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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. PALAMARCHUK (UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC), MR. ARENALES CATALAN (GUATEMALA), MR. HORVATH (HUNGARY) AND MR. ZEINEDDINE (SYRIA)

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has pleasure in associating itself with those speakers who have expressed their satisfaction at the election of Prince Wan Waithayakon to the office of President of the eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly.

2. We are happy to have this opportunity to welcome the nineteen countries of Asia, Africa and Europe which were admitted to the United Nations at the present or the previous session, and are now participating in the Assembly's work. It will be remembered that for many years a solution of the problem of the admission of new Members was held up by systematic discrimination against certain States and favouritism for others. It is to be hoped that the question of admitting other countries which are still outside our Organization will be examined with due care, and that a lesson has been learnt from the complete bankruptcy of a policy of prejudice: slamming the door of the United Nations in the face of a country merely because its way of life, its system of government or its ideology are not to someone's liking.

3. Thanks to the patient and persevering efforts of the States which opposed that shortsighted policy, the United Nations has at last admitted nineteen new countries and thus strengthened its ranks. As a result of the changes in its membership, it is now in a position to act more effectively. It is nevertheless regrettable that the echoes of a policy of discrimination refuted by life itself were still heard at this session, when the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was discussed. The fact that the true representatives of China have not taken their place among us limits our Organization's opportunities of solving international problems and reconciling existing differences.

4. A short while ago, it seemed as if a world tortured by anxiety and insecurity had given way to a world beginning to recover from such malignant ailments as the "cold war" which, according to Mr. James Warburg, the American financier, has cost the United States \$350,000 million.

5. It is undeniable that the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and other European and Asian countries, both socialist and non-socialist, has had a beneficial effect on world developments. Owing to the persistent efforts and to the initiative of these States, a trend towards a radical relaxation of international tension has clearly emerged on the international scene. Resistance to policies incompatible with the purposes of peaceful co-operation has grown. The development of international relations during the last few years has strengthened the conviction that war is not inevitable and that under modern conditions powerful social and political forces have very real opportunities of preventing it.

6. At the same time, aggressive elements have recently deliberately exacerbated the international situation in a most dangerous manner. On the eve of the eleventh session of the General Assembly, the world, which had not heard the thunder of war for two years (that is, since the end of hostilities in Indo-China) was shaken by the ruthless aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt.

7. Although the flames of war at the meeting point of the Asian and African continents have now been extinguished, the danger of war in that area has not been entirely removed. That danger persists owing to the continued presence of the armed forces of the United Kingdom, France and Israel in Egyptian territory. At the same time we cannot but feel concerned at the dubious intrigues of certain groups against States friendly to Egypt. In addition, Israel announces aggressive designs on the Gaza Strip and other Arab territories. Such designs are reflected, *inter alia*, in the letter addressed by the Permanent Representative of Israel to the Secretary-General [A/3410]. Instead of immediately withdrawing its forces beyond the demarcation line, Israel now promises to withdraw them no further than fifty kilometres from the Suez Canal, retaining possession of what has been Egyptian territory from time immemorial.

8. The General Assembly has defined its attitude to the armed aggression in the Middle East in unmistakable terms. It has adopted three resolutions condemning the aggression and demanding the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist armies from Egypt.

9. Although the aggressors have suffered a military, political and moral defeat, we must not delude ourselves regarding their aims, which they have by no means abandoned. It is significant that at this session of the General Assembly we should have met with persistent attempts to justify and, what is more, to prove the legality of, the armed attack against Egypt.

10. We listened to Mr. Pineau's statement [589th meeting] with care. He expounded the view that the United Kingdom, France and Israel, in launching armed aggression in the Middle East, did not do evil, but good, because they had thus prevented the outbreak of a third world war. Mr. Lloyd spoke in the same terms. He said: "We believe . . . that we have stopped a small war from spreading into a larger war." [591st meeting, para. 94.]

11. With the use of such an argument, any aggression may be justified, as the achievement of certain economic and political aims or the suppression of a national liberation movement by force may always be camouflaged by the assertion that a small war was started to prevent a large war, and the victim of aggression may thus itself be accused of aggression.

12. The representative of France had a great deal to say about the weakness of the United Nations, about its inability to settle the problems of the Middle East; this, he said, had given Israel the "right" to start a preventive war.

13. This is not the first time that we have been treated to speeches justifying what is known as a "preventive war". It will be remembered that those who prepared and launched the Second World War also claimed that they were acting in the defence of their vital interests which were threatened. Whenever certain groups have advocated the theory of preventive war in the United Nations, my delegation, in common with a number of others, has pointed out that this theory is used as a cloak to cover flagrant acts of aggression against freedom-loving peoples in the part of the world concerned.

14. The events in the Middle East bear out this view. Israel was cast in the role of the initial aggressor by the United Kingdom and France on the ground that it was entitled to start a preventive war. Tomorrow an attack may be made on Syria or Jordan on the same pretext, the aspirations of those countries to independent existence being presented as a threat to other Powers.

15. The representatives of what is called "Western democracy", it appears, pay only lip service to peace and justice; in fact, they do not hesitate to use force in its most brutal form to attain their selfish aims of colonial domination.

16. Like many other nations of Asia and Africa, the Egyptian people defend what is theirs by right: their national independence and the full ownership of their national resources. Because it is determined to throw off the shameful yoke of colonialism, Egypt is accused of aggression. No, the mighty aspiration of formerly oppressed peoples to freedom and national independence, a force which is smashing the colonial system to bits like a great hurricane, is not to be confused with aggression.

17. No excuse will serve to make an armed attack appear as an acceptable means for the settlement of international disputes. Suffice it to refer to the Paris Pact of 27 October 1928, which was concluded on the initiative of France and the United States and is binding on more than sixty States. Article 1 of this pact says outright:

"The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies . . ."

18. Another prohibition of the use of force will be found in the United Nations Charter. Under that instrument, the use of armed force is permissible only in pursuance of a decision of the Security Council or, as prescribed in Article 51, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence "if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations". The United Nations was founded to save succeeding generations from the scourge and untold sorrow of war. The fact that, in the twelfth year after the United Nations was founded, an attempt is being made in this hall to justify war by calling it a proper means of settling international disputes, cannot but alarm us and set us on our guard.

19. Sad to relate, such attempts to justify war have not disturbed certain delegations, known for their extreme sensibility. During the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question, on the other hand, that sensibility reached its peak and, in the case of some representatives, attained the stage of hysteria. The ink was hardly dry on the previous resolutions concerning the so-called Hungarian question, when the General Assembly yesterday adopted a new resolution [A/RES/413] intended to trample underfoot the sovereign rights of the Hungarian People's Republic and to intensify the campaign of hostility against the Soviet Union. The resolution actually contains an ultimatum, unprecedented in the history of the United Nations, giving a sovereign Member State of the United Nations little more than twenty-four hours to agree to the admission of United Nations observers, and thus to permit gross interference in its domestic affairs.

20. Some speakers included in their statements violent attacks against the Soviet Union and the Soviet army, and thinly veiled threats against the Hungarian People's Republic and its delegation to the General Assembly.

21. However, there is no concealing the indisputable fact that the events in Hungary were part of a general conspiracy of the imperialist forces against international peace and security. It is easy to imagine what dangerous consequences would have resulted from the victory of reaction in Hungary. A fascist Hungary would undoubtedly have become the right hand of the German *Wehrmacht*, which is again ominously rearing its head in Central Europe.

22. The Government and people of the Ukrainian SSR are deeply perturbed at the intrigues of fascism in Europe. Our people, who have lived through the horrors of Hitlerite occupation, know only too well the murderous ways of fascism, its base instincts and its hatred of humankind.

23. I should like to assure the Hungarian delegation from this rostrum that the Hungarian People's Republic, now as always, has many friends who wish Hungary peace and success in the building of socialism. The Ukrainian people have been and remain the Hungarian people's true friend and good neighbour.

24. The inflexible resolution to ensure a stable and lasting peace is something all the peoples of the world today have in common. What is the chief condition for the maintenance of peace? The answer is simple: that condition still is a reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the cessation of tests of such weapons.

25. The United Nations has been discussing this difficult but urgent problem for many years. Unfortunately, however, we are today no nearer than we were ten

years ago to a universally acceptable solution of this question. Let us be frank. The mountain of adopted or rejected resolutions on disarmament is still rising, while we return to our peoples every year almost empty-handed. This is happening because the same forces which have now exacerbated the international situation are obstructing a solution of the problem of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

26. While the Soviet Union is reducing its armed forces, the United States has thrown itself into an armaments race which furnishes a golden stream of profits to the capitalist monopolies.

27. On the pretext that there is a constant threat to its security, which will continue unabated for a long time to come, the United States is contributing to the support of about 200 divisions in the armies of its allies, according to a statement by Mr. Wilson, the United States Secretary of Defense. In the words of the Chief of Staff of the United States, they have become a focus of military activity in many countries.

28. The opponents of disarmament and international co-operation assert that war can be prevented by making weapons so terrifying that they act as deterrents, and by forming military blocs. They represent these blocs as "shields of peace", and as a means of achieving some sort of balance of power. In our time, however, when there are armaments capable of destroying the largest cities, the largest industrial and cultural centres, in a few seconds, the balance of power is a totally unreliable guardian of the peace.

29. To pursue a policy of balance of power is, particularly at the present time, tantamount to staking everything on the armaments race in order to ensure superiority in an atomic war.

30. This concept has wide currency and influential adherents in official quarters in the United States. It underlies the well-known doctrine of "teetering on the brink of war". However, history teaches us that an armaments race inevitably leads to a world conflict. To teeter on the brink of war is as dangerous for universal peace as it is dangerous for a man to teeter on the top cornice of a New York skyscraper.

31. Mankind may be freed from the fear and danger of universal war and the whole international atmosphere may be radically changed if we carry out a comprehensive programme for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of effective international control.

32. The road leading to the attainment of this object is hard and strewn with obstacles, but the cost of war with all its horrors and sufferings is too high for us to be deterred by obstacles and difficulties. New and very real prospects on this road are opened up by the Soviet Government's proposals of 17 November 1956 [4/3366] on disarmament and the lessening of international tension submitted to the eleventh session of the General Assembly.

33. Without wishing to discuss all the aspects of the comprehensive and detailed disarmament programme proposed by the Soviet Union, I would draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the Soviet Government has taken a new and important step to meet the Western Powers half-way by expressing its willingness to consider the question of aerial photography to a depth of 800 kilometres east and west of the demarcation line between the armed forces of the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty countries stationed in Europe.

34. The proposals provide that the armed forces of the USSR, the United States and China should be reduced to 1,500,000 men each in the course of the next two years; those of the United Kingdom and France to 650,000 each, and those of the remaining States to 150,000 to 200,000 each. It is also proposed, among other things, that nuclear weapons should be prohibited and that in 1957 the armed forces of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France stationed in German territory should be reduced by one-third, and that military bases in the territories of other States should be dismantled.

35. In addition, a non-aggression pact between the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty is suggested. "Such a pact," says the Soviet Government's statement, "considering that the participants would include the Soviet Union and the United States—that is countries which possess the most powerful armed forces—would result in radical changes in the entire international climate and would help to lessen international tension and to create confidence between States."

36. The Soviet Government's proposals are an acceptable basis for an agreement on disarmament. The United Nations and its organs, which have so far failed to achieve any real result in the matter of armaments reduction and the prohibition of atomic weapons, must not continue to maintain an attitude of patient inactivity, while the armaments race absorbs enormous material resources, places a heavy burden on the workers' shoulders and threatens the world with a new and catastrophic war.

37. Alongside the problem of disarmament, international economic relations are coming to be of prime importance in our world. Neither individual nations, nor groups of nations, can fail to be interested in developing to the greatest possible extent the exchange of the products of their toil and their scientific, technical and cultural achievements, in the peaceful progress of mankind.

38. The Ukrainian SSR, which plays an important part in producing Soviet export goods, uses a considerable proportion of the goods and services received by the Soviet Union from other countries. As a country with a highly advanced economy, the Ukraine is, of course, interested in the development of international trade on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis.

39. Our Republic occupies a large territory and possesses vast and varied natural resources. Under the socialist system, its economy has attained a high level of development. A few figures will suffice to illustrate this: in 1955, more than 16 million tons of cast iron were produced in the Ukraine, almost 17 million tons of steel, 13,600,000 tons of rolled iron and 126 million tons of coal. The area under cultivation comprises almost 33 million hectares, including 8,600,000 hectares under wheat, more than 2 million hectares under potatoes and 1,260,000 hectares under sugar beet.

40. Every year sees a rise in the output of industrial and food products designed to satisfy consumer needs and to raise the standard of living.

41. In fraternal co-operation with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian people are carrying out a new five-year plan, which provides for a con-

siderable growth of the Republic's economy from 1956 to 1960. This opens up great prospects for participation in international trade in accordance with the Soviet practices of producing goods for export and consuming imported commodities.

42. All over the world there is a growing desire for the expansion of trade and other economic relations and the removal of the artificial obstacles still hampering trade between the West and the East. Yet the possibilities for establishing normal trade and economic relations between countries are not being fully used. The USSR delegation's proposal that a world economic conference be convened in 1957 [589th meeting] should therefore be most attentively studied by the General Assembly. At such a conference the representatives of all countries would be able to have businesslike discussions and to exchange their views on ways and means for solving urgent international economic problems. We fully support this promising initiative of the USSR delegation.

43. The General Assembly's agenda contains items concerning a whole series of political, economic and social problems which are of great importance for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of confidence among nations. We must patiently and realistically seek opportunities for the solution of these problems in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding.

44. The worsening of the international situation is causing alarm among millions of people and calls for vigilance on their part. In the circumstances, it is important that the present session of the General Assembly should fulfil its duty towards the nations and contribute to a lessening of international tension and a strengthening of peace and security.

45. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly gave evidence of its confidence and faith in Prince Wan Waithayakon when it unanimously elected him to the presidency of its eleventh session. From that time on, each delegation that has taken the floor has paid a tribute of admiration to him. My delegation now wishes to join the others in this spontaneous and respectful tribute paid to the wisdom and moral courage which our President has shown since the beginning of the session, and which afford us the assurance that he will guide our work towards a satisfactory conclusion. We are indeed fortunate in our choice.

46. Before stating our political position, we should like to extend a warm welcome to the new Members of the United Nations, for whose unrestricted admission we voted last year; in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter, we did so on the basis, not of their systems of government, but of their international conduct. We hope that Japan will join our Organization as soon as possible, that other nations, which unfortunately are at present divided, will in the near future be able to become Members, and that those peoples which are at present under a foreign administration will soon achieve their independence and also join the United Nations.

47. There is one more point to which I must refer before proceeding to the substantive part of my statement. As my country is a member of the Trusteeship Council and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, my delegation must report on its action therein. We are aware that we

were elected by the Assembly to both these bodies because of our traditional anti-colonial policy, representative perhaps of the attitude of an entire geographical region. Conscious of our moral responsibility to the United Nations, we intend to submit to the Fourth Committee the necessary information on our action, to which the relevant resolutions and records already bear witness.

48. In connexion with the problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in view of our vote last year in favour of the admission of new Members, we feel obliged to make at least a brief reference to the Guatemalan delegation's surprise at the fact that certain States, whose international conduct, in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter, we approved when voting for their admission, do not seem to have realized that Chapter XI of that Charter imposes on them certain obligations in respect of their international policies.

49. I now come to my delegation's position in regard to the general debate. The Guatemalan delegation will confine its observations almost exclusively to the two great problems which our Organization is facing in Hungary and the Middle East. I know that the purpose of a general debate in the Assembly is to enable Members to state their international position in relation to the United Nations and its problems, but such a statement has already been made by Guatemala on the occasion of its ratification of the Charter and by its President during the tenth session of the General Assembly [539th meeting]. As to our attitude towards the new developments that have arisen in the important problems which have to be faced at the present session of the Assembly, it will be stated by my delegation when each of these items comes up for discussion in committee and later in the General Assembly.

50. That is why we have not deemed it indispensable to participate in the general debate every year. In our view, a Member State needs to make its position known only when there has been a fundamental change in the international scene or in its attitude to international affairs.

51. Last year, an incredulous world saw the emergence of the "Geneva spirit", which, at the beginning of the tenth session of the Assembly, was already sustaining its first setbacks. This year the world, entertaining perhaps the same doubts, but with anxious feelings of hope based on the determination to cure its ills, was beginning, albeit still very warily, to live in an atmosphere which seemed to promise an improvement, rather than a deterioration, of the international situation.

52. As the representative of Norway has pointed out [598th meeting], it was not without surprise that we received the two blows constituted by the events in the Middle East and in Hungary. This surprise was accompanied by a feeling of deep sorrow at the destiny of the hopes not only of diplomats and statesmen throughout the world, but also of whole peoples, of secure alliances, and of men of good will everywhere.

53. As regards first the problem of Hungary, my delegation's position can be summed up in three words: condemnation, concern and action.

54. Guatemala condemns the repression of a people with the use of foreign forces. Guatemala condemns the crushing of a popular rebellion without any distinction being made between combatants and civilians. Guatemala condemns compulsory mass deportations, and the difficulties which have been placed in the way of

international assistance and the dispatch of United Nations observers.

55. Guatemala is deeply concerned at the appalling situation of the Hungarian people, at the tragic condition of the Hungarian refugees and at the spectacle of a powerful tyranny which, although it feels itself threatened, still constitutes a danger to so many peoples in that part of the world.

56. But this condemnation of past and present occurrences, and this concern about the present and the future, make my delegation and my Government deeply aware of the urgent need for action.

57. In the case of Hungary, as in the case of Egypt, Guatemala takes a firm stand but places the main emphasis on constructive action, on alleviating the sufferings of the Hungarian people and on sparing from even greater suffering those nations and peoples which are most vulnerable to the forces of evil and error. In line with that policy, Guatemala promptly and unobtrusively offered to receive a number of Hungarian refugees, being the second Latin American country to do so, and has also made contributions in kind towards alleviating the distress of the Hungarian people.

58. My delegation is furthermore determined to spare no effort to ensure that observers of the United Nations or the Secretary-General, acting as a negotiator, are permitted to go to Hungary, as well as to facilitate any intelligent and effective action we may take to improve rather than worsen the situation in that part of the world.

59. Thus it was with mingled feelings of misgiving and hope that we received yesterday [608th meeting] the Secretary-General's report on the results of the negotiations which will, it seems, enable him to visit Budapest. And here I should like to say a word in defence of the United Nations and indirectly of my own and many other delegations.

60. Much has been said about the imperative and urgent need, or merely the expediency or the advisability, of sending a police force to Hungary. It is not my desire to discuss, or express an opinion on that issue because, even if such a course were in the interest of the Hungarian people, this general debate is hardly the place to deal with it.

61. I do, however, wish to say one thing. No one, I believe, denies that the United Nations has the right or the juridico-political ability to take such a step. It is true that a police force has entered Egypt, but it has done so with the acquiescence of Egypt and of the two greatest Powers in the world. In Hungary, in the absence of such acquiescence, it would have taken a large army to carry out police duties, and its intervention would almost inevitably have led to the third world war which we in the United Nations are striving to avoid. While the Hungarian people should not be abandoned to destruction, they would not have benefited from a third world war.

62. Finally, in the face of the division—albeit the temporary division—of the West, brought about by the unfortunate events in the Middle East, this was perhaps the worst moment in world affairs even to consider taking police action of the kind.

63. I hope that the participants in the tragic events in the Middle East will have realized that, had they not launched their attack against Egypt, it would perhaps have been difficult for the events in Hungary to have gone so far, and that, as a result of that attack, this

Organization's possibilities of action have perhaps been restricted.

64. It is true that the courageous and honest stand of many Member States has increased the moral prestige of the United Nations; it is, however, equally certain that two of its greatest champions have lost part of the moral force which their utterances had in the eyes of the world. We can only hope that, with valiant and persistent efforts on their part to put matters right, and with the help of time and human forgiveness, they will regain that status.

65. This brings me to the question of Egypt. The problems of the Middle East, too, have a past, a present and future. In stating my delegation's position in that connexion, I shall enumerate what I consider the principal elements involved: in view of their complexity, merely to list those elements is in itself a useful contribution and serves to clarify the issue.

66. Guatemala condemned the recent attack on Egypt as unilateral and unjustified, and considered that it constituted a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the principles not only of ethics, but also of reasonable international coexistence, which should have been all the more scrupulously observed because of the explosive situation in the Middle East and of the world-wide responsibility resting on the shoulders of the permanent members of the Security Council.

67. As regards the more distant past, Guatemala has not forgotten the provocations which have occurred during the last few years between Israel and the Arab States, but wishes to recall that, as may be seen from the resolutions and recommendations of the Security Council and of the General Assembly itself, such provocations appear to have occurred as a rule on both sides. Even ignoring that aspect of the matter, such events cannot justify—although they might explain—a unilateral resort to force in violation of the armistice agreements and of the United Nations Charter.

68. Guatemala, which maintains such friendly relations both with the Arab States and with Israel, considers that Israel and Arab statesmen should have understood, and must understand in their own interest, that it has not been owing to a selfish fear of a world conflict that the community of nations has been constantly recommending and urging the countries of the Middle East to show patience and moderation. Owing to their strategic geographical position and their considerable resources, they would no doubt be the first victims of a world conflict. Events are showing that any disturbance in the equilibrium of that part of the world produces an even greater disturbance, and that the desire of certain countries to defend their independence and their existence may compromise the very independence and freedom of nations.

69. As regards the less immediate past, Guatemala is also mindful of what have been called the "vital" interests of the European Powers. However, we are certain that even if they have not admitted it publicly, these States have found out for themselves that in the world today the best way to protect their interests is not to use unilateral force, which only makes matters worse, and that the principles of international coexistence, based on a collective security organization, are still valid in spite of the doubts which the limitations of our present system may have occasioned.

70. Those friendly States must stop believing that power confers infallibility of judgement, they must recognize without bitterness that the world has changed

—thanks largely to the initiative of the European States themselves. They must not deplore or try to arrest the growing national consciousness of people, but adapt themselves to it. They must display a keen sense of political realism and admit that the power and economic strength which were, and still are, such important factors in their assessment of international problems, have undergone a process of evolution from the point of view of international distribution and balance.

71. We hope that their present experience will lead the statesmen of the European States who, until a short time ago, had shown remarkable capacity for vision, adaptability and resourcefulness, to make a realistic reassessment and rapid adjustment—and I repeat the word “rapid”—of the general lines of their economic and international policy.

72. As regards the present situation in the Middle East, it is true that the developments of the last three days give us at least some reason for optimism. Until three days ago, we were deeply concerned about what seemed to be a dangerous step in the direction of “precautionary political measures” which were being taken by certain countries directly or indirectly interested in the situation in the Middle East. However, the new developments which have come to our knowledge—and all of which are undoubtedly in the right direction—will probably bring about a certain relaxation of tension in that part of the world. And those countries which, as certain sinister rumours had it, were taking what are wrongly termed “precautionary political measures” may, as a result listen to the counsels of moderation which certain friendly nations have given them—counsels which are both in the general interest and in the interest of those countries themselves.

73. We should like to remind those countries that are directly or indirectly interested in taking so-called “precautionary political measures” that, in situations like the present one in the Middle East, reasons and motives of a positive and sincere nature are politically just as valid as fears and pretexts. Consequently, any step which any of the nations concerned may take should be carefully thought out beforehand and carried out with extreme caution.

74. Otherwise, there may be actions and reactions which may endanger world peace, and thus also the peace of the area concerned, or at least seriously endanger the freedom and independence of the very peoples that are trying to preserve peace, as well as the very interests which other nations are trying to protect. That is the inevitable fate—and more so than ever today—of those regions which find themselves at the crossroads of world politics.

75. However, aside from these reflections, Guatemala's main consideration with respect to the Middle East has been its constant desire to look towards the future, and take constructive action, and in this connexion we are also prepared to support and promote the measures which certain States are proposing and which seem genuinely aimed at restoring the situation.

76. Apart from the present need for caution, which is more acute than ever, the real problem in the Middle East is a problem of the future—the elimination of conditions harmful to regional and extra-regional interests, and the consolidation of peace and justice to prevent the repetition of events dangerous to all nations, such as those which we have recently been deploring and which we are striving so hard to remedy.

77. Until a short time ago, there were four immediate problems to be settled in the Middle East: the cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops, the clearing of the Canal and a fourth problem which, in spite of its negative character, is of fundamental importance for solving the other problems of the Middle East, namely, that of the absolute need for all Member States to refrain from any direct or indirect intervention in that area, such action being in contravention of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its first emergency special session and during the present session.

78. With respect to the first three problems, we must congratulate all the parties for accepting the cease-fire which the United Nations requested of all combatants, and we must also congratulate those States which have made generous and courageous reappraisal of the situation and are embarking on a course which, we are certain, will lead to the most equitable solution of the problems of the Middle East, with the moral weight of the United Nations and the firm support of its Member States behind them. Thus we have some reason for optimism when we hear the latest news about the withdrawal of troops and the clearing of the Suez Canal.

79. These measures may provide a provisional solution for the problem, but they will not be enough to solve it in any permanent way. The *statu quo ante* failed to prevent the events which we are deploring today. I believe that there is hardly one nation among the seventy-nine of which our Organization is now composed which would not admit, at least in its own conscience, that it is necessary to find a solution—and not merely to seek one—for the two great underlying problems: that of Israel's relations with the Arab nations and that of the Suez Canal.

80. And let it not be said that suggestions from outside are unwelcome, because there is no question of imposing a solution unilaterally. We have seen that these problems concern the entire community of nations, and we have also seen that within the Middle East itself it has been impossible to agree on even the beginning of a solution.

81. Our suggestion proceeds from the idea that the matter is one for the collective judgement of the United Nations, and that the calm firmness of this Organization and of those Member States which exert the greatest power or authority in the Middle East constitute our only hope for a fair solution which, without encroaching on any sovereign rights, will call upon all parties (and we might as well face this fact now) to give up some of their claims.

82. My delegation will define its position in this matter at the proper time, when we discuss the problems that are raised in one way or another by the two draft resolutions submitted by the United States [A/3272 and A/3273]. Meanwhile, we should like to state a few principles, which we submit for the later consideration of the Assembly and, in particular, of those nations directly concerned.

83. With respect to the problem of Israel's relations with the Arab States, my delegation considers the following three principles as fundamental: First, the Arab States must recognize Israel's existence. Secondly, whether for good or evil, the existence of passions in the political field is a very powerful reality, and in the present case the feelings of the Arab peoples, whether justified or not, and their legitimate interests and fears, cannot be disregarded but

must be taken into account as elements of the problem to be solved. Thirdly, the Arab peoples and Governments must realize that they have reached, as was inevitable, a turning point in their national history, and must put their passions on one side and adopt an attitude of cool logic in order to protect their interests. This can sometimes be done more effectively by making concessions than by putting forward demands. In political and parliamentary matters, it is not enough for us to believe that we are right; it is necessary that others should believe that we are reasonable.

84. With respect to the Suez Canal problem, the principles which we should like to lay down are the same six which have already been accepted by the countries directly concerned and unanimously approved by the Security Council [S/3675]. We shall only note the following. First, by free navigation, we understand a right which should be universally granted to all nations and all interests, and not merely to those States which the administering authority may select. Secondly, by users' rights, we understand merely the rights of freedom and safety of navigation. Thirdly, if Egypt's sovereign right to nationalize the Canal has been acknowledged, we do not see how there can be any discussion about granting it a "fair proportion of the dues".

85. This brings us to the end of our statement. The events in Egypt and Hungary have subjected our Organization to a severe trial, from which, in our opinion, it has emerged not only successful but stronger than ever. We think that the United Nations is still the flexible instrument that we always believed it to be. Naturally, it is not an organ which can solve the complex problems of relations between men with the speed of electricity or the precision of a fine-edged tool. But those of us who realize that complex political problems cannot always be solved directly or instantaneously still have faith in our Organization.

86. I should like to remind those who try to blame the United Nations for the crisis, that a generous correction of a mistaken policy needs no excuse and that we should not attribute to the Organization defects which are our own. We should like to remind the sceptics who want international problems solved boldly and instantaneously that their pessimism would soon vanish if they only paused to think what the consequences of each of these crises would have been if our Organization, with its great moral strength in the eyes of the world, had not existed.

87. This does not mean that we refuse to accept the idea of improving our collective procedures. The creation of the Emergency Force for the Middle East is a step in the right direction, and my Government remains open to any constructive and practical suggestion that might lead to a serious study of the problem of a permanent United Nations force. Another step in the right direction is the diplomatic function which the Secretary-General has been able to perform thanks to his self-sacrifice, his devotion to principles and his outstanding personal abilities. My Government wishes me to convey a message of satisfaction and congratulations to the Secretary-General.

88. However, the problems of Hungary and Egypt have not had repercussions on our Organization alone. Those crises have produced numerous actions and reactions in the political attitude of many States to the international scene. It is only natural that these political reactions should in turn have repercussions on

the attitude of a Member State to the problems of the United Nations, especially such problems as world disarmament, atomic energy, and colonial questions, which so greatly affect relations between States.

89. As regards the real division caused by the Egyptian crisis in what is called the Western world, my Government is confident that, thanks to a policy which already promises to be one of moderation and reform, the differences in the Western family are much slighter, much more temporary, and of much less ideological, political and economic seriousness than others which beset humanity as a whole. Although we viewed the beginnings of the Middle Eastern crisis with the greatest anxiety, it is with hope that we are now following the promising efforts of our friends, the nations of Europe and the Middle East.

90. With respect to that division of the world which unfortunately has become more familiar to us during the last decade, Guatemala's position remains the same as that stated last year before this Assembly by the President of Guatemala. Our position is not to reject any manifestation of peace or good will, no matter from which side it may come, without long and thorough consideration, but to maintain at all times the attitude of careful vigilance which is necessary to protect our ideals and way of life, and to give our support only where deeds and attitudes show that they deserve it.

91. These are the principles which will guide the Guatemalan delegation during the present session of the General Assembly.

92. Mr. HORVATH (Hungary): As my delegation's contribution to the general debate, I should like to take this opportunity to give an account of what Hungary has done since the last session to strengthen international co-operation.

93. The Hungarian Government is anxious to enter into normal relations with all countries irrespective of their economic and social systems. This is indicated, among other things, by the fact that the Hungarian People's Republic is continuously extending its diplomatic relations. In the course of this year, diplomatic relations were established with eight additional countries, making a total of forty-two.

94. The Hungarian People's Republic wishes to take part in the development of all forms of international co-operation. My Government regards trade relations based on mutual advantage and equality as one of the most concrete and fruitful ways of co-operation between States with different régimes. The volume of such trade exceeds considerably the pre-war level in absolute figures in the case of Hungary.

95. The various agencies of the United Nations, and particularly its regional economic commissions, have a special task to eliminate the factors that hinder more extensive international economic co-operation. Even before the Hungarian People's Republic became a Member of the United Nations, it played an active role in the work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. It will in the future as well contribute to United Nations work in the economic field.

96. Among others, we are anxious to play an active part in the United Nations technical assistance programme and in the further expansion of the international exchange of technical knowledge. To this end, the Hungarian Government, on the one hand, is contributing, commensurately with the country's economic potentialities, to the technical assistance programme, and, on the other hand, it wishes to take

advantage of assistance in certain fields of technical development.

97. The getting together of representatives of different countries is an important means of co-operation, of which we wish to make ever greater use. In this connexion, we regard as extremely useful the exchange of visits by parliamentary representatives. Recently, we have been host to parliamentary delegations from Czechoslovakia, Romania, Syria, Japan, the Soviet Union, Brazil, Finland and Poland. Members of the Hungarian Parliament have paid visits to many foreign countries. Hungary has been represented in 1956 at more than 250 international congresses, about 100 of which were of a scientific nature. A number of important international events have also taken place in my country, of which I need only mention the International Liszt Piano Competition, the Bartok Festival, and the meeting of the World Council of Churches. On these occasions, we welcomed people from many parts of the world.

98. The fact that Hungary is affiliated with more than 200 international organizations illustrates our part in expanding international relations and co-operation in all directions. Hungary is glad to co-operate internationally in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and was a party to the recently signed Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

99. The chief factor in the present international tension has been the aggressive attitude of certain Western countries, and particularly of the United Kingdom and France, in connexion with the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Although this act by Egypt in no way contravened international law, the United Kingdom and France decided on armed intervention. The tripartite armed attack against Egypt, which resolutely safeguarded its national interests, reminds one of the most shameful chapter from the heyday of colonialism. Egyptian patriots will not easily forget the bloodbath of Fort Said.

100. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France were shortsighted and did not realize the anachronism of this brutal military venture. Their obliviousness to the law of historical development hit the aggressors like a boomerang. The British and French Governments did not count on the general indignation that their outrage against Egypt would evoke throughout the world. The view taken by the world Press and the representatives to the United Nations shows that this unparalleled trampling underfoot of Egyptian sovereignty was condemned not only by the Governments and people of former colonial countries and of the socialist countries which oppose colonialism on principle, but also by the Governments and people of countries which are in military alliance with the United Kingdom and France. Further, a number of leading British and French politicians and a substantial section of the populations of the United Kingdom and France refused to be associated with their Governments' military venture in Egypt.

101. Thanks to pressure exercised by world public opinion, and the valiant perseverance of the Egyptian people and the support they received, the attackers were frustrated in their attempt to attain their ends, namely, to bring Egypt to heel and to become supreme masters over the Suez Canal.

102. Now that the aggressors realize the failure of their original plan, they are trying to get all they can out of the situation that confronts them. They have put off the withdrawal of their troops, despite the United Nations resolutions, by appealing to untenable arguments,

and they are quite evidently attempting to utilize the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force for their own purposes in an undercover way. This corresponds to the well-known Western plan, which is unacceptable to Egypt because it infringes its sovereignty.

103. Clearly, the one and only purpose of sending the United Nations Emergency Force to Egypt is to ensure the rapid withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian territory. By no means must the settling of the Suez problem, the clearing of the Suez Canal or other problems connected with it be made contingent upon the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force.

104. As expressed by its vote for the resolution [A/RES/410] adopted on the proposal of twenty Asian and African countries, the Hungarian delegation demands the immediate withdrawal of the British, French and Israel troops. It also considers necessary the earliest possible withdrawal of United Nations forces, so that the Egyptian Government can become the sovereign ruler over the whole country.

105. It is not only the fate of the Egyptian people that is at stake but that of the entire Arab world, the future of former colonial countries, and, in its broader aspects, even the peace of the whole world, because the armed venture of the United Kingdom and France is fraught with the danger of world war. That is why all peace-loving forces of the world have to co-operate to root out the causes of conflagration in the Middle East.

106. No one can deny that mankind's paramount desire is the preservation of peace and the avoidance of war. It is in the light of this desire that there is a pressing need to solve fundamental problems which have so far regrettably remained unsolved.

107. In the opinion of the Hungarian Government, the question of disarmament is the most urgent. We entirely disagree with those who consider that the so-called policy of strength, the continuation of the armaments race, is a means of consolidating peace and security. It would be wrong to demand that these weighty and complex problems should be solved overnight. Partial agreement on measures would also mitigate the anxiety of mankind, ease the burden weighing down upon it which prevents greater well-being, and also pave the way for further progress. The monopolistic great Powers are responsible for starting the armaments race and for the deadlock on disarmament.

108. Recently certain States, and particularly the Soviet Union, have shown an example by taking unilateral measures and making important concrete contributions towards disarmament. It is regrettable that the Western great Powers have failed to act likewise. What is more, they have done the contrary.

109. In compliance with the people's wishes, the Hungarian Government will continue to participate in all international efforts to maintain peace and security and to solve the disarmament problem and it will lend its support to any proposal to this end.

110. One such proposal is the Soviet Government's statement of 17 November 1956 [A/3366] on disarmament and the easing of international tension. The Hungarian delegation regards this plan as a way to settle such vital issues as the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The danger represented by the production of weapons of mass destruction fills the peoples of the world with justified concern.

111. The Soviet proposals contain many new and encouraging elements which open new vistas for disarmament discussion. They also comply with certain ideas put forward for some time by the Western Powers, which they make conditional for any agreement on disarmament. We welcome these new and realistic suggestions to promote agreement. We hope with all our hearts that the great Powers primarily responsible for disarmament will play their part in a conciliatory spirit to bring about agreement, even if only partial. No doubt, the peoples of the world would be deeply gratified by such an agreement, which would have an extremely positive role in lessening international tension.

112. The Hungarian people would be glad to see the dissolution of both the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. What is needed is a treaty of collective security which unites all the peoples of Europe on the basis of coexistence. Certain Governments are inclined to make the solution of the disarmament problem contingent upon settling the German question. German militarism has driven the Hungarian people into world wars that have had for them the most serious consequences twice in one generation. It follows from this that the Hungarian Government is perturbed by the present status of the German problem.

113. We must, however, realize that the solution of both problems is jeopardized by making one dependent on the other. The militarization of the German Federal Republic is a serious obstacle to the peaceful democratic unification of Germany, as is the refusal of the Bonn Government to enter into direct negotiations between the two sovereign German States, the only feasible method of bringing about unification.

114. At the last session of the General Assembly, a good deal of reference was made not only to the Geneva meeting but also to the Bandung Conference, that wonderful manifestation of Asian and African solidarity. That conference was a sign of an historical trend which cannot be reversed: new States coming into being with each passing year during our generation, whose peoples, having thrown off the shackles of colonialism, enjoy the sympathy of all peoples in the world in the struggle to consolidate their independence and to win respect for their sovereignty.

115. We must, however, realize that the groups which have been deprived of their privileges by this trend are staking everything on retrieving them. The Hungarian delegation hopes that the problems of West Irian, Cyprus and Algeria will be settled by negotiation, with respect for the interests of those peoples and the principle of self-determination.

116. The newly independent countries are now engaged in a hard struggle to obtain and consolidate their economic independence. The United Nations also has an important role to play in this respect. The Hungarian Government is in favour of setting up for this purpose the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. One of the fundamental problems of world economics today is the economic progress of under-developed countries. Such progress favourably affects the economies of the advanced countries by putting world economic relations on a healthy footing. By promoting independent national industries, SUNFED would make the economies of the countries concerned more varied, this being a prerequisite for economic progress.

117. Another fundamental requirement is the recognition of equality in the structure and operation of SUNFED, with unconditional respect for the interests of the less developed countries. Bilateral agreements can also be an important means of offering aid to less developed countries for economic advancement. It is an implicit requirement, whenever bilateral agreements are reached, that they do not contain any clauses which run counter to national interests and make political or military conditions.

118. The Hungarian delegation would like to point out that the work of the United Nations on Far Eastern and other questions is made less effective by the absence of the Chinese People's Republic, which is one of the great Powers in Asia and the world enjoying considerable international prestige. It is high time for the United Nations to remedy this situation. International political life has posed many burning issues for the United Nations. In all spheres of international relations, *pancha shila*, the five basic principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political systems, have to be made a reality.

119. Once these principles are consistently applied, it will become possible to end the armaments race, to obtain recognition for the rights of colonial and dependent countries, to win and consolidate their independence, and to settle other pending international issues.

120. With its domestic policy the Hungarian People's Republic creates the conditions which stimulate sincere and manifold co-operation with other countries. In our international relations we unconditionally respect the rights of other countries and in turn we ask for similar respect.

121. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): May I join with those who preceded me in extending to the President the congratulations of my delegation on his unanimous election to preside over our deliberations. His guidance to us is most valuable. He may be sure that it is deeply appreciated.

122. This session of the United Nations General Assembly meets at a time when the world community is beset with a series of problems. Some of these problems are difficult to solve, such as disarmament and the use of atomic energy. Other problems are grave and urgent, such as the problems relating to the Middle East situation and Algeria. Yet all these problems come to us as attendants to an evolution in world affairs, rapid and far-going. Indeed, no single year has seen such an evolution as the last one.

123. It befits us to look into that as a beginning. New States are emerging on the world scene. Five Arab States are attending for the first time a full session of the Assembly. The Assembly is becoming universal. Fourteen other new Members have joined our Organization. The "cold war" is shedding its paraphernalia; its camps of power, its tensions and dissensions, previously reflected in this Assembly, have diminished rapidly. The alliances of the "cold war" are tending to become obsolete. The systems and equilibriums of the "cold war" are tottering. The "cold war", acting to suck into its vortex a number of vital human issues, such as self-determination and development in under-developed areas, has ceased to operate.

124. The United Nations itself has been able at this session to work with a harmony unsurpassed since San Francisco. The United States and the Soviet Union

have been able to vote together on very grave issues. Let us hope that they can continue to work together. Generally speaking, the "cold war" has diminished, thus ushering in a new season: the coming of peace.

125. The rapidity and nature of this evolution in world affairs has—not surprisingly—been met by resistance and reaction. We feel that resistance. We see it today active and spearheaded by a revival of colonial policy acting in conjunction with Zionism. It is by no means a coincidence that the United Kingdom, France and Zionism, which reveals itself here in the Assembly through Israel, have acted together at this historic juncture in world developments. It is not surprising that they precipitated their action before world developments made it too late for them to act in the way they did.

126. The gist of their action is to see that colonial Powers are again able to take the law into their hands, to by-pass the United Nations and substitute themselves for it, to bring about small wars in an attempt to impose their will on other peoples and face the United Nations with a *fait accompli*. Their intent is to make the world safe for their designs, instead of allowing the world to become safe for the Charter and its principles.

127. The Anglo-French-Zionist triumvirate appear to be only concerned about the Middle East. But they know full well that a conflict in the Middle East can hardly be localized. Their ultimate objective appears to be of a far wider scope. As a result of their action in the Middle East, they may bring intervention and activate tensions between the two major world Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Then the United Kingdom and France would develop a position where they can serve as a weight in a new balance of power and regain their diminishing international import. Neither of the two Powers is ready to be reconciled with the inevitable trends of history. Then Zionism can better fish in the waters it would have troubled. Then Mr. Ben-Gurion can go on to sing the praise of aggression in his own poetic language and repeat his words, which I would like to quote: "Ahead of us are campaigns and conquests, the splendour and portents to come."

128. The Middle East situation, with its wide implications, can hardly be considered in the light of the Korean or Vietnamese situation, where violence broke out but was contained. The nature of the issues is different, the nature of the area is different. The three Allies were not acting lightly when they breached the peace in the Middle East and endangered world peace. They know better than anybody that small wars in the Middle East have consistently called for determined intervention, and that small wars, in that central area, can only lead to big wars.

129. Today, more than ever, the Middle East is the focus of world tensions. Its resources, its strategic importance, the liberating upsurge of its peoples, and the complexity of its issues, make it so. Tensions focused upon our area are reflected back into the United Nations with a hazy and tormented light of uncertainty. Indeed, the United Nations itself has been attacked by the Franco-Zionist-British blow. It has been thrown into a state of twilight, between orderly, instituted and sanctioned peace, on the one hand, and chaos, actual aggression inviting further aggression, on the other hand. The very mission of the United Nations, the very evolution towards a peaceful international order, have in reality become the issue.

130. The Middle East situation with its implications confronts the United Nations with a challenge: whether the norms of the Charter and the authority of the United Nations are to be respected, or whether the aggressive colonial Zionist policy is to be implemented.

131. What does the Anglo-French-Zionist stand reveal? It reveals three things, to say the least.

132. First, it reveals that the three allies were substantially unified in their goals, and that their actions were co-ordinated, synchronized and directed towards objectives common to all three of them.

133. Secondly, it reveals that their actions have started, but by no means have ended. They persist in their effort to attain their war aims and to utilize for this purpose either war itself or disregard for United Nations authority or an adulteration of the mission of the United Nations Emergency Force. They even seek to use this Force for their very war objectives. It is clear that as long as the allies persist in seeking to obtain the objectives of that policy, a resumption or a recurrence of hostilities in the Middle East remains inevitable, and wide international implications of the Middle East situation remain unavoidable.

134. Thirdly, this stand reveals that the United Kingdom and France continue even today to support their third ally, Israel, in its aggressive designs against the Gaza Strip and other areas. Indeed, official British and French statements support the Israel wish not to let Egypt go back to the Gaza Strip. Both the United Kingdom and France consider that this Israel design is to be entertained and sustained.

135. It is obvious, therefore, that the three allies have not as yet implemented the United Nations decisions. Their forces continue to be concentrated in the Middle East area and are readied. The developments of the Middle East situation have not as yet taken the form envisaged by the United Nations. The situation continues, therefore, to call for the vigilant care of the United Nations; it lays before us here the basic question of how to meet this grave challenge.

136. The state of mind of the United Nations continues to be of real import. Will the United Nations continue to face the challenge squarely and boldly and deal with the problem in the right way? Or will it resort to expediency and opportunism?

137. Only one acceptable answer can be given to these questions. We in the United Nations cannot fail to assert the authority of this body by a real and full implementation of its decisions. In the present crisis, we cannot fail to respond to the mounting summons of our peoples that the principles of the Charter should actually and effectively prevail. We refuse to fail, because peace is the issue and because that summons of our peoples is the voice of the decent opinion of man and of practical reasoning.

138. In view of the present stand of the colonial-Zionist allies, it may still be necessary to consider those international sanctions provided for by the Charter. Proper measures might be vetoed. One result can, however, be attained in the Security Council. The situation as it is now can be made clear of undue ambiguity and the ambiguous stands of some Member States.

139. When the Assembly and the Security Council are unable to find the effective remedy, then only one remedy is possible. That remedy is also in the Charter. It is the legitimate right of self-defence.

140. The right of self-defence is a duty which falls upon any nation that becomes a victim of aggression.

In the actual circumstances in the Middle East, to prevent any nation like mine from exercising the full right of self-defence would be tantamount to waving the Charter with one hand, while extending indirect aid to aggression with the other. This is all the more true in view of the fact that the three colonial-Zionist allies possess both outside and within the Middle East itself military means and power far superior to the local forces which may be used to oppose aggression and defend liberty in an area that wants to be free.

141. We would therefore be well advised to regard eventualities with a clear vision. To meet them with the wishful thinking that "nothing will happen" is an error. To meet them with statements and declarations is of no real avail unless actions substantiate intentions. To meet such eventualities with mere propaganda and diplomatic pressures may allow the situation to slip from the brink to the depths of disaster itself.

142. While we centre our attention on the disquieting essentials of the Middle Eastern situation, it befits us also to turn our vision to significant, and some healthy, developments which surround it. Allow me to mention some of them.

143. Up till now, there has been among the Members of the United Nations a real disposition to act diligently, promptly and almost unanimously on this matter. That is very comforting because such a disposition, if strengthened to become effective, would not allow war to pay the aggressors. They would have to chart another course—that of real and due negotiations on the Suez issue, which could be freely undertaken when undue pressures are completely removed.

144. The acts of the United Kingdom and France have not met with the acceptance or acquiescence of the other big Powers, namely, the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

145. The United States, all to its honour, has separated itself in the present situation from the colonial-Zionist policies. Under the guidance of its great President, the United States was able to overcome strong influences, such as those coming from the concept of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Zionist concept. It proceeded to take an attitude befitting true American principles and legitimate United States interests. May I say that the United States in the present situation has commanded our appreciation. It has enlivened the hope in my country that the United States is on its way to separating itself completely from the objectives of colonialist-Zionist policies in the Middle East. May I say further that co-operation between the American and the Arab nations to do what is right is highly valued in my country.

146. The Soviet Union boldly supported the cause of peace and liberty in the present crisis. It did not shirk its international responsibilities; it assumed them.

147. We were most gratified to see the United States and the Soviet Union vote together on this problem in the Assembly and in the Security Council.

148. Another very important development, one from which a lesson may be obtained from the present crisis, stems from the fact that almost all the Asian and African countries have been able to work together and to act together in an effort to influence the course of events. It is clear for these and many other nations that the issue at stake is not navigation in the Suez Canal. The real issue is clearly that of the resurgence of colonialism supported by Zionism and welded to it.

149. Public opinion, in Latin America and elsewhere and even a big section of the opinion in the United Kingdom and France, was shocked by the act of the three allies, aroused and moved against aggression and the breach of the peace. Responsible and official opinion, usually reticent, became very candid and explicit.

150. But most important of all is the fact that the resistance of the Egyptian people, supported by the rest of the Arab nations, was not broken in the face of overwhelming forces and a treacherous attack. This is very important, because it exerts an enormous effect directly on the scene of the problem.

151. Contrary to colonial-Zionist expectations, the aggression fortified that resistance. It did not break it, it helped to make it. The allies should realize by now that their precipitate actions have solidified, activated and set afoot resistance to their policies in all the Arab homeland from Morocco to Iraq, and including Iraq. It has activated, likewise, wide international support for the Arab peoples, in their fight for national liberty; a support for which we are most grateful.

152. The pretext that the United Kingdom and France intervened in the place of the United Nations, and without its knowledge, only for the purpose of separating the combatants—by shooting at the victim of aggression—has become a farce. The more this farce is perpetrated, the more ridiculous it is. This has some importance, because the United Kingdom and France now clearly face their responsibility before the international community. The collusion of the three allies was no surprise to us in Syria.

153. Our experience with Zionism has endured long enough for us to know something about it. I would like to tell you a little about Zionism now.

154. Zionism came to our shores, carried by a colonial mandate; it was planted in our soil by British colonial bayonets. Since then, Zionism has been fathered and fostered in our area by the colonial influences that were preparing it to be used as a force against Arab-liberating nationalism, at the opportune moment. The very purpose of Zionism is colonial—that purpose is to colonize the Palestine area. It now thrives upon the remnants of colonial influence, subjugating the Arabs and hindering their national development.

155. The very philosophy of Zionism sets Israel in opposition to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. That philosophy, indeed, is predicated upon a double thesis: that of racial and religious discrimination between Jews and Gentiles, and that of destroying the internal harmony within every nation by holding that the Jews comprise a nation within every nation and, as they say, are "exiles" away from their homeland.

156. A Zionist citizen in any one nation in acquiring allegiance to Zionism and to Israel, usually does so to the detriment of his allegiance to the country of which he is legally and technically a citizen. Such Zionist citizens form themselves into pressure groups, exerting influence on the government of the country to which they belong, in order to sway that government away from its national interests to those of Israel. It is not, therefore, coincidental that Zionist congresses and responsible leaders have been proclaiming this theme. No less a person than Mr. Goldman, head of the Jewish Agency, spoke as follows:

"Israel is a unique country in that there is no other State in the world where nearly 90 per cent of the people live outside of it."

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, repeating the same theme, said:

"When a Jew in America or South Africa speaks of 'our Government' to his fellow Jews, he usually means the Government of Israel, while the Jewish public in various countries view the Israel ambassadors as their own representatives."

157. The basic strategy of Zionism is, by its very nature, expansionist. Its strategy aims at making space in Palestine for the so-called "exiles". Already, in order to make space in the Palestine area, there are 1 million Arab refugees.

158. So much for the past. How about the future? This expansionist strategy of Zionism is basic and is developing into an ever-increasing process. Indeed, Mr. Ben-Gurion said, "Israel has been established in only a part of the land of Israel." In other words, there are other parts to be added to Israel as it presently exists.

159. Realizing this, the Zionist instigation of aggression against Egypt met the ready hearing of France and the United Kingdom. All three could, of course, agree that once Egypt's power was broken, the way would be open for expansion in Syria, Jordan and elsewhere. Now Syria seems to be on the time-table for aggression. France probably had in mind the continuation of its domination in another part of the Arab world, namely, Algeria.

160. The issue was certainly not that of Suez. The real issue to the three allies, obviously, was to suppress Arab liberty and to obstruct Arab development, using preventive war as a means to block off the current of history.

161. Just today [609th meeting] we have had occasion to hear the representative of Israel try to justify this stand by saying that Israel does not intend to leave the Gaza area, and then she went on to try to explain that situation; the means, however, which are to be used should be unmasked without delay.

162. No matter how much confusion the Zionists would like to introduce into the Palestine situation, one central and fundamental fact remains, and that is that the Arabs were living peacefully and calmly in their Palestinian homeland when they were subjected to Zionist-Colonial intrusion and aggression from without. They are the victims of this problem and are the ones who suffer as the result of the Palestine situation. They did not create any trouble in this area, nor did they enlarge the problems which occurred, but they were driven out of Palestine as a result of slaughter and massacre. The representative of Israel told us that these Arabs, who in fact only wish to go to their homes, are marauders and gunmen and *fedayeen* who should be punished for having provoked Israel into war. These men are going back to their homes and their fields, which they are fully entitled to do, and when they are opposed, it is he who opposes them who is acting in sheer banditism.

163. The representative of Israel was able to speak about "our resources". In fact, 94.6 per cent of the land which Israel calls "our resources" belongs to the Arab refugees who are now called marauders and who have to look across the demarcation lines to see their homes used by another people. It is an act of aggression on the part of Israel. Israel itself is an act of aggression. That is a central fact that cannot be denied.

164. What are these *fedayeen*? So much has been spoken of them of late, and the word *fedayeen* has been used out of context, or with a different meaning, so that it needs some explanation. The Arabic word *fedayeen* means this: "A man who believes in something and is ready to die for his belief in a God-given right." He is not a criminal, he is a man of conviction. The *fedayeen* are not new in our history, we have seen them time and again in the various crises in our long history, and they are here today. They are people convinced of their rights and who want to do what is correct and are ready to sacrifice their lives in martyrdom, if necessary.

165. As I have said, they are not criminals, but men of conviction, to be honoured and respected. When people stand for justice and expose themselves in this way to attack, should they not be compared rather to such heroes as Simon Bolívar or Washington, who might as well have been called *fedayeen*, for they had the same nature and the same resolute will as those who are called marauders and gunmen by the representative of Israel.

166. It is a fact to be remembered that Palestine belonged to these people. The Israelis came and drove these people out of their land, and they would now like us to forget what has been done and to be free to develop and left alone to enjoy the natural resources which in fact belong to none else than the Arab refugees, made homeless, destitute but in readiness to sacrifice themselves in order to obtain their rights.

167. And after all, there comes with that theory of Zionism what Mrs. Meir this morning called the fulfilment of the historic mission of Zionism. Who gave them that mission? Who gave that mission to Zionism? They have assumed that mission for themselves, and that mission is to drive the people out of the country and to take their place. As long as Zionism continues, it renders the Palestine question a prolongation into the Middle East of the world Zionist movement. The expansion of Zionism, its very philosophy and strategy, unfortunately make peace a forlorn hope. What Zionism calls peace is to try to consolidate past aggression with a view to march from that aggression into further expansion, as they have done in the past few weeks.

168. There is a problem of grave importance that is already on the agenda of the United Nations. It is the question of Algeria. But that question is closely related with the question of Tunisia and Morocco.

169. The North African situation continues to call for the special attention of the Assembly. My delegation will try to devote to it its utmost care. Since we shall be dealing with it at length in committee, it may be sufficient today to make some general and brief observations.

170. First, the attributes of sovereignty of Tunisia and Morocco have not all been transferred by France to the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments to be exercised by the two Governments respectively. The negotiations for such a transfer have been cut on account of the recalcitrant attitude of France. It seems that France continues to believe wrongly that theoretical sovereignty is enough to satisfy the serious minds of the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples, set upon the full exercise of the attributes of sovereignty and independence. I have in view the necessity of dealing in particular with the financial and economic problems, as well as with the problem of evacuating French troops in accordance with the sovereign rights of Morocco and Tunisia respectively.

171. Second, the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence has not been recognized as yet by France. It is true that some negotiations have been started between Algeria and France, but they were nipped in the bud by the kidnapping of the five Algerian leaders by France.

172. It would be well to recall on this occasion that France also at one time seized the Sultan of Morocco and exiled him. The moderating influence of the Sultan was then withheld, as in the present case of the five Algerian leaders who were disposed to negotiate. The effect and the consequences on the local people of the seizure by France of the Sultan tell the effect and consequences of the seizure by France of the five Algerian leaders. The only result is an increase in resistance.

173. Third, already half a million French troops are now in Algeria, attempting to suppress the Algerian liberation. They call their action "pacification" by France in Algeria. France has pacified nothing. It has only activated the mounting force of liberating nationalism. Indeed, the Algerian movement proved to be a mass movement of a people conscious of their national existence, determined and organized to institute for themselves an independent Algerian State.

174. Fourthly, the Algerian question is already established as an international question for all practical purposes. It is before the United Nations. It is more than that: Algeria is not alone. Almost all Asian and African countries support Algeria to the extent that the issue is not any more limited to Algeria and France, but is also an issue which causes wide international frictions. The Algerian question was a question which was discussed with concern at various international conferences, such as the Bandung Conference and the Brioni meeting. The rights of the Algerian people are substantially endorsed by many other peoples, and the liberation of Algeria is receiving the support of many States and the overwhelming opinion of mankind.

175. The questions related to Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria or Egypt are not for Syria, my country, international questions only. They are also for us Arab national questions brought on to the international scene.

176. It is a fact that there exist at present several Arab States. The situation, in respect of the dismemberment of the Arab nation, is mainly a direct result of the colonial era. The fundamental and everlasting fact, however, is this: that it is one and the same Arab nation continuing across the glories and vicissitudes of its long history. For centuries, these Arab lands were institutionally one, as they were continually and nationally one.

177. The policy of Syria, therefore, is a national Arab policy. It consists of an effort to ensure the liberation of all parts of the Arab homeland and the full exercise by its members of their right to self-determination. Our attitude is the same towards any other nation. We are convinced that such a policy is internationally the one that befits the Charter. We hold that the foreign domination of Arab lands should be replaced by freedom and international co-operation.

178. It is self-evident that the Arab nation, at the present juncture of its history, is in a position similar to the position of the Italian and German nations, before Italian and German unity.

179. To qualify the urge in my country to bring the Arab countries together institutionally, into one collectivity, as being an urge smacking of imperialism,

is simply ridiculous. The Arabs seek no other peoples' land. They seek their union by their own consent as an element of their right to self-determination. There is no imperialism in any such tendency. On the contrary, the union of the Arabs erases colonial and imperialistic influences. It creates the basic conditions for stability and peace in the Middle East. It renders the Arab nation apt and ready to contribute of its own genius and to contribute abundantly to human culture and civilization, as it has been able to do for century upon century. Civilization can best be enriched by contributions which nations can bring to it each out of its own characteristics and to serve thus as a tributary to swell the nourishing current of culture.

180. In respect of Syria, we would like to state that, in accordance with our constitution and the will of the Syrian people, Syrian territory is an integral part of the Arab homeland and the Syrian people are an integral part of one and the same nation.

181. So much has been said and repeated about some foreign influences in the Middle East, and particularly with regard to Syria, that we need to call attention to the fact, and to say bluntly, that there is no red, white, blue or brown colour or any other colouring. Our people accept their own. We have our own Arab way of life.

182. The foreign policy of Syria is not predicated on the whimsical basis which propaganda likes maliciously to set before people's eyes. Our policy has and continues to be the policy of non-commitment to either of the two camps of the "cold war" or to either of its two poles of power. It is not disinterestedness in general peace and war, but it is a policy of positive neutrality, seeking earnestly to deal with international matters objectively and trying hard to do the little part that we can for human good.

183. The five principles emphasized at Bandung were a basis of our policy. Since Bandung, these principles have served us as basic formulae for our international dealings. It is clear that we do not base our good international relations on differences of ideology. We try to base our foreign relations upon fact and upon our vital needs, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

184. A far more important fact than the "cold war" is that of national liberation in previously dependent areas. Already 700 million people in Asia and Africa have moved out of foreign domination to national liberty. Their vast potentialities are rapidly turning into actual capabilities. They are becoming more and more able to discharge their international responsibilities. The tide of liberation, now mounting upon the Arab shores of Africa and elsewhere, is indeed an irreversible tide. It is the sign of our time for all eyes to see. This, more than the "cold war", is of great and enduring importance.

185. Just a few years ago, the voice of Asia and Africa was hardly heard in world affairs. It was a whisper at best. From Bandung that voice was recently heard, clear and emphatic. It did not come to call for a new power bloc. It came out with principles.

186. The liberation in Asia and Africa was thought by some Western countries to be the liberation of an explosive force shaking world equilibrium, almost the liberation of a destructive force or energy. It turned out to be, however, what it really is, the energy of creative liberty calling for wide international co-operation. It did not destroy any equilibrium. What it is doing is to widen the basis of the world equilibrium and establish for it more solid foundations.

187. The horizons of the world, which during the last year have been turning towards peace, are now befogged by warlike colonial-Zionist actions, and propaganda concerning the Middle East. The United Nations, at its birth, emerged from the shadows of war to come forth to us, a Charter embodying the common resolve of our people, and an organization to harmonize international action. That United Nations is the one for us to keep and cherish.

188. The shadow of war has surrounded the United Nations again recently. May it be given to this eleventh session to rejuvenate its mission and set us on the way to complete a task begun. We appeal to all, including the United Kingdom and France, to help the United Nations. The only thing that we are seeking is peace with justice.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.