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*President:* Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Gallin-Douathe (Central African Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): I gladly associate myself with previous distinguished speakers in congratulating His Excellency Professor Fanfani, who unfortunately is unable to be with us today, on his election to the Presidency of this Assembly. I avail myself of this occasion to wish him a complete and speedy recovery from his recent accident. In honouring him, the Assembly has brought distinction to this its twentieth session. It is so fitting that an eminent son of Italy should preside during this session which includes the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of this Organization, in view of the fact that Italy, together with other countries of the Mediterranean, laid down the foundation of a culture and form of civilization enjoyed by many today.

2. It gives me pleasure to be able to take the rostrum at a session which has seen the admission to membership of this Organization of three young nations. To the Gambia, the Maldivé Islands and Singapore I extend a warm welcome and good wishes on behalf of the Maltese Islands.

3. My contribution to this general debate will be brief. I shall not use this occasion to enter into the merits and demerits of certain political disputes and questions before the various organs and committees of the United Nations. The interest of the Government of Malta in the issues in Viet-Nam, Kashmir, Rhodesia and Cyprus, in the question of the unification of Germany and Korea, in apartheid and in decolonization, is real because each of these matters has an impact of importance which, however indirectly, affects Malta. But I do not propose to deal now with these matters, nor with the disquieting question of the representation of China in this Organization, except to say this: we look forward to seeing all countries represented in this Organization each undertaking, under its Charter, to observe certain obligations, to

abide by a code of rules and to adopt accepted norms of behaviour.

4. This year is not only International Co-operation Year, it also marks a midpoint in the United Nations Development Decade. It has also witnessed the coming amongst us of a pilgrim of peace who addressed to us words of encouragement and hope. This session follows one which many feared would be the last of this Organization. The twentieth session has however got under way in a renewed spirit, a spirit of rededication. To us small nations this is of vital importance. To us the United Nations is the ultimate guarantor of our survival, or, in the words of the Pope [1347th meeting], "the last hope for harmony and peace". I think it is true to say that we small nations have neither the wish nor the means to detract from the importance, the influence and the grandeur of the big Powers. Can our yearnings be better expressed than in the Pontiff's exhortation for justice, dignity of life, freedom, well-being and progress?

5. It is for this reason that my Government fully supports the four-pronged programme for the creation of a peaceful world so ably enunciated by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: namely, disarmament, peace-keeping, peaceful settlement of disputes, and the economic and social work of this Organization.

6. It may not be easy to say which of these four tasks is the most important. But if one could draw from the lesson of history, one would observe, perhaps, that men stopped going about armed in the streets only after police forces became effective, courts of law evolved to a position of impartiality and ability to enforce decisions, and legislative bodies set themselves the task to meet the changing needs of society. When this stage was reached it was easier to declare the carrying of arms illegal and anti-social.

7. As certain States have found out, social forces cannot be stayed entirely or permanently by the stringency of law enforcement alone. Hence the great importance individual countries attach to economic progress and social justice.

8. The same considerations apply with equal force within the family of nations throughout the world and have been recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and underscored when this Organization instituted the Development Decade. Whilst the prospects of the Decade are not entirely gloomy, the fact that the actual growth of incomes and output of developing countries is below expectations is disturbing. The widening of the gap between rich and poor countries is a matter of concern to all. Within a country the State ensures, through fiscal policies, that wealth is distributed less unevenly among citizens. But among

nations this is hardly possible and voluntary contributions on a bilateral or multilateral basis have not yet reached a volume sufficient to secure a more equitable distribution of wealth in the world. Although these contributions have increased somewhat in the recent past, they must be greatly expanded in the future if social justice among States is to be attained.

9. In recognizing the value of the contributions made by so many Members of the United Nations towards the provision of technical and other assistance in aid of developing countries, and the spirit in which they were made, I should like to pay tribute to this Organization for the way it has handled and channeled resources placed at its disposal. This is a complex operation requiring the co-operation of all. Besides the funds provided under the regular programmes of the United Nations, almost \$500 million has been utilized under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and \$478 million has been earmarked by the Special Fund over the years. In this regard these two bodies can look back on a record of achievement.

10. Still, there is much that can be done in technical assistance and in the economic and social fields. Even the new target of \$200 million for annual contributions to the proposed United Nations Development Programme combining the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, will not suffice for the needs of the poor countries. This target represents an advance of one-third over the target last established in 1962 and is still very much short of what is needed. Consideration might therefore be given to releasing resources which already exist within the United Nations family for the purpose of supplementing—and perhaps even doubling—international technical co-operation activities. My Government therefore feels that, after twenty years, it might be appropriate to undertake a comprehensive review of the entire range of the programmes and activities in the economic, social, technical co-operation and related fields of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations Children's Fund and all other institutions and agencies related to the United Nations system. The aim of such review should be to ensure that present resources derived from assessments, and possibly increased resources in the future, are used in action programmes designed to raise the standard of living of the less developed countries.

11. The effective utilization of the resources available within the United Nations system is absolutely vital since unfortunately there is little immediate prospect of additional resources for development being released through a substantial reduction of expenditure on armaments. It is however important that, if and when such additional resources become available, the Organization should be prepared to put them to their most effective use. We, like all other countries in our position, look forward to the dawn of that day, which explains in part the keen interest of Malta and of other small countries in the problem of disarmament.

12. I say "in part" because for Malta, in this age, a conflict in which nuclear weapons were used would spell disaster and even annihilation. We therefore have a vital interest in universal adherence to effective

treaties of nuclear disarmament and in any measure leading to it. We consequently support the Moscow test-ban Treaty and its extension to underground tests under agreed conditions that will ensure proper observance of its provisions by all nations. We are naturally opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons, even though some other nations may not entirely share our view. We believe, therefore, that it might not be unwise to define with greater precision the terms used in the proposed treaties on non-proliferation. The time may have come to distinguish clearly between the concepts of non-proliferation and non-dissemination. Perhaps it could be agreed that the term "nuclear proliferation" be used exclusively to denote the acquisition, through independent development or otherwise, of nuclear weapons capability by a hitherto non-nuclear Power or entity, whilst the term "dissemination" in this context could well be defined as the creation by a nuclear Power of a new nuclear entity or Power, either directly by the provision of weapons or technology or indirectly by permitting control of nuclear weapons by a hitherto non-nuclear entity or Power.

13. This distinction is of some importance, as the question of nuclear dissemination concerns solely the present nuclear Powers while the question of nuclear proliferation would, if these definitions are followed, concern mainly the non-nuclear Powers. Hence, the present nuclear Powers could immediately agree on a treaty of non-dissemination. On the other hand, it is felt that a non-proliferation treaty would need to provide not only for a freeze in the production of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles by the present nuclear Powers but also for a substantial and agreed measure of nuclear disarmament if the support of all non-nuclear Powers with the capability independently to develop nuclear weapons is to be obtained.

14. I would suggest that action on a non-dissemination treaty should in no way be delayed because of the prospects of a world disarmament conference. My Government supports in principle the convening of such a conference. But it is felt that much preparatory work is required before the conference can be usefully and effectively called. I believe, therefore, that it is important that progress be made on collateral measures designed to reduce tensions among States even before the conference meets. One such measure would be to publicize, and thus indirectly control, the transfer of armaments between States. There is scope to revise and bring up to date the Convention of 1925 on the Supervision of International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War. There is similar scope in regard to the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods in Warfare.

15. Before concluding, I should like to be permitted to inform the Assembly that my Government is pledging a contribution, which because of our limitations cannot be very substantial, towards the special account established to relieve the present financial difficulties of the Organization. Although Malta was not a member of the United Nations at the time, and therefore did not participate in the deliberations which led to the peace-keeping operations from which

the present financial difficulties flow, we would have liked to have the resources of other nations so as to be able to make a much larger contribution. We are confident, however, that, such as it is, our voluntary contribution will be accepted as a token of the devotion of Malta to the ideals of international collaboration.

16. Mr. KHALIL (Sudan): Sir, it was with much regret that I heard of the unfortunate accident which has temporarily deprived us of the presence of our distinguished President. While I wish him a speedy recovery, allow me to extend my congratulations and the congratulations of my delegation to him on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly—an honour well merited and richly deserved.

17. His election is a measure of the high esteem in which his country is held. The qualities of leadership that have enabled him to hold, with great distinction, the highest offices in the Government of his country, his statesmanship, wisdom and experience qualify him for the Presidency of this great Assembly. I, on behalf of the Government of the Sudan, which enjoys the best relations with his great country, wish him all success in his great task.

18. May I also, Sir, pay tribute to his worthy predecessor, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Foreign Minister of Ghana, whose tact, patience and perseverance saved the previous session of the General Assembly from becoming completely disabled.

19. In our twentieth year, we have added to our number three more countries: the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. We welcome them; and may I, on behalf of the Sudan, extend to them our sincere congratulations.

20. It has been said that this twentieth year of the United Nations is a year of reckoning—of stocktaking. When we reflect on the good that we have achieved we are heartened by what we see on the credit side. We have come a long way since the time when force was the only arbiter in human affairs. The noble principles of equality among men, the sanctity of human rights, the right of all people to self-determination, are now firmly established through the existence and continued functioning of the United Nations. However, the United Nations cannot rest on its laurels. Its achievements must be safeguarded with vigilance and determination if they are not to be nullified by the selfishness, greed and national pride that dominate our international dealings in important problems. The spiritual advancement of man has lagged far behind his intellectual and technological achievements; but we must realize that in most of the problems that we have to deal with we are confronted with a moral issue; we are faced with a choice between truth and justice on the one hand and national advantage, power and prestige on the other. There is a war raging in Viet-Nam. The guns have scarcely been silent on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Great armies are being maintained in a state of readiness—weapons of mass destruction are continuously being improved and perfected. The peoples of Asia and Africa continue to struggle for their freedom for a better life in peace and honour. All these are moral issues whose significance as such, has too often been disregarded. I am certain,

however, that the only hope for us, the only vindication of our humanity is to face these issues honestly and deal with them in the way that we think right, honest and just.

21. The continent of Africa can, in many ways, provide a testing ground for the application of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. During these twenty years of its existence, the United Nations has aided some countries in Africa through a trusteeship to full sovereignty. It has provided the atmosphere and sometimes the means and the impetus for the achievement of independence through self-determination. The principle of self-determination has been, throughout these years, the supreme instrument for combating colonialism and the guardian and guarantor of freedom in colonial territories.

22. My own country achieved its independence through the application of this principle, as exercised in 1956 by an assembly representing the whole people who freely chose independence under a unitary State. Since then we have gone through many vicissitudes; but in the end we chose democracy and a constitution that guarantees the fundamental freedoms; freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of worship. Men and women have equal political and civil rights. Political parties with radically different doctrines are represented in our Parliament. Trade unions and associations function freely in accordance with progressive labour laws. The programme of our Government which reflects the will and aspirations of the great majority of the Sudanese people is dedicated to the achievement of social justice and equality of economic opportunity.

23. In our foreign policy we are non-aligned in the sense that we do not judge issues in accordance with East and West bloc dispositions. We believe that the non-aligned countries represent a great and effective force for peace in the world. We denounce colonialism in all its forms and are committed to combating it in Africa, in Asia and everywhere until it is completely eradicated. On the issues of colonialism and human rights, this Assembly, through the co-operation of many of its Members, has made great strides, but many grave situations continue to beset us and threaten the peace of the world.

24. For the past eighteen years, the Middle East has been one of the most dangerous areas of conflict and strife. I do not see how it can be otherwise unless a just and honourable settlement, which seeks to undo the injustice inflicted on the Arabs, is found. The Arabs of Palestine were forced out of their homes and their ancestral land as a result of Israel aggression. They escaped with their lives from persecution, dispossession and the ever-present danger to their very existence, while the genocidal acts of Israel, backed by the joint forces of imperialism and world Zionism, pursued them relentlessly. Since then they have lived in a state of destitution. The resolution of the General Assembly establishing the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [resolution 212 (III)] recognized the threat to peace that is inherent in the situation. A later resolution of the General Assembly of 11 December 1948 [resolution 194 (II)] states that

those of the refugees who wanted to be repatriated must be allowed to return and those who were dispossessed ought to be compensated. Nothing of this has happened and the state of the Palestinian refugees has been deteriorating steadily.

25. The refugees of Palestine are wards of the United Nations and the United Nations cannot relieve itself of its responsibility to them. The conscience of humanity should not be at ease until this most flagrant of injustices is redressed. Until that is done, my Government supports fully all the endeavours of the Arabs of Palestine to save their country from the Zionist usurpers.

26. A grave situation exists in Aden and South Arabia, as a result of the state of emergency and the detention of nationalist leaders. My Government deeply regrets that the Government of the United Kingdom chose not to co-operate with the Sub-Committee on Aden, particularly its refusal to allow the Sub-Committee to go to the Territory. We sincerely hope that the Government of the United Kingdom will repeal the restrictive laws and make the necessary constitutional changes with a view to setting up a provisional government in accordance with the wishes of the people. Steps must be taken to arrive at an agreed plan for immediate independence. Here, as in Southern Rhodesia, the course of action must be clear. The wishes of the people, all the people, must be freely stated and ascertained. Their government must emanate from their will.

27. In Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Ian Smith has chosen to ignore the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Africans living in the Territory, but he must be warned that he would do so at his peril. Again we appeal to the Government of the United Kingdom to make constitutional arrangements for elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Independence for Southern Rhodesia must not be allowed to be the travesty that the white minority seeks to make it. For our part, we have made it absolutely clear within the Organization of African Unity and in other declarations of policy that Africans will not continue to tolerate the enslavement of African majorities by a small white minority.

28. It is gratifying, however, that this Assembly has, at its 1357th plenary meeting yesterday, passed a well-nigh unanimous resolution [2012 (XX)] requesting the United Kingdom and all other Member States not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia by the present authorities. It is now the duty of the United Kingdom to live up to its professed views and take all necessary steps to suppress any attempts calculated to realize the treasonous and rebellious designs of the Government of Mr. Ian Smith. In the meantime it remains to be seen which side will be victorious: the will of the majority of the human race as voiced by this Assembly or the evil forces represented by the Smith Government, aided and abetted by Portugal and South Africa.

29. It is evident that the Government of South Africa is aiming to engulf the territory of South West Africa. South Africa has denied that the United Nations has any supervisory authority in South West Africa. It refuses to admit an effective United Nations presence and persistently refuses to co-operate with the United Nations in applying the principles of the Charter and

implementing the resolutions of the Assembly. Its expansionist policies are menacing the independence of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. These Territories are in need of the protection of the United Nations. The United Nations must decide once and for all on measures that will meet the continuous defiance of the despotic white minority Government of South Africa.

30. I wish here to declare my Government's full support of the proposal contained in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid, which considers it imperative that the Security Council should decide to apply economic sanctions under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter [A/5957, part III, A].

31. Let us not neglect, in our preoccupation with the enormity of South Africa's defiance, that there are others who have followed its example with impunity. In 1963, the Security Council adopted resolution 180 (1963) calling upon Portugal to cease all acts of repression and to recognize the rights of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence. Portugal has not implemented that resolution. The intensity of the fighting in the three Territories continues unabated. Here the allies of Portugal bear a special responsibility. They must know, they must be reminded, that they cannot claim to uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations while they supply arms which are used to suppress and silence the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea who are determined to be free of colonialism. There can be no peace in this world as long as some nations allow themselves to exploit others.

32. On behalf of my Government, I wish to reiterate our stand on the question of respect for the territorial integrity of all nations, large and small. The big Powers must be warned against the continued infringement of the integrity and independence of the smaller countries. We believe that the disruptive activities that some of the big Powers embark upon within the territories of smaller countries are not less dangerous than armed intervention. The smaller nations must be allowed to decide their own future and adopt the form of government that they themselves choose. We in the Sudan have demonstrated that it is possible for an unarmed population to defeat a military dictatorship. We received no help from anyone; nor did we ask for help from anyone. If the great Powers adhered to this principle the smaller nations would be spared a lot of suffering.

33. The people of Viet-Nam, who fought a long war against colonialism, are still engaged in a bitter struggle that shows no signs of coming to an end. The Secretary-General said on 9 July 1965: "First, there must be a cease-fire in order to prevent the further appalling destruction of life and property [in Viet-Nam]. Secondly, concerted efforts should be made to reconvene the Geneva Conference . . . to discuss very seriously the modalities of implementing the Agreements reached in 1965." It is imperative that this war cease and the foreign armies be withdrawn.

34. On the Indian subcontinent, the worthy efforts of the Secretary-General and the resolutions of the Security Council have led to a cessation of hostilities.

But this is an uneasy truce. The root problem must be solved before lasting peace is achieved. The representatives of India and Pakistan have both spoken to the Assembly on the genesis of the problem of Kashmir. They have enumerated all the complicated factors that have contributed to the recent developments in that region, and there is no need for me to go into them again. I wish, however, to point out here that we in the Sudan have enjoyed the most amicable relations with both countries. It grieves us to see that they found themselves unable to solve this problem without resort to war—but the mere grief of a friend is poor solace. The friends of both India and Pakistan—and there are many in this Assembly—have a duty to help them in any way they can to arrive at a satisfactory and lasting solution, in conformity with the accepted principles of peaceful negotiation and self-determination.

35. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we feel that this question must be settled in a way that does not infringe on its independence and integrity, but it is essential that the Turkish minority, with its distinct religion, culture and civilization, does not suffer as a consequence.

36. While we in Asia and Africa are engaged in these grave issues of preserving our independence and upholding our rights for a free and honourable existence, we cannot neglect our duty to raise the standard of living of our people. Our economic development continues to cause us great anxiety. We must declare and emphasize that the problems of economic development in Africa and in Asia need concerted international effort. The deterioration in the terms of trade of primary commodities running parallel with the general improvement of the current balance of the developed countries means that we should increase our productive efforts merely to maintain our present conditions. The inflow of capital into Africa has generally slowed down; yet the share of the more advanced members of the group of developing countries has been more than the share of the less developed ones—a trend which clearly indicates the need for planned multilateral action.

37. So far, international economic activity has been concentrated mainly in the fields of pre-investment and technical assistance; but there is no escaping the fact that a capital development fund is becoming an urgent necessity. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has recognized the need and recommended the establishment of such a fund; it still remains for those countries which are in a position to contribute most towards its establishment to lend their support to the idea.

38. We maintain that the economies of the developing countries can be stabilized and fortified against the vagaries of fluctuations in demand for their products if a measure of industrialization is introduced. Their ability to absorb more and more of the products of the industrialized nations while they remain primary producers is, of necessity, rather limited. It is in the interest of the industrialized nations to concentrate on the more sophisticated industrial products and processes and help to establish some basic industries in the developing countries. By so doing they will secure an undoubted economic advantage to

themselves and to the others. They will help to raise the demand for their own products. Many developing countries have already initiated industrialization plans, but the results have not always come up to their expectations. International assistance has been generally limited and uncertain. The establishment of a specialized agency of the United Nations for industrial development is an important step in accelerating the industrialization of the developing countries, and the convening of an international conference to draft the basic agreement is now an urgent necessity.

39. It is gratifying to note the willingness of the great Powers to reduce the production of fissionable material and to divert some of their stocks to peaceful uses. It is encouraging to see the consolidation of co-operative effort in the peaceful use of outer space.

40. We sincerely hope that the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America, the Balkans, Northern and Central Europe for denuclearization of their territories will be realized. We in Africa are determined to keep our continent denuclearized and hope that the spread of atomic weapons will be arrested. Nevertheless, we are concerned. We notice that while the great Powers proclaim their peaceful intentions, there exists a considerable area of disagreement as to the methods and priorities of disarmament.

41. We of the third world feel that we have as big a stake in the disarmament question as those who possess nuclear weapons. We have, therefore, supported the convening of a conference of all nations on disarmament.

42. In discussing questions of war and peace, the paradox of the United Nations without the participation of the People's Republic of China is brought forcibly to our minds. This paradox must be resolved in order to give sense and meaning to the deliberations of the Assembly. The Government of the People's Republic of China is in effective control of a territory inhabited by 700 million people; it is a great Power and, as such, must have its rightful place amongst the great Powers. Meanwhile, we must welcome every possible chance of effective participation on the part of China in the global issues of war and peace.

43. It is most regrettable that the Republic of Indonesia has withdrawn from the United Nations. We hope that its alienation will not continue any longer because, in the issues that we deal with, we stand in need of the co-operation of all, if we are to live in peace.

44. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Allow me to join all those who have preceded me in the general debate in congratulating Mr. Fanfani, on my own behalf and that of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, on his election as President of this twentieth session of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our regret at the accident which he has suffered and to wish him a speedy recovery. The problems that are being raised and discussed here are a matter of concern to the peoples of the world. The election of Mr. Fanfani to this high office is a testimony to the qualifications which have made of him a statesman of merit not only in his own country, but also on the international plane. I am sure that his objectivity and great experience will be a positive factor in guiding our discussions towards the truth.

45. May I also take this opportunity to welcome the new Members of the United Nations, Singapore, the Maldives Islands and the Gambia, and also to thank the Secretary-General for his excellent report presented to the Assembly [A/6001 and Add.1] and to express the appreciation of my Government for his untiring efforts to save world peace.

46. While this session opened in a tense international atmosphere, it is undoubtedly a matter for rejoicing that now there is relative relaxation. This session reminds us of others in the past that have taken place in similar conditions. It has been customary to describe such periods of crisis as historic; but all times and, basically, the life of man, are historic. The important thing is to have a historic sense in times of crisis, and such a sense means being able to judge an age in relation to its needs, its problems and its achievements, and to set its failures against the satisfactions given. The peoples of the world, wherever they are, look towards peace and stability in order to realize an existence which is more complete than mere biological existence. Man, wherever he may be found, is basically and primarily a man. If, therefore, we ask whether the United Nations has fulfilled the urgent hopes of suffering humanity, and we find that it has not done so, the question duly arises: what are the handicaps that have stood in the way? In answering this question, I humbly recall the experience of a small nation on this vast earth, an experience similar to that of all small nations, whose struggle for life is characterized by suffering and stumbling progress. It seems to me that the following are basic among those handicaps.

47. First, in spite of the great and lofty ideals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the peoples of the world are divided into two categories, strong nations and weak nations. The former still believe in their heart of hearts that they have a right to a better life than the weak nations. It is unfortunately a truth which stains with its dark colour the modern world, in spite of statements to the contrary.

48. Secondly, this mental attitude is a natural outcome and continuation of colonialism and imperialism, which is basically an immoral relation between force and absence of force. This relationship, throughout modern history, has been the outcome of competition among the great nations for strategic bases of force. When they occupied the Arab countries, for instance, these served as a jumping-off point to occupy other places, India and the Far East. Hence the odious sin of racialism, or the claim that some human beings are inherently superior to others, and that there cannot be an equality of rights between the powerful and the weak: Nazism made a philosophy of this doctrine, but the European Powers practised it in their relations with the peoples of Asia and Africa one hundred years before Nazism.

49. It might seem that such an assertion is outdated. But what is happening in South Africa up to this very moment, in Angola, in Mozambique and in Southern Rhodesia, or what has taken place in Aden and now is taking place in Southern Arabia including Oman is a continuation of the deplorable mentality that I am describing. On 25 September Aden's so-called consti-

tution was suspended and the British High Commissioner became the sole ruler of Aden. The people who revolted against this long-imposed rule have been subjected to the utmost cruelty. Significantly enough, two warships have sailed into the area. We are thus being reminded of what took place in Suez in 1956.

50. All this goes to prove that the gunboat diplomacy of the nineteenth century is still prevalent when colonial Powers find it necessary to show their muscles. The realization has not been made yet that this is an outdated policy and that the peoples of the world cannot any more be subjected to such humiliation. The only solution is to grant immediately Aden, Oman, the Southern Protectorates of Arabia, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, the peoples of the Union of South Africa their independence and complete equality. But what amazes me most is the fact that we are unable to find any difference in the foreign policy, as far as the Arab countries are concerned, of the Conservatives of England, who conducted a war against Egypt in 1956, and the Socialists of England today, who are following in their footsteps, or, in fact, between both of them and nineteenth century imperialism.

51. Thirdly, economic imperialism remains a fact today in spite of the independence won by many countries. Political independence and sovereignty remain ineffective as long as the poorer nations of the world are dominated by the richer ones. The United Nations has handled this problem from its foundation up till the present time, as it has been dealt with by the specialized agencies. How to bridge the gap between the poorer nations that are getting poorer and the richer nations that are getting richer is a problem to which we have come back year after year in its various aspects and manifestations. Although a great deal has been done by the United Nations and its specialized agencies in this field, yet whatever has been achieved is but a very small proportion of what should have been accomplished.

52. I am not going to enter into the details of these problems, as they are to be dealt with by the Second Committee. But one report after the other by the United Nations and the specialized agencies has consistently stressed the fact that this gap is getting wider and wider. I may mention here briefly the report entitled "The State of Food and Agriculture 1965", that was issued last week by the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, Dr. Sen. In it he points out that trade problems have figured largely in the past decade, and that the almost continuous downward trend in the terms of trade and of agricultural exports have done much to frustrate the plans for economic growth in the developing countries. The grave implications of these developments can be judged from the fact that agricultural products account for more than half the total export earnings of the developing countries, or nearly three-quarters, if earnings from petroleum products, which benefit relatively few countries, are excluded. This is a result of the fact that the colonial Powers stick to their exploitation of the developing countries, a fact to which we refer as neo-imperialism. To quote a Western authority—in fact, an American professor of economics—Professor Heilbroner, a well-known

economist, had this to say in his book, The Making of Economic Society:

"In the eyes of the imperialist nations, the colonies were viewed not as areas to be brought along in balanced development, but essentially as immense supply dumps to be attached to the mother countries' industrial economies. Malaya became a vast tin mine; Indonesia, a huge tea and rubber plantation; Arabia, an oil field. In other words, the direction of economic development was steadily pushed in the direction which most benefited the imperial owner and not the colonial peoples themselves.

"The result today is that the typical under-developed nation has a badly lopsided economy, unable to supply itself with a wide variety of goods."<sup>1/</sup>

53. This problem is related to the problem of the sovereignty of developing countries over their natural resources. It has been dealt with by the United Nations since 1958, and it will be returned to this year. The struggle has been sharp between the developing countries that want to liberate themselves from this neo-colonialism and the colonial Powers. But the colonial Powers will find, themselves, this year that the developing countries have been forcing their way in spite of all the handicaps. It is therefore the duty of the great Powers to awaken to this historic fact, and to retreat from their positions of strength, for this is in their own interest. This division of the nations of the world into poor ones and rich ones constitutes, as adequately referred to by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in various parts of his report, a greater danger to world stability and peace than the division of the world into two great camps on ideological bases. For the rate of growth in these under-developed countries is still much less than it should be.

54. Let us take one illustration. Whereas the net profits of the oil companies, as reported in the United Nations statistics from the Middle East, amounted last year to \$1,500 million, a country like Syria is unable to find \$150 million in foreign exchange in order to execute the Euphrates Dam project, the feasibility and necessity of which, after long studies by well-known international institutes, have been established beyond any doubt. If this Euphrates Dam project is executed, the national income of Syria will be doubled in less than five years. Two hundred thousand hectares of land will be reclaimed. Electricity will spread to all parts of the Syrian countryside. The industrial output will be doubled. And yet, because of international intrigues and nothing but international intrigues, this project is being frustrated.

55. Should we expand on this whole situation, we would affirm that, if the oil revenues of the Arab countries were put for the benefit of the whole area, they would alone be sufficient to raise the standard of living of the Arab peoples and to create a civilization that could compete with the highest in the world.

56. The measures taken so far to bridge this ever-widening gap are mere palliatives, whereas the crying

need is to take radical measures on the international plane, inside the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Such measures are not out of reach. The United Nations has dealt with the problem of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The United Nations publication, Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament,<sup>2/</sup> states that on the basis of available data there appears to be general agreement that the world is spending roughly \$120,000 million annually on military expenditures at the present time. This figure is equivalent to about 8 or 9 per cent of the world's annual output of all goods and services. It is at least two-thirds of—and, according to some estimates, may be of the same order of magnitude as—the entire national income of all the under-developed countries. It is close to the value of the world's annual exports of all commodities and it corresponds to about half of the total resources set aside each year for gross capital formation throughout the world. If an agreement on disarmament could be reached and a part of this money released for development, the foundations could be very well established. That is why we wholeheartedly support the convening of a world conference on disarmament that would include the People's Republic of China.

57. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in the spring of 1964 decided for the establishment of a trade development board. The Syrian delegation was among the first five nations who presented the plan for the establishment of a new specialized agency for trade and development. Though the results of the Trade Conference were fruitful, they did not, nevertheless, fulfil all the expectations of all the developing countries. As illustrations, I should like to give the following examples:

(a) We would have liked the recommendation on "International Commodity Arrangements and Removal of Obstacles and Expansion of Trade"<sup>3/</sup> to have been more precise and explicit with regard to the elimination of trade barriers by the developed market economies. The statement in sub-paragraph (c) of paragraph 1, section II of this recommendation, which states that elimination of trade barriers should be completed to the fullest extent possible by the end of the United Nations Development Decade, does not express any precise undertaking on the part of the developed market economies. This is due to the fact that it will be these latter countries who will be the sole judges of what is "possible" for them to do. Moreover, the end of 1970 is too far away a deadline, and we would have preferred it to be much earlier.

(b) We regret that the Conference was not able to adopt a recommendation for the establishment of a contemporary finance scheme similar to the development insurance fund which was proposed by United Nations experts, and which would compensate developing countries for short-term declines in their export earnings. Compensation would be in the form of either contingent loans or grants. Though we feel

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1 and 2.

<sup>3/</sup> See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), pp. 26-30.

<sup>1/</sup> Robert L. Heilbroner, The Making of Economic Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 207.

that the increase in the International Monetary Fund special compensatory finance facility is beneficial, it nevertheless suffers from the fact that the structure of interest rates charged on this facility is high.

(c) It is unfortunate that the two recommendations on the gradual transformation of the Special Fund and the initiation of the work of the Capital Development Fund were not adopted unanimously by the Conference. The fact that some of the most important developed market economies, that is to say the main potential contributors, opposed them renders their implementation most unlikely.

58. We feel it our bounden duty to affirm unequivocally the right of peoples to self-determination whenever the situation calls for it. That is why we deny the British occupation of Aden, Oman and the Southern Protectorates against the will of their peoples. We equally deplore the existence of remnants of colonialism, wherever they may be found, in Asia, Africa, or any other part of the world. The problem of Aden is a basically Arab problem. We firmly believe that any Arab country cannot be considered fully independent if any other single Arab country remains under foreign domination.

59. Our unbounded faith in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in the new international order impels us to emphasize the necessity of reviewing the United Nations Charter, so that it may accord with the developments that have taken place on the world scene, which we cannot in any way forget or disregard.

60. We also believe that the People's Republic of China should be within the United Nations family. To keep this great nation outside is an error. Our delegation has consistently supported the admittance of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, ever since the problem was raised at the United Nations.

61. I would like also to mention that my country, the Syrian Arab Republic, has the best of friendly relations equally with India and Pakistan. We sincerely hope that the deep wisdom imbedded in these two great countries will prevail over the existing conflict and that they may both find in the United Nations Charter and its various counsels what will contribute towards a peaceful settlement of their dispute. As a necessary prerequisite, we hope and urge that the exchange of fire between the two sides will stop soon and that a solution may be found in accordance with the United Nations resolutions which recognized the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir.

62. We are enquiring about the handicaps that stand in the way of fulfilling the great ideals of the Charter and the creation of a healthy international atmosphere that would guarantee for the peoples of the world, peace and stability. We cannot disregard in this context the lack of understanding of the revolutionary liberating movements in the developing world and the distortions they have been subjected to. It has become common now to speak of the revolution of rising expectations, and of the nationalism of Asia and Africa. As an instance in point, may I take the case of Arab nationalism.

63. Arab nationalism, which grew in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and developed in this one, was the result of a historical crisis and the outcome of suffering within the Arab soul and mind. When I speak of the historical crisis, I refer primarily to the awakening of the Arabs and their subsequent contributions to human civilization throughout history. It would take me long to dwell in that field, but may I quickly recall that when the scholars and philosophers of Greece and Rome, their great scientists, thinkers and theologians, were not able to carry on freely their meditations there, they found refuge in our cities—Damascus, Antioch, Baghdad, Beirut, Tyre and Alexandria; they found in those cities the necessary freedom for their minds to explore the hidden meanings of the world, to lift its veils and to clear the way for humanity in its search after the truth.

64. The schools of neo-Platonism and Stoicism, Jewish, Christian and Muslim theology, the schools of Roman law, grew, developed, and contributed to human culture within our cities that I mentioned. When the Arab period came, the Arabs inherited the legacy of Greece, translated it into Arabic, and expanded it with their comments. The social and intellectual problems of Arab society interacted with this legacy. Our philosophers and scientists played their role in the great conflicts of human thought. Historians in the science refer to this magnificent Arab renaissance as a miracle in the history of science. Their commentaries and great books of learning were transmitted to the West through Sicily and Padua, not to mention Spain and southern France.

65. When the Arabs declined, as have a great many peoples in history, and when the European renaissance began in Italy, the Italian scholars took Arabic science in the fields of physics, chemistry, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, and became, as historians of culture recognize today, not only an incentive to the Italian renaissance, but also one of its basic factors.

66. When Arab civilization reached its zenith—and let us remember again that it is the basic source of Arab nationalism about which I am talking—it was characterized by openness to other cultures, the Greek, the Indian and Persian. It was also characterized by tolerance among the adherents to the various religions. Thus Christian philosophy prospered and gave more of its great minds, like John the Damascene, an authority in Christian theology. Jewish philosophy and theology also prospered and gave some of its great minds, as Maimonides (Moussa ibn Maimoun), author of The Guide of the Perplexed, a classic in Judaic philosophy and theology, written in Arabic, about whom the Jews say, "From Moses to Moses, there is nobody like Moses"—all this side by side with Arab Muslim philosophy in a continuous dialogue in the spirit of community and fellowship. In this way Arab civilization gave one of the first instances of peaceful coexistence and religious and political toleration.

67. These great values, namely, openness, tolerance, and interchange, are still the fountainhead of Arab nationalism today, which gazes upon wide human horizons. Unfortunately, this nationalism was and is being distorted and misrepresented, primarily because we do not possess the international propaganda

machine which international Zionism has at its disposal. However, it is necessary to mention here that, unlike European nationalism, Asian and African nationalism grew in part as a reaction to Western colonialism and its economic exploitation. No sooner was political independence realized that there grew among our peoples a social consciousness which found, and is finding, expression in socialism. It is necessary for the developed countries to realize that socialism is at the present time historically determining the trend of development in the developing countries. But this economic-political system is not static. Like any other political system, it is dynamic, self-generating, and an expression of the need of the hungry, ignorant masses who so far have lived on the crumbs of feudalism, political and economic exploitation, and imperialism, which have formed an alliance among themselves. The revolution of rising expectations in the developing countries is the greatest historical factor which has characterized the last half century, and which ultimately expressed itself in the social revolution to free man from ignorance, sickness, poverty and hunger. It is the revolution of man to realize his natural right. The denial of this right, like the denial of any other right, can lead only to complication, instability, and anarchy. The socialism of the Arab countries which adopted it as a system, like socialism in other developed countries, is a revolution of suffering—the search for dignity and the thirst for love. Consequently, it is a revolution to correct a human situation and, finally, a contribution in the service of humanity at large.

68. I come now to the problem of Palestine. My country, Syria, considers Palestine to be the southern part of Syria. This problem, which was first brought to the United Nations in April 1947, has been before it ever since. Alone among the scores of problems discussed by the United Nations, the Palestine question has been dealt with by all six organs designated by the Charter as the principal organs of the United Nations. These organs and their main committees have devoted 985 meetings to the Palestine question. It would be cumbersome to trace out their details, but I am only mentioning this figure, 985 meetings, to show the extent of the involvement of the United Nations in this question which, nevertheless, remains unsolved today.

69. The first question that duly arises is, why is it that, in spite of all these meetings and the scores of resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly and the principal organs, the problem remains unsolved today? The answer lies undoubtedly in the fact that the roots of the problem were disregarded.

70. Basically, the Arab people of Palestine, a national and historical reality, which should be acknowledged by international law and dealt with as such, have been completely and purposely disregarded as far back as 1917. It has become somewhat fashionable among some commentators to express a kind of boredom over the legacy of resentment against Britain and France spawned by the 1918 betrayals of the Arabs, which included the Balfour Declaration. But, unless the full measure of what was done with respect to the Arabs in those years is appreciated, then understanding of all that followed is impossible, and equally impossible

will be any solution contemplated now by the United Nations.

71. The Balfour Declaration, which promised to the Zionists the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, has been completely forgotten. People now do not talk about it at all. They start with the partition resolutions of 1947. All this is but a part of Zionist strategy and scheming. The discussions of the partition resolution, however, remain incomplete and inadequate unless and until we start with this strange Balfour Declaration. The promise to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine was given by the British Government in 1917 which was not in Palestine, to a Jewish nation that did not exist, either in Palestine or outside, for there were Jews belonging to various nationalities and followers of Judaism as a religion. The Declaration was illegal, because the Arabs were never a party to it, and Great Britain had no authority to promise a land that it did not possess, against the will of the lawful inhabitants of the land. The Declaration was also immoral, having been negotiated between the British Government and world Zionism to ensure mutual interests to the detriment of the Arabs.

72. Many explanations have been given for this Jewish national home; among them is the one contained in the White Paper of 1922, which states:

"Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become 'as Jewish as England is English'. His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated, as appears to be feared by the Arab delegation, the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine* . . .

" . . . When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride . . ." <sup>4/</sup>

Such statements, which were given time and again by the British Government proved to be nothing else but a smokescreen designed to appease the revolting Arabs.

73. Some light was shed on the integrity of British war-time pledges to the Arabs by Lord Balfour himself in a memorandum dated 11 August 1919, in which he wrote:

" . . . so far as Palestine is concerned, the Powers have made no statement of fact which is not ad-

<sup>4/</sup> Palestine: Correspondence with the Palestine Arab Delegation and the Zionist Organisation (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), Cmd. 1700, pp. 18 and 19.

mittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate".<sup>5/</sup>

74. World Zionism, and Israel, which is but a partial expression of it, undoubtedly smile cynically now when we mention the Balfour Declaration and these developments. Nevertheless, all explanations that were given for the Balfour Declaration afterwards did not contain the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

75. That is why the Arabs, no matter what the Arab country to which they belong, live the tragedy of Palestine every day of their lives, for the Arabs have been victims of one of the greatest acts of aggression known in modern history. The result of these tyrannical acts is deeply felt just because it is related to a central part of the Arab homeland, organically connected with all other Arab lands. This tragedy has been deepened by the sufferings of the Arab refugees from Palestine and their losses, which are shared by every class in every Arab country.

76. As recently as October 1964, the great historian Arnold Toynbee wrote in International Affairs the following:

"The Arabs' grievance against Britain for her treatment of Egypt from 1882 to 1956 has been surpassed, in intensity and in justification, only by their grievance against us for our treatment of Palestine since 1917. In whatever way the Balfour Declaration of 1917 is to be interpreted whatever may have been the meaning of a 'national home for the Jewish people' and of 'the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine'—we were taking it upon ourselves to give away something that was not ours to give. We were promising rights of some kind in the Palestinian Arabs' country to a third party. We followed up the Balfour Declaration by insisting on our being given a mandate for the administration of Palestine, and also insisting on having the Balfour Declaration written into the document. At the same time we acquiesced in this mandate being placed in the 'A' class, a type of mandate that committed the Mandatory Power to giving independence to the population of the mandated territory as soon as they were politically ripe for it. Since, at that date, the population of Palestine west of Jordan was 90 per cent Arab ... the fact that the Mandate for Palestine was an 'A' mandate was an implicit undertaking that, whatever the Balfour Declaration might mean, Palestine would eventually become an independent state with a decisive Arab majority in its population.

"The Palestine Arabs did not trust British intentions. We repeatedly assured them that our intentions towards them were entirely honourable and equitable ...

"The responsibility for the tragedy that has overtaken the Palestine Arabs is shared by Britain with Germany and the United States. In setting himself

to exterminate the Jews in Europe, Hitler played into Zionism's hands."<sup>6/</sup>

77. It might be said: what is the use now of going back to this old history—although Toynbee was writing in October 1964—after the partition resolution? Our reply is that, whereas this illegal, unilateral, immoral declaration had been entered into the Mandate given to British over Palestine, and since this Mandate facilitated Jewish immigration to Palestine against the lawful will of the Arabs, and since this Jewish immigration enabled Zionism to establish a state within the State under the protection of the British Mandate and in conspiracy with it, and since the Zionists in Palestine drove out in a well-planned warfare the lawful Arab inhabitants of Palestine, we cannot forget or disregard this criminal act. We insist that it should be discussed and revealed again.

78. It might again be said that Israel is in existence. But here again the question arises how Israel ever came into existence. In answering this question I shall use the words of a prominent member of the British Labour Party, T. E. M. McKitterick, who wrote the following:

"What brought Israel into existence was, in the end, not an agreed decision but the force of arms, and all that the United Nations was able to do afterwards was to take note of the fact and try to prevent any further change from being made by similar methods. The implication is a very far-reaching one—that a collective security organisation is bound by its very nature to favour the status quo, while the initiative for change comes not from agreement but from force."<sup>7/</sup>

79. It is thus clear, by the words of an author in international affairs, that Israel was brought into existence by sheer force and aggression. The methods followed in enforcing those decisions, the partition resolutions, were no less immoral than the Balfour Declaration itself. The pressure brought, especially by the United States Government, to ensure the required number of votes in the General Assembly after its failure in the Political Committee, are now facts of history, well-known, to be recounted again. But I wish simply to refer here to what President Truman himself, who was instrumental in this whole manoeuvre, wrote about the unprecedented pressure to which he was subjected by the American leaders of Zionism in his memoirs. The sad death of the then courageous Secretary of War of the United States, Mr. James Forrestal, who was driven by the Zionists to commit suicide, is another tragic aspect of this whole situation.

80. Again, not to use my own words, let me quote a Professor of International Relations at New York University, Donald C. Blaisdell, who, in a lecture entitled "Can responsible foreign policy be made democratically?", said the following:

"How could the world justify the establishment of Israel in Palestine in the face of the majority of the

<sup>5/</sup> United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939 (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), First Series, vol. IV, p. 345.

<sup>6/</sup> International Affairs (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), vol. 40, pp. 639-640.

<sup>7/</sup> "The Middle East", Fabian International Essays (London, Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 107.

indigenous population? It was done in the name of democratic self-determination."

Clearly, then, the only people in the world that was denied the right to self-determination was the Arab people of Palestine.

81. If these facts are established beyond any doubt, and they are, how could the Arabs be asked to recognize the establishment of a State, in an integral part of their homeland, that was detached by sheer force, by international Zionist intrigues, pressure and distortion? All this calls for a classification of the Zionist strategy: when the Arabs objected, as they rightfully did, against the Balfour Declaration and later against the British Mandate, and when they defend their homeland against outside aggressors, they are themselves stamped aggressors. When the Arabs revolt against the partition of their homeland and the denial of their right to self-determination, they are described as defying the United Nations resolutions and also called aggressors. During this time, world Zionism, which cleverly engendered these various acts, appears to be peaceful and abiding by international law. But, surely, this game should at least be understood objectively and unemotionally.

82. What is the State of Israel? How was it conceived? What purpose did it have. Here, again, let me use the words of the father and founder of the State of Israel, Herzl himself, who wrote the following:

"If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake the management of the finances of Turkey. We should there form a part of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. We should as a neutral State remain in contact with all Europe, which would guarantee our existence."<sup>8/</sup>

Now, these few lines are worth pondering a great deal, because, to my knowledge, they are a classic definition of imperialism.

83. Note, first, the use of the word "barbarism". Obviously, the reference here is to the Arabs, because there were none but Arabs in Palestine at that time—not more than twenty thousand Jews. What the founder of Zionism, Herzl, forgot here is that, when the Prophet Moses fled from Egypt, he found refuge with an Arab tribe, the Midianites, and with Jethro, the priest of Midian, an Arab tribe in Sinai—Moses' father-in-law, from whom he first heard about Yahwe, later called in the Bible "Jehovah". The very name of the one God that Moses preached to his followers was, as established beyond any doubt in Exodus, an Arab deity. Surely these Arabs must have been a special brand of barbarians, who taught Moses the idea of the one God—the pillar of Judaism. Thus Zionism paid the Arabs for their indebtedness to them. But here, again, I shall not dwell on this point at length. I am sure the Zionists cannot, at least, distort the words of the Bible. These are the "barbarians" about whom Herzl spoke and Zionism still speaks to the present day.

<sup>8/</sup> Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York, American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946), p. 96.

84. Further, this Jewish State was conceived by Herzl, in his own words, "to form a part of a wall of defense of Europe in Asia". The European Powers must undoubtedly rejoice at the establishment of such a State within Arab lands, to ensure, as is now being done, their strategic economic and oil interests. Surely, then, Israel is but an extension of Western imperialism. And what would the Western colonial Powers do but guarantee, as they are doing now, the existence of Israel, as foreseen by Herzl? Is it a mere chance, I may ask, that the French Ministry of Defense built in 1959–1960 the Dimona Atomic Reactor in Beersheba, in the Negev, as part of the 1956 secret deal between the Guy Mollet Government and Ben-Gurion and his henchmen; that West German, French and Belgian scientists have been working on it ever since; that the United States supplied it with heavy water this year? But enough about this for the time being, for I shall come to it later.

85. Israel is, furthermore, an expansionist State—however much the leaders of Zionism and Israel profess the contrary. Here, again, representatives will find in the text of my speech as distributed a document submitted in 1919 by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference in Paris—a document which underlies the plans of Zionism for Palestine—from which it will be seen that almost 90 per cent of that plan was realized. But I should like to mention just one paragraph, which has a direct relationship to a problem that is now being raised. The document states:

"The boundaries above outlined are what we consider essential for the necessary economic foundation of the country. Palestine must have its natural outlets to the seas and the control of its rivers and their headwaters. The boundaries are sketched with the general economic needs and historic traditions of the country in mind, factors which necessarily must also be considered by the Special Commission in fixing the definite boundary lines. . . .

"The economic life of Palestine, like that of every other semi-arid country, depends on the available water supply. It is, therefore, of vital importance not only to secure all water resources already feeding the country, but also to be able to conserve and control them at their sources."

86. Some remarks on this document: the population of Palestine was at that time 90 per cent Arab; there were only 57,000 Jews there in 1917. The Jews owned in 1920 almost 2.5 per cent of the land area of Palestine. The figures which I shall mention below prove beyond any doubt Israel aggression in Palestine. They are as follows: area of Palestine under the Mandate, 10,429 square miles; area of Israel under the Partition Plan, 5,765 square miles; area of Israel today, 7,992 square miles. The area of Israel today shows an increase of approximately 38 per cent over the area under the Partition Plan.

87. But this is only a partial picture. For the representatives here present who are not familiar with the names and boundaries outlined in this Zionist document, translated specifically, it means the following: the occupation beyond what Israel occupies now of southern Lebanon up till Sidon, of Southern Syria up till the gates of Damascus, and of the whole of Jordan.

It is also important to remember the emphasis laid in this document on the rivers, their sources, which exist in Arab territories.

88. With regard to the atomic reactor that I mentioned, I think that not only the Arabs but this very Organization, which is striving for peace, and the leaders of the world community, who are doing their utmost to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, are, like ourselves, entitled to be warned of the facts.

89. The New York Times of 20 December 1960 reported that:

"According to the United States sources, the Dimona Reactor is capable of turning out sufficient plutonium for a modest number of atomic bombs."

90. On 28 April 1964, The Times of London reported that "there is evidence that Israel in collusion with France may soon have nuclear weapons".

91. The Jewish Chronicle of London, an authoritative organ of the Zionist movement, revealed in its issue of 26 March 1965 that Mr. Shimon Peres visited Paris recently "to convince France to build an additional nuclear reactor at Dimona". The United States, directly and indirectly, is helping Israel in this field.

92. The Zionist-Jews in Palestine lost no time. As soon as France announced in June 1959 that it was preparing to explode a bomb, they started pressing the French Ministry of Defence to build for them their atomic reactor as pledged. French and Zionist engineers and technicians completed their plans for the construction of the building in Dimona in the Negev in the early part of 1960.

93. It is thus understandable that, while Israel officials endorsed the principle of international inspection, they have opposed its implementation in Zionist-occupied territory in Palestine. Those of us who were present here at the eighteenth session remember only too well the dramatic sessions of the Security Council, when the United States representative raised the question of the existence of USSR rockets in Cuba, and what followed. But, when the Arabs object to Israel getting into the nuclear club, their words fall on deaf ears. Vérité en deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au-delà.\*

94. Time and again the Zionist propaganda machine has spoken of the Arab boycott. The Israel lobby in Washington last June succeeded in extracting from the American Congress amendments to the law governing exports intended to render the Arab boycott of Israel ineffective. Thus, once more, the Arabs appear as aggressors. And while, under the impact of Zionist propaganda, the Arabs are blamed for their measures of self-defence, everyone forgets the Israel boycott of the Arabs, which started early in this country with the establishment of the early Jewish settlements in Palestine. Ahad Ha-Am, a pioneer of spiritual Zionism, whose name figures prominently in any history of Zionism—"Ahad" being a pen name for "Ginsburg"—laid his finger on the problem, which, according to Professor Hans Kohn, himself an American of the Jewish faith and a world authority on nationalism, for practical and ethical reasons alike was the fundamental though neglected problem of

Zionism in Palestine—the Arab problem. From 1891, Ahad Ha-Am stressed that Palestine was not only a small land, it was not an empty one. It could never gather all the scattered Jews from the four corners of the world. Professor Kohn says:

"The Bible foresaw this in-gathering for the days of the Messiah, when all problems would be solved in a regenerated mankind. To confound Messianic hopes with political potentialities must lead of necessity to moral and ultimately physical disaster."

95. Writing about Ahad Ha-Am, Professor Kohn goes on to say:

"... He warned that the Jewish settlers must under no circumstances arouse the wrath of the natives by ugly actions: must meet them rather in the friendly spirit of respect. 'Yet—these are the words of Ahad-Ha-Am—'what do our brethren do in Palestine? Just the very opposite: serfs they were in the lands of the Diaspora and suddenly they find themselves in freedom, and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination'. That was written in 1891 when the Zionist settlers formed a tiny minority in Palestine. 'We think,' Ahad Ha-Am warned, 'that the Arabs are all savages who live like animals and do not understand what is happening around. This is, however, a great error.'

"This error unfortunately has persisted ever since. Ahad Ha-Am did not cease to warn against it, not only for the sake of the Arabs but for the sake of Judaism and of Zion. He remained faithful to his ethical standard to the end. Twenty years later, on 9 July 1911, he wrote to a friend in Jaffa: 'As to the war against the Jews in Palestine, I am a spectator from afar with an aching heart, particularly because of the want of insight and understanding shown on our side to an extreme degree. As a matter of fact, it was evident twenty years ago that the day would come when the Arabs would stand up against us.'

"... In this spirit Ahad Ha-Am"—and this is the important point—"opposed the boycott which the Hebrews and the Jews on the whole applied to the Arabs.

"In a letter of November 18, 1913 to Moshe Smilansky, a pioneer settler in Palestine, Ahad Ha-Am had protested against another form of ... boycott, proclaimed by the Zionist labour movement in Palestine against the employment of Arab labour, a racial boycott: 'Apart from the political danger, I can't put up with the idea that our brethren are morally capable of behaving in such a way to men of another people; and unwittingly the thought comes to my mind: if it is so now, what will be our relation to the others if in truth we shall achieve at the end of time power in Eretz Israel? If this be the Messiah'—said Ahad Ha-Am—"I do not wish to see his coming."<sup>2/</sup>

\*Quoted in French by the speaker.

<sup>2/</sup> "Zion and the Jewish National Ideal", Menorah Journal, autumn-winter 1958, vol. XLVI, nos. 1 and 2.

I wonder what Ahad Ha-Am would say if he had lived long enough to see Judaism turn into terrorism and manslaughter under Zionism.

96. It will have been noticed by now that in discussing the problem of Palestine I did not use the word "Jewish", for to us Arabs, Muslims and Christians alike, Judaism is a divine religion that we respect and is a part of our tradition. Jerusalem is also a sacred city to us. Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, a young Arab who saw his house in the Katamon area of Jerusalem dynamited by Zionist gangs and his parents killed, who was able to escape to Arab lands, carried on his studies, published several books including two books already published in England, spoke of his native city of Jerusalem in an article published in the first week of this month. He said:

"Jerusalem is not a mere place, it is also a time. Within its geographical boundaries it can never be understood—it is only within history, within 4,000 years of history all assembled in one moment, the moment in which one should look at Jerusalem. In this city history is alive, speaking out of each of its stones. It is a history full of contradiction, full of tragedy, but it is a history that is revered and adored by all mankind. . . . Within its walls it gathered the meanings of both the sea and the desert, two civilizing forces in eternal interaction, two primordial forces that in alternating rhythms have borne men to conquest and achievement. In this lies the mystery of its tragedy and also the mystery of its greatness."

That is a specimen of modern Arabic literatures reflecting the deep suffering and torture of the Arab soul over the loss of Palestine.

97. We establish a fundamental distinction between Judaism and Zionism. To the Muslims, Abraham is the first Prophet, and Islam in one of its basic aspects is a return to the religious tenets of Abraham. To the Christians, Christianity as preached by Christ, himself a Jewish Prophet speaking primarily to the Jews, was a fulfilment and continuation of the laws of Moses. No apostle made this issue clearer than St. Paul himself, a great pillar of Christianity, who clearly states, in Romans II, chapter 11:

"For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin."

To him the prophecies of the Bible for the return of the Messiah were fulfilled by the coming of Christ. This is made clear in his letter to the Galatians 3:26, 28 and 29, wherein he says:

"For all ye are sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor freedman, neither male nor female; for all ye are one in Christ. If ye are of Christ, indeed ye are Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise."

98. Zionism, on the other hand, is but a distortion of Judaism. Among the Jews themselves there arose, side by side with the rise of the Zionist movement, a great number of Jews who not only dissented from Zionism but criticized its tenets in unequivocal terms: the reform movement in Judaism and the orthodox movement, which made it very clear in their plat-

forms and pronouncements—men like the late Judah Magnes, William Zuckerman, Sir Edwin Montagu, Elmer Berger and scores of others.

99. Anti-semitism, a sin of the Christian West, was never a sin of the Arab Muslim East, for far back in history and in recent time Jewish communities in the Arab world lived peacefully and in prosperity until the curse of Zionism upset their lives and our own. That is why we fight Zionism, as belonging to a plague of modern political ideologies, like Nazism and Fascism. The Arab struggle for Palestine is basically a struggle of a people for liberation, a people whose right to self-determination was denied, a people asking for nothing less than the right of self-determination, a people whose lands, territories, homes and farms have been stolen from them, and they are asking them back. In a word, it is a struggle for liberation from a brand of imperialism the like of which has never been known in history. Ideologically, it is a struggle to purify Judaism from the distortions, attritions and criminality of Zionism. History, the final and ultimate tribunal of mankind, will prove that Arab struggle will ultimately save Judaism from the clutches of Zionism.

100. Allow me, in ending, to quote the great Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, who had this to say on the subject of ethics and politics:

"In fact, the phase of the State and of politics is a necessary and eternal phase, but it is a phase and not the whole; and the moral conscience and activity is another phase, no less necessary and eternal, which follows the first, proceeding from and returning to spiritual unity. Certainly, if the second is indestructible, the first is no less indestructible; but this means simply that the second does not destroy the first, but instead exerts a perpetual influence on it, knocks perpetually at its door and perpetually makes itself heard and welcomed, yet conforming to the law which rules in that sphere." <sup>10/</sup>

101. Yes, when we understand that great truth, so admirably expressed by Croce, when willingly we allow ethics to knock continuously on the door of politics, reminding it of its existence, it is then that not only the problem of Palestine will be solved but the most crucial and complicated problems of mankind today.

102. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now hear the Cambodian representative, who has asked for the floor in exercise of his right of reply.

103 Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): I hope that, despite the lateness of the hour, the Assembly will allow me to detain it a few minutes longer, because the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand on 8 October [1353rd meeting] compels me to return to this rostrum. In that statement, Mr. Khoman, not satisfied with reiterating the usual arguments used by United States propaganda to oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all its organs, even went so far

<sup>10/</sup> Politics and Morals (New York, Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 195-196.

as to give lessons to and to criticize all those who have asked the Assembly to restore China's lawful rights in our Organization. I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that during the last Cairo Conference, in October 1964, more than forty heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa, in addition to Yugoslavia, had asked the Assembly to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China at the nineteenth session and to recognize only that State's representatives as the sole lawful representatives of China in the United Nations. Later, we heard from the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of France, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, Sweden and still other countries, to say nothing of the representatives of the socialist countries, ask from this very rostrum that the People's Republic of China should be given its rightful seat among us and that only its representatives should be allowed to speak here on behalf of the Chinese people.

104. With regard to the problem of Viet-Nam, it is saddening to note that, although his country is situated quite near Viet-Nam, whose people are heroically fighting against United States aggression, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand closes his eyes to the real situation prevailing in that country. This should not surprise us, however, because the militaristic Bangkok Government which came to power following a military coup d'état constantly supported the Diem régime against the Viet-Nameese people. But I should merely like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that, under the 1954 Geneva Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, the partition of the country into two zones along the 17th parallel was only a temporary measure because the signatories of those Agreements recognized that there was only one Viet-Nam.

105. Can the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand tell us who it is that refuses to comply with and observe the Geneva Agreements; who it is that has refused to hold the general elections provided for by the Agreements (see para. 7 of the Final Declaration);<sup>11/</sup> who it is that is taking reprisals against certain persons or members of their families because of their activities during the hostilities; who it is that has refused to guarantee to them the democratic freedoms referred to in article 14, paragraph C, of the Agreements and in paragraph 9 of the Final Declaration; and who it is that has brought United States troops and war matériel into Viet-Nam in violation of paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration?

106. Of course, even if the facts are patently obvious to all, I do not think that Mr. Thanat Khoman would dare to admit them because, for a long time now, Thailand has ceased to be an independent country; it is now a United States base and colony and, what is more, the Government of which Mr. Thanat Khoman, is a member, has always supported the bloody and barbarous policy of the tyrant Diem. Suffice it to recall, that after the death of that tyrant, incredible reports on the atrocities and crimes which he had committed against the Viet-Nameese people were published throughout the international Press.

107. Is there any need to recall also that the puppets who now follow one another in and out of office at Saigon are no better than the tyrant I mentioned, because they were his closest associates and helped him to oppress the Viet-Nameese people. Moreover, recently, in an interview granted to The Sunday Mirror, General Ky, the head of the Saigon puppets, himself said: "I am asked who is my favourite hero; I have only one: it is Hitler".

108. Does the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand know why the United States imperialists have to bring more and more reinforcements into South Viet-Nam? It is simply because the soldiers of the Saigon puppets do not want to fight the Viet-Nameese people any longer. In four years, more than 150,000 soldiers of the Saigon régime have deserted, and joined the National Liberation Front, bringing all their weapons and equipment with them. No more than a few months ago, only this year, the French Press informed us that 2,000 to 3,000 more of the soldiers of the Saigon régime had deserted and joined the people's army of the National Liberation Front, to say nothing of the daily desertions.

109. In his statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, finding himself unable to refute the recent evidence I gave, in my statements to illustrate Thailand's aggressive and malevolent policy towards Cambodia, confined himself to saying that "the Cambodian leaders... share in similar aggressive policies" and that the evidence that I provided was only "the usual propaganda elements to further [Cambodia's] noxious policy against peace and stability in South-East Asia" [1353rd meeting, para. 155].

110. I was very disappointed by Mr. Thanat Khoman's reply because I expected something more specific from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand in support of his representative, Mr. Upadit Pachariyangkun, who found himself in a most uncomfortable position when he ran short of arguments.

111. The aggression of 11 September against a Cambodian village and the killing of Cambodian women and children, of which I have spoken, are not "propaganda elements". These are real and recent facts. Nor is the statement by the two United States' pilots captured in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Captains Robert N. Daugherty and Richard P. Keirn, who disclosed that they had taken off from Thai bases—a statement published in all the United States newspapers—a "propaganda element". I am tempted to ask the United States representative to tell me whether these two captains really exist or whether they are merely inventions of the United States Press. Moreover, Mr. Thanat Khoman no longer dared to repeat his absurd charge that Cambodia has been training 27,000 Chinese guerrillas.

112. There is no need for me to say that Cambodia has always followed and will continue to follow a policy of independence and non-alignment. I do not believe that the representatives of the States Members of the General Assembly think that that policy of non-alignment is "a noxious policy against peace and stability in South-East Asia".

113. The Royal Cambodian Government so scrupulously observes the Geneva Agreements of 1954

<sup>11/</sup> Final Declaration, dated 21 July 1954, of the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China.

that it has even rejected the famous "protective umbrella" of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). At no time has Cambodian territory ever been used as a military base for any foreign Power whatsoever. It is not Cambodia which is threatening peace and security in South-East Asia. It is rather, Thailand, which, by serving the interests of United States imperialism, is threatening peace and stability in that region.

114. As far as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand is concerned only those who are with the United States imperialists and meekly go along with their aggressive policy are working for peace.

115. Ever since its admission to membership in the United Nations, Thailand has been pursuing the former Siamese policy of expansionism and imperialism with regard to Cambodia by refusing to recognize and respect our common borders, which, as a matter of fact, were clearly defined by international agreements and by the judgement rendered by the International Court of Justice at The Hague concerning the temple of Préah Vihear.<sup>12/</sup>

116. Moreover, as I already pointed out in earlier statements, the Thais are still engaging in subversive activities in the Cambodian border provinces and launching surprise attacks against Cambodian villages in which women, children and old people are killed or wounded. Our air space, our borders and our territorial waters are being continually violated by the Thais. It might be asked whether the world knows that, as Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, wrote recently:

"... the Thais are the world's champion opportunists; throughout the world they have the well-established reputation of, trimming the sails of their foreign policy and even their choice of ideology to the 'prevailing wind', and to changes in the reigns of the great Powers in South-East Asia."

"The Japanese have probably not forgotten that, in order to thank them for having helped them to seize Cambodian provinces, the Siamese (now the Thais), who were then considered by Japan as its most reliable allies, found that the best thing to do in the last days of the war was to refuse to sacrifice a single man in the decisive battle which the Japanese forces were waging against the troops of Lord Mountbatten.

"There is an even better example. A handful of men—some fifteen or twenty at the most—of the so-called 'free Siamese forces' coming from America were parachuted into Bangkok before the entry of the Allies and succeeded in persuading them that all Thailand had, far more than France, steadfastly fought against Japan and served the cause of the Westerners. The latter, who severely punished Japan and so many other Asian 'collaborators with the Fascists and the Nazis', congratulated and lavishly rewarded Phibul Sanggram, Phao Sriyamong and others whom Marshal Tojo considered his most reliable allies."

117. This reminder of the past, which will certainly not make the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand feel any happier, will, no doubt, help the Members of the Assembly to gain a better understanding of Thai policy. It is precisely that policy that Mr. Thanat Khoman wished, according to his statement, to propose to the small nations when he said: "... they may be interested in watching our own experience"[1353rd meeting, para. 159].

118. What are the possible consequences of such a policy of transforming one's own country into a military base for United States aggression? The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand himself has given us a definite and clear reply: so-called "patriotic fronts" have been set up in certain areas of the country to liberate it from the yoke of the United States imperialists. The gangrene is now beginning to eat away more and more of Thailand. The country's transformation into a United States base and colony is arousing the indignation of the Thai people. The increase in the Thai military forces announced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand merely heightens the tension prevailing in that region even further and threatens peace and security in South-East Asia, in particular in non-aligned Cambodia.

119. Before concluding, I should like to point out that, according to the New China News Agency, the "patriotic front" sent a delegation to Peking last April. That delegation was led by Lt.-Col. Phayom Chulanont, a senior officer of the Thai Army who may have been a classmate of Col. Thanat Khoman.

120. In conclusion, I should like to say to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand that it is only through a policy of independence and non-alignment, as followed by Cambodia, that the cause of peace can be served, and that to transform one's own country into a base for United States' aggression is a crime first of all against one's own people and secondly against all mankind.

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*

<sup>12/</sup> Case Concerning the Temple of Préah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.