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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 5

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly have before them the draft resolution sponsored by Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Yemen [A/3893/Rev.1]. The first speaker for this afternoon is the representative of the Sudan.

2. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): I am not speaking this time in the name of the delegation of the Sudan. It is my honour and privilege to speak in the name of all the Arab States represented in the General Assembly. It is a great honour and privilege because when I speak I speak in the name of ten Arab States which are related not only by a common language or a common heritage of history and culture, but also by blood.

3. In the first place, I wish to express our gratitude to all the representatives who participated in this debate of the emergency special session and who were very helpful in their speeches, which gave a good analysis of the situation, recognized Arab nationalism and, no doubt, gave us the line to follow in order to reach a solution to this problem. We are also very grateful to those who made attempts to draw up draft resolutions with a view to finding a solution to the present impasse and to lessening international tension.

4. I am sure it is the goal of the United Nations and the intention of every Member of this Organization always to reach a peaceful solution of any dispute that is brought before the Assembly. There is no doubt that it is the aim and purpose of the United Nations to establish peace and international security. The draft resolution which has just been distributed in document A/3893/Rev.1 of 21 August 1958 is, I am proud to say, an example for peaceful solutions, and I hope it indicates the beginning of an understanding not only

among the Arab States but among all the Member States assembled here.

5. This draft resolution is co-sponsored by all the ten Arab States. In our deliberations amongst ourselves we were dealing with a dispute between members of one family. Our discussions were frank, and therefore we were able to reach a happy conclusion. It is possible for us to deliberate in that manner because, as I have said, we are members of one family. We have had strong ties in the past; we have strong ties at present; and we all aspire to a glorious future for the Arab nations in order once more to contribute to the human heritage in all fields of knowledge for the promotion of human welfare.

6. The League of Arab States is a regional institution which is in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and the preamble of its Pact is quoted, in part, in the preamble to the draft resolution:

"Noting that the Arab States have agreed, in the Pact of the League of Arab States, to strengthen the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab States, and to support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these States, and to direct their efforts toward the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future and the realization of their aspirations and hopes."

But the preamble of the Pact goes on to say "... and responding to the wishes of Arab public opinion in all Arab lands". This will show beyond any doubt that anything that takes place in any one of the Arab lands affects the inhabitants of the rest of the Arab lands. This is proved by the fact that when we were meeting to discuss this draft resolution not only the representatives of the independent Arab States were present but also representatives of other Arab States that are not yet fully independent and are not Members of this Organization, though we hope they will soon be amongst us.

7. This draft resolution is, in effect, the fruitful result of your wise guidance, Mr. President, and the efforts of the Secretary-General as well as the wise deliberations of the representatives who spoke with such good intentions and good will. The draft is a simple and straightforward one. In the preamble it takes note of the questions considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958 and it notes the Charter aim that States should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. I am sure that every Member of this Organization upholds this aim and obeys the provisions of the Charter, which is a prerequisite for membership. Then it goes on to note the aims of the League of Arab States. I think that is so for the first time. It will, no doubt, be a source of pride to the United Nations that we are giving recognition to a regional organization which emanates

from the Charter of the United Nations. The preamble also expresses the desire to relieve international tension, which is, no doubt, the hope of every member here.

8. In paragraph 1, the draft resolution welcomes the renewed assurances given the Arab States to observe the provision of article 8 of the Pact of the League of Arab States, that each member State shall respect the systems of government established in the other member States and regard them as exclusive concerns of these States, and that each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government.

9. It is my respectful submission that the principle involved here, which has been given the renewed assurances of the Arab States, is a very high principle which should be observed not only by the members of the League of Arab States but by all the Member States of the United Nations. It is, of course, the wish of every one of us to respect the systems of government established in one State or another. And it is equally the wish of every one of us to pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government. Established systems of government can only be changed by the will of the people of the State through constitutional means and democratic ways. At this moment we pledge ourselves to this purpose.

10. Then, it is very necessary for any draft resolution at this juncture to provide for the ways and means whereby the present tension in the Middle East will be relieved. Therefore, the present draft calls upon all Member States to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of equal and mutual benefit, and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles. It requests the Secretary-General to make forthwith, in consultation with the Governments concerned and in accordance with the Charter, and having in mind section I of the resolution, such practical arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in the present circumstances, and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of the foreign troops from the two countries.

11. We have thus provided the machinery for the Secretary-General to see that tension is relieved, that international peace and security are saved, and that instability and unrest in the Middle East are eradicated forever.

12. There are two other sections of the draft resolution. One refers particularly to the long-term policy of economic development in the Middle East. I am sure the Secretary-General will consult with the League of Arab States regarding the best ways and means of providing for economic development in the Middle East. Economic development is a necessary element for stability. We are ready to co-operate with one and all for providing economic development in our region with the hope that, when our countries are fully developed and our resources fully exploited for the benefit of the people in the area, we ourselves will be in a position to extend our hand to help other parts of the world which will perhaps be in need of our assistance.

13. When we ask for co-operation at present and for the development of our area, we do so not only in the interests of the Arabs but also in the interest of the world at large. We hope that, in turn, in the future we

will be able to return the good that has been done for us here by others and, if possible, to return it with interest.

14. I asked for the Assembly's indulgence to see if the Arabs could find a solution, and this time they were able to do it and do it magnificently. At the time when the dispute came from our side, and when all the world felt the gravity of the situation, when some people lost every hope of a remedy and many thought that we were at the brink of a world war, the Arabs themselves were able to meet in a mutual and cordial atmosphere and provide the solution which I am sure will be acceptable to everyone in this Assembly. It is the aim of all of us here to see that this dispute is settled and that the way for removing instability and unrest, and laying the foundations of a permanent peace in that area, and thereafter permanent peace in the world, can be realized. I am sure that by accepting the draft resolution we will have achieved that end.

15. For us, the Arabs, this will be the beginning of a glorious future. It will be the beginning of strengthening our ties, co-operating among ourselves, and being tolerant with each other. We shall, no doubt, do all that is possible to realize our hopes and aspirations and co-operate among ourselves wholeheartedly. We hope that we will be able to contribute to the well-being of our Arab nation, whether that nation remains distributed among different independent States, in a regional organization or under any form of government to which the peoples of the Arab lands will agree, or becomes one State. We will be able to contribute also to the well-being of the international family.

16. Once more, perhaps, the light will come from our region. We may bring forward our preachings which call for peace and security for all humanity and for high principles of equality among all individuals indiscriminately.

17. Our mission henceforth will be the pursuit of human perfection, peace and security, and not the destruction and annihilation of the human race. As this draft resolution came unanimously from the Arab States with full understanding and agreement, may I appeal to my fellow representatives here to put their approval on it and give it the unanimous support of the Assembly in order to prove to Member States and other States everywhere in the world that the men who meet here are wise men, that they have the interests of humanity at heart, and that their mission is a mission of peace and security and not of destruction and annihilation.

18. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): I have asked to speak in order to make a very brief announcement.

19. The representative of the Sudan has just introduced a new draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of all the Arab Members of this Organization. I think this is a very significant development and one which, I am sure, we all welcome.

20. In this connexion, I should like to announce on behalf of the delegations of Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Norway, Panama and Paraguay—all the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/3878—that we do not ask for priority in the vote on our draft resolution in relation to the Arab draft resolution.

21. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): Events have moved fast indeed, and at this moment we are faced with a historic and momentous event.

22. Not so long ago there were many of us who were wrestling with the problem of finding some speedy and

satisfactory solution to the grave problem we had before us. There were not a few who genuinely were anxious as to the result of our meeting here. There were not a few who dreaded the possibility of this Assembly's not achieving any useful result. It is true that there were many who made brave efforts to solve the problem, but still there was genuine doubt. Those who followed the deliberations of this Assembly must have been deeply impressed not only by the moderation of the attitudes of those who took part, but also by the sincerity which characterized their efforts.

23. It is undoubtedly the case that differences of opinion on an issue of this magnitude must exist, and they did exist here. So that there has undoubtedly been an effort on the part of all the Members of this Assembly—those who took part by expressing their views and those who did not; those who tried to put forward resolutions and those who did not; amongst them all, there was the great desire and unanimous feeling that something should be done.

24. In that body of people who are representatives of the countries of Africa and Asia, there was deep concern and an earnest effort made to see what they could contribute to the solution of our problem. There were great difficulties, there were differences of opinion among them. But in the course of their deliberations, it became clear—and it was accepted with great enthusiasm and gratitude—that it would be in the best interests of all if the countries most immediately concerned were to take a hand in the solution of the difficulty. So we heard with gladness, and certainly not without gratitude, that the representatives of the Arab countries here present had expressed a desire and a willingness to look at the problem among themselves, to see if in their wisdom and in their concern something might not be done to help the whole Assembly to reach a solution which would be acceptable to all. We are therefore glad that they have succeeded.

25. The statement so feelingly and eloquently made by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, on behalf of all the ten Arab Member States, has I am sure been received with great relief, with much enthusiasm and, undoubtedly, entire satisfaction in all sections of this Assembly. For it is, as I said before, momentous and historic. This is an event which will go down in the annals of the history of this great Organization as an occasion when people met together in a spirit of conciliation and good will to resolve differences which came before this Assembly, but which primarily and immediately concerned themselves and their problems. It is an instance of fraternal good will such as we have seldom seen. The issues were profound, the differences were great, the settlement was difficult, and yet, with that true spirit of fraternal unity, the Arab States have combined to produce a settlement which will not only help their countries but will help all countries, which will not only provide for stability in their own domains but will also provide for stability throughout the world, and which will bring peace not only to themselves but to the whole world.

26. This is, therefore, certainly a historic and a momentous occasion. It is momentous also because, as a result of our difficulties here, the Arab States have found an opportunity of meeting together themselves, of strengthening that fraternal tie which no doubt bound them throughout their long history. But strengthening that tie has enabled them to ensure that in the future

the interests of their countries will be safeguarded by a united outlook.

27. We are also glad for another reason: we are glad that in the early preambular paragraphs of this draft resolution there is a reference to the Pact of the Arab League, a regional arrangement which it is the desire of all peoples to strengthen, so that by that regional union the affairs of that area may be carefully considered, its unity preserved and its welfare ensured. We are also glad that this draft resolution endorses the principles which have come to be known as the Bandung principles, and which I believe are subscribed to wherever civilized nations try to preserve their peace and welfare. The fact that the Arab States have made it clear that they accept the principle of mutual regard for the sovereignty of each country and the principle of non-aggression and non-interference—principles which they have always accepted, principles which they have no doubt followed, but principles the emphasis of which would help this Assembly and all concerned to see that the peaceful coexistence of nations will continue for all time—makes us particularly happy.

28. Finally, we are glad that the countries of Africa and Asia have been able to play some part in the effort to bring this about. It is sometimes asserted that the African-Asian countries are themselves divided and that in an emergency of this kind it is not possible to expect these countries to get together and contribute to a useful settlement. But I should like on this occasion to take this opportunity to dissipate any such erroneous impression that may exist in the mind of anyone. It is true that there is no closely knit, formal, hidebound body of men functioning as a group without any flexibility. But there are in this Assembly Member States from Africa and Asia which are animated by a common desire to secure for all peoples their freedom and their independence and to work together for the welfare of humanity as a whole. These countries have been considering this problem and have been making a great effort to reach a solution, and their efforts have certainly helped in producing this great gesture—a gesture which should be an example to this Assembly for all time, and one which is clearly in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations. Then the Arab States themselves were enabled to see what could be done. The African and Asian countries left it to the Arab States to see what could be done. We are glad that that feeling existed among the African and Asian countries, and we are glad that the Arab States shouldered this great responsibility so successfully that within a very brief period, probably not more than twenty-four hours, they were able to reach an agreement which I have no doubt will be acceptable to all those assembled here.

29. It is my privilege to support the proposal placed before you, Mr. President, by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, to commend it to your acceptance, and to hope and pray that the future will show that we have reached not only a sensible but a really good settlement. And may that settlement not only be the beginning of greater prosperity for the Arab lands, but also bring all countries, great and small, together so that peace in the world may be ensured.

30. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): The General Assembly deals here with a most difficult and delicate problem. On the one hand, it is necessary that two small States, Lebanon and Jordan, shall be given security and assurance of political independence. On the other hand, we need to make sure that this shall be done

in ways which do not themselves encroach upon political independence.

31. The United States responded to the unsolicited appeal of the Government of Lebanon because we believed that failure to respond would have condemned many small nations to a sense of insecurity and instilled in many a fatalistic resignation to the inevitability of being dominated by powerful neighbours. This would have frustrated one of the basic concepts of our Charter, namely, that of the equal rights of nations large and small. The world must be made safe for small nations. We acted in that spirit and for that purpose and that purpose alone.

32. But we did not feel that our action was an ideal solution. The preferable solution would have been collective action of the world community as represented by the United Nations, but that would have taken time. However, the moment the United States acted, we also went to the Security Council and sought from it action which would have replaced our own. When relief in the Security Council was frustrated, we came here.

33. As a result of the discussions here, public and private, there has, it seems, emerged general agreement on three basic propositions.

(1) There is need to reaffirm, not only in terms of words but in terms of deeds, the principle of our Charter and of prior General Assembly resolutions that each Member State should respect the freedom, independence and integrity of other States and scrupulously avoid what might foment civil strife within another State.

(2) Any resolution reaffirming these principles should be reinforced in the case of Lebanon and Jordan by some presence there of the United Nations that would serve both as reassurance and as warning.

(3) The foreign troops which went into Lebanon and Jordan as an emergency measure should be withdrawn, and withdrawn as quickly as other measures are taken which could reasonably be expected to ensure the independence, security and integrity of these countries.

34. These three elements were present in the United States and Japanese draft resolutions in the Security Council, they were present in the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by Norway and other sponsors, and they are also present in the draft resolution now introduced under the co-sponsorship of the ten Arab countries.

35. We think it particularly important and much to be praised that the countries involved directly in the controversy which gave rise to this emergency meeting of the General Assembly have themselves agreed on a formula of solution. This is an event of happy augury, and the United States, I may say, supports the Arab draft resolution.

36. Let me now comment briefly upon the two draft resolutions, the Arab and the Norwegian draft resolutions. Both of these draft resolutions begin by emphasizing the Charter aim that States should "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

37. The general area of the Near East has been unhappily plagued by much intolerance. It is devoutly to be hoped that this admonition of the two principal draft resolutions now before this General Assembly means in fact that a new era of tolerance may be dawning in the Near East.

38. The second preambular section of the Arab draft resolution notes the undertaking of the Arab countries pursuant to the Pact of the League of Arab States. The United States, which is itself a member of such organizations as the Organization of American States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, welcomes the strengthening everywhere of ties which are designed to keep peace and harmony between the members and which equally accept the overriding provisions of the Charter dealing with relations of States with each other.

39. With respect to section I of the Arab and Norwegian draft resolutions, we find them substantially equivalent. We would have somewhat preferred, primarily as a matter of taste or precedent, the language of the Norwegian draft resolution, which reflects prior resolutions of this General Assembly rather than comparable language of a group of our Members. But if the Arab draft resolution is, as we expect, to be voted upon as a whole, without amendments, we will accept the language of section I, particularly because paragraph 2 of section I goes beyond the obligations of the Arab nations as between themselves and deals broadly with the obligations of all Members of the United Nations under our Charter to deal with each other in accordance with the provisions of that Charter.

40. Section II of the two draft resolutions is substantially identical in the mandate to the Secretary-General, a mandate which we think should produce solid reassurances of security, integrity and independence for Lebanon and Jordan.

41. The two draft resolutions differ in form, although not, we think, in substance, with respect to the withdrawal of foreign forces. The Norwegian draft resolution took note of the declarations of the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom that they would withdraw as soon as the Governments of Lebanon or Jordan so requested or as soon as substitute arrangements were made by the United Nations.

42. The Arab draft resolution, in effect, incorporates the latter concept into the draft resolution itself. This is entirely acceptable to the United States. We have made clear from the beginning that we do not believe that nations, particularly small nations, threatened with danger from without, should be dependent upon inviting the presence of the forces of other nations. This is legitimate in cases like those of Lebanon and Jordan, but intervention is a practice which can be abused and can lead to the domination of one country by another. That regrettably has happened.

43. The course much to be preferred is that which these draft resolutions indicate, namely, to have United Nations ready, willing and able to take measures so that the need for foreign forces is obviated.

44. The United States desires, at the earliest practicable moment, to withdraw its forces from Lebanon. We said this when we went in, we have been saying it almost every day since and, also, we and the United Kingdom have solemnly affirmed our position in communications to the President of this Assembly. We rejoice at the prospective assumption by the United Nations of responsibilities which, in an emergency, we reluctantly assumed and which we are eager to lay down.

45. In this connexion, I want to take this occasion to express on behalf of the Government of the United States our appreciation of the fact that it seems that every nation here—whatever some may have said—really

has confidence in the integrity of the purposes of the United States in this matter. That is a tribute we appreciate and we shall seek always to deserve.

46. Section III of the Arab draft resolution coincides with the provisions of paragraph 2, section III of the Norwegian draft resolution. This deals with the possible creation of an Arab development institution. We believe, and President Eisenhower's address to the Assembly [733rd meeting] clearly emphasized, that this is an important aspect of the Near East problem. The Arab draft resolution omits reference to the consideration by the thirteenth session of the General Assembly—that is, the forthcoming General Assembly—of a stand-by United Nations peace force. We believe that it would have been appropriate to keep this reference in the draft resolution but, irrespective of that, the fact is that the matter will in any event be considered by the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

47. Section IV of the Arab draft resolution is identical with section IV of the Norwegian draft resolution dealing with the operative provisions.

48. The United States takes considerable satisfaction from the fact that the countries in direct controversy have found it possible to agree on action by this emergency special session. That is cause, we know, for constructive action, thinking and planning by all concerned, on whichever side. The result arrived at justifies the great faith which the United States has always placed in this General Assembly, which operates free of veto power and where free world opinion has an opportunity to crystallize along sober and constructive lines.

49. Having said this, let me stress that no resolution, of itself, will solve the problems of the Near East. These problems have deep roots; they cannot easily be eradicated. They have explosive aspects which can surprise us at any time. No Assembly resolution can, of itself, solve these problems, and it would be folly for us to leave here confident that the problem of the Near East has been solved by this draft resolution. But if the principles of the Arab draft resolution are put into practice, then the problems, we believe, can be solved.

50. In the broadest sense, what we confront here is not intrinsically a question of detailed wording; it is a matter of spirit and a purpose. What we say here constitutes an appeal for wisdom and moderation on the part of the leaders of the countries of the Near East and, indeed, on the part of the leaders throughout the whole world.

51. The United States believes that this emergency session of the General Assembly creates an opportunity which, if it is taken, will not only mark a great, new triumph for the United Nations but will also promote the political, economic and social welfare of the nations of the Near East. That, however, we repeat, depends primarily not upon our words but upon deeds. Words that we utter here can be helpful but the final answer is to be sought elsewhere. The fact that the nations which complained and the nations which were complained against now are in agreement is a good augury. It does not, of itself, mean that we can take the future for granted but we can and do look to that future hopefully.

52. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The emergency special session of the General Assembly is coming to an end and today we are summing up the results of the debates which have taken place.

53. After the discussion of the question of the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from the territories of Lebanon and Jordan respectively, I believe there is every justification for stating that the overwhelming majority—I repeat: the overwhelming majority—of States have spoken in favour of the immediate and urgent withdrawal of these forces from the territories of the countries concerned. This can only be a source of gratification to us, because the Soviet Government's proposal to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly was based on the premise that the United Nations should use its influential voice to urge the need for the prompt and urgent withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from the territory of the Near Eastern countries.

54. The resolution which has been submitted as a result of the agreement between ten Arab States, although its drafting is inadequate in some respects, fulfils the principal task before the General Assembly, namely, to pronounce itself in favour of the early withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from the Near East, and is essentially in agreement with the Soviet Union's proposal, as it says what the General Assembly had to say.

55. Today, we should like to express the hope that the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom will seriously heed the voice of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, who spoke in favour of the immediate and early withdrawal of United Kingdom and United States forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

56. We should also like to express the hope that the United States of America and the United Kingdom will not attempt, under various pretexts and by means of various spurious agreements, to delay the withdrawal of their forces and thus to contravene the decision of the General Assembly—we use the word "decision", because we hope that the draft resolution submitted by the Arab States will receive a favourable vote from the General Assembly.

57. If the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom fail to take this decision seriously and, under various pretexts, delay the withdrawal of their forces from the territory of Lebanon and Jordan, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state forthwith that it will resubmit this problem for consideration by the United Nations at the regular session of the General Assembly.

58. It follows from what I have said that the Soviet Union delegation which, acting on behalf of the Soviet Government, submitted to the Assembly its own proposal on the question of the immediate withdrawal of the United States and United Kingdom forces from the Near East, will not insist on this proposal being given priority in the vote since its fundamental purpose is expressed in the draft resolution of the Arab States. In taking this line, we of course take account of the fact that, as has been stated here, the so-called Norwegian or, more accurately, the United States and United Kingdom draft resolution will not be put to the vote.

59. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, the Soviet Government and all the people of the Soviet Union, to welcome the agreement reached between the Arab countries, as a result of which they have submitted a joint proposal on the question of the

withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from the Near East. This good example will serve the interests of the Arab States, the interests of restoring normal conditions to the Near and Middle East, the interests of strengthening peace in that area and the interests of world peace. In bringing its work to such a conclusion, the Assembly has furthered the cause of peace and done useful work. We have no doubt that not only the Soviet people, but the peoples of other States, whether represented in the United Nations or not, will only express profound satisfaction at this decision.

60. The PRESIDENT: At this stage of our deliberations I think perhaps I can assist the Assembly by suggesting that this draft resolution [A/3893/Rev.1] should be voted upon this evening. I say that, because the draft resolution is, in my judgement, for the good of the world Organization. It is for the good of the area of the Middle East; it is for the good of the future work of the Secretary-General because it affords him an assurance and a prospect, at least, that he can succeed; and above all—and this is of vital importance—it is sponsored, and therefore agreed to, by all the Arab States Members of the United Nations.

61. I therefore make so bold as to suggest to the Assembly that we act with expedition on this fortunate occasion.

62. Mr. FUJIYAMA (Japan):¹ Before the present draft resolution is put to the vote, I wish to state the views of the Japanese delegation.

63. This draft resolution has incorporated to every possible extent the general will expressed at this emergency special session of the General Assembly by all the Member States. My delegation expresses its keen satisfaction that the draft resolution stresses the point made by me in my statement during the general debate [736th meeting], namely, that the solution of the problems of the Middle East should be based upon the legitimate national aspirations of the peoples of the area and upon the just understanding and support of all of our countries in the realization of these aspirations.

64. With regard to the problem of mutual non-interference in internal affairs, which has been one of the agenda items since the discussions in the Security Council on the Middle East, it is gratifying that this session, instead of debating on the whys and wherefores of past circumstances, has taken a constructive approach reaffirming the principle of mutual non-interference among the countries concerned, and declaring their will to adhere to that principle.

65. I believe it is significant that, in consummating and presenting the draft resolution, the Arab countries themselves have displayed initiative and have expressed their resolve to seek the solution of their problems by themselves through their regional organization. It is for us to extend our wholehearted understanding for and support of the initiative thus displayed by supporting this draft resolution. For it is by such support and understanding that the permanent settlement of the problems of the Middle East can be achieved.

66. The efforts made under such initiative give us hope and confidence. As they take on concrete form under the aegis of the United Nations, with the support and understanding of all our Member States, including every principal country concerned, and as they develop

in the future, these efforts will, I am sure, contribute immeasurably to peace in the Middle East and, further, to the peace of the world.

67. In the belief that to be adopted by this emergency special session a draft resolution should be agreed upon by all the countries concerned, I have hope that unanimity will be achieved, and I have made every effort within my power towards this end. The draft resolution before us truly meets that hope and condition. I confidently believe that it will facilitate the early withdrawal of American and British forces and that it will open the way for a permanent solution of the problems of the Middle East.

68. That agreement on such a draft resolution is about to be reached here today is a happy consummation for my Government, too, for since the recent meetings of the Security Council we have worked for a solution such as this draft resolution represents.

69. On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I express here our support for the present draft resolution. While its adoption signifies but the first step towards a permanent settlement, I am sure that, by the exercise of the statesmanship and spirit of mutual accommodation displayed by the representatives at this emergency special session, such a settlement may be expected.

70. I wish at this time to express my respect and appreciation to the representative of Norway and other representatives of the countries concerned for their consistent and dedicated efforts, which made possible the draft resolution upon which we are soon to vote. I also wish to express my delegation's sincere wishes for success to the Secretary-General, to whom the draft resolution entrusts an important task, and to assure him that my Government will co-operate in the realization of the purposes of that proposal.

71. Mr. LLOYD (United Kingdom): At the beginning of the speech which I made on 14 August I referred to the role of the United Nations in a diplomacy of reconciliation. I said that I had high hopes that at this emergency special session we should "succeed in reconciling our points of view and achieving some constructive results". [734th meeting, para. 2]

72. I wish to acknowledge the spirit that has permeated our discussions, both formal and informal, and the tone of the speeches which have been made this afternoon. Even the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, if I may say so, although he did not state correctly the purpose of this Assembly, seemed willing to conform to some extent to its spirit.

73. In my speech the other day, I gave the reasons for the presence of our troops in Jordan. Their presence is in reply to the request of the Government of Jordan. I stated my belief that it should be possible to devise suitable United Nations arrangements, with the consent of the Government of Jordan and the co-operation of other Governments concerned, to secure conditions of stability and to give Jordan confidence in its continuing right to exercise without interference from outside the normal attributes of a sovereign State. I said that so far as the United Kingdom Government was concerned the sooner such arrangements were made the better, and the quicker it would be possible for us to withdraw our troops.

74. I believe that the presence of our troops has in fact reduced tension. But we have never considered

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

their presence as more than a short-term expedient. Nor, to be quite frank, have we ever thought that the United Nations presence in Jordan, by itself, however careful and intricate the arrangements made, would ensure stability. What we had hoped for was a *détente* between the Arab States concerned, which would provide the basis—in our view the essential basis—for successful United Nations operation and also for the withdrawal of our troops.

75. I believe that this draft resolution is a constructive first step. In fact, it makes more progress than I had thought would be possible in the course of this emergency special session in that, by its terms, it not only recognizes the necessity for such a *détente*, but, of itself, constitutes a first step towards that end. Because if Lebanon and Jordan and their Arab neighbours can develop their relations on the basis of respect for their independence and sovereignty, that will be an important contribution towards the relief of tension. If they can, each of them, regard the system of government that is established in a neighbouring State as the exclusive concern of that State, that will add to stability. And if each country honours the pledge, which is set out in this draft resolution, "to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government" in other countries, then real progress will be made. The form of the draft resolution not only recognizes the necessity for such a pledge between the Arab States, but calls upon all Members of the United Nations, including all Arab States, "to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty". If that proposition is accepted in deed as well as in word, then, in the words of the Charter, which are also set out in the draft resolution, all States will "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

76. I notice that this draft resolution has the full and freely given support of the Government of Jordan. Indeed the Government of Jordan as well as the Government of Lebanon are sponsors of this draft resolution. We in the United Kingdom shall therefore vote for it. We hope that it will receive overwhelming support from this Assembly. We hope that the Secretary-General will undertake the task laid upon him in section II and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. I offer him our sincere good wishes and I promise him our sincere co-operation. I repeat that the quicker these arrangements are made on a practical and realistic basis and the quicker effect is given in practice to the *détente* to which I have already referred, the sooner it will be possible for us to withdraw our troops.

77. I therefore welcome this draft resolution. I welcome the fact that it is an Arab draft resolution. If the sentiments expressed in speeches and in this draft resolution are translated into deeds—and I believe that they will be—then we will indeed have done a fine work here together at this emergency special session of the Assembly. I believe that we will have opened a new chapter full of promise politically, economically and socially.

78. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): Looking back on the general debate during this emergency special session, my delegation cannot but feel satisfaction that the General Assembly has not followed the counsel of those who would have had us take the dead-end road of a mere discussion of the withdrawal of

the troops which the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States have sent to Jordan and Lebanon. If we had entered that blind alley, we would have disregarded the signpost put up by the Security Council, which indicated that the subject of our debate should be the one which that body itself had examined and on which it had tried in vain to reach a conclusion, namely the complaints of two Member States of the United Nations concerning outside threats to their independence and territorial integrity. An incursion into that *cul-de-sac* would also have prevented us from obtaining a clear view of the wider problem, which is that created by the present unsettled conditions in the Near East.

79. It would seem appropriate, and perhaps especially so after the speech that was just made by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, to recall that the Security Council did not meet during the month of July to consider the withdrawal of American and British troops from the Near East but was called upon to take action at the request of Lebanon, later joined by Jordan, because the Governments of these two countries were convinced that their independence was in serious danger.

80. Now it appears to my delegation that the question of whether a Government feels threatened is one which only that Government can answer. It may be that producing unassailable evidence is difficult or even impossible, but who among us would or could deny that his own Government is the sole arbiter in matters of its national security? Who is there who would or could deny that every single legally constituted Government in the world has the exclusive right of determining what outside dangers confront it and what lawful measures should be taken in the face of those dangers?

81. The Government of Lebanon, having decided that it was seriously threatened, called upon the United Nations for assistance after it had failed in its attempt to obtain from the competent regional organization the assurances necessary for its security. When, unfortunately, the United Nations also fell short of providing Lebanon with the required protection—and it would seem neither fair nor justified to blame only the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon for this failure—the Lebanese Government invoked the assistance of its friends abroad. Finding itself in the same position as Lebanon, the Government of Jordan did likewise.

82. If it is conceded that a Government is entitled to apply to an ally or friend for aid to ward off an external menace which both regional and United Nations actions have proved incapable of removing, then the question still remains whether the Government to which the application is directed has the right to comply with this request. To the mind of my delegation there is no doubt whatsoever that such a right exists and that it should be recognized by all States. The authority to grant mutual aid and to provide the means for collective self-defence is the natural corollary of the inherent right of a threatened country to ask for such safeguards of its continued existence. Consequently, my delegation holds the view that the actions of the United States and United Kingdom Governments were fully justified. Indeed, if they had not responded to the call for help from the Governments of two weak States, this could have been interpreted as a bad omen for all small countries which might one day find themselves in the same position as Lebanon and Jordan.

83. The statements made by the Secretary of State of the United States of America [A/3876] and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom [A/3877] in their identical letters to you, Mr. President, of 18 August 1958 contain complete and unambiguous assurances that the Western forces will be withdrawn whenever this is requested by the duly constituted Governments of the countries to which they have been dispatched, or whenever as a result of the further action of the United Nations, or otherwise, their presence is no longer required. Moreover, the two heads of department have undertaken, on behalf of their Governments, to abide in any event by a determination of the United Nations General Assembly that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continued presence of their forces unnecessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

84. These two letters confirm the statements previously made by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom in the Security Council and in this Assembly; they also confirm my delegation in its opinion that the presence of British and American troops in Jordan and Lebanon is not contrary to any prescription contained in the Charter of the United Nations or to any rule of international law.

85. In the beginning of my statement I said that the question of the withdrawal of American and British troops from the Near East is not the real issue before the Assembly. Reading the letters which Mr. Dulles and Mr. Lloyd addressed to you, Sir, one obtains the conviction that for the United States, and for the United Kingdom too, withdrawal comes high on their list of desired actions. However, here is the real, essential difference: whereas some delegations would limit our discussion and our decisions to this question of withdrawal, many others, including my own, feel that such withdrawal should take place only under conditions that will guarantee that it is not followed by a return to the situation which gave rise to the dispatch of troops to the area.

86. Such a guarantee can be found in a number of measures. It is obviously desirable that the purposes and principles of our Charter should be upheld in relation to Lebanon and Jordan, and no Member State of our Organization, having accepted the obligations contained in the Charter, is entitled to act in a way contrary to this objective. On the other hand, the knowledge at our disposal does not at present enable us to determine what practical arrangements will best serve this purpose. The choice of means can only be made after consultation with the Governments concerned, and this Assembly will therefore have to leave that consultation and that choice to the Secretary-General, whose function and personality make him eminently fitted for this delicate and responsible task.

87. That all States Members of the United Nations should refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence, or integrity of any State, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people of any State, is a rule of international conduct which has already been laid down and approved by the General Assembly.

88. My delegation considers it timely that all Member States should be called upon strictly to observe these obligations and to ensure that their conduct, by word and deed, conforms to this policy.

89. Having to face the critical situation which now exists in the Near East, the General Assembly would, in my opinion, be ill advised to ignore one of the most vital problems of that region, namely, economic development. In his statement on 13 August, the President of the United States made various suggestions concerning the manner in which this problem could be tackled [733rd meeting]. I should like to pay homage to these suggestions, which would seem to be the starting point for a venture the success of which would be of real advantage for the people of the area and also thereby for the rest of the world. President Eisenhower has stressed that any economic plan for the Near East must be carried out by the peoples of the area and be the complete responsibility of the Arab countries concerned. My delegation finds itself in whole-hearted agreement with this approach. We hold that an Arab development institution designed to further economic growth in the Arab countries may contribute to attaining conditions which will promote the well-being of those countries and thereby bring nearer the possibility of achieving a lasting peaceful settlement for the Near East. The pre-condition for the success of any such plan is that there should be agreement among the Arab States on its contents.

90. If we may assume that such a project for economic development reflects the hopes and wishes of all Arab States in the Near East, we should decide to have the United Nations Secretariat place its experience in this field at their disposal, and if the assistance of Member States is required, such assistance should be rendered so far as conditions allow.

91. Finally, I should like to refer to what has already been said previously in the debate in connexion with the establishment of a stand-by United Nations peace force. The events in the Near East with which we are here concerned have demonstrated with full clarity the urgent need for such a force. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, when it discusses the feasibility of such establishment, will reach positive conclusions based on the studies of this subject which the Secretary-General will present to it.

92. From these brief remarks, it will be clear that my delegation would have been happy to vote for the seven-Power draft resolution. Meanwhile, the Arab States have introduced a differently worded draft resolution which, nevertheless, embodies similar principles. We welcome this new development which augurs well for the future co-operation among the Arab States. As we read it, the Arab draft resolution takes into account, especially in section I, paragraph 2, the peace and security not only of the Arab countries, but of all States in the Near East.

93. We shall, therefore, cast our vote in favour of it, convinced that its adoption will constitute a worthy end to the labours of this emergency special session.

94. Mr. LALL (India): The African-Asian Members of this Organization expressed their views today on the very happy developments which are before us through the representative of Sudan. I felt, however, that the occasion was such that it was impossible not to join the voice of India to those which have already been heard and to those which will be heard after mine.

95. It was a unanimous decision of the Security Council that led to the convening of this emergency special session of the Assembly. And it is most befitting that it should be a unanimous decision of the General

Assembly which closes this emergency special session. I would like to say very briefly that it is not only with joy but with pride that we have seen our Arab colleagues come together in a unanimous decision in the draft resolution which is before us under today's date.

96. We see in this the beginning of a new era of co-operation and prosperity, a new era of peace in the Middle East in which we, as a neighbour, will share. We have friendship for all the peoples of the Arab world and for all of their States. Their prosperity and their peace is ours.

97. We would also like to say a brief word arising out of the statements which have been made by the Secretary of State of the United States and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. This is an Arab draft resolution. It asks for peace and prosperity in the Arab world. It asks that the foreign troops now in Lebanon and in Jordan should be withdrawn at an early date. I think it is a matter also for great gratification in this Assembly that the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom have said that they will fully support this draft resolution. We are grateful for this as a country which wishes to see peace in this world of ours and which realizes that this peace depends on the co-operation of all countries. We are sure that the action of the United States and the United Kingdom in supporting this draft resolution is a reaction based on their desire to co-operate fully with the terms of this draft resolution. We have no doubt whatsoever that there will be an early withdrawal of the troops now in Lebanon and Jordan. We can only interpret the support of this draft resolution by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom as meaning precisely that.

98. I think it is also necessary to say that our delegation, for one, and several other delegations did have real difficulties of principle with the draft resolution which has been described today as the Norwegian draft resolution—although from reading the text I would say the draft resolution sponsored by Canada and six other countries—and, as is widely known in this Assembly, we had suggested along with friends informally that that draft resolution required emendation in three important points. We are glad to see that the Arab draft resolution, which will soon be the unanimous recommendation of this Assembly, covers all those three points. It would not have been possible for us to give any endorsement, direct or indirect, to the movement of forces into Lebanon and Jordan; and we are glad to see that there is no noting of the declarations which referred in terms to those actions.

99. We are also glad to see that it has been decided as the wiser course that, if consideration is to be given to the creation of a United Nations stand-by force, that matter will come to the Assembly in the normal course and not be slipped in by a side door at this Assembly, which is not considering that issue. In that respect too, this draft resolution saves an important point of principle; that is to say it saves the point of principle that important issues must be brought to this Organization by the front door and not by the side door.

100. Finally, the seven-Power draft resolution was unfortunately not explicit on the question of the withdrawal of forces. This draft resolution is explicit on the question of the withdrawal of forces; in terms it

asks for the early withdrawal of the foreign troops now in Lebanon and Jordan.

101. These were the three points on which we would have asked for the emendation of the seven-Power draft resolution, and we are very happy to see that the Arab draft resolution, with the expected statesmanship of our Arab colleagues, did what we expected it would do on these three matters.

102. As I said, it is with great joy and pride that we commend the people of the Arab world, who are our close neighbours, for having brought this draft resolution to the General Assembly. We will vote for it and we wish the Secretary-General godspeed in his new venture.

103. In that connexion, I am sure that the Assembly will bear with me if I say that a distinguished part has been played in this situation by the group of persons of various ranks which has now come to be known as UNOGIL [United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon]. At this moment I do want to place on record the appreciation of the delegation of India for the work which has been done by the UNOGIL organization so far. I do not want to go into the question of their reports at this juncture. If necessary, that could be done later.

104. With these few brief remarks, I should like to repeat that the delegation of India will vote for the draft resolution which has been put before us by our ten Arab colleagues.

105. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): We have before us the draft resolution proposed by the Arab States. [A/3893/Rev.1.]

106. Since the Philippines did not participate in the general debate, it is my privilege now to bring to our Arab friends the cordial salutations of the people of the Philippines. We Filipinos believe in their legitimate right to achieve by themselves and with their own devices, free from any foreign intervention, the genius of their race. May I also assure them that in their present travail they have the Filipino people's understanding sympathy and prayers, and for their ideals and aspirations our abiding admiration and wholehearted support.

107. Resurgent in the Arab countries today is the flaming spirit of nationalism. In our current discussions of the Middle Eastern situation, nationalism is in fact the crux of the whole matter. This is the new nationalism that must sweep away the heritage of a past in which one nation or group of nations dominated others. We are, many of us in this Assembly, the products of this new history of our century, old peoples re-establishing themselves as new nations, long submerged now rising to the surface of visible human affairs, bringing the conquerors of the past to a new realization that all peoples, one way or another, must express their own genius, make their own history, destroy or grow, for better or worse, on an earth struggling its way toward some ultimate coherence, some approximation of the dream of brotherhood which we all, through our different doctrines, codes, religions, believe we are striving to achieve. They err, and err grievously, who confuse this regnant nationalism with Communist imperialism.

108. I speak for a country which is small in its military and economic power among the giants of the earth. With other small nations, we share the same vulnerability, the same exposures to danger arising

from the clash and conflicts of the giants. We share with other small nations the same love and attachment to our own independence and nationhood. Nothing is more precious to my people than our national sovereignty and the dignity of independence.

109. Twenty-three years ago today, less a few weeks, the Assembly of a preceding international organization, the League of Nations, convened in Geneva, at the height of the power and prestige of that organization. It was on 9 September 1935, to be exact. The failures of that session spelled the doom of that organization.

110. The principal subject-matter which that session of the Assembly of the League was called upon to deal was the impending conflict which vitally affected Ethiopia. At the time, the question was fully as complicated, with quite as many international cross-currents as those which face us today. That session of the Assembly came to some correct conclusions, but the conclusions were lost in the boundless sea of great-Powers politics. The will to action was paralysed by the false hope of forestalling major conflicts by expedient sacrifices of principle, involving a small nation. The question of whether Ethiopia at that time had a modern and responsible Government was allowed to becloud the issue of whether a dictatorship had the right to serve its own ambition, purpose and need at the expense of a small and weak nation.

111. History records how that issue was settled and the consequences of that settlement. History records, among other things, the decline and ultimate death of the League of Nations from the date of that settlement.

112. There had been, of course, previous crises in the life of the League of Nations and the cause of peace. There was, first of all, in the autumn of 1931, the rape of Manchuria. Then there was in 1933 the disarmament crisis climaxed by the withdrawal of Germany from the League. In 1934 there was the Hungarian-Yugoslav crisis, and then the Saar plebiscite and the rearmament of Germany. Is history so transient that all these developments have been forgotten, and the light they might cast on the present totally invisible?

113. In one measure or another all these crises sapped away at the League, although the League was not without its successes during this period. Indeed some of the successes were sufficiently notable to maintain in great sections of mankind the faith that in the League lay great hopes for peace and order in the world. The crisis over Ethiopia, as the climax of all other crises, destroyed that faith, and thus destroyed the League of Nations.

114. We have come today to an equally historic crossroads, an equally great crisis, in the existence of the United Nations and in the faith which plain people everywhere have in the United Nations. We can proudly say that the United Nations, with the draft resolution as proposed by the Arab States, has once more justified the confidence and trust that mankind has reposed in it as the safeguard of peace.

115. The Philippines will vote for the draft resolution proposed by the Arab States, not because it will solve all the problems before us, nor because we think it is a perfect draft resolution for even the purposes of the moment, but rather because it is the least common denominator of what is practical, feasible, and possible of passage. This draft resolution is no more and no less than a necessary beginning to an effort

to preserve the peace and save the United Nations. The greatest merit of the draft resolution is that it is proposed by the countries directly affected. It is the product of a meeting of minds among them. It is what they, not outsiders, believe is best for them.

116. It is in this spirit that the Philippines supports the Arab draft resolution. We are here in search of a common ground. We are here seeking an accommodation. Both are offered to us in this draft resolution.

117. It is one of the great paradoxes of history that the achievement of nationhood by so much of our world has been postponed to a time when nationhood has ceased by itself to be enough to ensure human progress. Here is a basic and fundamental fact of our time: that we have had to try to achieve nationhood and a coherent world at the same time, and this is a heavy task that may indeed lie beyond us. This we do not know. But we must try our best to cope with the history to which we are heir. As nations we must somehow strive to be more than nations. This is our task here.

118. The draft resolution before us, in the opinion of my delegation, is a constructive proposal which will break through the senseless aggravation of conflict which we now face in the Middle East. We believe this draft resolution offers a beginning to the achievement of this task. We call upon all to meet the problem in a comparably constructive spirit. To our competent Secretary-General, unobtrusively efficient, we wish godspeed in the great labour that awaits him for humanity and for peace.

119. Mr. WALKER (Australia): The Assembly is moving to a vote on a draft resolution proposed by the Arab States, including those States whose complaints of indirect aggression and interference in their domestic affairs led to the calling of this session, as well as the States whose actions were the subject of complaint. This draft resolution calls upon all Member States to act in a manner which, if it had been consistently followed in the past, would have dispensed with the need for this special Assembly and many other discussions in the United Nations. We have the assurance of the Arab States that they will avoid actions directed at changing the form of Government in other Arab States, a policy in such complete conformity with the principles of the Charter that we would wish to see it followed not only by the Arab States in relation to each other but also by all States in relation to all other States.

120. The draft resolution entrusts to the Secretary-General a mission which is essentially one of conciliation as well as the negotiation of practical arrangements for United Nations assistance in the protection of the security and independence of Lebanon and Jordan. I do not see how the Assembly can fail to accept a draft resolution which establishes a framework agreed to by all the Arab States within which the Secretary-General can make an immediate start on the next phase of his efforts to strengthen the precarious security situation in the Middle East.

121. Speaking in the general debate, I referred to proposals advanced by the Australian Government, including the establishment of a commission by this Assembly. Although encouraged by a number of delegations to submit a definite proposal along these lines to this session of the Assembly, we have refrained from doing so as we have seen the gradual emergence of a widely agreed formula for action by the Assembly.

122. We share the hope that the Secretary-General's efforts will receive such co-operation by the Governments of the area that they will be crowned with success, and we are therefore holding our own proposals in reserve.

123. Mr. President, in response to your indication that you wish to move rapidly to the conclusion of our business, I merely make three short points regarding the actual text of the draft resolution. It will be noted that the reference in the draft resolution to the Pact of the League of Arab States, while it bears upon the differences existing between certain Arab States, is silent on the attitude of the Arab States towards other States in the Middle East. We attach great importance, therefore, to the all-embracing nature of the call in section I, paragraph 2 of the draft resolution to Member States to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. We note that the General Assembly will not be able in this present special session to make further progress in laying the foundations for that great co-operative programme of peaceful development in the Middle East which we believe is urgently called for. The draft resolution encourages the Secretary-General to continue his studies in relation to economic development with a view to possible assistance regarding an Arab development institution, and we support this modest step in the hope that it is the preliminary to substantial developments.

124. The Australian delegation regrets that the draft resolution, as proposed by the Arab States, has dropped the reference to the Secretary-General's studies of a stand-by peace force which was in the draft resolution introduced by Norway and others. We trust that those studies will continue and will be discussed at the regular session of the General Assembly.

125. In conclusion, I wish on behalf of the Australian delegation to extend to the Secretary-General our best wishes for the success of his latest important mission on behalf of the General Assembly.

126. Mr. NISOT (Belgium) (*translated from French*): We now have a new draft resolution before us [A/3893]. The fact that such a resolution could be drawn up, and drawn up so promptly, is evidence both of the ability of the members of the Arab community to agree among themselves on a common course that is so much in their interests and also of the felicitous influence exercised by United Nations procedures.

127. The spirit of co-operation, the desire for peace and the feeling of mutual dependence which inspire the Arab delegations have been recalled here to good purpose. The draft resolution is based both on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Pact of the League of Arab States and thus relies on the duality of means permitted by the Charter. It recalls certain principles which are common to these treaties and which certainly include those set forth in General Assembly resolution 290 (IV), which was adopted in 1949.

128. Dedicated as it is to these principles, my Government is desirous of seeing them prevail in the implementation of the resolution. The resolution also assigns a pre-eminent role to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It requests him to make forthwith, in consultation with the Governments concerned, such practical arrangements as, having

due regard for the purposes of the Charter and the principles in question, will make possible an early withdrawal of the foreign troops now stationed in Lebanon and Jordan. My Government hopes that this purpose will be achieved. The draft resolution further relies on the Secretary-General to carry out, again in consultation with the Arab countries of the Middle East, such studies as will elucidate the possibilities of granting aid and assistance to those countries through an Arab development institution. My Government, which wishes once again to assure the Secretary-General of its confidence in him, believes that the objectives in view must not be confined to ensuring the external security and internal tranquillity of Lebanon and Jordan but must also make provision for a longer-term plan that will enable the peoples of the Middle East to work towards full economic and social development in conformity with their own views and, in each case, to determine their own future in freedom and peace.

129. My Government rejoices in the fact that the draft resolution makes use of the machinery of the United Nations, of which it has always been a staunch supporter. It is pleased to see in this action, the credit for which belongs to the Arab delegations, the beginning of a process which should conduce to the final result which the Belgian people, it is certain, sincerely desire.

130. My Government will be happy to be among those voting for the draft resolution.

131. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): In the opinion of my delegation, two important conclusions are to be drawn from this discussion of the Middle East crisis, which was the reason for calling this emergency special session of the General Assembly. The first is that all the States represented here have once more unequivocally reaffirmed the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention by one State in the affairs of another. The second is that, in an extraordinarily complex and difficult situation, the General Assembly is endeavouring to prepare the way for a lasting solution based on a productive spirit of harmony and understanding among those directly involved in the present situation in the Middle East.

132. I say this because, as we know, in the atmosphere of moderation and good sense which has fortunately prevailed in our discussions no voice has been raised to dispute or deny or question the *raison d'être* of Arab nationalism or the right of the Arabs to adopt for themselves the political system and form of government best suited to their traditions and customs and to their aspirations and characteristics, provided that in the exercise of that legitimate right they do not resort to force or violence and do not harm or jeopardize the existence of other peoples who have an equal right to establish themselves and develop freely within the international community.

133. What unquestionably does arouse disagreement and disapproval on the part of States not involved in the crisis in that area is the possibility that unlawful methods may be restored to, methods which are prohibited by the United Nations Charter, as is any form of direct or indirect aggression or illegal intervention for the purpose of realizing nationalistic aspirations, however justified and praiseworthy those aspirations may be in themselves.

134. This form of intervention or aggression gives rise to extremely serious situations, particularly when behind it there may or in fact does lie a very real danger of a

war the consequences of which would be catastrophic, for in these times in which we live a tremendous gulf separates the most powerful States of the world, which have in their hands and can decide at will the destiny of mankind.

135. There has been discussion here of illegal intervention not only in relation to the central and primary item which the Assembly has before it, namely, the dispute between certain Arab States, but also in relation to an event which has taken place as a consequence of that dispute: the introduction of foreign military forces into Lebanon and Jordan. It has been interesting to note, however, that the majority of the speakers have kept themselves above the battle and maintained admirable calm in referring to both these matters and have refrained from either condemning or condoning the conduct of any particular Government in the present situation. To judge by the attitude of many delegations, it is the consensus that, in view of the very unusual circumstances surrounding this problem, it would not be advisable for the General Assembly to pass a categorical judgement.

136. This, in our view, is an advantage because it does nothing to aggravate the present situation or to make more difficult the restoration of normal conditions in the area. This in turn produces another very noteworthy advantage. This is that as the General Assembly has not passed judgement concerning the events which it is examining, no precedent can later be invoked, and what has been said here cannot be held up as a doctrine or as an internationally recognized principle explaining or justifying such events.

137. The change which has taken place since yesterday with regard to the draft resolutions before us makes it unnecessary for me to refer to those which the Assembly had under consideration for several days. The new draft submitted this afternoon by the ten Arab delegations incorporates on the whole the ideas and principles already embodied in the seven-Power draft submitted by Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Norway, Panama and Paraguay and also includes important references to the international ties and commitments which link the Arab countries. All this, together with the fact that the draft is the result of an agreement between those countries, gives us reason to hope that it will be unanimously adopted and that the mission which it entrusts to the Secretary-General will be productive in the sense that he will, in consultation with the Governments concerned and in accordance with the United Nations Charter, proceed forthwith to make such practical arrangements as will adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in the present circumstances and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of the foreign troops from the two countries.

138. An equally encouraging feature of the draft resolution submitted by the Arab countries is the exhortation to States Members of the United Nations to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and of equal and mutual benefit, and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles. The same may be said of the request to the Secretary-General to continue his studies now under way and in this context to consult as appropriate with the Arab countries of the Near East with a view to possible assistance regarding an Arab development institution designed to further economic growth in these

countries, a request which clearly embodies the most important of the proposals put before this emergency Assembly by the Secretary-General [732nd meeting] and seconded by President Eisenhower [733rd meeting].

139. In conclusion let me say that our delegation welcomes this draft resolution and will vote in favour of it, because it is convinced that if the resolution is applied and carried out in good faith, as is to be expected, it can bring incalculable benefits to the area about which so much has been said and can serve the peace and well-being of the world as a whole.

140. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): After ten days of a generally constructive debate, and after many meritorious efforts towards an agreed solution, the Assembly now has before it a draft resolution submitted by the parties most directly concerned—by the delegations of all the Arab States. This is a heartening conclusion to this emergency special session.

141. We have before us a solution which meets the most urgent requirements of the situation which we have been convened to consider by providing for the removal of the immediate causes of the present tension, and accurately reflects the general consensus which has emerged from our deliberations.

142. In giving its wholehearted support to the draft resolution submitted by the Arab delegations, as I am confident it will, the Assembly will end on a note of confidence and of hope. It will indeed be able to assert that its efforts have not been in vain. It will have shown a salutary awareness of the gravity of the problem with which it was confronted, and probably come out with a clearer grasp of the essentials of that problem. By its efforts the General Assembly has helped create conditions in which the Arab delegations have now come forward with their own answer to the problem confronting us, and thus, in their turn, contributed to an improved international climate.

143. Much still remains to be done. Many arduous efforts still lie ahead. Many difficulties, largely the legacy of past errors, must still be overcome. There is strong reason to hope, however, that we have accomplished a step—a significant step—in the right direction.

144. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): As the Czechoslovak delegation pointed out in its statement during the general debate [735th meeting], the armed intervention of United States and United Kingdom forces in Lebanon and Jordan has created in the Near and Middle East a danger point which has brought the peoples of the world face to face with the threat of military conflict. Accordingly, the Czechoslovak delegation, together with other delegations, has requested that the emergency special session of the General Assembly should take effective measures without delay to avert this threat. In this connexion, the Czechoslovak delegation urged the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation, which called for the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist troops from Lebanon and Jordan, as a realistic and effective method of settling the dangerous situation in the Near and Middle East.

145. As the course of the general debate has shown, this appeal has been widely echoed and supported by the majority of delegations to this session, which realized the extent of the threat to peace that has arisen in the Near and Middle East as a result of United States and United Kingdom intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. Only a small group of delegations closely connected with

the United States and the United Kingdom and the interventionists themselves have attempted, by means of various manoeuvres, to divert the attention of world public opinion and of this session from the solution of its main task, which is the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist forces of the United States and the United Kingdom from Lebanon and Jordan.

146. But the attempts of the United States and the United Kingdom to justify their intervention in Lebanon and Jordan were unsuccessful, owing to the rebuff they received from the overwhelming majority of delegations at this session, which called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

147. The demand that the interventionist forces should be withdrawn from both these countries has now been formulated in another draft resolution, submitted by the Arab States. Although this proposal has certain shortcomings, the Czechoslovak delegation will vote for it, in the hope that the proposed activities of the Secretary-General will be successful, that the interventionist forces of the United States and the United Kingdom will be withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan at an early date and that the armed intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom will thus be brought to an end.

148. The statements of the majority of delegations during this emergency special session have confirmed that colonialism is doomed to extinction and that there is no force in the world which can arrest the rapid disintegration of the imperialist colonial system or suppress the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for their freedom and independence. Until the imperialists take this fact into account and until they desist from their shameless interference in the domestic affairs of the countries of the Arab East, apply the principles of peaceful co-existence to these countries and deal with them on a footing of equality, new threats to peace and security in the Near and Middle East and throughout the world will continue to arise.

149. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, that is the real reason for the tension in the Near and Middle East, which the Western Powers have not succeeded in masking by their references to "indirect aggression" and to the United Nations Charter, or by any of the other manoeuvres which they have attempted to execute.

150. We would be concealing the true state of affairs if we were to assert that this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly has fully met all the expectations and hopes which the peace-loving peoples of the world, especially the peoples of the countries of the Arab East, had placed in it. Nevertheless, we regard it as a favourable development that the interventionists have not succeeded in justifying their armed intervention in Lebanon and Jordan and that their aggressive action against the Arab countries has been censured, both at this session and by world public opinion at large.

151. The Czechoslovak delegation, therefore, considers that the results of this session of the United Nations General Assembly should be regarded as positive, since they may lead to a relaxation of international tension in the Near and Middle East and throughout the world.

152. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): As the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution sponsored by the ten Arab States is in sight, I wish to join the colleagues who have spoken before me from this rostrum in

expressing the deep gratification of the Greek delegation at the happy outcome of our work and deliberations.

153. If the General Assembly at this emergency special session was able to induce the members of the Arab family to stand together and to pave the way to a better understanding and co-operation, it had the satisfaction of a prompt response on their part and it reaped the benefit of the creation of an example of mutual concessions and conciliation establishing a happy precedent. We fervently hope that, following the adoption of this draft resolution, the situation in the Middle East will constantly improve and that peace and security in that area will be consolidated. Our hope is based mainly on the deep confidence we have in our Secretary-General, on the continued wisdom of the Arab States immediately concerned and on the spirit of constructive co-operation displayed by the big Powers directly involved.

154. We think that the example which was set today by our Arab friends shows the way to the solution, in the same spirit, of other problems of interest to the United Nations and of potential danger to the peace and security of the world.

155. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I had extensive opportunity last night [744th meeting] of conveying to the General Assembly the views of the Government of Israel on the problems now lying before this emergency special session. The draft resolution presented by ten delegations [A/3893/Rev.1] encounters certain profound and serious reservations in my Government's mind.

156. A reference is made to an inter-State organization which has unhappily not been universal and comprehensive in the application of its principles to the States of the region as a whole. The history of the past decade is unhappily full of turbulent events and disturbances which would have been avoided if the obligation to strengthen relations between States and to stabilize their links on a basis of respect for mutual sovereignty and integrity had been applied without selectivity and discrimination. The future policy of this organization also arouses concern in my Government's mind.

157. In section I, paragraph 2 of this draft resolution, the General Assembly

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

158. The universal application of these principles to all the States of our region and to each and every conflict and dispute that has arisen or that may arise between them would certainly do much to promote the fulfilment of the Charter's principles in the tormented life of the Middle East. The Government of Israel has serious cause to doubt whether in fact all Member States, without exception, understand the applicability of these fundamental provisions to their relations with all their neighbours without exception. We have, however, listened with care to the words in which the representative of the Sudan presented and interpreted this draft resolution in introducing it before the General Assembly. We have listened to the statements

by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the great Powers permanent members of the Security Council and have found in their words a clear emphasis of the absolute and unconditional universality with which in their view the General Assembly must apply the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each of its Members.

159. We believe that when this draft resolution is adopted its interpretation will be determined not by the particular reservations of any Member State but by the views and principles of the overwhelming majority of our membership. The delegation of Israel has the clear sentiment that the overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly will understand by these words that all Member States including all Member States in the Middle East—Arab States and non-Arab States—will fall under the clear applicability of these principles.

160. Notwithstanding the reservations which I have frankly expressed, and fully comprehending the importance of unanimity in international issues of such grave moment and scope, I should like to convey the intention of my delegation, with the reservations which I have expressed, to join its voice among those who will vote for this draft resolution.

161. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on my list, and I shall now request the Assembly to proceed to the vote. I said earlier that it was in my opinion desirable and in the interests of the Assembly that the draft resolution submitted by the ten Arab States Members of the United Nations be put to the vote first. The representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of Norway, the latter speaking on behalf of co-sponsors, have stated that they would not press for priority in the voting with regard to the draft resolutions submitted by them. Consequently I shall now ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution proposed by Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Yemen, which is contained in document A/3893.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

162. The PRESIDENT: In view of this unanimous vote by which the Assembly has adopted the resolution, and in the light of the statements made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and of Norway, to which I have just referred, it does not seem necessary to take a vote on the other draft resolutions which have been submitted.

163. Several representatives wish to explain their votes and I call upon the first of these, the representative of Uruguay.

164. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): After this very satisfactory vote let me just say two words, which this time will not be three.

165. As has been noted, my delegation cast its vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by our Arab colleagues at this emergency special session of the General Assembly. Let me make it clear that all the points of principle which my delegation set forth this morning and which in a general sense it expressed with regard to the draft resolution submitted by Norway and with regard to all the provisions of that draft resolution are equally applicable to the draft that has just been adopted. In particular, the provi-

sions of section I, paragraph 2, embody our viewpoint in that they apply without exception to all the countries of that part of the world, of the Near East, Arab and non-Arab, so that we shall soon be able to celebrate the establishment of peace and solidarity among those peoples to the advantage of one and all.

166. It therefore seems to us that the outlook for peace is favourable, and my delegation hopes that the mission which this Assembly has so rightly entrusted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be equally successful.

167. Mr. ESIN (Turkey): My delegation was happy to support the joint resolution presented by the ten Arab States Members of this Organization.

168. I wish to express our gratification at seeing that a solution to the immediate problems before the Assembly has been found through the common effort of the countries directly concerned.

169. At the beginning of our deliberations the Foreign Minister of my country in his statement to the General Assembly referred to divergencies of a fraternal nature which might temporarily exist among our Arab neighbours and he used in this connexion the following words: "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". [736th meeting, para. 15.]

170. The fact that, in the resolution that has just been adopted unanimously, the General Assembly welcomes the renewed assurances given by the Arab States to observe the provisions of the Pact of the League of Arab States is therefore a matter causing particular satisfaction to my delegation.

171. I should like to add that we are in complete agreement with the principles which are reaffirmed in this resolution and with the methods which are set forth for bringing about a satisfactory solution. For these reasons my delegation has voted in favour of this resolution and hopes that its implementation will strengthen confidence, security and peace, as well as the maintenance of friendly relations among the countries of the area, based on mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of all.

172. In concluding my remarks, Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to the wise guidance with which you have conducted our deliberations and which has certainly played a most prominent part in the achievement of this auspicious solution.

173. My delegation also wishes to reiterate its confidence in our Secretary-General, who, we are sure, will fully succeed in his new and important task as he has done in the past.

174. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):² The resolution upon which we have just been called to vote appears to me to answer the constructive intentions increasingly revealed in this Assembly. It is only appropriate to recognize that tribute for this result should be paid first of all, Mr. President, to you, for it is you who at the beginning of this session expressed the hope that such a constructive spirit would prevail. The Italian delegation is indeed pleased to note that the appeal to all Arab States that I made at the conclusion of my earlier statement [739th meeting] did not go unheeded.

² Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

175. We are specially pleased tonight that all Arab States have met and have agreed on a formula that responds to such a general expectation. In the draft resolution we see that some of the essential principles of the Charter of our Organization have been embodied. The general respect for the Charter is an indispensable prerequisite to the peaceful development of international relations. Together with these provisions, freely adopted, we can see reflected in the draft resolution ideas that the Italian Government had upheld even before the convening of this session and that I repeated in my statement to the Assembly on 18 August. I refer specifically to the economic co-operation of the Arab countries of the Near East through the setting up of a regional institution.

176. The words spoken by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan when submitting his draft resolution unquestionably afford encouragement to all of us. Undoubtedly it is, in the first place, up to those States to decide the form which they wish this co-operation to take. For my own part, I would like to assure Mr. Mahgoub that the Italian Government would view with favour any idea taken in this direction, convinced as we are that this would be the best possible premise for a far-sighted enterprise for the benefit of the populations of the region and for the peaceful evolution of their institutions.

177. The Italian delegation is firmly convinced that concrete deeds such as this would obtain general agreement and support and would demonstrate that the important hopes raised by this Assembly were not unfounded.

178. I wish to conclude my brief remarks with our most sincere wishes to the Secretary-General for the success of his mission of peace and conciliation.

179. The PRESIDENT: Before we turn to our remaining business, may I in my capacity as President express to the delegations my sincere thanks for the co-operation and considerate spirit which they have in a most generous measure displayed in bringing the substantive and greatly significant part of this Assembly's work to the present satisfactory conclusion.

180. It will, I am sure, be a matter throughout the world of general and genuine relief and gratification that by patience and good will, and in full awareness of the difficulties still to be resolved, this Assembly has been able to make such substantial progress in reconciling differences among its members and adopting recommendations capable of attracting unanimous support.

181. Let us all hope with undivided strength, and let none of us waver in the determination to realize that hope, that the deeds—and I emphasize the word "deeds"—which will flow from this draft resolution will help to make more effective in the Middle East the principles of our Charter.

182. May the labours we have just completed build up a better understanding among neighbours and give to the peoples of that great region a stronger promise of security and freedom from fear.

183. May I in conclusion—and I feel I am speaking for the whole Assembly—express my unswerving confidence in the great abilities of our distinguished Secretary-General and wish him well in the discharge of the responsibilities which the Assembly has now entrusted to him.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials Committee

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (A/3891)

184. Mr. THORS (Iceland), Chairman of the Credentials Committee: After this great decision of the General Assembly and after the President's eloquent words, my report is very simple.

185. The Credentials Committee was composed of the same members who served during the twelfth General Assembly, and it unanimously adopted the same report as it did at that time.

186. I present the report and ask the President to put it to the vote for the General Assembly's approval.

187. Mr. LALL (India): The delegation of India accepts the report of the Credentials Committee subject to a reservation regarding the credentials of China and also subject to a reservation regarding the report on the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

188. I do not wish to make any remarks about these matters. Our views on them are well known.

189. Mr. SIK (Hungary): The Credentials Committee has again submitted a report to the General Assembly which makes reservations concerning the mandate of the Hungarian delegation which is entirely legal and in compliance with the stipulations of the Hungarian Constitution, and which was issued in due form according to the formal discussion of this matter in the United Nations.

190. The Hungarian delegation categorically protests against this procedure and the report of the Committee. The Committee's proposal that the General Assembly reach no decision on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation is a completely unjustified attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Hungarian delegation received its mandate from the supreme organ of the Hungarian People's Republic, from the Presidential Council which is vested with the rights of the Head of State, which it has been exercising without interruption since 1953. The present Government of Hungary was also elected by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic. During the events of 1956, and since then, Hungary has continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, and none of these diplomatic relations has been severed.

191. Hungary's position internationally is normal in all other respects, and our contacts are continuing to expand. The Hungarian Government is fulfilling its obligations as far as concerns Hungary's membership contribution to the United Nations and other international organizations. Since 1956, Hungary has become a party to a number of international conventions under the aegis of the United Nations.

192. The Hungarian Government is receiving invitations to participate in international conferences. By trying to cast doubt on the Hungarian credentials, although aware of all these facts, the Credentials Committee is overstepping its own terms of reference and is creating a dangerous precedent in the United Nations, particularly with regard to small countries. Support for the Committee in this matter means support for the forces which are trying to spread the cold war by these means.

193. The Hungarian delegation protested against and also voted against the report of the Credentials Committee of the twelfth session of the General Assembly because of the unfounded discriminatory character of the proposal concerning the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

194. As the Credentials Committee of the emergency special session of the General Assembly has now submitted a similar proposal, the Hungarian delegation is not in a position to accept this report either.

195. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In connexion with consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee, the Soviet Union delegation feels it must once again draw the Assembly's attention to the question of the credentials of the persons occupying China's place in the United Nations General Assembly illegally and in contravention of the Charter.

196. It has long been clear to everyone that these private individuals who occupy China's place in the United Nations in no way represent the great country of China, but are merely agents of a clique of political bankrupts, who are ending their days under the protection of United States forces.

197. Their claims to speak as the representatives of China, whose people threw them out nine years ago, are so obviously absurd that there is no need to dwell on the matter.

198. Under the United Nations Charter, China may be represented in the General Assembly and in other United Nations organs only by representatives appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China, which is the only lawful Chinese Government.

199. The Chinese people unanimously supports this Government, which was set up as a result of the victory of the national liberation movement. China has never before had a government which so fully represented the interests of the masses.

200. The appearance of the People's Republic of China on the international scene was an important factor in stabilizing the international situation and in strengthening peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world. The tireless efforts of the Chinese Government to apply the principles of peaceful co-existence, which it proclaimed jointly with the Indian Government, have helped it to establish friendly relations with many countries of Asia, Europe and Africa. The number of States maintaining diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China is growing every year. The People's Republic of China also maintains commercial and cultural ties with the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world.

201. In view of these facts, it is particularly scandalous that for nine years the representatives of the People's Republic of China have been deprived of the opportunity to participate in the work of the United Nations. The absence of the representatives of China, a great Power which is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, cannot fail to undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations, which is called upon to unite the efforts of all peace-loving peoples in the struggle to establish a stable and lasting peace.

202. The reasons for such an abnormal situation with regard to the representation of China are clear to everyone. The Government of the United States does not conceal the fact that its attitude towards the People's

Republic of China is the only obstacle to the restoration of the rightful representation of China in the United Nations. The various procedural tricks and devices used each year by the United States delegation to the United Nations to prevent even the discussion of the question of the representation of China provide eloquent evidence of the absolute unfoundedness of the United States position in this matter.

203. It is time the General Assembly put an end to the practice of subordinating the United Nations to the narrow interests of individual States and abolished the abnormal situation with regard to the representation of China by reinstating the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China.

204. With regard to the persons occupying China's seat, the Assembly has no grounds for recognizing their credentials as valid, since they represent no one but themselves and have no right to speak as the representatives of China.

205. The other question relating to the report of the Credentials Committee to which the Soviet delegation feels it must draw the Assembly's attention is the Committee's decision, also inspired by the United States, tending to cast doubt on the validity of the credentials issued to the Hungarian People's Republic by its lawful Government.

206. The Soviet delegation has categorically protested and continues to protest against this decision, which is particularly harmful to our Organization, and further poisons the business-like atmosphere which is so necessary for the success of the General Assembly's work.

207. For nearly two years, the United States has imposed upon the General Assembly, in one form or another, illegal decisions, aimed at interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian people.

208. These machinations by United States representatives show that that country is unwilling to refrain from attempts to use the United Nations as a cover for its own interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

209. It is clear to everyone that the provocative hue and cry raised by the United States over the credentials of the Hungarian delegation is yet another manifestation of the subversive activities of the United States against the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. I need not remind you, in this connexion, that subversive activity and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries are contrary to the United Nations Charter.

210. We feel obliged to draw attention to the fact that the United States Government maintains diplomatic relations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and that these countries are represented by diplomatic missions in each other's capitals. And yet, with no justification whatsoever, the representatives of the United States and of a number of other countries in the United Nations raise the question of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

211. This United States position can only be regarded as two-faced. The activities of that country leave no doubt as to who is really using indirect aggression as an instrument of State foreign policy.

212. It is characteristic that neither in the Credentials Committee nor in the General Assembly did anyone in fact dispute the validity of the Hungarian delegation's credentials. Moreover, it could not be otherwise, since the Hungarian delegation submitted, in the form pre-

scribed by the rules of procedure, the credentials issued to it by the only lawful Government of Hungary. This Government has been formed and operates in strict conformity with the Constitution and internal legislation of Hungary. It enjoys the unanimous support of the Hungarian people. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic conducts a peaceful foreign policy and maintains diplomatic relations with the majority of States Members of the United Nations.

213. The Credentials Committee had no grounds for casting doubt on the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The decision imposed upon the Committee is incorrect and harmful, for it is prejudicial to the United Nations and contrary to its Charter.

214. The Soviet delegation felt it necessary to explain its position to the members of the General Assembly in order to leave no doubt that its vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee involves no change in its position with regard to the representation of China in the United Nations or with regard to the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic.

215. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I think it is a great pity, really, that after the General Assembly has just made this inspiring showing of unanimity on the Arab resolution for the Near East, the Soviet Union should see fit to raise these contentious questions and once again to attack the United States. As you all know, I have never started an attack on the Soviet Union in all the years that I have been here, but I am obliged, of course, to respond to an attack that is made upon my Government, just the way any other member here present would be obliged to respond if an attack were made on the Government which he represented. Therefore, with a degree of reluctance, I shall reply very briefly to the strictures which Mr. Sobolev has seen fit to make against the United States.

216. The position of the United States on the Chinese representation question can be stated as follows. The Chinese Communist régime stands branded as an aggressor. This was the decision of the General Assembly. This decision has not been repealed. Consequently, there can be no justification for inviting the aggressor to sit here among us as if it were a law-abiding, peace-loving Member. The Charter does not take the view of the so-called realists that the General Assembly should be a mere cockpit in which the law-abiding and the criminal are indiscriminately scrambled up. The Charter contains a moral standard and it is up to us to uphold it. The United States therefore continues to oppose any move or moves designed to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Chinese Communist régime. So much for the Chinese representation question.

217. The United States believes that the General Assembly should approve the report of its Credentials Committee [A/3891], which includes the motion "that the Committee take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary". This motion was approved in the Credentials Committee by a vote of 6 to 1, with 2 abstentions, and it is in accord with previous decisions of the Credentials Committee both at the eleventh and at the twelfth sessions of the General Assembly.

218. The General Assembly at its 677th plenary meeting on 14 September 1957 adopted a resolution by

which it found that "the present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". Those are not my words; I have quoted directly from resolution 1153 (XI), paragraph 4 (b).

219. In the view of the United States, there have been no subsequent actions either by the Hungarian authorities or by the Soviet Union to justify any different judgement today. On the contrary, recent events have confirmed the validity of this view. The revolting spectacle of secret trials and secret executions has served to remind humanity of the brutal measures which Soviet and Hungarian authorities depend upon to ensure their control of the Hungarian people. The world also noted how closely the announcement of the executions of Premier Nagy and his associates followed upon Mr. Khrushchev's visit to that unhappy country, during which he stated his disapproval of the "leniency" exercised by Hungarian courts. It is little wonder that many suspect that the executions took place not in Hungary but in Moscow.

220. Similarly, we recall Mr. Kádár's statement of 11 November 1956 in which he said: "I, who have myself been a member of Nagy's Government, hereby state that, according to the best of my knowledge, neither Imre Nagy nor his political group has willingly supported the counter-revolution." We also recall Mr. Kádár's statement of 27 November 1956 in which he said: "We have promised not to start any punitive proceedings against Imre Nagy, and we shall keep our word." How good was that word?

221. These facts were most recently brought to our attention by the special report dated 14 July 1958, just a little more than a month ago, of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, document A/3849, which confirmed "the continued policy of repression carried out at the present time in Hungary". Although the Hungarian régime claimed in June that these executions closed the book on the 1956 counter-revolution, reports continue to reach us of trials which are under way today, particularly large number of trials of students, of young people, who are accused of having participated in the uprising.

222. In these conditions, the United States believes that the General Assembly should not take a decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary.

223. U THANT (Burma): While my delegation will vote for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee, I would be failing in my duty if I did not make a few observations on the credentials of the representatives of China. My delegation does not recognize as valid the credentials of the present representatives of the Government of China. Let there be no misunderstanding about our attitude. Our advocacy of China's admission to this world Organization is in no way prompted by political or ideological considerations. In fact, Burma and China have very different political and ideological backgrounds, but this difference is no reason why Burma should stand in the way of China's admission to the United Nations.

224. There is one paramount reason why Burma has consistently supported any move from any quarter for China's admission to the United Nations. The main job of the United Nations is to settle disputes without war. The more countries disapprove of one another, the more important it is that their accusations and counter-accusations should take place within this Organization;

otherwise they may settle their disputes only on the battlefield. The United Nations exists precisely to prevent this from happening. By excluding the People's Republic of China, one damages not Peking but the United Nations, which is thereby ruled out as an effective instrument of international conciliation.

225. With these few reservations, my delegation will vote for the adoption of this report.

226. Mr. TSIANG (China): The statement made by the Soviet Union representative is unworthy of this Assembly in both substance and language, unworthy in that part which relates to China as well as in that part which relates to Hungary. If the Soviet representative could have his own way I am sure that he would have not only the seat of China but the seats of all countries in this hall occupied by his comrades. We have not reached that point yet. At this hour, I do not wish to prolong or to start a controversy.

227. I should like to state the following for the record: First of all, all patriotic and freedom-loving Chinese regard the Communist régime in Peiping as un-Chinese in origin, un-Chinese in nature and un-Chinese in purpose. If the Soviet Union should wish to have more power and more votes in the Assembly, it could have, say, the Republic of Katakhsan come here. But if China is to be Chinese, then it could not be the régime sitting in Peiping. Then, of course, in the second place, the members of the Assembly are fully aware of the fact that that régime was branded by this Assembly as an aggressor. It is not only unrepresentative of China, but it is unworthy of a seat in this Assembly.

228. The remarks of the representative of Burma are quite painful to me. He has stated his views several times, and I would not wish at this hour to take up his statements at any length. We, in China, are struggling for our freedom. We expect no help from Burma, but we certainly hope that the Government and the people of Burma will adopt towards the great struggle in my country the minimum stand of neutrality. The stand that the Burmese representative has taken here is not that of a neutralist State. However, in my opinion, there is much involved in this great struggle in China, not only the future of the Chinese, but perhaps the future of all countries in Asia. I hope the Burmese people and the Burmese Government will reconsider their stand. They might yet find that the struggle that we are making in China is also indirectly for the good of Burma.

229. In this special Assembly I exercised much restraint because I did not wish to make it controversial; therefore, my statement was brief and I did not touch on any controversial questions. But it was very painful to me to see a delegation which represents a Government that defies the resolutions of the General Assembly and keeps troops in Hungary come here to demand that foreign troops be withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan.

230. I think the report of the Credentials Committee, so far as the delegation of Hungary is concerned, is too much of a compromise. I feel that the Committee should have recommended that the present so-called Hungarian delegation should be unseated. Certainly a régime which has slaughtered its own people with the aid of a foreign army has no right to take a seat in our midst.

231. Mr. SHASHA (Nepal): In view of the lateness of the hour, I will just say a word with regard to the

attitude of my Government towards the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee.

232. We would vote for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee with the reservation that our affirmative vote or our vote in favour of the report will not in any way modify our position with regard to the recognition of the People's Republic of China, the real Government of China. I do not wish to enlarge on the subject because our views are too well known to need any reiteration here at the moment.

233. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): The delegation of Indonesia will vote for the report but our vote in favour of it is in no way to be interpreted as a change in my Government's policy towards the representation of China in this Organization. The position of the Indonesian Government with regard to the representation of China is well known to members of this Assembly. It is the considered opinion of my Government that the only Government having the right to speak on behalf of the Chinese people is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China with its capital in Peking. It is for this reason that the Indonesian delegation considers that the representatives appointed by this Government are the only legitimate representatives entitled to speak on behalf of China.

234. With this reservation, my delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.

235. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): We have just heard the report of the Credentials Committee. Accepting the report as a whole, the Bulgarian delegation considers it necessary to voice its disagreement with two points therein; the first regarding the proposal of the Committee for recognizing the credentials of the persons who have usurped for themselves the right to represent China, and the second regarding the failure to take a decision on the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic.

236. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria holds the view that by recognizing as valid the credentials of the self-appointed representatives of China a serious insult is being inflicted on, and an act of great injustice being done against the great Chinese people, which constitutes the world's largest population.

237. It is common knowledge that owing to the hostile policy of some Western countries, and in particular of the United States, towards it the Chinese People's Republic is not represented in the United Nations. Here there are representatives of the handful of Kuomintang men who have succeeded temporarily in staying on Taiwan. But here there are no representatives of the 600 million strong Chinese people who have liberated themselves from a centuries-old yoke and who have taken their destinies into their own hands. Ever since 1949 it has sounded strange to call the Chiang Kai-shek representatives the representatives of the Chinese people in the United Nations. But it is impermissible and outrageous now in 1958—when the Chinese People's Republic has been recognized by thirty-three countries comprising a population of over 1,000 million people and when, without that great country, no solution is possible of any great international problem—to continue this abnormal and harmful situation. But if certain circles in countries like the United States are interested in conducting a hostile policy towards the Chinese people, why should the United Nations become an instrument of such a policy? If some United States representatives close their eyes to the world's map and do not want to admit that there

is a vast Chinese land, with one fourth of the world's population, why should the United Nations feel obliged to follow in the footsteps of the blind?

238. The Chinese People's Republic exists and it will go on existing and flourishing, its consolidation will go on as it goes along the road to socialism, despite the non-recognition of its existence by certain circles. The continuation of this attitude, insulting to the Chinese people, will not make them abandon their road—the road of ever-greater successes in all spheres of their development. It will not prevent them from taking an active part in international life as a great Power, fighting for peace and co-operation among the nations. It is not so much the Chinese People's Republic that loses by its not being represented in the United Nations due to the pressure of the United States. It is the United Nations, above all, that loses by this because the representatives of such a great country are absent from the consideration of all important international questions. It becomes ever clearer that no solution of a number of international questions is at all possible without the participation of the Chinese People's Republic.

239. On the other hand, it should be stressed once again that the United Nations is not an organization of countries with identical régimes, that its membership cannot be dictated by the likes of this or that country, that it is an organization of peoples which have the right to elect their own representatives and to establish their own régimes. If this is so, why is the continuation of this abnormal situation allowed? It is imperative that an end be put once and for all to this abnormal state of affairs and that the Chinese people take their legitimate place in the United Nations. The Bulgarian delegation declares once more that it cannot accept as representatives of the Chinese People's Republic anybody but the representatives of the Chinese People's Government. That is why our delegation does not approve the report of the Committee on Credentials concerning the representation of China.

240. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot agree to the proposal for not taking a decision on the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic. We consider that there are absolutely no grounds for voicing any doubts over the legitimacy of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. The aims of the proposal made in the report are entirely transparent. These are the aims of certain interested circles in some Western countries, as regards the Hungarian People's Republic, which use every opportunity to slander the people's Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, to keep up the spirit of the enemies of the Hungarian people. The dreams of the enemies of the Hungarian people about restoring the old capitalist régime in Hungary have been completely shattered. But in this case the question arises, why should the United Nations be put in the service of the interests of such circles? Now that the whole world knows who were the inspirers of the anti-peoples *putsch* in Hungary in 1956, after the legitimacy of today's Parliament has been repeatedly and clearly proved in the United Nations, as well as that of the Presidium of the Parliament and of the Government appointed by it, why are the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic being questioned? We consider that the aim of raising this question, that is to say doubts as to the credentials of the Hungarian delegation, is to poison the creative atmosphere in the United Nations and to divert the attention of the United Nations and world public

opinion from the vital international problems like the one we have been considering at the third emergency special session.

241. Having all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation cannot approve the report of the Committee on Credentials concerning the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. We consider that the credentials of the Hungarian delegation to the third emergency special session of the United Nations Assembly are legitimate and perfectly in order.

242. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): In accepting the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation cannot agree with the reservations included in this report. It seems to me superfluous at present to recall here, once more, all the legal arguments calling for the restoration of the rightful representation of the Chinese people in the organs of the United Nations. They have been recalled here frequently, and their validity has never been undermined. But the political reality, the position of the Republic of China in international relations, its power and role, should not be underestimated either. The People's Republic of China does not cease to be one of the major Powers merely because certain Governments prevent it from taking its legitimate place in the United Nations. We consider that a speedy solution of the question of the representation of China, and seating it in the United Nations, will help us considerably in the work of the United Nations.

243. It is our strongest desire to make the work of the United Nations more effective. Therefore we consider that the presence of the representatives of China in the United Nations is of particular importance. The great Chinese nation should be given the opportunity to play fully in this Assembly the part due to it in world affairs, the role which it has already played in the past and is playing now outside this Organization. This will fully comply with the principle of coexistence which we confirmed today in our work.

244. We also find in this report a remark concerning the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. We consider unjust the questioning of these credentials by the Committee. The credentials were issued by a legal Government in compliance with established United Nations procedure. To question them amounts to interference in the internal affairs of Hungary—and we have heard this from this tribune tonight. Therefore we consider the reservation in the report concerning Hungary fully unfounded.

245. Mr. KENAWI (United Arab Republic): My delegation has on several occasions made its position clear on the question under discussion. That is why I will be very brief at this late hour.

246. My delegation wishes merely to state that it accepts the report of the Credentials Committee, while reserving our position on the credentials of China and Hungary.

247. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (*translated from French*): It is the intention of my delegation to take a stand on the question of the representation of China. During the twelfth regular session and also at earlier sessions of the Assembly, it explained in detail why it believed that only the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which alone represents the great Chinese people and exercises legal authority over the territory of China, could appoint the lawful representative of China. As my delegation has already stated, there is no argument of law or fact that can be

advanced to justify the presence of representatives of the group of refugees from Taiwan at the deliberations of the United Nations. That is why my delegation is in no wise able to agree with the conclusions of the majority of members of the Credentials Committee on the question of the representation of China in the General Assembly.

248. My delegation also wishes to express its disapproval of the fact that the question of the representation of the Hungarian People's Republic has again been raised. We wish to state categorically that the validity of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation and its right, in accordance with the Charter, to a seat in the General Assembly can in no way be questioned. There is absolutely no justification for contending that this delegation does not represent the Hungarian Government, which has its mandate from the people and alone exercises authority in the country, a fact which is moreover recognized by all those countries which maintain diplomatic relations with it. The insinuations repeatedly made from this rostrum can in no way alter the rights of the Hungarian delegation. In my delegation's opinion it is high time for the General Assembly to put an end to these persistent attempts by certain countries to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary and to poison the international climate. Subject to these reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee.

249. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): I wish it to be placed on record on this occasion also that my delegation's vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee does not imply agreement with those parts of the report concerning China and Hungary.

250. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*translated from French*): My delegation, while voting in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, feels compelled to state that it does not recognize the credentials of the self-styled representative of China. We must point out that the great Chinese people are still without representation in the United Nations. Among the delegations represented at this Assembly, China's seat is occupied by the representative of a clique long since turned out by the Chinese people. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful Government of the Chinese people. It represents the Chinese people by all the standards of international law, and it exercises authority throughout the country, with the exception of the island of Formosa, which is occupied by the United States. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent the Chinese people in the United Nations and all its organs. The People's Republic of China is a great world Power. No one is unaware of its efforts to strengthen peace and security in the world. Its policy is one of peace based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and it supports all proposals designed to reduce international tension. Whatever the United States may do to prevent the People's Republic of China from occupying its seat in the United Nations, those efforts will never succeed, and sooner or later the People's Republic of China will occupy the seat to which it is legally entitled. This irregular state of affairs, the purpose of which is to deny the rights of approximately one-quarter of the world's population to take part in deliberations of the United Nations, cannot fail to have a negative effect and to reflect on the authority of this Organization.

251. As regards paragraph 9 of the report of the Credentials Committee, which concerns the credentials

of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, it is the view of my delegation that there are no grounds for questioning the validity of those credentials because they are absolutely in order and in accordance with rule 27 of the General Assembly's rule of procedure. The baseless challenge put forward by the United States delegation and the slanderous attack just made by the United States representative are designed to revive the cold-war campaign and to camouflage the armed intervention in the Near and Middle East.

252. All the peoples of the world earnestly request the United States and the United Kingdom to cease interfering in the internal affairs of the Arab and other States. Any scheme to divert attention from these rightful requests will certainly not mislead the peoples of the world. Such attempts are useless and doomed to failure.

253. Mr. SUBASINGHE (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon accepts the report of the Credentials Committee, subject to reservations regarding the representation of China and the credentials of the representatives of Hungary.

254. The Government of Ceylon has recognized the People's Republic of China and maintains diplomatic relations with it. It is the view of the Government of Ceylon that the Government of the People's Republic is the only effective Government of China. We consider that to ignore the Government of the People's Republic of China is to ignore a very important historical fact.

255. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of Czechoslovakia strongly protests against the fact that, at this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly, the place of China, which belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of China, has been unlawfully occupied by agents of the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek régime. The decision adopted by the majority of the Credentials Committee infringes the principle of universality on which our Organization is based, is detrimental to its prestige and weakens the force of its decisions.

256. The absence of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China seriously impairs the effectiveness of our Organization's work. Without the participation of that Republic, no international problem either in the Far East or in any other area of the world can find a sound and lasting solution. This is fully relevant to the present special emergency session of the General Assembly, the purpose of which is to take effective steps to avert the danger of a military conflict in the Near and Middle East arising out of the military intervention of the United States in Lebanon and the United Kingdom in Jordan.

257. From the date of its establishment, the Government of the People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy directed towards a reduction of international tension both in the Far East and throughout the world. This is borne out by that Government's decision to withdraw all Chinese people's volunteers from Korea by the end of this year by agreement with the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

258. The peaceful foreign policy pursued by the Government of the People's Republic of China, as was also noted in the *communiqué* of 3 August 1958 on the Soviet-Chinese negotiations at Peking, finds ever-increasing support and sympathy among the peoples of all countries. Thirty countries to date have recognized the Government

of the People's Republic of China and have established diplomatic relations with it.

259. In addition, the People's Republic of China maintains broad political, economic and cultural relations with many countries throughout the world. China's economy and industry are being built up with unbelievable speed. The gigantic task which the Chinese people have set themselves—to catch up with and overtake the United Kingdom during the next fifteen years in the production of the most important consumer goods—will in some branches be fulfilled in the coming year.

260. As a result of its peaceful foreign policy and its rapid economic expansion, the authority and international status of the People's Republic of China are constantly being strengthened and enhanced.

261. It is an abnormal situation that the only lawful representatives of the Great Chinese nation, which numbers 600 million people, should continue to be excluded from the work of our Organization. As a result of the intrigues of the United States, the agents of the discredited Chiang Kai-shek clique from Taiwan continue to be seated in the United Nations.

262. The majority of the Credentials Committee questioned the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. This is a new act of provocation directed against that country in line with similar attempts at previous sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

263. The Czechoslovak delegation strongly protests against this action by the majority of the Credentials Committee. The attitude adopted by that majority constitutes gross interference in the domestic affairs of a State Member of the United Nations and is completely incompatible with the United Nations Charter.

264. It would seem that the delegations of some States are again trying to bring up the old, thread-bare slander and to attack the Hungarian People's Republic in order to divert attention from a settlement of the pressing problems raised by the intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan. Such manoeuvres are by no means new. Mention need only be made of the events of the autumn of 1956, when the imperialist Powers attempted to use the illegitimate discussion of the so-called "Hungarian question" as a smoke-screen for the armed aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt.

265. As in 1956, so also on this occasion, no such manoeuvre will deceive world opinion, which is resolutely calling for an immediate end to the imperialist intervention in the Near and Middle East.

266. The credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic were issued by the lawful Hungarian Government, which enjoys the full confidence of the Hungarian people, in the manner prescribed by the constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Czechoslovak

delegation, therefore, does not concur in the position of the majority of the Credentials Committee as outlined in document A/3891.

267. The Czechoslovak delegation will vote in favour of approving the report of the Credentials Committee; its favourable vote may not, however, in any circumstances be interpreted as implying recognition of the legitimacy of the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representative.

268. I must repeat that only a representative whose credentials have been issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations.

269. The Czechoslovak delegation also considers that the credentials of the Hungarian delegation are in order, since they were issued by the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

270. Mr. CAIMEROM MEASKETH (Cambodia) (*translated from French*): My delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee but wishes to make reservations on the question of the representation of China.

271. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Hungary, who wishes to use the right of reply in respect of the statement of the representative of the United States.

272. Mr. SIK (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation has already made clear its point of view concerning the discrimination against the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. As far as the speech of the representative of the United States is concerned, I have only to say that the so-called Hungarian question is not on the agenda and that the arguments of Mr. Lodge are not new. They have been refuted by the Hungarian delegation several times, and they will be refuted again when the question is under discussion.

273. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution which appears in paragraph 15 of document A/3891.

The draft resolution was adopted by 71 votes to 1.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

274. The PRESIDENT: We have now reached the end of the session. Before, closing this session, and in accordance with rule 64 of the rules of procedure, I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

275. The PRESIDENT: I declare the third emergency special session of the General Assembly closed.

The meeting rose at 8.5 p.m.