Government to assist it in protecting its independence and territorial integrity should in the first place be a matter to be decided by that Government in conformity with its sovereign rights and its own judgement of the prevailing conditions. The representatives of the United States and of the United Kingdom have reiterated their adherence to this principle.

23. In these circumstances we cannot accept the view of the Soviet delegation that the purpose of this Assembly is to bring about the withdrawal of the United States and United Kingdom forces in Lebanon and Jordan.

24. The Government of the Turkish Republic considers that this important meeting of all Members of the United Nations should provide a forum for underlining the aspirations to freedom, independence, progress and development which are common to all the peoples of the Middle East. This special session of the Assembly devoted to the problems facing the Middle East should also provide a forum for the world at large to show sympathy and understanding for Arab nationalism, a growing sentiment which will undoubtedly contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the world.

25. Furthermore, two small countries in the area have made an appeal to the United Nations stating that they are in need of measures of protection to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. It is not conceivable that the United Nations should ignore this appeal. There has been no demand to send observers or other task forces of the United Nations into the territory of any country which does not desire them. But when a Member of our Organization requests the assistance of the United Nations to seal its own frontiers and to provide the means of preventing interference in its own internal affairs, the General Assembly would have completely failed in its duty to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter if such a request were not heeded. In this respect, the ideas placed before the Assembly by the President of the United States constitute, in the view of my Government, an outstanding contribution in the direction of positive action to be contemplated by the Assembly. These ideas of the President of the United States were made in the same constructive spirit as his other important proposals to which I will refer later on.

26. At the beginning of my statement I referred to certain principles involved in our debate which transcend the immediate problems under discussion or the geographical region under consideration. The majority of the Members of this Assembly is constituted by relatively small countries. It is indeed in the interest of the great majority of those present here to uphold in this debate two fundamental principles: First, the inherent right of any independent sovereign country to request and receive the assistance of its friends and allies for its self-defence; Second, the right of any Member of the United Nations to request and receive appropriate assistance and protection from the Organization in defending its independence.

27. The vital necessity for upholding in all circumstances these fundamental principles transcends the expediency of any particular subject which may be under consideration. The Turkish delegation has not come to this debate in order to denounce one country of the

Middle East against the others. In the establishment of genuine friendship and close co-operation among all the countries of the region lies our hope for a peaceful, progressive and prosperous Middle East. However, Turkey cannot accept the premise that any legitimate Government should be asked to renounce its inherent right to request the assistance of its friends and allies and of the United Nations, if ever that Government deems it necessary for the defence of the country. We cannot refuse to recognize for others a right which we consider an essential attribute of our own sovereignty.

28. Indeed, the General Assembly as a whole and the small countries represented here, in particular, should welcome with relief and appreciation the prompt response made by the United States and the United Kingdom in extending the assistance requested from them in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter. This action has already enhanced the confidence of many nations which might feel that the preservation of their own freedom and independence, guaranteed to all by the Charter of the United Nations, may require some day the effective assistance of friendly Governments.

29. As I mentioned earlier in my statement, the main issue which confronts the Assembly at this juncture is not one which constitutes the exclusive concern of any particular region or of any given nationalistic movement. The principles which are at stake are of vital importance for the preservation of the independence and security of all free nations and especially of the small nations in any region of the world. Irrespective of its geographic location, any small country may find itself under a threat of aggression on the part of its neighbours.

30. Reasons may be advanced by these neighbours for intervening in the internal affairs of that small country. These reasons may sometimes be based on a common past, on racial affinity or on other grounds which might seem valid. Such a small country may be subject to radio broadcasts, subversive activities and other forms of indirect aggression against its national will. Recent history provides us with a great number of such examples. Many typical cases can be cited in the period preceding the Second World War. Similar situations confront us today in every part of our world.

31. Subversive activities, aiming at different objectives and supported through radio broadcasts and the dispatch of arms, not only threaten independent States, but also undermine the security of various regions of the world. It is our duty to take appropriate measures against this situation. In the opinion of the Turkish Government this is the major task which devolves upon the United Nations.

32. I now wish to comment briefly on certain remarks which have been made from this rostrum during the course of the present debate.

33. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union stated [733rd meeting] that his country wished to have friendly relations with Turkey. This sentiment is entirely reciprocated by Turkey, which has given concrete proof to this effect during the first decades after the foundation of the two States and during the course of the Second World War. If Turkey has joined regional defensive organizations for its self-preservation in conformity with Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter, this has been necessary because the threats and dangers which weigh heavily upon a number of countries today have equally

weighed upon Turkey itself. The United Nations General Assembly itself has been a witness to attempts of pressures and threats which have been directed at Turkey even in most recent times. Even the present occasion has been seized to imply that war and devastation could annihilate the area in which Turkey is situated, "dragging Turkey into the maelstrom of war". What is this war of which we are threatened? Who is going to wage this war? Two small countries have deemed their security in danger and have requested assistance of friendly forces upon their own territory. Is this going to be the cause of a war and for what reason?

34. Have the forces sent by the United States and the United Kingdom, in response to the appeals of legitimate Governments, been used to undermine the security of neighbouring countries? Certainly not. These Powers have answered the call of two small States anxious to preserve their independence and territorial integrity. Their actions are in complete conformity with the rules of international law as well as with the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter.

35. Like the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, Turkey helped the United States of America in its just and gallant action in the measure of its possibilities by providing transit facilities to United States aircraft. This cannot constitute a threat to anybody. Consequently, the charges of the Soviet Union directed at my country are unwarranted and we fail to understand the reasons which prompted its threats. In any case, it is certain that Turkey, which desires to live in peace and harmony with the Soviet Union and with all its other neighbours, has undertaken no action liable to endanger the security of either the Soviet Union or its other neighbours. Such threats cannot hinder Turkey from discharging its duties. Such threats hurled continuously by the Soviet Union are in contradiction with their offers, made from time to time, to establish friendly relations which we consider highly desirable.

36. This policy which changes unilaterally from day to day, and the threats to which it often resorts, are among the reasons which prompted the peace-loving countries to form defensive pacts in conformity with Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter.

37. In the same speech, Mr. Gromyko also included a sentence referring to the Baghdad Pact as "the last prop of foreign imperialism". It is difficult to see how such a statement can be considered compatible with the desire for friendship expressed by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. The Baghdad Pact is a free association of free and independent countries which, according to their judgement, have common economic, social and cultural interests as well as the common interest of self-defence. The nations in which the idea of the Pact has originated cannot be said to sympathize with imperialism or colonialism as each one of them has shed its blood in obtaining and maintaining its independence, freedom and sovereignty. No member of the Pact has been forced to enter this free association and no member has been made to feel that it is not free to leave whenever it judges such a course of action more advantageous for its own interests. Every Government which is at present a member of this Pact knows beyond any doubt that, whether it chooses of its own free will to remain in the Pact or to withdraw, its course of action in this respect cannot and will not affect the brotherly ties which bind the peoples of the Middle East grouped in this association.

38. Before concluding my statement, I wish to refer again to the constructive and positive aspects of our debate on the Middle East.

39. My delegation is convinced that the necessity of building confidence, security and friendly co-operation among the countries of the Middle East will assert itself once again as an outcome of our present discussions. A more appreciable progress in this direction will also have the merit of creating the most appropriate conditions for accelerated economic, social and cultural development in the entire region.

40. In this connexion, my delegation has felt gratified to listen to the suggestions of the President of the United States for the establishment of an Arab development institution on a regional basis. The suggestions of President Eisenhower were made conditional on their being accepted by the Arab States concerned which would assume the leadership of such an institution.

41. If the interested Arab countries indicate a desire for establishing such an institution, my delegation would be happy to extend any support which might be required within the United Nations. We feel that the constructive spirit in which these suggestions were made and the good intentions with which they have been placed before us are additional reasons for a careful consideration by those directly concerned.

42. The support which the President of the United States has given to the idea of a stand-by United Nations peace force is welcomed by my delegation as an outstanding contribution for the consolidation of peace and security within the framework of our Organization. The Turkish Government has always given its active support to such projects ever since similar ideas were brought forth for the first time in the Security Council in 1947. During the present debate and in subsequent discussions, my delegation will continue to support most ardently the creation of a stand-by United Nations peace force.

43. The suggestion aiming at the creation of methods whereby impartial and authoritative monitoring of radio broadcasts across frontiers can be accomplished deserves equally the careful consideration of the Assembly. The General Assembly has already accepted and proclaimed the principle embodied in this suggestion in three of its important resolutions. What has been lacking in this field are a system of control and an authentic record for reference.

44. Moreover, we consider the general question of such inflammatory broadcasts over frontiers as not being confined to the specific geographical area under consideration in the present debate. A number of other regions, especially among those of the general area of Asia and Africa to which my country also belongs, have been targets of inflammatory and subversive broadcasts. The Turkish nation, united in its patriotism and in its love of freedom and independence, has not been and cannot be affected by such broadcasts. However, we cannot but place on the record our indignation at these attempts to intervene in our internal affairs.

45. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that the purpose of the Turkish delegation in participating in this debate is to contribute in any possible way to the strengthening of peace, security, friendly co-operation and progressive development in the Middle East. Turkey is itself a member of the Middle Eastern family of nations. As such, this region is of too vital importance for us to encourage

its being used as a pawn in the chess game of propaganda. It is our ardent hope that the members of this gathering, in line with the tradition of a high sense of responsibility which has always animated the General Assembly, will not allow our debate to take such a course of action. The Turkish delegation will play its modest part in contributing to any constructive and positive actions which might assert themselves in these discussions in the best interests of the countries of the Middle East.

46. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): Twice—and I say "twice" with deep regret—the General Assembly has been summoned in emergency special session to consider matters concerning the Middle East. And within what a short interval. In a span of only two years, just two years, we assemble in an emergency special session on the Middle East. This is a record which breaks every record, and yet no one knows whether this emergency special session will render justice and peace to the Middle East, or whether it will lead to another session just as urgent but perhaps more dangerous.

47. I do not propose to unfold the tragic events that led to the first emergency special session, which went down in the annals of the history of the United Nations as the Suez Canal session. All the facts are on record. One main feature, however, need hardly be stressed. The Middle East was not the author, so to speak, of that session. There was war in the area. It was a treacherous war of aggression waged against the Arab nation, with Egypt chosen as the battlefield. You all know the ending. Aggression was arrested, the aggressors retreated and Egypt came out responsible neither for the war nor for the emergency. That is how the chapter of the first emergency special session was closed.

48. In this emergency special session, this same story repeats itself—and I daresay that the story is made to repeat itself. The Arab nation and Arab nationalism are again claimed to be the cause for another emergency special session. This time, however, the technique is different, although the aim remains one and the same. The United Nations is here presented with a picture of war flaring up in the Middle East—a war by Arab States against Arab States. And to make the picture look real and lively, an avalanche of proposals was set in motion—how to neutralize the Middle East, how to defend the Arabs from the Arabs, how to preserve the political independence and territorial integrity of the Arab States and how to protect those poor Arabs from direct aggression and from indirect aggression.

49. This is a flagrant injustice coupled with malice and mischief. This is a sheer distortion based upon distortion. This is a serious charge which must be refuted once and for all.

50. The unrest that arose, much as we regret it, should be examined in the proper context, in the real perspective and against its very deep background. If this emergency special session does nothing except to gain a true understanding of the Arab nation and Arab nationalism, then the United Nations will render a great service to the cause of peace, not for the Arab nation alone, but for the world as a whole.

51. Therefore it becomes our duty to state the facts with all the human frankness that we command. I stress frankness for this is no time to polish our expressions or exchange flowery language. Your very presence here at

this time shows that we are meeting in emergency special session. At the earlier emergency special session, the world had almost stepped beyond the brink of war. This time, events were not less alarming. The very existence of the human race was pinned only to a few moments of unprecedented peril—moments that might have wiped away incalculable centuries of human life on this planet.

52. It is no secret that Arab nationalism in the last few years has been a current topic of conversation, whether in a whisper or in a loud voice, official or unofficial. It was portrayed in the beginning as a monstrous ghost, although recently attempts are being made to turn the ghost into an angel. Yet those who desire to spare themselves the horrors of trembling nightmares should see an angel in the angel and a devil only in the devil.

53. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Secretary-General has chosen to touch very intelligently and ably, I would say, upon this question. In his statement to the Assembly on 8 August 1958 [732nd meeting], Mr. Hammarskjöld devoted a conspicuous portion to the Arab League, the common heritage of the Arabs and the desirability of giving general expressions of respect and understanding to Arab problems and Arab nationalism. I do not intend to quote his statement word for word or even sentence for sentence, for the Secretary-General is unquotable, not because we respectfully disagree with him in more than one respect, but because his statements are so ingenious and so interlinked that they cannot be read in portions. They have to be read as a whole, and Mr. Hammarskjöld represents by himself an international entity. Secondly, Mr. Hammarskjöld's statement is to be read not line for line, but in between the lines. While I reserve at this stage my comment on his proposals, I cannot fail to express admiration at Mr. Hammarskjöld's ability, at his deep penetration and, lastly, at his very able statements that mean much more than what they say. This time, it is with the "much more" that we most respectfully disagree.

54. However, we are grateful to Mr. Hammarskjöld that he has placed the question of Arab nationalism before this august body.

55. Happily, too, the President of the United States has dealt with the subject in his statement before the Assembly [733rd meeting]. I must declare outright that President Eisenhower's reference to the great contribution of the Arabs in the field of universal learning deserves deep respect and sincere appreciation. In fact, this glorious past of the Arab nation to which President Eisenhower referred should give a full understanding of Arab nationalism and its yearning for unity and liberty. Furthermore, the President's masterly and dignified allusion to Arab nationalism should at least explain why the Arabs are fighting against the last vestiges of imperialism in their homeland, whether in North Africa, around the Arabian Peninsula, or in Palestine.

56. The question then arises: What is this Arab nationalism? In referring to this question, President Eisenhower has used a set of great words worthy of a great man. He said, "Let me state the position of my country unmistakably." I beg leave to borrow these noble words and to say, "Let me, too, state the position of my nation unmistakably." After all, the United Nations is the centre where we should harmonize our

views; and, above all, Arab nationalism can best be appraised by its own people.

57. So what is Arab nationalism? Is it a new form of imperialism? Is it an offshoot of communism or communist instigation? Is it, in its modern awakening, the making of the West, or Western agitation? Is it a movement filled with hate against the West, with love for the East, with spite against foreigners, and with resistance to international co-operation? Not at all. Arab nationalism is nothing of that sort. It is a movement that stands on its very own. Dynamic as it is, still it is a movement of peace, but peace based upon right and justice. Its initiative and objective, its consciousness and creativeness, spring from its own culture, its own civilization, its own venerated tradition, and, in a word, from its very ancient historic existence. Inspired by the oneness of its past and guided by the oneness of its present and future, the Arab nation is striving to attain liberty and unity, whichever comes first. Arab nationalism harbours no aggression, no aggression whatsoever. By the same token, Arab nationalism will not give up one single span of territory of the Arab fatherland from the Atlantic to the Arabian gulf, and from the northern extremities of the United Arab Republic down to the southern borders of the Sudan in the heart of Africa. All this is the Arab fatherland possessed by the one, and only one, nation—the Arab nation. Whether you call this great family a people or whether you call it a nation—call it what you wish or name it what you will—we are one and one only. It is this oneness which forms the basis of our being, of our thinking, and of our determined, combined collective action.

58. I know that this is not an academic gathering, nor am I lecturing on the philosophy of a national movement. But for one reason or another, there is a misrepresentation of Arab life. If you do not fathom the depth of Arab nationalism, you cannot reach the right conclusions in the present debate. If you speak of the Arabs as nations or as peoples, you cannot secure the preservation of peace in that part of the world. If the premise of the United Nations is that the Arabs are peoples—are nations—then all your standards for aggression, your very conception of interference, will fall to the ground. With all due respect to his intelligence and superability, our Secretary-General has referred to the Arabs invariably as the Arab peoples or the Arab nations—the plural in both. I am sure our distinguished Secretary-General, objective and open-minded as he is, will ponder this basic aspect of the question.

59. In the same manner, President Eisenhower referred, and I quote, to the “peoples of the Arab nations”, a very interesting expression no doubt but making of the Arabs compounds of peoples and nations. If the Arabs are treated as peoples or nations, a set of political considerations come into play. If they are treated as one single people, one single nation, then all those considerations will have to be reversed, and reversed without mercy. Furthermore, a plan for economic development or otherwise, based on the assumption of the so-called peoples of Arab nations, leads to a total disappearance of Arab nationalism, no matter how much good will and good intentions we can display.

60. Thus, before proceeding any further with any resolution or with any plan, we must make a rightful beginning, a rightful approach, which will lead us to the rightful destination.

61. This will explain a very important aspect, too. Within Arab life, amongst the Arabs themselves, Arab imperialism is inconceivable. I repeat: Arab imperialism is inconceivable. It is unthinkable for one to enslave himself, to capture his own land, to subdue his own people, and to conquer his own fatherland. One can conceivably conquer others, dominate others, infiltrate in the territory of others; but no Arab is an alien to any Arab, and no Arab country is foreign to any other Arab country. This is the main premise upon which we call the United Nations to act. For, if you think otherwise, all your efforts are gone with the wind.

62. Again, we must warn against some current doubts. I refer to a sublime concept in the mind of the President of the United States—“the goals must be Arab goals”. These are the words of the great President of the United States. It gives us great pleasure, indeed, to hear this statement, and from this rostrum of the United Nations we do declare before the world, in all solemnity and sincerity, that our goals are Arab goals in their entirety. We are Arabs first and last; we shall always belong to ourselves and yet be a part of the international community. We extend a friendly hand to all the nations of the world, including the eighty Members of the United Nations, and eighty is the figure we make after deliberate calculation.

63. Thus I can assure you all that Arab nationalism is not the making of communism for we preceded communism. Likewise, I can assure you all that Arab nationalism is not a Western creation, for our national unity in the past, with its centre moving from Mecca, to Medina, to Damascus, to Baghdad and to Cairo, expressed itself when the West was submerged in the darkness of the dark ages. We do not breathe hatred towards foreigners, for no country in the world is as courteous and as hospitable as we are. And this is where we can, with modesty, express pride. We are for international co-operation in this international community but on equal terms, and seeking mutual, legitimate interests.

64. We declare too that we are not Communists nor do we desire to be. We declare too that we are not Westerners nor do we wish to be. We are determined to be our own, now and for all time to come. Our goals, in the words of the great President of the United States, are Arab goals, and shall remain Arab goals. This is how we are, and no one should labour under any alarm or fear.

65. I turn now to the crucial question before us. What is this crisis about? One nation is there, inspired by a constructive, peaceful movement. So what is the cause for this explosive situation? It may be a paradox that the Arab nation should appear to endanger the Arab nation and to set fire to the Arab homeland. In his statement before the Assembly, President Eisenhower, in his dignified way, endeavoured to answer the question. He linked what he termed “aggressive leadership” with the crisis in the Middle East. He referred to indirect aggression. He listed subversion, infiltration and a propaganda campaign as the causes for the present state of affairs. We are grateful to the President of the United States for opening this question before the Assembly. To state a case—any case—and to set out the reasons—any reasons—is the first prerequisite for a sound diagnosis; and a sound diagnosis leads, I would say, to a sound remedy. In this regard, we are greatly indebted to President Eisenhower for placing the case on the Assembly’s table. In fact, we are here assembled,

representatives of all nations, large and small, to state our views with frankness and with dignity.

66. For our part, we respectfully dissent from the approach chosen by President Eisenhower. The Middle East crisis is much deeper than that. It is not a question of this so-described "aggressive leadership" or the like. This is a case, in its large measure and in its great framework, of an offended nation, a nation with a great past, as was nobly declared by President Eisenhower. The crisis, in its genesis, is not the product of subversive radio broadcasting, as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd suggested in his statement yesterday [734th meeting]. The crisis we behold in the Middle East is mainly the natural outcome of imperialism and colonialism which is still rooted, up to this very moment, in the Arab fatherland. And here is the picture as it now stands.

67. Algeria is denied independence in spite of five years of a war of liberation. Morocco and Tunisia, two Member States of the United Nations, are still groaning under foreign military occupation. Yemen, another Member of the United Nations, is dispossessed of Aden and its southern coasts. Saudi Arabia, another Member of the United Nations, is robbed of the Buraimi oasis. Oman is a prey of foreign rule. The Gulf territories are victims of alien domination. Last, but not most catastrophic of all, Palestine and the people of Palestine represent the greatest catastrophe that has ever fallen upon the whole Arab nation in all its recorded history. To describe the Palestine question in this tone is no exaggeration for if Mr. Attlee, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and I would invite the attention of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and his colleagues to this statement, has described in the House of Lords a fortnight ago the creation of Israel as an error from the point of view of British interests, what should the Arabs say? The least we can say is that it is an outrageous insult coupled with a disastrous catastrophe.

68. These are the main causes for this bleeding crisis in the Middle East. You have to face the issue and admit the reasons if you are determined to preserve peace and attain security. There is no use hiding behind arguments on aggression, direct or indirect. There is no use focusing on subversive activities, infiltration or the like. The real issue is the question of liberty for the Arab fatherland, of freedom for the Arab nation. Yet if we should talk of indirect aggression, of infiltration and of subversive activities, I would appeal to President Eisenhower, with all due respect and with all the power I have at my command, and tell him that the Arab nation has itself been a victim of all these international crimes. We must recall that Zionism has committed and is still committing aggression, direct and indirect, in Palestine. We must recall that Zionism has launched a wild campaign of terrorism and infiltration into Palestine. We must recall that Zionism is still waging propaganda warfare against the Arab nation and against the Arab leaders. And lastly, we must recall that it is here in the United States—I repeat, here in the United States—where Zionism has its headquarters, where it is financed and supported. We do not wish to offend the people of the United States. We have a great deal of respect and admiration for the people of the United States. But when looking for the causes of the crisis, we must face the issue down to its core. With the continuation of these causes the crisis is bound to continue. The crisis is also bound to grow until it gets beyond control, beyond any control. It is high time for the West to wake up to its own faults.

69. The crisis in the Middle East, in its sincere and true analysis, is mainly a conflict with the West. I say that not out of hate for the West for hate is not one of our traits, but out of a national and human reaction to the policies of the West. With the West, as you all know, the Arabs had in the past started a relationship, not a friendly relationship but an alliance, a military alliance. But the West has brought about the dismemberment of the Arab fatherland, the West has destroyed the national life of the people of Palestine and subjected other territories to foreign domination. Having inflicted the damage, the West now comes here before the Assembly to ask why the Middle East is disturbed. It is only natural, therefore, that affairs in the Middle East should be as they are and that they continue to be as they are. It would be humanly impossible for the Middle East not to be in this highly explosive situation. The West is the cause of which the West complains. The West should charge no one but the West, and it lies in the hands of the West—perhaps this is a hope—to attack the problem and to attack it without delay.

70. However, what is tragic about the present crisis is that it was foreseen at least ten years ago. All during this period Arab leaders have, in the most friendly, brotherly and courteous manner, warned the West against the dangerous consequences of the disregard of Arab aspirations. The West was told in black and white that the Western policies were bound to alienate the feelings of the Arabs and seriously damage their mutual relations.

71. In this regard I cannot fail to remember the historic letter of the late King Abdel Aziz to President Roosevelt pointing out the dangers of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine. Picking up the same threads, King Saud spared no effort to explain the dangers of the continued denial of Arab rights. Prince Faisal, our Prime Minister, has, since the days of San Francisco, been forecasting the clouds that encircle the Arab skies. It is a fact on record that other great Arab leaders too have sounded the same warnings. But each time there arose Zionist pressure to say that these warnings of the Arabs were sheer bluff. Events have proved that this Zionist plea of "sheer bluff" was itself the greatest bluff, and Western relations with the Arabs were destined to suffer for the mere pleasure of Zionist pressure.

72. This is our diagnosis of the situation in the Middle East—a situation which must be cured not with palliatives but with proper remedial treatment. The issue is crystal-clear; it calls for a bold and courageous stand. Late as it may be, the chances are there and the situation is not entirely out of hand if it can be properly, sincerely, and genuinely handled. There is still time, but I should say a very short time, to redeem the situation. The solution must be sought on the highest political level. Economic development with all its merits is not the master key to the solution of the problem. Economic development cannot be sustained except by political security and stability. We have to start with the political aspect. Man liveth not by bread alone. Ever since the days of Aristotle man has been defined not as an eating animal but as a political animal. There must be a dashing basic change of policy towards the Middle East for those who wish to see peace restored to the Middle East. There must be a rushing consent to Arab aspirations before they are achieved without consent. This psychoneurotic complex of hating President

Nasser should be eliminated from Western thinking. The cause is one which belongs to the whole Arab nation, and President Nasser is only a natural phase of the surge of Arab nationalism. Saud of Saudi Arabia, Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Kassem of Iraq, and other Arab leaders come and go, but the national cause of the people remains—the urge, the quest, the agony—until it is gratified and until it is finally satisfied.

73. To solve the problem, various suggestions have been offered. One at least, namely the withdrawal of military forces, should cause for us no hesitation. We shall support every draft resolution that calls for the immediate evacuation of foreign troops, not only in Lebanon and Jordan, but also in every span of the Arab world. The second suggestion deals with oil, and naturally I can speak only with regard to Arab oil. Here our position is quite decisive too. I will not go into the merits of this plan or that plan. Arab oil is our own. It is our national wealth that falls, not essentially, but indeed entirely, within our jurisdiction. It does not admit of any discussion before any international forum. Oil-producing and oil-transiting countries can discuss among themselves what they should discuss, where they should discuss, and when they should discuss. Oil, our oil, is not a political commodity of international concern, and we are determined to keep it outside the arena of politics.

74. I turn now to the direct issue before us. The question of the Middle East has an internal and an external aspect. With regard to the internal aspect, no matter how seriously you may view it, the matter cannot be anything except a family affair that should be tackled within the Arab League. We believe that the power of the Arab League has not been fully exhausted. The meeting of the League in Benghazi was rushed, and the efforts to bear fruit required more labour and more time. The Arab League now has more and better chances. New developments, as you all know, have also taken place in Arab life, and the general climate offers better prospects. After all, you should not be misled by the bitterness of events. Arab brotherhood will ultimately reign. We all know how strained at one time were the relations between Cairo and Riyadh. Many suspected that the gulf had become unbridgeable. Yet one single morning has witnessed the Vice President of the United Arab Republic in Saudi Arabia being received by the King and Prime Minister in complete accord and amity, with fruitful and useful talks. And in such a way we believe all family affairs can be handled. The Arab League is the only organ to handle such situations.

75. With regard to the external aspect, really this is the challenge of the United Nations and, to be more specific, the challenge that faces the West and in particular the major Western Powers. For when I say the West, I mean the major Powers of the West, because they are directly involved. They are the other party to the crisis. With them lies the issue directly. I have already referred to Arab grievances in North Africa, in the Arabian Peninsula and in Palestine. As regards the Palestine question, one major central fact should be borne in mind. The refugee problem, with all its gravity, is not the only aspect of the problem. The issue is one of a homeland usurped, occupied and colonized by alien groups. Compensation of the refugees—and I hear there are various suggestions with regard to the compensation of the refugees—as minor a step

as it is, is not a solution to the problem. One reason, and a very important reason too, is the determination of the refugees to exercise their inherent right to go back to their homeland. This is the stand from which we are not prepared to retreat even a single iota. Palestine is the homeland of the Arabs, and neither the refugees nor the Arab States will ever give up their homeland for all the treasures of the world. We take this attitude with full responsibility and with full authority. This is a matter upon which we cannot make any surrender, any concession, or any compromise. We want you to understand that this is our homeland which is sacred to us, just as your homelands are sacred to you. We will not betray our homeland as you would not betray yours. Keep this in mind and treat the question as you will. In a word, the Arabs are determined to be lord and master of their homeland. This is the central issue that separates the West from the Arab nation.

76. Finally, there is one choice, and one choice only. It is a choice between peace or French intransigence in North Africa. It is a choice between peace or British rule around the Arabian Peninsula. It is a choice between peace or Israel with American Zionism in Palestine.

77. As for ourselves, time and again, we have declared our choice. Between war and peace, our choice is for peace, but peace based upon right and justice. What remains is for the West to make the choice, not a choice of words, but one of deeds—one that springs from the heart of hearts.

78. Mr. FUJIYAMA (Japan):¹ We are gathered here at an emergency special session of the General Assembly, the third since the founding of the United Nations. Before entering into the discussion of the problem at hand, I should like to express the Japanese Government's views as to what this session should do.

79. Ever since the United Nations was created as a world organization for the maintenance of peace and security following the Second World War, the problem of the Middle East has constantly been one of its major concerns. This is clearly evident from the history of the work of this Organization. The records of this history indicate, on the one hand, the important relationship of the Middle East problem to the international situation, and reveal, on the other, that peace and stability in this area have not adequately been ensured. Hence, it is essential that we here refresh our appreciation that the peace and stability of the Middle East is directly related to the peace and stability of the world.

80. The people of Japan, who earnestly seek world peace, and the Government of Japan, which upholds the diplomacy of peace, sincerely desire to continue to work vigorously for the settlement of the present problems. That is why I have come here today to express the views of my Government before all the Members of the United Nations and to appeal for their peaceful solution.

81. With the advance of the modern science of war, with arsenals containing nuclear weapons, one false step by a world leader may bring mankind to total annihilation. In order to avoid such a tragedy, we must all make earnest and prudent efforts to seek an early and peaceful settlement of any international problem, even though it may appear to be a mere local dispute.

¹ Mr. Fujiyama spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

The assiduous efforts made by my delegation in the Security Council to seek such a settlement of the problem of Lebanon truly reflect the Japanese people's earnest hopes and desires for peace. Upon this emergency session rests a solemn duty towards all mankind to find a means of an early settlement in a spirit of mutual accommodation so that world peace may be ensured.

82. The key to the permanent settlement of the Middle East problem lies in enabling the peoples of the area to attain their legitimate national aspirations, in bringing about the stability and improvement of their livelihood and in adjusting the interests of the countries of the area, as well as the interests of these countries, with those of other countries.

83. The rise of nationalism in the Middle East is an inevitable development in the march of history. No one can turn back the clock. No one can deny the need to respect the reasonable aspirations of the Arab nations to consolidate their independence, to preserve their territorial integrity and to promote economic prosperity; nor can anyone deny the need to make manifest to them our sympathy and understanding in the peaceful attainment of these goals. Any policy which ignores or belittles these aspirations, even if it may succeed for a time, will ultimately fail. Moreover, any external attempt to exploit these aspirations to foment enmity between the Arab peoples or between them and others should not be tolerated. In any settlement of Middle East problems, it is essential to find those measures which are based upon a profound understanding of and respect for the legitimate national aspirations of the area and upon co-operation with the peoples of the area.

84. The countries of the Middle East have attained political independence, but their economic base, which is a pre-condition to the consolidation of independence and enjoyment of prosperity, has not been firmly established. It is clear that this situation is one of the contributing causes of internal political instability and, in turn, of instability in the area. Hence, we must recognize that long-term stability in the Middle East depends upon economic prosperity and upon raising the living standards of the peoples of the area.

85. I wish to express here our appreciation to Secretary-General Hammarskjöld for his wisdom in pointing out the importance of such an endeavour.

86. From the standpoint I have just mentioned, we hope that active discussions will be continued in the United Nations with regard to the concrete proposals for economic development which have been presented by the President of the United States and by representatives of other States.

87. In seeking a permanent solution of the problems of the Middle East, it is my firm belief that it is most reasonable and realistic to respect the initiative and ingenuity of the peoples of the area and to effect settlements which reflect the views and desires of these peoples.

88. As the representative of the Japanese Government, I have expressed our views concerning long-range measures for peace and stability in the Middle East. It goes without saying that with regard also to the immediate problems of Lebanon and Jordan, it is necessary to establish measures for settlement from a broad and long-range perspective on the basis of a full analysis and study of the basic problems of the entire Middle East. These permanent and constructive measures

should, in my opinion, be fully discussed at the forthcoming regular session of the General Assembly.

89. However, the immediate problems of Lebanon and Jordan require urgent solution. On this matter, we continue to hold the view, which we made clear at the deliberations of the Security Council, that the extended stationing of United States and United Kingdom forces in these countries may invite undesirable consequences. At the same time, it is the consistent position of my Government that in order to bring about the early withdrawal of these forces, the United Nations should effect the minimum guarantee measures necessary to make this possible.

90. The political situation in Lebanon has changed since my Government presented a proposal for the settlement of the problem of that country at the Security Council convened last month to consider the same items that are now before the present emergency session. Nevertheless, we believe that that proposal continues to provide an effective measure to enable the withdrawal of United States forces from Lebanon. We are glad to note that Secretary-General Hammarskjöld is giving effect to the purport of the draft resolution submitted by my delegation. I believe, too, that the idea contained in our proposal may usefully be considered also as a basis for the settlement of the problem of Jordan.

91. In my view, it is the duty of this emergency session to create the conditions necessary to permit the early withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from Lebanon and Jordan. It is the earnest hope of my Government that all the countries concerned will endeavour in a spirit of mutual accommodation to bring such conditions into being.

92. Mr. ABDON (Iran): Against a background of confusion and uncertainty resulting from the deadlock in the Security Council over the present difficulties in the Middle East, and the inconclusive endeavours to set up a "summit meeting" within the framework of the United Nations, there is, none the less, reason to hope that the deliberations of this Assembly can be conducted in a positive and constructive manner.

93. First, the initiative taken by the Secretary-General, whose sincere efforts towards achieving peace are a fulfilment of the delicate function placed in his hands by the United Nations Charter, and his intervention on the very first day of our session is another example of his significant and historical role. The Secretary-General drew the attention of the Members to the main issues facing the General Assembly in the area of the Middle East, as well as to the basic need for action in that region. The Secretary-General's statement illustrated once again his understanding of the human problems involved, his objectivity, his constructive spirit and his skill in discharging his heavy responsibilities. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General, whose timely endeavours to relax tension and establish peace at a very crucial moment in the history of our Organization cannot be overemphasized.

94. Secondly, the inspiring and stimulating address by the President of the United States to our Assembly, a candid and constructive approach to the problems of the Middle East, is most promising and encouraging. The fact that President Eisenhower's address five years ago contributed tremendously to the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency certainly leads us to hope now that this balanced approach towards a settlement of Middle East problems will help provide

a solid basis, not only for restoring peace and political stability in the area, but also for the promotion of the economic and social progress of the peoples of the Middle East—particularly through the establishment of an economic development organization, for which the great need is manifest.

95. President Eisenhower's address has, moreover, impressed us deeply, for it once again shows the peaceful ideals by which the United States is guided. We earnestly hope that the realization of these ideals will contribute to the relaxation of tensions and foster international co-operation for the betterment of the lot of the peoples of the area.

96. Thirdly, the fact that the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union expressed his Government's willingness to enter into official consultations aimed at a solution to the Middle East situation gives further reason to hope that the Assembly's deliberations will be successful and that all the parties concerned—and I repeat "all the parties concerned"—will intensify their efforts to reach an equitable and satisfactory solution in the Middle East.

97. Now it is up to the General Assembly to fulfil its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by steadfastly meeting the great challenge with which it is confronted in this explosive area. While we admit that there is no easy solution for the settlement of the problems with which we are faced, we are nevertheless confident that the Assembly will rise to the occasion and perform surely its important task, as it did on previous occasions when it was called upon to deal with other situations no less critical, provided that we are all animated, and I believe we are, by a sincere desire to maintain peace while searching for a just solution of the present difficulties.

98. The primary responsibility rests, however, with the Powers mainly concerned both within and without the region, which are duty bound to redouble their efforts for a general settlement of the problems, through understanding and co-operation in accord with the spirit and the letter of the Charter. We feel sure that, in a favourable atmosphere of restraint and moderation, the Assembly, in its deliberations, will be able to make an enormous contribution to a solution befitting the specific needs of the area.

99. It is in this spirit that my delegation wishes to take part in the general debate. To be sure, my delegation has much cause for concern, since my country is located in that area, which has undergone unrest and trouble during the past decade. We in Iran long for peace, calm and stability which will permit us to continue devoting our energies to the progress and prosperity for our people.

100. It is common knowledge that one of the main underlying causes of turmoil in the Middle East is the rise of nationalism as an attempt to realize the legitimate desire of the people for genuine independence and the promotion of their economic and social development. The beneficial effects of such a concept of nationalism can hardly be denied. Moreover, as such, it should be encouraged when it finds its basis in a solid sense of patriotism, that is to say, a deep-rooted sense of belonging to a nation and working for its welfare.

101. The fact of the matter is that, because of some inadequacies in certain Western policies in the Middle East, particularly in the past, a smouldering resentment has arisen and the true sense of patriotism has sometimes given way to an extremism which goes beyond the legitimate aspirations of the people, defying, let us

be frank, logic and self-interest. Furthermore, the tensions existing between Israel and the Arab countries and the plight of nearly one million refugees from Palestine have further aggravated the already frustrated feelings.

102. In my country we wholeheartedly support the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East, as well as in some other parts of the world, for full emancipation. We believe that constructive nationalism is one of the most powerful dynamic forces of our day, awakening new hopes and aspirations and stimulating dignity and self-confidence.

103. If, however, rather than emphasizing the positive ingredients of nationalism, stress is laid on its negative ingredients, and if this popular sentiment degenerates into sheer xenophobia and is exploited for expansion of influence to bring the smaller nations under the hegemony of larger ones, or to satisfy local political aims, we cannot approve such tendencies. Such extremism, which I might call negative nationalism, will not only be injurious to those nations which fall victim to it, but history has shown that it will ultimately be disastrous to those who adhere to such philosophy and practise it.

104. We therefore firmly believe that it is incumbent on the responsible leaders of the Middle East to exert their moral influence so that the sacred sentiments of nationalism and patriotism are directed towards the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the people, as well as toward the achievement of their legitimate political aspirations.

105. We believe at the same time that further understanding must be displayed by the Western nations involved toward the national aspirations and requirements of the people of the area. It is only under such conditions that international co-operation could replace that precarious situation which has engendered so much turmoil and unrest.

106. The outline presented by the Secretary-General on how to meet the basic needs for action in the political and economic spheres in the Middle East deserves the most careful consideration. My delegation believes that the study of such principles and practical arrangements by this Assembly might well result in a positive and constructive settlement of the problems in the area. Moreover, the programme envisaged by the President of the United States may serve, along with the Secretary-General's suggestions, as a firm basis for the settlement of the political problems as well as for economic and social progress in the Arab countries.

107. Turning now to the particular situation in Lebanon and Jordan, my country attaches great importance to the maintenance of the independence and integrity of these two countries. We believe that assistance should be afforded them in their legitimate desire for survival. It is our belief that additional effective measures, which may be taken along the lines suggested by the Secretary-General, will help to create conditions for free, peaceful and constructive development in these two nations.

108. In this same light, the General Assembly might invite all the countries concerned to reaffirm their faith in the principles of mutual respect for the territorial integrity and independence of Member States and of non-interference in each other's affairs—principles in line with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, already explicitly set forth at the Bandung Conference and set out in General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII) entitled "Peaceful and neighbourly relations among

States". The General Assembly might further call upon the Secretary-General to contemplate and report back to it on the most practical and realistic institutions to permit the carrying out of these principles and, as he himself has expressed it, assuring the peoples that they may shape their own destinies in the best interest of each nation within the region and of the region as a whole.

109. At this juncture, my delegation cannot help but express its regret over the inflammatory broadcasts which have had such noxious effects on relationships between various countries. To be sure, radio broadcasts which could serve an extremely helpful purpose in consolidating friendly relations among States have been misused as a powerful weapon to instil hatred and resentments. My delegation would, therefore, welcome any measures which might be taken by the General Assembly, with a view to monitoring broadcast materials throughout the world in general, along the lines suggested by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom.

110. I might mention, in this connexion, that as early as three years ago, disturbed by the serious effects of such broadcasts, particularly in the Arab countries with which we have close ties of culture, religion and friendship, my Government saw fit to invite all the Arab countries of the Middle East to meet in order to find a remedy for this unfortunate situation. Our voice, at that time, was not heeded, but our proposition still stands. Moreover, it is not too late to attempt to correct this situation, not merely by enunciating pious principles but rather by setting up the proper machinery to monitor radio broadcasts in the world at large.

111. Such measures, I am sure, will not only serve as an additional safeguard for the maintenance of the integrity of the smaller countries, which should not be subject to external pressures in any form, but will also further contribute to the promotion of friendly and neighbourly relations among Members of the United Nations, particularly in the area of the Middle East.

112. While the legality and propriety of the response made by the United States and the United Kingdom to the requests for assistance from Lebanon and Jordan can scarcely be questioned on the basis of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law, we are confident that, if so requested by Lebanon and Jordan, and with the effective presence of the United Nations in Lebanon and Jordan, the

United States and United Kingdom forces will be totally withdrawn from these two countries.

113. At the proper time, such emergency measures should be supplemented by long-term projects and a concrete and equitable settlement of differences existing between the Arab countries and Israel. Particularly prompt measures should be envisaged not only to alleviate the suffering of the Palestine refugees but also to enable them to exercise their legitimate rights on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly, without which no contemplated plan can achieve its main purposes of stability and peace in the area.

114. In spite of the fact that divergencies of view exist between the parties concerned, as has been shown by the various statements that we have heard, it would seem to my delegation that there is solid ground for narrowing further these differences and reaching agreement on a compromise solution which will be acceptable to all concerned. The fact that the Soviet delegation, in its draft resolution [*A/3870 and Corr.1*] appears to have accepted the principle of the presence of the United Nations both in Lebanon and in Jordan offers good reason to believe that a compromise solution can be reached if all the parties concerned demonstrate a spirit of conciliation and understanding.

115. We believe, furthermore, that the Secretary-General can play a most healthy and important role, as he has done in the past, in bringing together informally the parties concerned—and, I may say, all parties concerned—in an effort to work out a compromise solution and thus to extend the use of the United Nations as an instrument of reconciliation.

116. The recent events in Lebanon and Jordan have put the United Nations to a crucial test. At the same time, however, these happenings have provided an opportunity for the General Assembly to face the challenge of history with courage, forbearance and imagination. Amidst the cloudy atmosphere of confusion and mistrust, there has, moreover, arisen a brighter prospect for the future of the Arab countries. Let us grasp this opportunity.

117. Let us hope that the General Assembly, in its search for an agreement over the present difficulties, will be successful in helping to achieve peace and stability and in promoting the prosperity and welfare of the peoples of the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.