

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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**President:** Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): It is not simply as a formal gesture that I open my statement by expressing to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Cuba, my sincerest congratulations on your election as President of the Assembly for this regular session. I do so with the legitimate pride and obvious pleasure of one who feels he shares this great and well-deserved honour. We are Americans, too, and ours are the triumphs of her sons as well as the griefs, anxieties and hopes of her peoples. In the person of yourself, a Peruvian of distinction who has unremittingly and unswervingly striven to the highest principles of international co-existence, the new Cuba feels itself to be adequately represented in this universal parliament of nations.

2. I shall be more explicit. The new Cuba which I have the honour to represent has maintained, is maintaining and will continue to maintain in its international relations a position consistent with the nature and national objectives of the revolution which gave it full political freedom and which is now transforming its economic structure and social character. Today, for the first time in its history, Cuba is truly free, independent and sovereign, and its foreign policy has thus freed itself of all bondage, oppression and servitude. During the tragic seven years in which this seat was occupied by a lackey of the overthrown dictatorship, Cuba's vote was invariably controlled by outsiders. Today, Cuba votes on its own behalf and in accordance with its own foreign policy. It showed this clearly when the question of the Cameroons was being discussed and it has recently given further evidence of it in abstaining in the vote on the draft resolution concerning the vexed question of the representation of China. Let me make this quite clear: the last sparks of colonialism in the Republic were totally extinguished with the shameful flight of Fulgencio Batista, the ex-dictator, and the establishment of the revolutionary Government. The dawn of the era of deliverance which this present year ushered in lit up a new stage in the history of America. It is not in vain that the revolution in Cuba had brought its own up-to-date policies to bear upon

its chronic problems and to restore to human dignity the universal values that have been laughed to scorn in this hemisphere and at other latitudes.

3. The scope and extent of the Cuban revolution may be accurately gauged from the campaign of falsehoods, calumnies and vituperation directed against it by North American telegraphic agencies and by the Press of various countries whose reactionary attitude and interfering tendencies are well known. The same interests, which remained silent, solely for reasons of expediency, in the face of the horrible crimes committed by Batista, are those which now, in collusion with a few senators and the Cuban war criminals, are instigating, organizing and financing this campaign, the primary purpose of which is to create an international climate favourable both to counter-revolutionary invasions having their headquarters in Miami and in the Dominican Republic, such as the one which was recently discovered and crushed, and to foreign intervention on the false pretext of "Communist infiltration in official circles".

4. But neither this malicious campaign, nor these preposterous schemes, nor this threat of foreign intervention will make us yield an inch in our defence of the right of self-determination of the Cuban people and of the progressive development of our revolution. What we have been able to achieve as men, we shall hold on to as men, and we are confident that we have the moral support of the under-developed peoples of America, Africa and Asia, for the overthrow of the Cuban revolution would entail their own defeat and hence an obvious delay in the inexorable progress of their liberation. We are equally confident that we can rely in like measure on the sympathy of the more advanced peoples and, above all, on that of the people of North America, who forged the liberty, progress and prosperity which they now enjoy in the course of a determined struggle against all the obstacles that arose in their path. The America of Jefferson, Hamilton and Lincoln, although different in its origin, language and history, has the same human aspirations as has the America of Bolívar, Juárez and Martí.

5. Mankind is today confronted with a situation in which birth and death, ebb and flow, light and shade, illusion and anguish, are intermingled and confused. It could not be otherwise in a period of change in which the sceptre of history is in dispute, and which is compounded of progress and stagnation and of new and old ideas, methods, values and processes. One of the most striking paradoxes of this decisive period is that, whereas the great Powers are investing fabulous sums in the means of destruction and are boldly preparing for the conquest of the universe, there are millions of helpless men and women who rise at dawn and go hungry to bed. There is indeed an alarming lack of balance between the rate of technical progress and the rate of social progress. Poverty increases as man probes the secrets of nature. Freedom abounds in outer space but is lacking in our own planet. Human dignity is on the

decline while scientific knowledge is in the ascendant. The material world, in the control of privileged minorities, is already triumphing over the world of the spirit and is seeking to fetter and degrade it. Governments appear to be ranged in hostile blocs, yet never before have they been so interdependent and has there been so pressing a need for understanding and association among peoples living at the mercy of the spark that could kindle a terrible nuclear conflagration for their destruction. And while the earth's peaceful satellite draws daily nearer to a state of vassalage to the earth, peace moves farther and farther away from this terrestrial globe.

6. It is these violent contradictions, which spring from the way in which power, wealth and culture have been used and are still commonly used, that must be overcome without delay by exchanging the means of destruction for the means of production and making man himself the be-all and end-all of political, economic, social and cultural organization in national and international coexistence. The primary task and the main duty of the United Nations, in accordance with its principles and purposes, is to work unceasingly to replace our present world, built for death, by a world designed for living.

7. The international policy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully reflects the humanitarian feelings which shape and govern its national policy, fashioned by the needs and aspirations of the people who sustain it. It is, alas, an undeniable fact that the world of today is split up into two large groups, one led by the United States of America and the other by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, both armed to the teeth, and a third group, possessing far more moral than physical strength, which tries to serve as a bridge between them. Cuba belongs by history and tradition, geographical position and international obligations to what is known as the Western group. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, however, will neither accept nor admit false dilemmas or prefabricated divisions. In specific terms this means that we do not accept the view that the only choice is between the capitalist and the communist solution. There are other roads and other solutions that are wholly democratic, and Cuba has now found its own road and solution to its problems—the solution chosen by the Latin American peoples which, with natural differences of emphasis, provides us with common ground with the under-developed peoples of Africa and Asia in their courageous search for self-expression. Cuba's role in the world is to be itself and, as José Martí said, not to be an instrument used by one part of the world against another. We will never be a docile pawn on the chessboard of power politics. It is high time that the great Powers ceased arbitrarily to decide the fate of small nations. The coercive action in Guatemala, Guiana, Hungary, Algeria and Tibet must not be repeated.

8. In the face of this complex situation, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has maintained, is maintaining and will continue to maintain its own policy, designed to serve the best interests of the people it represents and of kindred peoples. Although we cherish the ideal of a free world democratically united in its diversity, and recognize that our times call for a world outlook and that this is an organization dedicated to the improvement of human relations in international affairs, it is natural that we should feel ourselves to be closely tied by our common background, history, culture and destiny to the Latin American peoples. Should

der to shoulder with them, we will fight America's great battle against economic under-development which cripples, enslaves and impoverishes and is at the root of the political upheavals, dictatorships and tyrannies of which we have been and indeed still are the victims.

9. We choose neither capitalism in its historical sense nor communism in its present form. As Dr. Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban revolution and Prime Minister of our Government has said: "We maintain our own position between the world's two rival ideologies or political and economic systems. We have called our position a humanistic position, because of its humane methods, because we seek to free men from fear, domination and dogmas. We are revolutionizing society without oppression or intimidation. The world's great problem is that it has been put in a position where it has to choose between capitalism, which kills with hunger, and communism, which solves economic problems but suppresses the freedoms that are man's dearest possession. What Cubans and Latin Americans want beyond all else is a revolution that will satisfy their material needs without sacrificing their freedoms. If we achieve this by democratic means the Cuban revolution will occupy a proud place in world history. We do not mean the same thing by freedom as do the reactionaries, who speak of elections but not of social justice. Without social justice democracy is impossible, for men would be the slaves of poverty. That is why we have said that we are a step ahead of the left and the right, and that this is a humanistic revolution because it does not dehumanize man, because man is its primary concern. Capitalism sacrifices man, and the communist state, with its totalitarian ideas, sacrifices the rights of man. That is why we do not agree with either system. Each nation must develop its own political system, born of its own needs, and not imposed or imitated. Ours is a revolution sprung from the land of Cuba itself, as Cuban as our music. Who would expect all nations to listen to the same music? Our revolution is not red but olive green, because olive green is our colour, the colour of the revolution which had its origin in the Rebel Army, in the depths of the Sierra Maestra".

10. This is not a third, fourth or fifth position: it is our position, the unique position of the Revolutionary Government and the 26 July Movement, which is equidistant from totalitarian and pseudo-democratic systems of government and finds its expression in government by public opinion at home and in open-door diplomacy abroad.

11. Humanism, as an idea, can be traced back to ancient Greece. In the brilliant maturity of the century of Pericles it was expressed in a saying still remembered by posterity: "Man is the measure of all things". In that society, based on slavery, the only man who could be the measure of all things was the owner of slaves. Centuries later, the idea was given new meaning when, in a society based on servitude, Christianity asserted the inviolability of the human conscience as the safeguard of the dignity of the individual. The humanism of the Renaissance, the exquisite flower of the most miraculous spring-time of the mind known to history, endeavoured in vain, in that emergent society, with its divided interests, forces, relations and opposing values, to make the quality of being human the common denominator of all groups, occupations and classes, ingenuously entrusting the elimination of social inequalities to an act of individual will. With the Enlightenment humanism again flowered as an idea and during

the French Revolution was given concrete expression in the famous slogan: "liberty, equality, fraternity". But although the overthrow of absolutism, mechanical inventions and the emancipating American revolutions tended to close the gap between idea and reality, the gap is now being widened and deepened as a result of the predominance of the profit motive, the pathological misdirection of technology and the growing worship of the State, with the consequent decline in the status of the individual, the mechanization of poverty and the employment of human genius in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

12. Never before has any social system dehumanized man to such a degree. But never before has humanism demonstrated what it means as an ideal and in its practical implications as in the Cuban revolution. The idea that man is the most valuable capital and that power, wealth and culture must be subordinated to the effective satisfaction of his physical and spiritual wants is the driving force of the new Cuba which is being built, in the face of prejudice, privilege, resistance and conspiracies. And in order "to raise justice to the skies and ensure that Cubans enjoy their full rights" the revolution has altered the system of land tenure, the taxation system, the tariff system, educational methods and even the way of life, thus laying the foundations for subsequent industrial development without sacrificing a single individual or public liberty. Today for the first time there is government in the name of the people, by the people, for the people. In other words: it is the people that governs, since the revolutionary power is their power and as such is the rightful government. But because the revolution is deep-rooted and broadly based on democratic ideals, it does not persecute or fear any opinion and protects the free expression of all ideologies, however reactionary or extremist they may be. Respect for the views of others and for the dignity of the human person is the ultimate key to the humanism of the Cuban revolution.

13. If even the ordinary citizens of the great Powers dream today of lasting peace at the cost of coexistence, the Cuban people, because of the small size of their country and their defencelessness, need peace even more in order to survive and build a freer, more just and better life. We accordingly warmly support the efforts made to reduce the existing tensions, guarantee the right of the under-developed countries to develop freely and lay the foundation of a secure and lasting peace. The recent conferences in Europe and the conversations which are now going on between the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are encouraging signs. It is, however, disappointing that the conversations were planned and arranged without taking into account the views of the small nations and in particular of the members of the Latin American community, which represents the moral, political, economic and cultural strength of 200 million people. That regional community is entitled, if only because of its considerable importance in the international community, to be informed and consulted about matters affecting it directly. To settle such matters behind the backs of its members is, to say the least, improper. If we are morally and legally equal as States in this Assembly, problems affecting war and peace should be discussed in this forum or our legal and moral equality is a mere form of words.

14. My country also wishes to place on record its dissatisfaction with the fact that a subject of such vital importance as disarmament has been virtually withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Assembly. There is no alternative but to accept the report prepared by the Committee of Ten, to which the four Powers have given decisive powers.

15. Cuba is vitally interested in the ending of the cold war and the strengthening of peace, and considers it essential that an effective and lasting agreement on disarmament should be reached as rapidly as possible. The unrestricted arms race in which the great Powers have engaged, bodes no good. The time has come to devise acceptable ways and means of ending or at least checking or controlling it.

16. Cuba advocates the permanent cessation of thermo-nuclear weapons tests and opposes France's plan to conduct such tests in the Sahara. The millions of human beings who would run the risk of death as a result of radioactive fall-out are of more account than the scientific or military prestige of France or of any other country.

17. Our hard-working, peace-loving people wishes to coexist and trade with all the countries of the earth, particularly with those of this hemisphere. It is so deeply attached to peace that it is turning its barracks into schools and its tanks into tractors. And because it is peace-loving and wishes to live in peace, the Government which represents it reaffirms its resolute intention to support any agreements which may be adopted on disarmament and the total cessation of thermo-nuclear tests.

18. The only country with which Cuba has severed diplomatic relations is the Dominican Republic; we were forced to do so, not only because of the repeated unprovoked attacks on our diplomatic representatives and the harbouring of the Cuban war criminals who have taken asylum in that country, but also because of the commission of international offences incompatible with the relevant inter-American agreements. But we are hopeful that this enforced breaking-off of diplomatic relations, which does not and cannot apply to the Dominican people, will be of brief duration, since the consequences will disappear when the causes have been eliminated.

19. The decline of the colonial system in Asia and Africa, long a reservoir of raw materials for imperialist Powers, is one of the most encouraging features of an otherwise depressing international picture. Millions of men who for centuries have been under a foreign yoke may now be politically classified as able to govern themselves and to decide their own fate in the concert of States. Cuba, a nation which for long centuries suffered materially and spiritually from the insults, exactions and injuries inflicted under a colonial yoke, joyfully welcomes this awakening of Africa and Asia and the formation of free sovereign nations in many of the formerly subject and exploited regions. Their participation in the United Nations is a very valuable contribution to the cause of international understanding and co-operation, and hence to the peace and stability of the world.

20. The emancipation of the dependent territories and of those nations in Africa which are still subjugated would undoubtedly contribute to accelerating and strengthening the régime of security and coexistence which we all desire. Some of these nations and territories, such as the Cameroons under French adminis-



tration, Somaliland under Italian administration, Togoland under French administration and Nigeria, are already in the peaceful process of becoming independent States. Others, like Algeria, have been compelled to assert their desire for freedom and sovereignty through violence, which is always justified in resisting evil, injustice and oppression. This valiant people has already, in an epic struggle, won the right to enter the international community, and therefore Cuba will vote in favour of Algerian independence.

21. Political independence, however, without a strong and varied national economic structure, usually tends to be illusory, and is sometimes merely a formal cloak for an actual protectorate. Thus the stability and progress of the emancipated peoples of Africa and Asia are closely related to their economic development. This is the problem which on various levels and under varied circumstances also confronts the Latin American nations.

22. Cuba has already taken domestic measures to lay the foundation for an independent, diversified economic structure, with freedom of movement in the world market. To that effect, it has abolished the "latifundios" and has undertaken a comprehensive programme of agrarian reform which, together with an adequate fiscal, tariff and credit system, constitutes the indispensable basis for its industrial development. It is difficult, however, to attain such an ambitious goal in a short time without large-scale assistance from foreign States. Foreign private investments, useful and desirable as they may be to national development, and international credit institutions are not able to provide even the minimum economic resources which are required. Operation Pan America, initiated by the President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek, is unquestionably one of the most far-reaching projects in this field. At the meeting of the Committee of Twenty-one held at Buenos Aires at the beginning of 1959, the Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, requested the United States of America, as an effective solution of the problem of under-development in Latin America, to provide public financing of \$30,000 million over a period of ten years. This would be the best way to root out political instability in Latin America and to ensure the continued prosperity of representative democracy. Cuba will renew this request at the Inter-American Conference at Quito. There is no other way of consolidating the future of the emancipated countries of Africa and Asia. The United Nations, which is under an obligation to watch over that future, must give these countries the economic help and technical assistance which they require to speed up the development of their backward economies and to raise their levels of income and of employment.

23. It is hardly necessary to say that Cuba is opposed to any discrimination based on race, sex, ideology or religion, and therefore protests most strongly against the policy of "apartheid" and against any type of persecution, because of ideological or religious nonconformity, on either side of the barriers which separate the East and the West.

24. We cannot help recalling here with deep bitterness the failure of the United Nations to respond to the anguished appeals by civic, professional, cultural and religious institutions in Cuba, that it should call a halt, in the name of outraged humanity, to the excesses, tortures and crimes committed with impunity under Batista's cruel dictatorship.

25. On the regional level, the American republics have faced various conflicting problems and situations in the Caribbean area. The fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States at Santiago, Chile, was officially convened to study "tensions" in that area. There can be no doubt that the international enemies of the Cuban revolution hoped to place Cuba, whose attitude towards the remaining dictatorships in the hemisphere is well known, in the position of the accused, that is to represent it as a victim instead of an aggressor. Cuba accepted the invitation and submitted to the Organization of American States as the main item on the agenda, the relation between economic under-development and political instability. We took the view that the Meeting of Foreign Ministers would be meaningful and effective only if it sought to determine the fundamental cause of tensions existing not only in the Caribbean area but in all Latin America, since to confine them to one area would be both arbitrary and false. The essential cause of the tensions and political and social upheavals in Latin America, which are especially acute in the Caribbean area because of the authoritarian régimes in control, is economic under-development, with its inevitable corollaries: concentration of rural property, mass poverty, illiteracy, unsanitary living conditions, commercial dependency, absentee capital and political despotism. The item, which was finally included in the agenda despite stubborn and unreasonable resistance, was fully discussed at the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, and our point of view, generalized to cover all Latin America, was incorporated in the resolution adopted. Cuba also succeeded in having the meetings open to the public, and publicly championed the principle of non-intervention, respect for human rights, the inviolability of the right of asylum of exiles, the incompatibility of dictatorships with the inter-American legal system and the right of every State to reject any investigation into its internal affairs. Cuba also succeeded in completely defeating the draft resolution setting up an international police force, which would have been in violation of the American constitutional order and would have served exclusively the interests of the dictatorships and the economic combines supporting them. Cuba came out of the fifth Meeting of Foreign Ministers with greatly enhanced international prestige.

26. The work done by the United Nations in the economic, social and educational fields is worthy of all praise. In recognition of the excellent results achieved Cuba has this year considerably increased its contribution to the technical assistance activities and has also contributed to the World Refugee Year, although it considers that international philanthropy is insufficient to solve such an acute and tragic problem.

27. The new Cuba still has faith in the mission which the peoples have entrusted to the United Nations. This mission may be summed up in one word: peace. But peace to be deserved must be fought for, and it can be won only through an intense effort towards international understanding, co-operation and solidarity, based on respect for the dignity of the individual, on the right of the common man to the fruits of his labour and on the ascendancy of the spirit over technique. Bread with freedom, bread without terror is the strongest pillar of that solid and enduring peace which we all desire.

28. Mr. BRUCAN (Romania): The Romanian delegation fully shares the view, expressed by other dele-

gations from this rostrum, that the present international circumstances are creating new opportunities for the General Assembly to approach the issues on the agenda of its fourteenth session in a spirit of co-operation and understanding conducive to their solution in conformity with the cause of peace.

29. The highlight underscoring the improvement of the world political climate is the exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower. These meetings respond to the yearning for peace of all peoples. We express the hope that they will mark a turning-point in contemporary international relations.

30. It is, however, obvious that the United Nations cannot restrict itself to acknowledging the emergence of new opportunities for constructive activity on the world scene.

31. It would not be an overstatement to say that the United Nations, and particularly this session of the General Assembly, is facing a test. Will the United Nations take advantage of the new opportunities and turn them into the specific, concrete actions expected by all peoples, or lag behind the new international developments, thus disappointing the peoples?

32. The challenge is all the more serious if we take into account that there are political and social forces opposing the new international developments, forces which do not reconcile themselves easily with the thaw in the relations between States and which are desperately clinging to the cold war. While they are losing ground in the world at large, these forces are ready to resort to the positions they still hold within the United Nations to maintain international relations at freezing-point and to stimulate the cold war, however harmful such an attempt may be for the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

33. In your inaugural address, Mr. President [795th meeting], you said that the fourteenth session should be remembered in history as the session of peace. The Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament give flesh and blood to this idea. The fact that this plan was put forward by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, has focused the attention of the world public on this General Assembly.

34. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, the basic prerequisite for the successful accomplishment of the tasks incumbent upon the General Assembly is a correct understanding of the character of this Organization. I refer to the fundamental principle of the Charter, namely that the United Nations should become a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of its common ends.

35. In a world consisting of States with different ideologies, with different economic and political systems, the United Nations can fulfil the role it was created for, only if it is true in theory and in practice to this very principle. This is the key problem for the authority and efficacy of the United Nations as a truly international organization.

36. The wilful effort to transform the United Nations into an instrument of a single ideological concept, of a single economic and political system, and to utilize it as such in order to impose that concept or to promote the interests of that system can only lead to the

deterioration of the United Nations' capability to act for the maintenance of peace and security.

37. Yet, one cannot fail to observe that the Western Powers have endeavoured and are endeavouring even now to use the United Nations as an instrument of their policies, to subordinate this wide international organization to their own narrow interests, to create within it a feeling of hostility which makes co-operation among Member States almost impossible.

38. The facts show that this wilful effort is exerted along the following lines: First, the endeavour to have the principles of the Charter identified with the so-called Western outlook; in other words, to force a unilateral interpretation of those principles upon the Organization as a whole. Secondly, discrimination against a number of States either because of their belonging to the Socialist system, or because of their refusal to participate in Western military alliances. Thirdly, the forcing through of resolutions which reflect exclusively the interests of the Western Powers. Lastly, the confusing of the sphere of internal affairs of States with that of international relations, with a view to using the United Nations as a machinery for furthering the political, economic or military aims of the Western Powers throughout the world, as a machinery directed against the anti-colonial movement of nations, against the drive of peoples for progress and social justice, as well as against the régimes chosen by the peoples of Member States.

39. In practice, those activities are carried on either by unilateral interpretations of the Charter or by violation of the rules of procedure, and, within the Security Council, by trampling underfoot the principle of unanimity of the permanent members. In short, all those principles, all those rules of procedure, which were worked out at San Francisco precisely with a view to maintaining the character of international organization in a world of divers social and economic systems, are being distorted and broken to serve the narrow and exclusive interests of a group of Member States.

40. True, in a number of instances, the Western Powers have had the support of the majority to this end, and for one reason or another a number of States have deemed it fit to cast their vote in support of such actions. This fact, however, does not alter the data of the problem, and that problem is one all Member States interested in strengthening the United Nations ought to ponder: Is it really wise to undermine continually the very foundation of the United Nations, its very reason of existence, only to further the narrow and short-term interests of a group of Member States? The Romanian delegation believes this to be both unwise and short-sighted.

41. Allow me to dwell upon some cases in point. Let us consider first the disarmament question. It is obvious that a solution must be found to this problem which should take into consideration the interests of security of all States and which should conform with the broad interests of peace. Although everybody realizes that such a solution can be reached only by the agreement of the parties concerned, we have frequently witnessed efforts on the part of the Western Powers to force the adoption by the General Assembly of decisions running counter to the interests of security of one or another group of States. At the same time, guided by their own narrow interests, the Western Powers have blocked the adoption by the General Assembly of decisions which

obviously would have served all nations and world peace.

42. Let me turn now to the question of the representation of China. Debates of past years, as well as the recent one in the General Assembly, have made it abundantly clear that the main reason for denying even the right of debating this issue in the General Assembly has been and remains the fact that the ideals of socialism have triumphed in China. The debates have demonstrated that all the pretexts invoked by the opponents of the lawful representation of China in the United Nations cannot conceal the real issue, which is that the Western Powers violate the principles and the rules of procedure of the United Nations, in order to bar from its membership a great Socialist State.

43. Let me conclude this point by reiterating that the United Nations can enjoy authority and prestige in the contemporary world only if it turns into a genuine centre for harmonizing the views and actions of all nations, irrespective of their philosophy, of their political and economic system.

44. The major problem before the General Assembly is disarmament. The Romanian delegation holds the view that in this domain the United Nations has entered a new stage.

45. We welcome the fact that the delegations which have so far stated their position, have not mentioned such theories as the "balance of terror" or that of "deterrent", which were heard at the past sessions, the more so as everybody understands the reason why these theories have been forgotten. It should also be noted that in his statement before the Assembly, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said [798th meeting] that the United Kingdom is in favour of a programme whose aim would be to move by balanced stages towards the abolition of all nuclear weapons of mass destruction and towards a reduction of other weapons and armed forces to levels which will rule out the possibility of aggressive war.

46. It is well known that for many years the Socialist States have strongly advocated such a programme. In our view, all these elements create favourable conditions for a new and fresh approach to the disarmament question.

47. We have before us a proposal of paramount importance: the proposal for general and total disarmament advanced by the USSR [779th meeting]. Whatever the past and future objections to this radical programme, it must be admitted that it measures up to all the needs of the contemporary world, that it solves all the difficulties which have ever stood in the way of practical disarmament steps, beginning with the equitable consideration of the security requirements of all States, the balance of military forces between various groups of States, down to the question of control. Finally, that is what may truly liberate mankind from the threat of a catastrophic war.

48. General and total disarmament is the logical conclusion of the principles and purposes of the United Nations, since this would make possible the fulfilment of all its tasks by radically eliminating any possibility of military conflicts.

49. The adoption of the Soviet disarmament plan would represent an eloquent demonstration of the lack of any aggressive designs on the part of all States. And if any States have such designs, it would dispossess them of the means of carrying them out.

50. All States are interested in general and complete disarmament. While the big Powers bear the main responsibility in this request, small States can and must contribute their share towards the attainment of this goal.

51. Recent evidence points to the fact that even the richest States feel the heavy burden of their exorbitant military expenditures. When we turn to the under-developed countries, it becomes no less clear that only a substantial reduction of military budgets of the big Powers may allow a vast programme of economic development of the under-developed States. It has been repeatedly stressed that the ultimate responsibility for disarmament rests with the United Nations. The United Nations is now given the best opportunity to demonstrate in a practical way that it is equal to that responsibility. Any attempt to minimize, in one way or another, the significance of general and total disarmament will be considered by world public opinion as an evasion of that responsibility.

52. So far, it can be noted that the old experts in finding pretexts for blocking specific disarmament steps are facing a serious test. They are already frightened of becoming jobless, since they have been unable to raise any serious objection against the programme for general and complete disarmament. Even the pretext of controls has become a dead horse, since a careful study of the Soviet programme shows that it provides for a total international control, including a system of aerial observation and air photography over the territories of States. The Romanian Government shares the view that if the Western Powers are not yet prepared for a radical solution of the disarmament problem, it is necessary to negotiate and adopt without delay partial steps on disarmament.

53. Promoting a consistent policy of peace, the Romanian Government has already proceeded to several reductions of its armed forces. On Romanian territory there are neither foreign military bases nor troops belonging to other States. Now, it is only up to the Western Powers to see that all Member States should be in a position to make similar statements from this rostrum.

54. The Romanian Government considers that the newly-established Committee—the ten-Power Committee, Romania included—offers an adequate framework for fruitful negotiations on disarmament. Romania will endeavour to the best of its ability to contribute to the successful activity of this Committee.

55. The Romanian delegation deems it necessary to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the question of regional agreements. The complexity of international issues on the one hand, which delays world-wide agreements, and on the other hand, the urgency for practical steps aimed at lessening international tension, move to the forefront the necessity of adopting partial measures to that end and, in the first place, regional agreements. The Romanian Government attaches particular importance to those agreements.

56. Geographical proximity, historical traditions, common economic interests, cultural ties, as well as specifically regional questions—all these are permanent and stable factors of "rapprochement" and understanding among nations of a given area. Experience shows that regional agreements can be reached more easily than solutions of world-wide issues, thus opening broad avenues to all States, big or small, for initiative



and for contribution of their own to the cause of strengthening international co-operation. It is, after all, clear that any regional understanding for peaceful co-operation is going to exert a positive influence on the general international atmosphere. This is all the more true in those regions where States belonging to different economic and political systems, or to opposing military alliances, coexist side by side.

57. These considerations prompted the Government of the Romanian People's Republic, as far back as September 1957, to invite the States of the Balkan region to work out in common appropriate measures for the development of peaceful multilateral inter-Balkan co-operation. In the message sent on that occasion to the Heads of Governments of the Balkan States, Mr. Chivu Stoica, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Romania, proposed to convene a summit conference of the Balkan States in order to find mutually acceptable solutions with a view to the development of the economic, political and cultural relations among the Balkan States, and to the strengthening of peace and security in this region.

58. Extending its 1957 initiative, the Romanian Government proposed in June of this year, the conclusion of a Balkan treaty of understanding and collective security. Such a treaty would include appropriate provisions for the establishment of a permanent framework for manifold co-operation and the development of good-neighbourly relations among Balkan States. By this treaty, the Balkan States would agree to solve peacefully any differences among them, not to resort to aggression or to war-threats in their mutual relations, not to allow on their territory the storing of atomic or nuclear weapons, nor the maintenance of military units belonging to States outside the Balkan region supplied with such weapons. Establishment of launching pads for rockets and guided missiles should be barred.

59. Appraising the situation realistically, the Romanian Government took into account that such an agreement would be greatly facilitated and its efficacy considerably increased if the big Powers, bearing the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, would lend their support to the conclusion of such an arrangement of collective security and would pledge to observe the decisions of the Balkan States to turn this region into a zone of peace and neighbourly relations.

60. As is known, so far only the USSR, among the big Powers, has expressed its readiness to give such a pledge.

61. The main elements favouring regional understanding in the Balkans are to be found as well in other regions of the world. Thus, the idea of establishing regional multilateral arrangements could be usefully generalized.

62. Let us make Article 52 of the Charter, which so far has been invoked only when military alliances were concluded, a starting point for the establishment of regional zones of peace and neighbourly relations. In the Romanian Government's view, the generalization of the idea of regional co-operation does not mean at all to devise a single pattern for all areas. The specific forms of regional co-operation should remain, obviously, within the competence of the States directly concerned.

63. We believe, however, that the United Nations is duty bound constantly to strive in creating the appropriate framework to enable all States, big or small, to contribute their share to world peace and security. The Romanian Government is studying the practical ways through which this United Nations support could materialize. We welcome the remarks and suggestions which Member States may find it possible to make to that end.

64. The Romanian delegation considers that the question of the under-developed countries, of the liquidation of the economic and cultural backwardness from which the peoples of these States are suffering is a crucial problem of our time. Promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples is one of the main goals inscribed in the Charter. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to acknowledge that the obtaining situation in this field is notably unsatisfactory. All United Nations activities, as well as various projects of economic development worked out by the Western Powers for their economic communities, have not succeeded in avoiding the deepening of the gap between the under-developed countries and those Powers. The United Nations statistics clearly indicate that.

65. After seventy years of Pan-American community and solidarity, the result is that the average national income per capita in the Latin American countries is ten times lower than the national income per capita in the United States.

66. As far as the British Commonwealth or the French Community are concerned, the national income per capita in the Asian and African countries belonging to these communities is fourteen times lower than that in the United Kingdom or France.

67. Recently, that gap, instead of being closed, looks even worse. The Secretary-General had good reasons to point out, in his remarks on 6 July 1959 before the Economic and Social Council, that the gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to widen. <sup>1/</sup>

68. In other words, in all these communities the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer. Ironically, this state of affairs is often described from the rostrum of this Assembly as "the free world".

69. The Romanian delegation is convinced that the economic backwardness of so many States and the conditions of poverty and want, in which over a billion people are doomed to live, have no reason whatever in our century. The giant advances of science and technology allow the aspirations of all nations for economic progress and welfare to be fully satisfied, irrespective of the continent where they live.

70. Romania, too, belongs to an international community, the socialist community. Yet, the striking discrepancy between participant States is alien to this community. The disparities in the economic development of these States, to the extent they still exist, are due to the various levels they had at the time they adhered to that community. But those disparities are being liquidated at a quick pace, so that all Socialist States will reach in the same historical period the level of plenty that shall enable them fully to meet the material and spiritual needs of their peoples.

<sup>1/</sup>Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-eighth Session, 1068th meeting, para. 26.

71. To put it briefly, the motto of the Socialist States is that they all should become rich, which seems to us more in keeping with the Charter and surely with the wishes of the nations.

72. In only the fifteen years since its liberation, Romania has become a country with an industry supplying 80 per cent of the equipment required for the development of the national economy, an industry producing oil equipment, tractors and trucks, mining equipment and the complete set of machinery to build factories made in Romania. The impact on the Romanian people's life of this growth of productive capacity is marked by two figures: average longevity has increased from forty-two years to sixty-three.

73. The economic co-operation between the Socialist States does not restrict but, on the contrary, creates even wider possibilities for the development of trade exchanges with all other countries of the world. The record of our initiatives within the United Nations testifies to the desire of the Romanian people to contribute its share in this field within the United Nations too.

74. At the twelfth session of the General Assembly [689th meeting], the Romanian Government put forward its proposals regarding the drafting of "Principles of international economic co-operation" and at the thirteenth session it proposed in a draft resolution<sup>2/</sup> the organization, within the United Nations, of international co-operation aimed at the development of the oil industry in the under-developed countries possessing oil resources. The Romanian delegation will continue to act along these lines during this session.

75. We live in an epoch which requires of all mankind, of leaders, statesmen and diplomats, the maximum mobilization of all resources, wisdom, realism and vision.

76. The United Nations is a forum where these requirements should find their full expression if this Organization is to keep pace with our age. May the United Nations face with honour this hard but noble task.

77. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): Mr. President, my delegation associates itself warmly with the good wishes extended to you on your election to this high office. During the many years of your service at the United Nations we have all learned to value your intellectual and moral stature, your eloquence and your fairness and friendliness.

78. Your election gives me added satisfaction, because I have recently had the privilege of being the guest of your country and enjoying its generous hospitality. My visit to many parts of Latin America has given my Government and myself a deeper understanding of its traditions and its aspirations. We have always appreciated the profound contribution made to world affairs by the peoples of Latin America. Their passionate love of freedom, their inherent respect for the rule of law and their constant striving to achieve a harmonious relationship between all the States within their own region—setting in this an example for other regions—these are qualities they have brought to bear on the deliberations of our Organization.

79. As an ancient people which regained its independence little more than a decade ago, Israel views with gladness the broad sweep towards emancipation of dependent peoples, which we consider to be one of the outstanding historical events of our times. The number of countries which have already taken their seats amongst us is constantly growing and we all, I am sure are looking forward to greeting those who are now on the threshold of sovereignty. By the inclusion of these States our Organization is becoming more representative of mankind as a whole.

80. We in Israel are gratified over the dramatic change in the situation of Cyprus, our close and friendly neighbour. We are happy that the people of Cyprus, after years of strife, have the prospect of living in freedom and tranquillity. The Cyprus agreement is a most significant illustration of the pacific settlement, by direct negotiation, of seemingly intractable disputes. Here we have a clear example of what can be accomplished when there is a serious desire for peace on the part of all concerned. The General Assembly may take credit for having encouraged this.

81. The people of Israel as well as those of other new States have, I am sure, learned that, once independence is attained, it ceases to be an end in itself and becomes only a beginning. The ink on the declaration of independence is hardly dry when new and under-developed countries face the perplexing problems and pressures of establishing stable government, security and decent conditions of life. Independence gives them the chance to meet those challenges in their own way. But freedom does not exist in a vacuum. And with the attainment of independence by country after country the emphasis shifts to the substance of that freedom, to matters of economic development, scientific advance and social betterment. These are vital questions and, in so far as they involve problems beyond the powers of these new States to solve, they are such as must be of concern to us all. There are perhaps many categories into which the countries of the world may be divided. But there can be no doubt that a division based on a high standard of living against a sub-minimal standard, a division of those that have and those that are struggling to have, is fraught with far-reaching dangers.

82. We cannot and must not acquiesce in a world situation in which children are denied the elementary necessities of existence, food, schooling or decent shelter. No ocean is wide or deep enough to drown the bitterness thus planted in the tender souls of those who will be the men and women of the future. Of all injustices this is the cruelest, and its implications are universal. It must become the concern of us all.

83. Naturally the more advanced countries bear the major responsibility for helping the less developed, either directly or through augmenting the financial and technical resources of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

84. In coping with its own problems during the first decade of its statehood, Israel has received considerable aid from external sources and freely acknowledges its debt of gratitude. At the same time, we are convinced that the prerogative of economic and technical assistance need not and should not be confined to the few great Powers. The younger and less developed countries may also have something of value

<sup>2/</sup> This draft resolution was adopted as General Assembly resolution 1319 (XIII).



to contribute to the general pool. Between them, too, there are fruitful possibilities of co-operation, exchange of experience and mutual aid.

85. As peoples everywhere secure their political freedom or march towards it, as science forges the means to wipe out hunger, disease and ignorance, the world of the twentieth century should be bright with promise. It is all the more tragic, therefore, that we should stand together here in the shadow of fear. While man-made missiles speed into outer space, the earth they leave spinning behind them is rent with hostility, and the missiles themselves symbolize the new forces which can wipe us all out. We, the smaller nations, can do little to bring these forces under control. That is the dread responsibility which history has thrust primarily upon the statesmen of the great atomic Powers. We fervently pray that they may soon reach agreement on a programme of disarmament, which has become the condition for human survival, and that the resources thus released may be devoted to constructive purposes for the good of mankind. Here we have the central theme of international statesmanship at the present time, within the United Nations and outside of it.

86. However, every nation, large or small, has its own inescapable responsibilities, its own mandatory standards of conduct, in the situation which faces us collectively. More than ever, this has become One World, and we are irrevocably involved with one another. In the words of the poet, John Donne, "No man is an island entire unto itself".

87. At San Francisco the founding of the United Nations aroused the hopes of mankind precisely because its coming into existence excluded the very concept of war. Our Charter was the fruit of the bitter experience of two world wars and of the tragic failure of the League of Nations. Its fundamental premise is that "the scourge of war" is outlawed and renounced as an instrument of national policy. The only exception is the inherent right of self-defence against armed attack.

88. As Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter provides:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

89. Thus not only war but the use of force and even the threat to use force is unequivocally prohibited under the Charter. The distinguished Foreign Minister of Japan, in his statement to this Assembly [797th meeting], has well described this as a "natural universal obligation". For any Member of the United Nations to affirm that it is in a state of war with another Member and entitled to exercise right of war is inadmissible. From this rule no State can claim itself exempt, nor can the United Nations permit of any exception. It must never be forgotten that this so-called state of war is not simply a relationship affecting only the two States in conflict with one another. It has serious repercussions on other members of the international community.

90. My delegation has felt it essential to clarify this point because it goes to the root of the conduct towards Israel by its neighbours, and in particular by the United Arab Republic. By invoking an alleged state

of war they attempt to justify warlike activities, including economic warfare, incitement to war, and interference with free navigation in the Suez Canal. The Arab voices calling for war and preaching destruction, which as we witnessed yesterday do not spare even the rostrum of this solemn Assembly, are in harsh discord with the efforts of the family of nations at this very moment to mobilize all its resources of mind and spirit in a supreme effort to preserve peace.

91. One of the encouraging features of the period since our last session has been the growing acceptance of the need to resolve, or at least to relax, some of the basic international conflicts and tensions of our time. The attempt to thrash out problems in discussion and not by force, the interchange on every level of views and opinions, the opening of the doors to normal intercourse between peoples—all these are a welcome advance towards mutual understanding, giving renewed cause for hope. This is a field in which the United Nations has a major role to play. With all its imperfections, our Organization seeks to give expression to humanity's longing for a world at peace.

92. Yet the bellicose attitudes and activities towards Israel of the Arab countries of the Middle East, led in this by the United Arab Republic, show little sign of relaxing and have taken on new and ominous forms. We are at this time profoundly concerned with the dangers implicit in the recent aggravation of Egypt's blockade measures in the Suez Canal. Since the State of Israel was established in 1948, Egypt has illegally prevented the free navigation of Israel ships and impeded the transit of goods through the Canal. No Israel vessel of any kind has been allowed to pass; cargoes consigned to Israel on vessels of foreign flag have been refused transit, if they appeared on an arbitrary "contraband list"; foreign vessels carrying cargoes to Israel have been blacklisted. In 1959 Egypt suddenly extended these restrictions to cargoes from Israel proceeding southward to ports in Asia and Africa. In March the Liberian ship Kapetan Manolis and the West-German ship Lealott were detained and their cargoes of potash, cement, and fruit juices confiscated. On 21 May 1959, the Danish ship Inge Toft, carrying cement, potash, marble, and brass scrap, was detained, and it is being held to this day at Port Said. More recently, a number of bags of mail from Australia, and a case of meteorological instruments on loan from a scientific body in that country, were also seized by the Egyptian authorities. Details of the various illegal measures mentioned above appear in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 31 August 1959.<sup>3/</sup>

93. I wish to stress that interference with the transit through the Suez Canal of goods from Israel is without any precedent prior to six months ago. It constitutes a new policy, one obviously aimed, for reasons best known to the ruler of the United Arab Republic, at inflaming a long-standing issue and creating fresh tensions.

94. The interference with Israel ships and cargoes is a clear violation of:

(a) The Suez Canal Convention of 1888, which guaranteed that the Canal would always be "free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fourteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1959, document S/4211.

flag. The Canal shall never be subject to the exercise of the right of blockade". As stated in article XI of that Convention, even measures for the defence of Egypt which it might take under article X "shall not interfere with the free use of the Canal".

(b) The Security Council resolution of 13 October 1956,<sup>4/</sup> by which six principles regarding Suez were unanimously adopted. The two principal ones are:

"(1) There should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert—this covers both political and technical aspects;"

"(3) The operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country."

(c) The Security Council resolution of 1 September 1951,<sup>5/</sup> which called upon Egypt to terminate its restrictions on, and to cease interference with, Israel shipping.

(d) The Declaration by the Egyptian Government to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 24 April 1957 (registered as an international treaty under Article 102 of the Charter<sup>6/</sup>), in which Egypt pledged itself to maintain free and uninterrupted navigation for all nations in accordance with the Constantinople Convention. In this connexion the representative of Egypt stated at the 778th meeting of the Security Council on 20 May 1957:

"... the Declaration is in keeping with that resolution (that is, of 13 October 1956) and hence with the six principles, and even with the most difficult of them, the third, which states that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country."

All this Egypt has blandly disregarded.

95. The implications of this blockade for the international community as such are far-reaching.

96. By undermining the principle of freedom of navigation through the Canal, a potential threat is created for any other country against which Egypt may choose to use its control of this international waterway as an instrument of political coercion. Freedom of passage is indivisible, and the denial of Israel's rights strikes at the rights of all nations. Already Egyptian spokesmen have been quick to stake new and wider claims. In a letter published in The New York Times of 8 September 1959, the Press Counsellor of the "Arab States Delegations Office" declared that the "Canal is a waterway which belongs to the United Arab Republic and is open, through her courtesy, to world shipping". This is a far cry from Egypt's declared recognition only two years ago of the rights under the Constantinople Convention of the vessels of all nations to freedom of transit through the Canal. What was a matter of right has now become a matter of courtesy—to be withdrawn, presumably, at will. The implications for the shipping of other countries which may at some time lose favour in Egyptian eyes should be as obvious as they are ominous.

97. Egypt is in effect attempting to exercise a veto over the legitimate trading activities not only of Israel

but of many other countries, particularly in Asia and Africa. To quote from paragraph 9 of the Security Council resolution of 1 September 1951:

"... the restrictions on the passage of goods through the Suez Canal to Israel ports are denying to nations at no time connected with the conflict in Palestine valuable supplies required for their economic reconstruction, and ... these restrictions together with sanctions applied by Egypt to certain ships which have visited Israel ports represent unjustified interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another, including the Arab States and Israel."<sup>7/</sup>

98. To show the international ramifications of such illegal practices and the extensive character of the "unjustified interference" with third parties, let me mention only two facts: Firstly, by now over 330 ships, belonging to twenty-one different countries, have already been blacklisted, and are subject to the Egyptian sanctions referred to by the Security Council in the paragraph which I have quoted. Secondly, the recent incidents concerning the three ships, Kapetan Manolis, Lealott, and Inge Toft, involved interests in no less than ten third countries, namely, Ceylon, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, Liberia, Malaya, the Philippines, Switzerland and the United States of America.

99. In any case, Israel, from this platform, desires to make it clear that it is not prepared to accept, and should not be expected to accept, a situation in which it is singled out for illegal discrimination. Moreover, we believe that the United Nations itself cannot accept this situation.

100. There is value to the principles of our Organization only when they are applicable to each and every Member State, large and small, without exception. The United Nations cannot compromise on principles. It cannot in one instance use all its collective moral pressure and in another exhibit an exaggerated leniency. We appreciate the efforts, so far without avail, of the Secretary-General and certain Member States. We have patiently awaited the effective intervention of this Organization. In this connexion we recall that on 20 February 1957, while the General Assembly was in session, the President of the United States, in an address to the American people on the subject of the withdrawal of Israel forces from the Sinai, declared:

"... Egypt, by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, and to the principle that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country. We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal. . ."

The President went on to say that if Egypt did thereafter violate its international obligations, "this should be firmly dealt with by the society of nations". Subsequently, on 1 March 1957, a large number of Member States expressed their unqualified support in the General Assembly of Israel's right to free shipping.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., Eleventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1956, document S/3674.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., Sixth Year, 558th meeting, para. 5.

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid., Twelfth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1957, document S/3818.

<sup>7/</sup> See footnote 5.

101. It has been a source of encouragement to Israel that in the general debate in this Assembly thus far, various delegations have again upheld the principle of free shipping for all nations in the Suez Canal. The moral authority of this body is deeply involved. Its response to the challenge confronting it will have implications far beyond those of Israel's own immediate interests. We hope that the attitude of the society of nations expressed in this debate will lead the United Arab Republic to put an end to a gross, arrogant and continuing breach of internationally guaranteed rights.

102. I shall not deal here at any length with Egypt's vicious attacks on Israel, launched daily and in many languages by Radio Cairo. It is enough to quote the remarkable outburst of President Nasser of 27 July 1959, when he declared that "every Arab was looking forward to the next round in which the decisive battle will take place" in order "to get rid of Israel".

103. Statements of this kind are characteristic of the incessant war propaganda carried on by Cairo, poisoning the minds of old and young. They are in opposition to the solemn and unanimous condemnation by the General Assembly in its resolution of 3 November 1947, of

"... all forms of propaganda, in whatsoever country conducted, which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression;" [resolution 110 (II)].

104. They run directly counter, too, to the resolution which the General Assembly adopted as recently as the summer of 1958 following on complaints against the United Arab Republic. The General Assembly then unanimously called upon:

"... all States Members of the United Nations to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and of equal and mutual benefit, and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles;" [resolution 1237 (ES-III)].

105. The efforts of the boycott committee of the Arab League, located in Cairo, to wage economic warfare against Israel by every means at its disposal, affect dozens of States and hundreds of individual firms elsewhere in the world, and constitute a serious and unwarranted barrier to international trade. This activity likewise is a manifestation of the spurious claim to rights of war against Israel.

106. The record of the United Arab Republic in sowing discord and strife in our area has indeed not been limited to Israel. Within the last eighteen months, as the Assembly will recall, three Arab countries—the Sudan, Lebanon and Jordan—brought complaints against the United Arab Republic before the Security Council; Iraq has fiercely attacked its expansionist policies, and Tunisia has severed diplomatic relations with it.

107. The Middle East region has far too long been a breeding ground of tension and trouble. Peace and stability there are an urgent need. They are possible only if all States within the area comply with the fundamental principles derived from the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular:

(a) The principle that no Member State is entitled to claim or exercise rights of war, whether by interference with the freedom of shipping or by economic boycott or by any other means;

(b) The principle of respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region;

(c) The principle that disputes must be settled by pacific means in accordance with the Charter.

108. The Israel Government subscribes wholeheartedly to these principles and is fully ready to co-operate in measures which may relax existing tensions in the Middle East.

109. The United Nations is entitled to look to the Arab countries of the Middle East that they too act in conformity with those principles. United Nations insistence that the United Arab Republic respect its obligations in regard to freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal might well pave the way to compliance by these Arab States with the Charter's principles of peace as a whole.

110. We are a small people which has suffered much in the past, and which is now trying to devote its energies and resources to rebuilding our ancient homeland in which our children could live secure and productive lives. The sterile conflict between our neighbours and ourselves creates an unhappy and dangerous situation not only for us but for them, too, and for the world at large. We seek nothing from them but the chance to live in amity, and together with them to develop our region for the common good of all those who inhabit it.

111. We see no justification for the barriers of fear, suspicion and hatred. It is not the existence of any nation in the area that should be a source of worry to any other people there but rather the desolation, disease and illiteracy which prevail within its own borders. Affecting tens of millions of men, women and children, this is the real enemy to be conquered. It is upon the winning of this war that the efforts of all should be concentrated.

112. Israel believes in a future of peace and co-operation in the area. It is in that belief and that hope that we urge the United Nations and its Member States to reject outright the claims, doctrines and practices of illegitimate warfare.

113. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of the United Arab Republic has requested the opportunity to reply very briefly to certain points raised in the speech of the representative of Israel. In conformity with rule 75 of the rules of procedure and with the established practice during a general debate, I should like to ask the Assembly if there is any objection. If there is no objection, I call upon the representative of the United Arab Republic for a brief statement.

114. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (United Arab Republic): It is very unfortunate that I feel myself compelled to take the floor during the general debate at this stage. However, I am sure it is evident to the Assembly that the statement we have just heard does not resemble so much a statement in the general debate, as it is indeed an attack in various forms upon the United Arab Republic.

115. I do not intend in the least to try to reply in kind. That I shall certainly not do. However, I am



duty bound to this Assembly, out of respect to the Assembly and out of respect to truth, to try to mention in brief certain clear-cut facts which will be sufficient to form an adequate reply to the statement which we have just heard.

116. First, no matter how ambiguous and confused the Palestine problem in any of its aspects, in particular the aspect now under consideration, may be made to appear, there remains a central, fundamental, simple basic fact, namely that the Arabs have never created the Palestine problem. The Palestine problem was created by the Zionists and it is their contribution to the lack of stability and peace in the Middle East. The Arabs have been the victims of the Palestine problem. There are already a million Arab refugees.

117. The second fact which needs to be recalled is that the rise of Zionism in the Middle East in the form of Israel is in itself a colonial act and is in itself an act of colonization. It came onto our shores with a colonial mandate. It was planted there by British colonial violence, and later it continued to prosper and thrive under the effect of the remnants of colonial influences. It is therefore contrary to fact to try to put Israel in the position of a country which has been seeking liberation for its people for a long time and seeking to join with other peoples of Asia and Africa who have been seeking their liberation and who have obtained it. It is a fact that in the Middle East there is no country at all which has recognized Israel or which is ready to deal with it due to the very nature of the formation of Israel itself.

118. The clear fact is that the Zionist concept itself is based upon a distinction as to race and religion between Jews and Gentiles, between the chosen people and other people. The distinction and discrimination as to race and religion is Zionism. It breeds anti-semitism and anti-semitism in turn strengthens Zionism in a process of continuing growth. So when the representative of the Zionists comes up here and says that they take the attitude of a people trying to live in peace with their neighbours under the Charter of the United Nations, I beg you, Mr. President, and the Assembly, to bear in mind that Zionism itself is contrary to the Charter as to its philosophy based upon discrimination with regard to race and religion, and as to its strategy to try to grab other people's land and drive them away to become destitute refugees.

119. The fourth fact is the following. The United Nations has taken several decisions concerning Palestine since 1947. The basic decisions as well as all other decisions, with no exception whatsoever, were disregarded by Israel. It claims, on the one hand, to justify its international existence by such decisions while, at the same time, it disregards them and consistently flouts them and prefers to forget about them. What is Israel, then? We are told that it is an existing fact. Yes, existing facts are also existing acts of aggression sometimes. Israel does exist as a fact of aggression and it is there just to serve as a base for further expansion. Between the existence of Israel and the expansion of Israel no line can be drawn; they are exactly the same thing, because Israel is there to serve for the influx of a larger number of immigrants so that the Diaspora, following Zionist theory, may be drawn in from all over the world and brought into the land of Israel.

120. We Arabs are opposed to racial discrimination. We have never had it in our history in any form. We

are opposed to religious discrimination, and we have nothing whatsoever against Judaism, a sacred religion. But Zionism is one thing and Judaism is another.

121. I should like to comment further with regard, in particular, to a question that is more closely related to the statement just made this morning. The Palestine question as it stands is a completely unsettled question. No settlement is in view. The United Nations decisions themselves that I have referred to have never been implemented; therefore the Palestine problem in its entirety and in all its aspects is the problem before us.

122. The question of free passage through the Suez Canal in respect of Israel is an aspect of the Palestine problem. Free passage through the Canal is not contested at all. We strictly adhere to the Convention of 1888, that of Constantinople. We feel that the Canal is an international waterway which can be used and used in the manner prescribed by that Convention and not in any other manner.

123. In this case we must look at the situation that has arisen in respect of Israel, considering it in the light of the Palestine problem, and solely in that light and in no other light whatsoever. Of course, the representative of Israel would like to tell us that the United Nations would not favour a state of war. Who ever does so? But before that, does Israel have any moral right, when 95.5 per cent of the land of Palestine used to belong to the Arab people of Palestine and was confiscated and grabbed by Israel, to make use of the products of that land and deny its use to the Arab refugees and the Palestinian people?

124. The representative of Israel speaks of principles and has mentioned some of them she would like to see applied. The question arises, why does she not mention the principle of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine? Are not these people of Palestine as much entitled as any other people to the exercise of their right of self-determination? I am sure that in this case the Israeli representative will omit mention of any principle which does not fit in with the views of her Government.

125. And why not mention another principle, the right to repatriation of the Arab refugees, a right which is a natural right, a right that cannot be denied, something which the United Nations itself cannot do or undo or change in any manner? The United Nations has actually recognized that right by its decision. Why is this principle not taken into consideration when the Israeli representative goes on to mention principles?

126. We have still another fact we would like to mention. There is an armistice between Israel and ourselves. That armistice is a military and not a political fact. It does not create any political situations. In fact, the armistice itself says, in article V, that the claims, positions and rights of the parties remain as before, unchanged in any manner whatsoever. That armistice itself was broken over and over again by Israel, and if there is a principle that we should declare it would be this: that aggression—aggression that occurred over and over again, and particularly in 1956—should not be rewarded by satisfying Israel and permitting it to obtain the very objectives it sought to obtain by this aggression, particularly in 1956 in respect of the Suez Canal. Aggression must not be rewarded through such ill-advised, illegal and morally

reprehensible means as those to which the Israeli representative had wanted to refer.

127. There are many things that were mentioned in that statement which are, unfortunately, contrary to fact. There is a reference to a declaration by our President in respect of Israel; but the representative of Israel did not mention that this was simply given in our Press in answer to a declaration by General Dayan which envisaged a renewal of hostilities with the Arab States. Keeping a part of the truth concealed does not help the truth in any way. I wished to mention this because of the fact that this reference and the reference to what the Information Office of the Arab League had said were not put in the right context.

128. I have had to use my right of reply at some length. I did so in order to clear the vision of the Assembly as much as possible of any confusion which might have resulted from this statement or from other statements on this subject. We shall certainly try to deal at the greatest length with these matters when we take the floor in the near future and try to put things very clearly before this Assembly.

129. We are striving at present, let me add, to widen and deepen the Suez Canal and make it more useful than ever before to the international community; but this will not be done at the expense of right and justice to the Palestinian Arab refugees, nor will it be done as a reward to previous Israeli aggression and expected future Israeli aggression.

130. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Once again we are here gathered in this Assembly, coming from all parts of the world with our ideals and aspirations as well as with our concerns and our problems, to look at the world with its achievements during the past year, its problems, and above all, its future, a future which, we hope, will be of peace, of justice and progress.

131. It is the practice for the representatives who take part in the general debate to review the international situation since the last session of the Assembly adjourned. Since much has already been said, nothing will be gained by repeating the appraisals which have been made, in most cases, with a keen sense of comprehension and accuracy. One thing is certainly evident, and that is the feeling that the world finds itself at an uneasy peace and that it has been tossed about by cold and hot blasts of stormy winds. In the midst of this incessant turmoil, even the pleas for peace which rose from this rostrum and elsewhere had a hoarse and highly disturbing ring, for they are invariably accompanied by the threat that the only alternative to peace is the merciless destruction of human lives, of cities, and the silence of the ashes and graves strewn all over the world.

132. To us in Thailand and, I am sure, to many hundreds of millions of those who have a faith, whichever it may be, this dilemma is highly repugnant and intolerable. We can never accept the dilemma as it is presented to us. The peoples and nations of the world may agree or disagree with one another, but the alternative to agreement can never be the destruction or extermination of those who do not agree with us. The solutions must be found elsewhere: they must lie in our efforts to practise tolerance towards one another, to develop a better comprehension of our mutual position, to renounce measures of force and violence and to resort only to peaceful methods of settling differ-

ences. All this is not new. But at this time, when we are being cornered and confronted with this deadly dilemma, it is imperative that we extricate ourselves from that corner and shake ourselves from the hypnotism which tries to make us believe that the other alternative for harmony between nations is war, nuclear or otherwise.

133. If we care to have a close look at the international situation, we cannot fail to realize that the ills which beset the world today do not lie so much in the Berlin and German problems or even in the arms race, which are only outward manifestations, though weighty and consequential manifestations, of the present international tension, as in the aggressiveness of a certain ideology or political creed, its fanatical proselytism and its frantic and relentless expansion and propagation beyond national boundaries. Even if one firmly and sincerely believes that one's own political or social system is superior to others, the fact that one tries to force it down some other people's throat can only bring a natural reaction of self-preservation. And if one should go further and aim at a still more lugubrious objective, either in the physical or figurative sense, then reactions would naturally become stronger, as no one or no system that we know of is prepared to be resigned to such a fatal destiny.

134. The effect of all this will only tend towards developing fear and mistrust and is evidently the negation of what the Charter enjoins all the United Nations Members to do, namely "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

135. To achieve the objective set forth by the Charter, it is imperative that efforts and preparations to destroy one another, not only by modern weapons in time of war but especially in peacetime by infiltration and subversive activities, should cease. If agreement on such a point can be reached, it will probably change the face of our present world and will remove the fear and mistrust among nations which are the fundamental causes of today's international tension. To us, small nations, the disease which plagues the world and poisons the relationship between nations resides mainly in continuous interference or even intervention from outside. The sooner it is removed from the world body, the better will be its health and its atmosphere. From then on, further elaborate technical works on disarmament can be pursued by the major Powers which possess the most up-to-date engines of war with greater and better chances of success.

136. The standpoint from which we look at the world today is not purely academic or idealistic. As far as Thailand is concerned, my Government has made it abundantly clear that my country fully respects the views of other nations, and never will it do anything whatsoever to influence or coerce them to modify their views and policies. Neither will it engage in activities to interfere with the internal affairs of others. As a corollary, Thailand expects others to show the same respect towards its policies and opinions, and it will exercise all vigilance in preventing and suppressing interference in its domestic affairs, especially in the form of subversive activities, which of late have substantially increased. In this connexion, we feel that both our country and South-East Asia owe a debt to the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, a purely defen-

sive organization, for safeguarding the region from major disturbances and encroachments.

137. At the same time, although the matter has been considered by the Security Council, it will be difficult to overlook the disturbed situation in Laos, where foreign intervention is threatening the national existence of a Member State. As the Sub-Committee appointed by the Security Council is now conducting its investigation and collecting evidence of that intervention, my delegation will only say that the above measure has already produced some tangible results for the restoration of peace and tranquillity. It is our hope that the Sub-Committee will be allowed to function in Laos for some time, and if it should be withdrawn the United Nations must take other adequate measures to safeguard peace in the area.

138. The present case has been cited to illustrate the point that we, the smaller nations, are deeply and closely affected by the insidious activities of a certain aggressive ideology which actually undermines the basis of peace even to a greater extent than the apparently well-known world issues.

139. Besides Laos, there are numerous other practical manifestations of ideological aggressiveness. Sometimes the eruptions took place in the Middle East, some other times in Europe or in Asia, such as in Tibet or on the Indo-Tibetan border. In Tibet, in particular, and irrespective of constitutional opinions one may have on the subject, the occurrences are highly disturbing. The ruthless use of force to subjugate a peaceful people who desire nothing but to preserve their free way of life has deeply shocked the Asian people, and can only be considered as an unmistakable sign of intolerance on the part of the aggressive ideology referred to previously.

140. Therefore, the prerequisite for peace, a durable and just peace, must be the recognition and effective practice of tolerance. No clamour for peace or peacefulness, however loud it may be, will be sufficient to ensure peace; if peace is to prevail, all these acts of intolerance, interference and intervention, all these subversive activities, must cease.

141. An important corollary of tolerance is also the capability to understand other peoples' point of view. It is difficult to comprehend that in the era in which we live, when the means of communications and transportation are progression at gigantic strides, artificial barriers have to be erected and maintained to keep peoples and nations apart, thereby preventing them from coming into contact with and understanding one another. Fortunately, at least on the high official level, the necessity for entertaining direct personal contacts has been felt and has begun to materialize. It is our hope that such personal relationships will further develop and will produce beneficial results not only for the countries directly concerned but also for the world at large. We cannot help thinking that however powerful some countries may be, and however widespread their interests may be, peace is still the deep concern of the great as well as the small. Never can there be a grading of human lives and human freedom, and whether they belong to Africa, Europe, America or Asia, they are endowed with the same intrinsic value which must be carefully safeguarded and developed.

142. Another important characteristic of present international relations appears to be that while nations

affirm their dedication to peace and their abhorrence of war, there has not been an absolute and categorical renunciation of force and violence on the part of every nation. Neither has there been an unequivocal pledge to have recourse only to peaceful methods of settlement of international disputes. In fact, as we have seen, forceful measures continue to be used not only in settling differences among nations but also especially in imposing one nation's views upon others or to achieve political gains. It is high time that if we want to be true to our pledges both as peace-loving nations and as faithful Members of the United Nations, we must give serious consideration to the materialization and enforcement of this sacred duty for all nations, whether or not they are Members of this Organization.

143. In this connexion, my delegation fully shares the ideas developed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, in the introduction to his annual report [A/4132/Add.1]. Both the United Nations and its Secretary-General have presently and potentially a truly significant role to play in preventing conflicts from becoming aggravated as well as in resolving them peaceably. In support of what the Foreign Minister of Cambodia said [798th meeting], my country also can speak from direct experience and state that when diplomatic relations were at one time suspended, the United Nations, through the personal representative of its Secretary-General, was instrumental in helping the two countries re-establish normal relations. Since then, and thanks to the will of both Cambodia and Thailand to live as good neighbours, the clouds of misunderstanding are gradually being dissipated. This incident is illustrative of the services this Organization can perform for its Members. And when we are fully cognizant of the fact that the Secretary-General is not only truly devoted and dedicated to the cause of world peace but also capable and willing to take upon himself the high responsibility of his office, more delicate tasks concerning the preservation of world peace may be entrusted to him with confidence. On the other hand, we should by no means neglect to tap other possible sources of services. High moral authorities who in the past have lent their valuable contribution to conciliate and reconcile divergent or even conflicting interests may still perform a highly useful task for world peace. Even though I do not follow the Catholic faith, I am pleased to recognize the high moral and spiritual authority of the Head of the Roman Catholic Church, whose devotion and concern for peace are clearly evident.

144. From what has been said above, it is clearly apparent that what the world at this juncture needs most is not so much high-sounding affirmations of one's longing for peace as the will to have peace, to live in peace and to act accordingly. If the nations of the world, great and small, should agree to practise tolerance in all its aspects, to develop better understanding of one another, and to renounce force and violence and to have recourse only to peaceful means for settling disputes, peace will reign. In other words, if nations are willing to help themselves in their mutual relations, the United Nations will help them have peace. In conformity with this concept, I must say that there is a growing realization in our part of the world that the nations living in the same region share a common interest and a common stake in their own welfare and prosperity. They feel, therefore, that it is essential for them to develop and strengthen among themselves the ties of regional



solidarity which in due course may mature into a form of regional co-operation as envisaged by the Charter.

145. While the political situation in the world attracts most of our attention and preoccupation, it can hardly be forgotten that peace, order and justice in our international society will not be maintained for any appreciable length of time if some nations and peoples live in conditions widely different from others. As has been noted by the Secretary-General in his annual report [A/4132], and also by many representatives who preceded me, the gap between the rate of income and the economic growth of the advanced nations and that of the under-developed nations continues to grow at an alarming pace, and so does the disparity between the increasing prices of manufactured products and the lowering prices of primary commodities. If such a trend—which may be due to natural economic laws or to controllable factors—were to persist, it might look as if the burden of ensuring the progress and prosperity of the advanced nations would fall heavily upon the shoulders of the under-developed nations. For it is they, with their sweat and toil, who supply the cheap materials for the others to process and resell at high profits. If such is the case, the conclusion would be that the latter should deem it an obligation, moral or economic, or both, to assume greater responsibility toward the under-developed nations, either on a bilateral or multilateral basis, than that presently prevailing. My country, for its part, is fully conscious of its duty towards its own people and is shouldering a heavy burden. Thailand at the same time gratefully acknowledges the help it has received from international agencies such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the

Special Fund, as well as from friendly countries such as the United States, from some of its fellow members of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and finally from the Colombo Plan. It is our hope that while helping us, the friendly aid will also enable us to play a useful and worthy role for peace in our part of the world.

146. We in Thailand believe that economic and social development is an essential element to consider and to bear in mind in any efforts to preserve and maintain peace. That is why we whole-heartedly support such regional projects as the ones now contemplated for the Mekong River basin and the Asian highway. Although these projects will require time and important financial outlay before they can materialize, it is our fondest hope that the necessary help will be forthcoming, as their realization will bring stability and progress to South-East Asia and indirectly to the world at large and will be truly symbolic of fruitful co-operation among the nations of the world.

147. As we can well see, the task confronting the United Nations is multifarious and world-embracing. Although this Organization may not succeed in every task facing it, nevertheless in the short period of some fourteen years it has done more than any other international organization has ever done in the whole history of mankind. Given further encouragement and better means, it can do even more. For the sake of our present and future generations, can we afford to deny it the chance to help us Member States to fashion a better, safer and friendlier world to live in? Thailand, for its part, gives the United Nations its unswerving loyalty and support.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

