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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

Address by His Majesty King Frederik IX of Denmark

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark for the honour of this visit, and I extend to them a most sincere and cordial welcome.
2. His Majesty the King will now address the Assembly.
3. H.M. King FREDERIK IX of Denmark: First, I should like to thank the President for his kind words of welcome to the Queen and me.
4. It is a great pleasure for me to have the privilege of addressing today this, the most comprehensive international body of the world—embodying, as it does, not only the governmental authority of ninety-nine Member States but also the wisdom and experience of a large number of outstanding individuals.
5. Denmark, my country, is proud to be one of these Member States and to have been so since the foundation of the United Nations. At the same time we have seen with satisfaction the increase in membership since then, just as we are looking forward to still more States taking their seats in this Assembly in the years to come. It is our basic view that all territories that can make a justified claim to being independent and sovereign States, and are prepared to live up to the Charter, should be Members of this Organization. It is indeed inherent in the idea of the United Nations that representation and membership should be universal.
6. If we read through once again the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations—and all of us should from time to time do that—four main goals strike the eye as pre-eminent for the efforts of this Organization: peace, human rights, international law and social

progress. Let no one initiate a debate on which of these goals should take precedence; they are all interdependent. Without law there can be no peace; without peace there can be no human rights, and poverty and need by themselves present the best climate for international conflict.

7. I know well enough how many questions you will have to deal with during this fifteenth session of the General Assembly, how long and detailed an agenda you have before you. Nevertheless, there are two problems which may be said to express more than any others the whole idea, the whole striving, of the United Nations. I am thinking of disarmament and of the assistance to be given to countries and territories which are in a state of development.

8. I shall not go into the intricacies of the disarmament question. I only want to remind you that the truly explosive developments in nuclear warfare—and also, let us not forget, in chemical and bacteriological warfare—have taken us into a wholly new situation. Today war would be a process of mutual suicide with no chance of victory for any country. Only by keeping that in mind can the disarmament problem be solved. It is our earnest hope that this problem may be dealt with in a positive and constructive spirit, that selfish national interests may be put aside in favour of a comprehensive outlook upon the interests of the world as a whole. Such risks as are inevitably connected with the realization of every disarmament proposal are small compared to the risks involved in a continued absence of any agreement. If the cause of disarmament be given a chance, then we shall be victorious in the battle for peace.

9. As to assistance to countries and territories under development, I think we are all aware that it is in the best interest of mankind as a whole that those who have should help those who have not. We must strive to bridge the gap as regards social and economic standards which exists today, in order to establish good and stable conditions in the world, and so to build a firm basis for peaceful co-operation among nations. At the same time we must cope with, and master, the problem of refugees, which is still a blot on mankind and an outrage of all human feelings. Every cent given in this spirit and for these purposes is bringing us forward towards that state of world-wide freedom from need in which the best qualities of humanity can thrive.

10. Through our annual contribution to the United Nations programme for technical assistance to developing countries, and in many other ways, we in Denmark try to play our part in this great task. The formidable need which exists already will be further increased by the creation of new independent States. The Danish people is acutely aware of this problem, and we shall certainly do our best to increase our contributions. At the same time, we should all devote our ingenuity towards finding methods which are best

suited to coping effectively and speedily with the most urgent problems facing countries in the process of economic development. We know many of these problems from our own country, and we are doing our best to solve them there. I am thinking of the population of Greenland, where nearly 30,000 people are living in an immense area and under conditions as hard for human habitation as can be found anywhere in the world. It is my pride to know—as I learned once again during my recent visit to Greenland—that the people of Greenland, in spite of their geographical isolation, feel themselves members of the Danish family. That is one example of how solutions to social and humanitarian problems inside and outside the framework of the United Nations can be inspired by the high principles and ideals which are upheld and propagated by that Organization. It is perhaps the greatest of all the tasks of the United Nations to uphold and to apply unrelentingly to all problems and situations those same high ideals and principles.

11. I wish to conclude by paying my sincere tribute to the way in which this work is carried out here in this Assembly as well as in all other United Nations bodies. I address this tribute to you, Mr. President, and also to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in deep appreciation of your relentless efforts to implement the principles of the Charter.

12. The PRESIDENT: I beg to thank you sincerely, Your Majesty, on behalf of the Assembly for the gracious address which we have just been privileged to hear.

The meeting was suspended at 3.35 p.m. and resumed at 3.50 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

13. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jordan in exercise of his right of reply.

14. Mr. NASIR (Jordan): Let me, first of all, apologize for having to impose upon the Assembly yet another intervention in reply to some of the statements relating to the Palestine problem which were made here by the representative of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir.

15. The Palestine problem was born and continues to survive and flourish behind a thick smoke-screen of very clever and devious distortions and misrepresentations. Even the imperialistic Powers which played the decisive role in creating the problem had always to depend on distortions for argument and support. Obviously the problem cannot be solved unless this smoke-screen is lifted so that the real facts may be clearly discerned. It is, therefore, my purpose in this intervention to correct, I hope once for all, some of the misrepresentations which were made before you here a few days ago.

16. Referring to the error in the Middle East mentioned by Arab spokesmen, Mrs. Meir asks: "Now, what is the error in the Middle East that certain Arab spokesmen desire to see corrected? Is an independent Jewish State in that area an accident or an innovation?" [897th meeting, para. 154.]

17. The answer to this question is both simple and clear. The creation of a Jewish State in the Middle East was nothing but a camouflaged imperialistic aggression. Hence it was an error, for is it not an error

to uproot a people out of land and homes which they and their ancestors had been living in for centuries in order to establish therein, for invaders from all over the globe, a Jewish State, on the frivolous pretext that Jews had lived there for a very short period over 2,000 years ago? This is the error which Zionists and their supporters and fellow-travellers do not seem able to recognize or willing to admit. It is of course much more than an error. It is a grave injustice inflicted upon the innocent and peace-loving Arabs of Palestine who, as well as all other Arabs, have never in their history taken part in racial discrimination against the Jews or in their persecution or in their humiliation—matters so bitterly complained of by Mrs. Meir in her speech: "Massacres, hate, humiliation, discrimination—that was our lot." [Ibid.] No atrocities were ever perpetrated on Jews by Arabs, but these Nazi-like acts have all been inflicted on Arabs by Jews as part of the injustice which we complain of, and to which I have referred.

18. For the benefit of Members who joined the United Nations this year, permit me to describe very briefly the nature and extent of this injustice. Immediately after the First World War, the policy adopted under the British Mandate in Arab Palestine aimed at establishing in the country a Jewish State, disguised in its initial stages under the meaningless name of a "national home for the Jewish people". That this was contrary to the promises given by the victorious Allies to their Arab comrades in arms is a matter on which I need not dwell. It was in any case contrary to the fundamental human rights and to the wishes of the inhabitants of Palestine who consisted at that time of 650,000 Arabs, Moslems and Christians, and approximately 56,000 Jews, most of them Arab Jews. The percentage was thus 92 per cent Arabs and 8 per cent Jews. The Jews were then the owners of about 2 per cent of the total area of the country.

19. When the resolution to partition Palestine was adopted by the United Nations in 1947, the Jewish population had risen, mainly through immigration, which was forced on the Arabs, to about 650,000, while the Arab population had increased by natural growth to about 1,350,000. Thus at the time of the resolution the Arabs constituted more than two-thirds of the population, while the Jews constituted only less than one-third. Jewish land ownership had by then increased to 5 1/2 per cent of the total area. Regardless of these facts, however, the partition resolution gave the Jewish State more than 56 per cent of the total area, that is to say, more than ten times what the Jews owned in land property, whereas the Arab State was only given less than 44 per cent.

20. The figures speak for themselves, and no special intelligence is needed to realize the glaring injustice of partition, which was adopted by the United Nations in spite of the vehement protests of the Palestine Arabs, supported by all Arabs and by many other nations as well. The political pressures which were then used to secure the adoption of the resolution are well known.

21. No sane human being could therefore have accepted such an unjust resolution; and when the Arabs of Palestine resisted it, the Jews felt entitled to aggravate the injustice by taking more of the Arab properties. The result of it all was that the Jews occupied about four-fifths of the country, and one million

innocent Arabs were expelled from their homes and their country and became refugees.

22. Compare this situation with the initial conditions in 1917, when the Jews constituted 8 per cent of the population and owned 2 per cent of the land. Such is the injustice which has been inflicted upon the Arabs of Palestine by force of arms, and such is the error which Zionists and their supporters refuse to admit.

23. But this is only the physical aspect of the injustice. To it must be added the psychological effects of the loss of security and dignity, of the demoralization caused by ever-increasing unemployment, of the bitterness engendered in the hearts of innocent people because they were punished for the crimes committed against Jews by others in non-Arab lands.

24. Let me mention at this point that before and during the First World War, and before the British mandate over Palestine, Arabs lived very happily with the Jews. They all spoke Arabic, and in fact they were considered for all purposes as Arabs. After all, we are brothers in humanity, and furthermore we both belong to the same Semitic race. Great sympathy was always shown towards Jews who were persecuted in other parts of the world, and whenever some of them came to Palestine, or to other Arab areas, they were given asylum, and were received with generous welcome and goodwill. Even as late as the Second World War, when the present ruler of Arab Morocco, which had then fallen under Nazi influence and domination, was asked to isolate Jews he very nobly and emphatically refused to do so, answering that all Moroccan citizens must continue to be treated alike. In spite of such a magnanimous attitude and treatment however, Zionists, by false and persistent propaganda, eventually succeeded in deceiving many Jews and in persuading them to leave their places of birth, their real national homes, and go to Israel. We feel that these Jews may have already regretted their action.

25. It is these happy relations which always existed between Arabs and Jews that make the Jewish aggression on Arab Palestine a painful example of ingratitude and a sad tragedy in human relations. One is therefore bound to reflect: was the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine a good thing for the world, and was it worth so much sacrifice in international peace and goodwill?

26. Perhaps the saddest aspect of the tragedy, however, is that this very elementary but grave act of aggression and injustice is not recognized as such by an intelligent group of people like the Jews, who have good reason to be proud of their history, of their Bible, and of their ethics. Hence they ask the question: "What is the error?" This blindness to error and injustice is the root of the whole problem of Palestine. As long as such an attitude is maintained, as long as "wrong" is called "right", and as long as the rights and welfare of a million human beings are sacrificed for the political ends of others, no solution will be found to the Palestine problem, and no real peace can consequently be established in the Middle East.

27. But Zionists are not satisfied with lack of recognition of aggression. On the contrary, they go further and claim that the Arabs were themselves the aggressors in Palestine. I quote from Mrs. Meir's statement: "The Arab aggression in Palestine against Israel and the United Nations is the one and only reason for the existence of the Arab refugee prob-

lem." [897th meeting, para. 162.] How untrue and sanctimonious this statement is. The real truth is that if Jews had not coveted Palestine, if they had not come to it against the wishes of its inhabitants under the protection of foreign bayonets, as stooges of imperialism, there would have been no refugee problem in Palestine at all.

28. But are we really justified in linking Israel with imperialism? Let us examine the facts very briefly. First, Jews came into Palestine, after the First World War, under the protection of British military forces; secondly, the main argument which Zionist leaders used to convince the British Government to support actively the establishment of a Zionist State in Arab Palestine was that such a State could be used as a base for protecting the route to the Far East, an important artery in British communications. This became abundantly clear during the tripartite aggression on Egypt, in which the British, the French and Israel took part. The role played by Israel then was the one which had been set for it even before it had been born. Thirdly, Israel is not a self-supporting country, and lives mainly on alms and charity. At the same time Israel goes about lending huge sums of money to certain under-developed countries. Where does this money come from? Why is Israel chosen as an intermediary between those who provide the capital and those who need it? Can we not discern the hand of imperialism in disguise? Let those to whom Israel makes such offers be exceedingly careful, the more so when the offers appear to be generous.

29. In view of all this, I feel it a duty to implore the new States which have just joined the United Nations to examine this serious problem carefully before they lend moral support to one side or the other. It appears absurd that anyone who has just gained victory over injustice, and has become free as a result of it, should support imperialistic injustice anywhere in the world.

30. I will now proceed to other points made by Mrs. Meir. Referring to the Arab refugees she asks: "Why are they not absorbed as we absorbed our refugees; as we housed and employed the 240,000 Arabs that are in Israel today...?" [*Ibid.*, para. 158.]

31. Could anything more misleading be said regarding the Arabs in Israel? Hearing the claims of Mrs. Meir one would imagine that Israel has been so generous and gracious as to house and give employment to these Arabs. The Arabs who are now in Israel are a section of the real owners of the country. They own lands, houses and other properties, most of which have been usurped to give housing and employment to Jewish immigrants from abroad. Thus the Arabs in Israel do not live because of the generosity and graciousness of Israel, but they live in spite of the persecution and ill-treatment which they receive at the hand of Israel. It may be of interest to this Assembly to be informed of some of the forms taken by that ill-treatment and persecution: first, expropriation of property in order to make room for additional Jewish immigrants; secondly, restriction of movement for the Arab individual; thirdly, compulsory sale to the Government of Arab crops at prices lower than those paid to Jewish cultivators; fourthly, enactment of nationality and land laws which deny the Arab citizen the same rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jewish citizen; fifthly, collection of taxes on land which the Arab community is not permitted to cultivate; and

sixthly, terrorization of the Arabs by army raids and searches under false pretexts.

32. I do not wish to labour these points, but I suggest that an impartial commission of inquiry be appointed to examine the conditions under which Arabs in Israel are living. It is important for the world to know the real facts.

33. Another point made by Mrs. Meir refers to the 500,000 Jews who came during the last twelve years from Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Syria and other Arab lands. Let me, first of all, express serious doubts as to the correctness of the figure. Be that as it may, however, I would like to ask: was there any genuine reason for those Jews to leave the Arab countries? As I said before, Jews have always been well treated by Arabs. And the Jews who have not left their homes in Arab countries live happily there and continue to enjoy equal rights with all other citizens.

34. From the facts, which are well known, I consider the indirect allegations regarding the state of Jewish immigrants from Arab countries to be completely unjustified. And I do not hesitate, therefore, to suggest that the commission to which I referred a minute ago should compare the conditions under which Jews live in Arab countries with those under which Arabs live in Israel.

35. I will now turn to the remarks concerning the seven Arab armies and the unpreparedness of the Jewish forces. I quote Mrs. Meir: "We had to meet the invading armies virtually unarmed..." [*Ibid.*, para. 155.] Now the Jews won the war; we are therefore forced to conclude either that this statement is untrue or that a miracle must have happened which enabled a virtually unarmed group of people to defeat seven armies. I have here before me the text of a British Command Paper, No. 6873, of July 1946, about twenty months before the happenings under discussion. It gives what it calls conservative figures relating to the three Jewish illegal para-military organizations in Palestine—the Haganah, the Palmach and the Irgun Zvai Leumi. According to this statement, these organizations had under their command 67,000 well-armed persons. We can therefore rest assured that the statement made by Mrs. Meir in this respect does not correspond with the facts, and that a miracle did not, therefore, happen.

36. I come now to the claim which is always made by Israel, and which was mentioned by Mrs. Meir, to the effect that the Arabs left their homes voluntarily at the request of their leaders: "And then came the call by the Arab leaders to the Arab population in Israel to leave immediately..." [*Ibid.*, para 156.] In order to explain to you the real reason why the Arabs left the country, I can do no better than quote the following passage from the book A Soldier with the Arabs by the British General John Bagot Glubb:

"In December 1947, a senior British officer in the Arab Legion was one day visiting a British district commissioner in Palestine. A Jewish district officer employed under the district commissioner was also present. They were having drinks in the evening. The UNO partition plan had recently been published. The British officer asked the Jewish official whether the new Jewish State would not have many internal troubles, in view of the fact that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish State would be equal in number to the Jews. 'Oh, no!' replied the Jewish officer. 'That

will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them!'" 1/

The calculated massacres were carried out, and the Arabs fled their homes.

37. Let us now turn our attention to another one of those classical but fantastic Israeli claims which found its way into Mrs. Meir's statement: "And did the desert in Israel bloom as long as we were in exile? Did trees cover the Judean hills, were marshes drained? No—rocks, desert, marshes, malaria, trachoma—this is what characterized the country before we came back." [897th meeting, para. 154.] This is not the first time that we hear such wild claims. The tone even suggests that the desert did bloom 2,000 years ago when they were there, and stopped blooming only during the period of Jewish exile. How absurd! Here are the plain facts for any one who cares to verify them. Palestine was known as the land of milk and honey long before the Jews had any contact with it, and when the Jews first arrived there, they were astounded at the large-sized bunches of grapes which the country produced. All this we learn from the Jewish Bible.

38. However, let us look into relatively recent history. Before the First World War, Palestinian Arabs lived mainly on the produce of their land—wheat, legumes, vegetables, olives, oranges, grapes and other fruits. The well-known Jaffa oranges are Arab oranges, not Jewish. The people worked hard for their living, but they were happy. You never heard of Palestinian Arabs going about asking for charity. The country was being developed gradually by its own inhabitants for their own benefit as fast as development was needed. The so-called Judaeen hills—and I come from them—were covered with fruit trees, mainly olives and grapes, which were all planted by Arabs. Certain areas had not yet been developed. This was only natural. Such was the situation at the end of the First World War, and not as the Israelis would have you believe.

39. Immediately after the war, Jewish immigrants began to come in, against the wishes of the Arabs, in accordance with the "Jewish national home" policy to which I have already referred. Naturally, with more people and more money it was possible to develop the country faster. But what was the result? The country stopped being self-supporting and has not been so since. Huge sums of money have been poured into Israel every year, and huge sums will have to continue to be poured in, simply because the whole operation is uneconomic and unnatural. It needs artificial feeding and artificial breathing as well.

40. Regarding the trachoma aspect of the Israeli claim, one cannot but be surprised indeed. Palestine had an eye clinic and hospital, established, maintained and run by the British Order of St. John, long before the Jews came in. No words of praise are sufficient for the work which this organization has been doing in Palestine. It gives its services to all persons free of charge. That the Jews should claim credit for such noble work of a very old and noble organization is more than surprising.

41. Let us, however, ask what is behind all these false claims of Israel relating to development. Do they

1/John Bagot Glubb, A Soldier with the Arabs (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), p. 81.

seriously mean to convince us and the world that in order to develop Palestine there was no alternative but to create a Jewish State there, attended by cruel massacres, by the continuous suffering of a million people, by racial hatred, and by the loss of international peace and goodwill? Is it not like burning a house in order to find a penny? Or, conversely, do they mean to tell us that the object of the Jews in creating their State was to develop Palestine? As a child who studied the Bible, I was always taught that the Jews had a unique and noble role in history, to produce prophets and ethical principles. Is it not a great pity that they should now come down to the level of feeling proud and praiseworthy of their success in producing potatoes instead? What a decline in ideals, and a waste of ability and intelligence!

42. I would like now to refer to one final point, namely, the call by Mrs. Meir to negotiate for peace: "Ever since the Arab aggression against Israel in 1948 we have called on our neighbours to negotiate in order to settle all problems at issue between us and to conclude a peace. So far they have refused to do so ..." [*Ibid.*, para. 164.] I regret to say that this statement is not true. In 1949, Arab and Israel delegates went to Lausanne. A certain agreement was reached and was signed by the parties concerned on 12 May 1949. This was the well-known Protocol of Lausanne.^{2/} The following day, however, the Israel delegates withdrew their signatures. It was discovered later that in Lausanne they had been merely manoeuvring for admission to the United Nations. Everyone will undoubtedly realize the permanent psychological effect which such trickery must have had.

43. Let me emphatically repeat what I said before, that unless there is a change in attitude, unless a wrong is called a wrong and unless there is open recognition of the aggression and the injustice, and unless there is undoubted willingness to remove the injustice inflicted on Palestine Arabs, there can be no hope of solving the Palestine problem or of establishing real peace in the Middle East.

44. One of the most perturbing factors of the Palestine problem is the continuous extension of aggression on Arab rights which is being carried out mainly in three ways. The first is continuing Jewish immigration into Israel, in spite of the fact that Israel is not self-supporting. This additional Jewish immigration is used as a pretext to block the return of Arab refugees to their properties and their homes, thus rendering the solution of the problem more difficult. The second is the expropriation of the properties of the Arabs, even those who are in Israel, as I mentioned before. The third is the plans and efforts to divert part of the waters of the Jordan river for the benefit of immigrants. My country, the Kingdom of Jordan, is badly in need of every drop of water in the Jordan River for its present and future inhabitants. Although these waters are not fully utilized at present, because of lack of funds, our very existence demands that they be fully used for our benefit in the future. We depend mainly on rain water, and for the last few years, our people have been short even of drinking water. Is it reasonable for us, therefore, to allow even a part of the waters of the River Jordan to be diverted for the

benefit of newly arrived foreigners and strangers while our sons and daughters go thirsty for lack of water? This additional aggression will eventually exhaust the patience of the most peaceful human beings.

45. In conclusion, I feel it is a duty to call upon all sincere Jewish leaders of the world, not only those of Israel, and on all other world leaders as well to study the facts of the Palestine problem deeply and solemnly, realizing the great responsibility that falls upon them to co-operate in the recognition and removal of injustice, which is the only means of re-establishing peace in the land universally accepted as the land of peace.

46. The PRESIDENT: I call on the next speaker wishing to exercise the right of reply: the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

47. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): I have asked for permission to return to the rostrum primarily in order to dispel any confusion that might have resulted from the course in Congolese constitutional law with which the Guinean Head of State has favoured the representatives to the United Nations—they, in his opinion, having been unaware of the contents of the Congolese Constitution.

48. The President of the Republic of Guinea has told us that in the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of the Congo—I presume that he was in fact referring to the Fundamental Law of 18 May 1960 which does not, to my knowledge, begin with a preamble—the Round-Table Conference at Brussels had adopted for the Republic of the Congo (capital: Leopoldville) the system of a Chief of State who does not have responsibility.

49. In a statement made on 13 October 1960, one representative told you what he thought of the question of the responsibility of the Congolese Chief of State. With the same objectivity as my colleague, and with his consent, I would like to supplement his thesis.

50. We think that the phrase "a Chief of State who does not have responsibility", occurring in a text concerned with constitutional law, should not shock us unduly, any more than the statement: "The King reigns but does not govern." But, in consciously detaching this phrase from its constitutional context and placing it within a political context, the President of Guinea has invested the non-responsibility of the Congolese Head of State with an exclusively civil character. He states ...

51. Mr. TOURE Ismael (Guinea) (from the floor) (translated from French): A point of order, Mr. President.

52. The PRESIDENT: A point of order has been raised from the floor. I would ask the representative of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) to be kind enough to stand aside while I deal with the point of order which has been raised. I call on the representative of Guinea on the point of order.

53. Mr. TOURE Ismael (Guinea) (translated from French): I thank you, Mr. President, for having given me the floor and I apologize for having interrupted the gentleman who was just speaking. I was somewhat surprised when he announced that he wished to exercise the right of reply.

^{2/}See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex, vol. II, 1949, document A/927, annexes A and B.

54. While President Sékou Touré did speak of the situation in the Congo, he was referring, I should point out, to the Republic of the Congo (capital: Leopoldville). If I am not mistaken, the gentleman who has just spoken represents the Republic of the Congo (capital: Brazzaville). I should like the President to tell me whether any representative whatsoever has a right to reply to statements made by a speaker regarding conditions in a country which is not his own.

55. I think that this point should be clarified for the purpose of the conduct of the General Assembly's subsequent discussions.

56. The PRESIDENT: I am glad that the representative of Guinea has given me an opportunity of saying something about the right of reply. The right of reply, which is an important right possessed by every delegation, is intended primarily and normally to enable delegations to reply at once to what they consider criticisms of or attacks on themselves. Statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to that purpose and should not constitute further interventions in the general debate. The right of reply only exists in the case of criticisms of or attacks on the delegation or the Government directly concerned. It is not intended to enable delegations to embark on the discussion of controversial issues which do not concern their own countries or their own delegations directly.

57. I will now call again on the representative of the Republic of the Congo, and I would ask him to make it clear whether he is referring to the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) or the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

58. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Thank you, Mr. President, for having allowed me to return to the rostrum in order to make an explanation with regard to the right of reply which I wished to exercise. I was the first speaker to define the position of the Government of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). A speaker then came to the rostrum in order to give us what I called a moment ago a course in constitutional law, to which I merely wished to reply with a few words. I had no intention of debating a point which has occupied the attention of this Assembly for all too long. That, Mr. President, is the explanation which I am in a position to give you.

59. I should like to repeat that I was the first to give, from this rostrum, explanations regarding the constitutional nature—which a number of speakers from the rostrum had challenged—of the power held by Mr. Kasa-Vubu in Leopoldville. I therefore thought it my duty to take the floor again in order to reaffirm what I had clearly explained previously.

60. That was the sole purpose for which I asked, today, permission to exercise my right of reply.

61. The PRESIDENT: I am afraid that the Chair could not fairly regard that as falling within the normal scope of the right of reply. What the representative of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) is proposing now is to embark on a discussion of the constitutional position in the Congo (Leopoldville). He has asked for the floor in exercise of the right of reply, and the normal exercise of the right of reply does not extend to the discussion of topics in which the defence of the delegation or the Government of the country concerned

is not involved. I am afraid, therefore, that the representative of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) would not be justified, in exercise of his right of reply, in embarking upon a discussion of the constitutional position in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

62. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): That being so, Mr. President, I hope it will be arranged for the delegation of the Congo (Leopoldville), whose Chief of State is Mr. Kasa-Vubu, to take its place in order that it may be able to exercise its right of reply to the attacks made against it. As you can see, since 22 September last the seats reserved for that delegation have been vacant, and no member of it is present to reply to the charges that the powers now being exercised in Leopoldville are not constitutional. That is all I wished to ask.

63. The PRESIDENT: If the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) is asking for a further definition of the position of the Chair, I must make it even more clear than before that the discussion of the constitutional position in the Congo (Leopoldville) or the vacancy of the seats reserved for the delegation of the Congo (Leopoldville) here in the Assembly cannot be considered as coming within the exercise of the right of reply at this stage of the general debate. I am afraid he would be out of order in pursuing the subject.

64. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Very well, but in that case I ask that the question be brought before the Credentials Committee and that it take a decision on the matter.

65. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel in exercise of the right of reply.

66. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): We deeply regret that we again have to take up some of the valuable time of this Assembly. We should, of course, have known from experience that nothing angers the representatives of the Arab States more than a call for peace. But we nevertheless promise faithfully not to give up this call until there is peace in the Middle East. We know it will come, it must come, and we are convinced that it is for the good of all concerned that it should come soon. The sooner the better.

67. We have listened to outbursts of hate quite unworthy of this forum. But realizing how untenable their position is when they refuse to answer a call for peace and negotiations, for a non-aggression agreement and for disarmament with, of course, mutual inspection and control, they have produced a series of most fantastic accusations that distort both the ancient and the modern history of our area and our people.

68. We heard a further example of this only a few moments ago when the representative of Jordan gave us another chapter of so-called history of the Jewish people, of the aims and the task of the Jewish people as he would like to assign them. According to his words, he is evidently not opposed to the idea that the Jewish people, scattered all over the world and living everywhere as minorities—living not by right but by the grace of others who may choose to be kind to them or not to be kind to them—should bring forth prophets from their midst. But God forbid that the Jewish people—like every other people in the world, like the ten and more Arab countries who have all become independent since the First World War—that

the Jewish people too should have a piece of soil under their feet in order that they may grow potatoes for their profit and for themselves. The poet laureate of the Jewish people said that the space of sky above the head of a people is only as large as the soil under its feet. Only when people are rooted in their soil—and raising potatoes is nothing to be ashamed of—only when they have roots deep in their soil, only then can their culture and prophecy also flourish.

69. The representative of Saudi Arabia, for instance, spoke of Nazism; and the representative of Jordan and the representative of Lebanon mentioned Goebbels.

70. I should like to ask the following: Was Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, accepted as a leader by the representative of Saudi Arabia when the Mufti went to Berlin and helped Hitler in the extermination of the Jewish people? Was the Mufti ever denounced for this by the representatives of Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Jordan? When the Mufti worked with Hitler, was photographed with him, did these Arab spokesmen not know that the Nazi racial programme divided the peoples of the world into several categories: Germans—the Herrenvolk; French, British, Scandinavians and a few other nations, to be absorbed into the Nazi Herrenvolk; Slavic peoples—some to be exterminated, the rest to be turned into slaves of the Germans; Negroes, who were not even to be considered human; and Jews—for them, physical extermination of every man, woman and child. These Arab representatives who now appear here as crusaders for the equality of all peoples, what did they have to say about this racial doctrine at that time, and the co-operation of the Mufti with Hitler?

71. The self-defence organization of Haganah has been mentioned. Most members of my delegation, including myself, have the distinction of having been members of this organization, and are proud of it. It was the Haganah that defended Jewish lives from Arab attacks in cities and villages in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1936 to 1939, and in 1947. We refused to be easy victims to onslaughts against Jews instigated by the same Mufti and his colleagues. Yes, we organized "self-defence"—this is the literal meaning of the word Haganah. And at a later stage the Haganah played a historic part in the struggle against foreign rule in our country and its members took their full share in the war against Hitler Germany in the Middle East, Africa and Europe.

72. So much has been said here, and with so much pathos, about United Nations resolutions. But what was the answer of the Arab League to the United Nations resolution of 1947? The countries belonging to the Arab League not only rejected the resolution, but they went to war to defeat it. It does no good to deny this from this rostrum when it is written in the annals of this Organization, the United Nations; in the records of the Security Council there are cables from the Arab League and the Egyptian Government officially announcing what they themselves termed "armed intervention" in Palestine by their invading armies. That was the historical "error", and it left behind it a bitter legacy, including the creation of the Arab refugee problem.

73. Who called upon the Palestine Arabs to leave? I should like to quote a few sources. In an interview given to the Lebanese paper Sada al-Janub on 16 August 1948, Mr. George Hakim, the Greek-Catholic Arch-

bishop of Galilee, said—remember, this was 16 August 1948:

"The refugees had been confident that their absence from Palestine would not last long, that they would return within a few days—within a week or two. Their leaders had promised them that the Arab armies would crush the 'Zionist gangs' very quickly and that there was no need for panic or fear of a long exile."

74. On 6 September 1948, Emil Ghoury, the Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, stated to a representative of the Beirut Telegraph:

"At the time of the first truce the number of Arab refugees was 200,000. By the time the second truce began this number had risen to 300,000. It is impossible to foretell how many more refugees there will be if the hostilities are renewed and there is a third truce. I do not want to impugn anyone, but only to help the refugees. The fact that there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the action of the Arab States in opposing partition and the Jewish State. The Arab States agreed upon this policy unanimously, and they must share in the solution of the problem."

75. In an article published on 19 August 1951, in Kul Shay of Beirut, the poignant question was asked:

"Who brought the Palestinians to the Lebanon as refugees? Who brought them over in dire straits and without a penny? The Arab States, and the Lebanon among them."

76. I could multiply such evidence from Arab sources to show that the responsibility for this problem must be laid squarely on the shoulders of the Arab leaders themselves.

77. It is, of course, untrue that Israel pursues expansionist policies of any kind. On the contrary, Israel calls upon the Arab States to uphold and safeguard, jointly with us, effectively and sincerely, the only policy that is justifiable under the United Nations Charter and in the present state of the world, namely, the policy of absolute and mutual respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of all States. For the charge of "expansionism", the representative of Lebanon produces "evidence" which seems to be taken from some spythriller. I refer to the fairy tales about maps and textbooks.

78. There is a large foreign diplomatic corps in Israel, whose members often visit the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, as do thousands of other foreign visitors. None of them has ever seen such a map, for one simple reason: it does not exist and never has existed.

79. The geography textbooks to which the representative of Lebanon refers are also non-existent. We would gladly supply any delegation with a set of our school textbooks and we, in turn, invite the Arab delegations to do likewise and, if they will, we could supply some of the textbooks used in Arab countries. We have some in our possession. To our regret, such books, permeated with hate propaganda, are used even in schools supported by money from the United Nations. Not by any means do I wish to imply that those in charge of allocating this money to the schools agree with this policy, but evidently they have not the power to have other textbooks used in those schools.

80. The allegations of the Arab representatives about the condition of the Israeli Arabs have been refuted on numerous previous occasions. They become no truer by repetition. The essential facts of the situation are these.

81. First, all Israeli Arabs enjoy exactly the same political rights as do the Israeli Jews. They participate fully and actively in parliamentary elections. Arab members sit in our Parliament, some belonging to the Government Coalition and others to the Opposition; and they either support or criticize the Government as they see fit.

82. Secondly, since the establishment of the State of Israel, more has been done to raise economic, social and cultural standards of our Arab community than has been accomplished in the past during centuries. Some of the most important advances concern, for example, the emancipation of Arab women, infant care, health, rural electrification, obligatory elementary schooling for both sexes, vastly increased facilities for secondary, professional and higher education, development of Arabic language and culture, improved communications for Arab villages, better housing, trade union organization of Arab workers jointly with Jewish workers and on a footing of equality and equal pay.

83. Thirdly, no Arab State can point to the achievement of a standard of living for the masses of its population that may be compared favourably to the standard of living of the Israeli Arabs. This goes for all relevant aspects and criteria, not merely for the purely economic ones, but for those indicating cultural advance and social progress as well.

84. The only outstanding difficulty concerns certain security restrictions in sensitive border areas which are rendered necessary by the belligerent policies of the neighbouring Arab States. Such restrictions have been whittled down to the bare minimum consistent with the safety and defence of our borders and will disappear entirely as soon as there are peaceful relations between the Arab States and Israel.

85. The lectures which we have received here about Jewish history and Zionism are so absurd and, I am sorry to say, even anti-Semitic that it is not our intention to waste any time on refuting them.

86. An especially pathetic warning was given to African States against Israel's alleged "colonialism". We have heard from the representative of Jordan just a moment ago that Israel is not a viable State. We have, of course, no intention of competing in viability with our neighbour State of Jordan, but anybody who has been in Israel and has seen its development knows what we have done since our independence and before that.

87. We are proud of our relations with these new African States. From our contact with them we can testify that they are hardly in need of having others guarding their independence or telling them what to do. It is our conviction that they are quite capable of deciding for themselves with whom they should or should not live in friendship. If an Israeli poultry expert is engaged by an African country, does that make the chickens colonialist chickens? If Israel and an African country co-operate in shipping services, does that make the vessels imperialist vessels? Are the many hundreds of trainees from these countries

in Israel in agriculture, co-operatives etc. training in colonialism? We know that this is nonsense. The Arabs know that it is nonsense and, what is more important, the Africans themselves know that it is nonsense. The leaders of African countries are not to be frightened by meaningless slogans. They can be relied upon to judge their relations with other countries by the behaviour of those other countries towards them, and not by propaganda speeches in New York. We come to these new States in friendship, with a sincere desire for constructive co-operation in building and developing and for the sharing of experience. Let Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Jordan engage in healthy competition with us in this respect; let them see whether there is anything in their own experience which others wish to share with them. As long as they ask the African countries to co-operate with them only in hatred for Israel, nobody is going to be impressed.

88. There remains one basic matter. One cannot deny that many countries represented here were at one time at war with each other. There are others that even now have grievances of one kind or another against other Member States. But there is one instance, and one only, in which Member States declare openly from this rostrum, in the Security Council, in their capitals, from their radio stations, that another Member State has no right to exist and should be put out of existence. This is the position loudly proclaimed by Arab States against Israel. We have now read that on his return to his own country the President of the United Arab Republic, who stood here calling for world peace, in a speech in Aleppo rejected our offer to negotiate peace in the region shared by his country and mine. Is this in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations? Is this in keeping with the obligation that each State takes upon itself when it is received into membership of the United Nations? Can this Organization overlook such a serious repudiation of the Charter?

89. My delegation sincerely believes that the time is overdue for this Organization to remind the Arab States of their basic obligations.

90. We repeat our call for negotiations—without prior conditions—for disarmament, for peace, or at least for a non-aggression agreement. If there is any truth in the professed fear of Israel expansionism, let us make peace, pledge ourselves to non-aggression and have all our borders internationally guaranteed. We are prepared. We ask the Arab States to agree. When they do, there will be a genuine prospect of ending a conflict of which the world is weary, and of opening up a new vista of progress for our troubled region.

91. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Sweden in exercise of the right of reply.

92. Mrs. ROSSEL (Sweden): In a statement before this Assembly on Friday morning [905th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of South Africa saw fit to quote from the Swedish Press in regard to what he called the Lapps—they themselves prefer to be called "Same"—a group of people who are mostly nomads, numbering in Sweden about 10,000 and living in the northern part of the country. He said that these Same do not enjoy rights equal to those of ordinary Swedish citizens. I do not think that I should now take up the time of this Assembly to argue with the Foreign Minister of the Union about this matter.

Suffice it to say that he must be very short of arguments in defence of the policies of racial discrimination of the Union Government when he has to refer to the Lapps in order to try to justify these policies. It will be more appropriate to set the record straight in the Special Political Committee when the item on "apartheid" is dealt with there, and accordingly my delegation will revert to this matter in due course.

93. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Norway in exercise of the right of reply.

94. Mr. NIELSEN (Norway): The Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa, in his statement in the general debate, also made reference to articles in the Norwegian Press concerned with the Norwegian Lapps or Same. For the sake of orderliness and for the record, may I inform the Assembly that the Norwegian delegation will reserve its right to reply when the question of racial conflict in the Union of South Africa comes up for discussion in the Special Political Committee.

95. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq in exercise of the right of reply.

96. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): It is rather a coincidence that I should be the third speaker in succession who wishes to protest against the speech of the Foreign Minister of South Africa.

97. Mr. Louw, the Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa, in his statement in the general debate, made certain references to my country. These remarks clearly demonstrate appalling ignorance and lack of information about the outside world. This is perhaps a direct result of the self-imposed isolation of the Union Government. In any case, I feel it is my duty to correct the distorted picture of Iraq presented to the Assembly by the Foreign Minister of South Africa.

98. Before doing that, however, I wish to clarify one basic point. Mr. Louw's central thesis seems to be that the existence of poverty, illiteracy and disease in the less developed countries deprives them of the right and duty of drawing attention to the pitiless and inhumane racist policies of his Government. This theory is not only devoid of logic, but we consider it an insult to the intelligence of this august body.

99. In fact, the representative of the Union Government made a convincing case for the revolution in Iraq. The irony is that either he is totally unaware of the course of events in Iraq since July 1958 or he deliberately and conveniently chose to ignore the sweeping reforms and the monumental efforts of the revolutionary Government to remove the accumulated legacies of centuries of decay and neglect.

100. One other thing is certain. Mr. Louw intentionally omitted to mention the date of every source of information he used. It is important to state that these sources are hopelessly out of date and were published during an era which we have long ago left behind.

101. By way of illustration, I should like to state some facts connected with the subjects to which he referred. The Foreign Minister spoke of a land-ownership system in Iraq which belongs to history. His statement that the land is largely in the hands of sheikhs and urban proprietors is a page out of the past and shows a remarkable degree of ignorance. His reference to debt bondage in present-day Iraq is simply ridiculous.

May I take the liberty to inform him of the real situation in this regard. One of the first reforms of our republican Government was the enactment, only a few weeks after the revolution of July 1958, of an agrarian reform law, a landmark of post-revolutionary achievement. A limit was put on land ownership—about 600 acres of irrigated land and 1,200 acres of land dependent on rainfall. All land above the legal limit has been taken over by the Government, with compensation, and is being redistributed among the landless peasants.

102. The law also created the necessary machinery for the implementation of land reform, the reorganization of agricultural relations, the protection of the rights of agricultural workers and the establishment of agricultural co-operatives.

103. Mr. Louw's figures regarding education and health in Iraq are equally distorted and misleading. He told the Assembly that only 175,000 children out of 750,000 are at school. For his information, during the last academic year 673,426 pupils were enrolled in primary schools, or 80 per cent of all children of primary-school age. Total enrolment in schools and colleges was 825,350. The picture for the current year is considerably brighter. During the last two years alone the budget for education was more than doubled. During the same period the number of schools increased by 40 per cent, teachers by 46 per cent, and students by 57 per cent.

104. Instead of one doctor per 8,000 persons, as mentioned by Mr. Louw, the latest available figures show one per 3,000 persons.

105. These are only a few of the relevant accomplishments of our revolution during the short period of two years. The pace of economic and social development in Iraq is the highest among the less developed countries. The present three-year provisional plan of economic development calls for the expenditure of more than one thousand million dollars over and above the regular Government budget. The annual budget itself has increased by more than 60 per cent within two years, to a total of \$336 million. Most of this increase is in the fields of health, education, social services and housing.

106. We cannot claim that Iraq is in the forefront with the developed countries. We know that the road before us is long and hard. The important thing is that we are moving speedily and with determination along this road to catch up with the more advanced nations of the world. No effort is being spared to better the standard of living of our people as rapidly as possible.

107. I regret to have had to take the time of the Assembly in order to correct the distortions and misconceptions uttered about my country from this rostrum last Friday. I feel, however, that under the same circumstances no representative would have done less. I should add that the remarks of the Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa about Iraq, besides being completely removed from the truth, were completely irrelevant in the context of the discussion of the universally condemned racial policy of his Government, a policy which shamefully contradicts all accepted human values of modern society and which undermines the United Nations endeavours for promoting the basis for progress and justice in a large sector of Africa. It is common knowledge that the racial policy of the Union of South Africa extends to

all fields of life and completely bars the way of the indigenous population in attaining a better economic and civil life. The main purpose of the cruel police measures used by the South African Government is to keep the indigenous people in conditions of slavery. Moreover, the exercise of arbitrary rule, ignorance, forced labour, racial segregation—all these demonstrate some of the methods employed by the colonial ruling classes in their endeavour to stifle the aspirations of the African population for a decent living, both materially and politically.

108. If the Foreign Minister reads some recent history, he will find that no force of oppression, however great and cruel, and no despotism, however long-lived, can save the antiquated colonial régime in his country, a régime which is trying to perpetuate a system of exploitation of the native human and material resources for the benefit of the few. The world cannot remain indifferent to this inhumane policy followed, in respect to the native population, by the South African Government, and however hard they try to twist or distort the genuine efforts of other countries in their march towards progress and justice, they certainly cannot prevent honest people from seeing and condemning the colonial oppression practised by that Government.

109. We invite Mr. Louw to come to Iraq to witness for himself the material and cultural development we have been able to achieve in recent years, the way we are preparing our people to exercise and enjoy democratic living and above all to see how people of different races, beliefs and professions are treated equally in all fields of social and political life. We are marching with the current of history and we are bound to succeed. The ruling classes in South Africa are marching against the current, and the great wheel of history is bound to crush them sooner or later. In the last analysis, revolution is perhaps the only way for the colonial peoples to achieve their justice at this juncture in the history of colonialism. Justice is a power: if it cannot construct, it can at least destroy. So the question which we should be asking is not whether there will be a revolution, but whether it will be beneficial or disastrous.

110. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly's general debate and the exercise of the right of reply in connexion therewith have now come to an end. Arising out of the general debate, however, perhaps the Assembly would now turn its attention to the draft resolution contained in document A/L.320 and Add.1-6. In introducing this draft resolution in the course of his speech this morning [906th meeting], the chairman of the delegation of India asked that the Assembly consider itself seized of this resolution, and that it should proceed to deal with it without delay. This, of course, is a very exceptional procedure, but it has been used before, and the Assembly, which is always master of its own procedure, may perhaps feel that this is an appropriate case in which to resort to this procedure again, the resolution involved here having the advantage of a very wide and representative sponsorship.

111. I would therefore consult the Assembly at this stage on the point, and unless I hear any objection, I will take it that the Assembly as a whole is agreeable to proceed to consider this draft resolution, entitled "Co-operation of Member States", without delay.

It was so decided.

CONSIDERATION OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT-POWER DRAFT RESOLUTION ENTITLED "CO-OPERATION OF MEMBER STATES" (A/L.320 AND ADD.1-6)

112. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision just taken by the Assembly, I call on the first speaker on the subject, the representative of Venezuela.

113. Mr. SOSA RODRIQUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The Venezuelan delegation has had much pleasure in sponsoring, together with a number of other countries, the draft resolution which is now before you and was introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, by the representative of India.

114. This draft resolution, the sponsors of which included five Latin American Republics—Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—reflects both the grave concern felt by all the peoples of the world at the increasing tension in international relations, and the faith and hope which those peoples have placed in the United Nations as the supreme body responsible for the safeguarding of peace and the welfare of all nations.

115. Our countries do not have the formidable machinery for war which the great Powers possess, and we of ourselves are unable to determine the future of mankind; but we are united in desiring to use the only means at our disposal—action within the framework of the United Nations—to set the moral force of world opinion against the trend, unfortunately more pronounced in recent months, towards estrangement and rancour between the great Powers. Whether we are small or large Powers we all know that war is impossible or, rather, that it should be impossible because, with the means of destruction available to the great Powers, an armed conflict between them would result in the annihilation of the human race. Big and small, we should all suffer the fatal consequences of such a conflict; and for that reason we small nations are perfectly entitled, and feel indeed that it is our inescapable duty, to try with every means in our power to prevent the tension from increasing to the point where it might produce a holocaust simply as the result of an accident, a misunderstanding or some false step.

116. We have noted with great concern that in the course of the debates of the General Assembly's present session the tension, so far from lessening, has increased in alarming proportions. Our draft resolution is therefore designed as an attempt to establish a better atmosphere for the work which this Assembly has to do. Some very serious problems will be discussed in the various Committees and in plenary meetings, and for this reason we consider that, before the general debate is closed, an atmosphere of harmony and hope must be created to serve as a background for the coming discussions. Such is the immediate object of the draft resolution, but its scope is much greater: it reflects the firm determination of the great majority of peoples to raise their voice in protest against the dangerous course which the great Powers, through mutual distrust or for reasons of prestige, have gradually come to follow. This mutual distrust and its corollary, the need for an increase in military power—that is what is obstructing the solution of the disarmament problem, and we must all agree that, so long as this problem remains unsolved or a solution of it is not in sight, we shall have no real peace and shall continue to live

in our existing state of anxiety and apprehension, with all its serious political and social consequences.

117. When the nations gathered in San Francisco at the end of the Second World War, the horrors of the war were still vivid in their minds and there was a very firm determination to prevent any repetition of such events. The Charter begins with these words: "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, ... to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from ... international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, ... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, ... have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

118. Those are the actual words of the Charter. We all know them by heart, but they cannot be too often repeated. It was the recalling of those principles, in the grave crisis through which we are passing, that moved the sponsors of the draft resolution which is now before this Assembly and which we hope will receive unanimous support.

119. In this connexion, we share the view expressed by the Indian representative that, in the vote on this draft resolution, every delegation should be enabled to reveal how it votes, as this would help in achieving the draft resolution's primary objectives—namely, to record the grave concern of all peoples at the increasing deterioration of international relations, and to emphasize that all States must unite their efforts to end this situation.

120. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation has listened with close attention to the statements made by the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, and by the representative of Venezuela who has just expressed his views; and it has studied the draft resolution sponsored by a large group of Asian, African, Latin American and European countries. The purpose of the draft resolution, as we understand it, is to prevent the international situation from deteriorating, to strengthen co-operation between States, and to facilitate the settlement of controversial questions in the interests of international peace and security.

121. The Soviet Union supports the draft resolution submitted by neutral and other countries, and appreciates their endeavour to contribute to a lessening of international tension and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the solution of the major international problems.

122. The Soviet Government's foreign policy is inspired by the same desire. It is well known that the Soviet Union consistently advocates the easing of international tension and an improvement in the relations between States. It has always been, and continues to be, in favour of holding constructive talks for the settlement of the most acute and important international issues. The Soviet Government is not only ready to hold talks on those problems, but has also made concrete proposals for their solution.

123. The Soviet Union made strenuous efforts to bring about a summit conference. Unfortunately, the con-

ference broke down as a result of the acts of provocation committed by the United States of America in respect of the Soviet Union and other countries, which were described in detail by Mr. Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government, both in Paris and in his statements to the General Assembly at its current session.

124. The Soviet Government initiated the proposal, which met with wide-spread support throughout the world, for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. The Soviet Union's detailed proposal on that issue was set forth by Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the General Assembly's fourteenth session [799th meeting]. At the present session the Soviet Government has made new proposals on this subject [A/4505] which go far to meet the views of the Western Powers, thereby ensuring the possibility of concrete agreement in the near future provided that the other States are similarly inclined.

125. The draft resolution [A/C.1/L.249] submitted by Mr. Khrushchev to the General Assembly, setting out the basic principles of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, furnishes a good basis for the achievement of such an agreement, provided that all the Powers concerned truly desire to come to an understanding on the early preparation of such a treaty and proceed to its practical implementation. In our opinion, the First Committee, which is about to start its work, should immediately embark on the discussion of these constructive proposals, whose adoption would certainly break the deadlock in the talks on this most important issue of our day.

126. Attaching exceptional importance to the problem of disarmament, the Head of the Soviet Government has proposed in the United Nations that a special session of the General Assembly be convened, with the participation of Heads of Government and Heads of State, for the discussion and solution of the disarmament problem.

127. As is known, the Soviet Union carried out a major unilateral reduction in the size of its armed forces and called upon the Western Powers to do likewise. Had they done so, the danger of the outbreak of a new war would have been considerably reduced and more favourable conditions would have been created for the achieving of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

128. Again guided by the desire to contribute to the easing of international tension, the Soviet Government insists on the need to "close the books" of the Second World War, and proposes that the countries concerned should solve at a very early date the problem of the conclusion of a German peace treaty, along with the question of West Berlin, which falls within the ambit of a peace treaty.

129. All these endeavours by the Soviet Union have evoked world-wide positive response and have been supported, at this session of the Assembly, by many eminent statesmen from various countries.

130. Unfortunately the Western Powers, headed by the United States, are still pursuing a policy designed to exacerbate rather than improve the world situation, thereby increasing the anxiety of those who are genuinely interested in strengthening international peace and security.

131. The United States and its military bloc allies, especially the Federal Republic of Germany, go on intensifying the arms race and are, in effect, doing their utmost to pile up ever more obstacles on the road to agreement regarding disarmament. So far, unfortunately, they have been pursuing this same line at the present session of the General Assembly, despite the fact that for the peoples there is now no issue more important and urgent than disarmament. The threat of a catastrophic thermo-nuclear war is hanging over mankind, and in the circumstances it is only by disarmament that peace can be secured.

132. International relations have been dangerously tested in recent months by actions on the part of the United States such as repeated intrusions by United States military aircraft inside the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other States, and the attempt by the United States Government to justify such acts of aggression and arrogate to itself the dubious "right" to commit them. This aggressive stand by the United States caused the break-down of the summit conference and even now constitutes an obstacle to international talks on important world issues which are outstanding.

133. Characteristic of the adherence of the United States Government to the "cold war" policy is the intolerable discriminatory régime which United States authorities have laid down for the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, and the leading personalities from a number of other States who have come to New York as chairmen of their respective delegations, to participate in the work of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

134. All this shows yet again how necessary it is to take steps to eliminate everything that prevents the easing of international tension, and how justified the sponsors of the draft resolution are in urging all countries to refrain from actions likely to aggravate tensions.

135. In order that the aspirations of the draft resolution's sponsors for an improvement in the international situation may be realized, it is in the first place necessary that the United States should renounce its policy of provocation and infringement of other countries' sovereignty, give practical proof of goodwill for the settlement of international issues, and contribute to the lessening of international tension. The Soviet Union calls upon the United States and other Western countries to act in that sense.

136. The Soviet Government supports the draft resolution sponsored by neutral and other States, since it expresses concern that conditions conducive to an improved international situation and the consolidation of peace should be created. At the same time the Soviet Government is firmly convinced of the need to strengthen the United Nations so that—as the draft resolution points out—it can become a more effective instrument for the safeguarding of peace and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. This can be achieved only provided that no State or group of States occupies a privileged position in the United Nations to the detriment of other countries' interests and rights.

137. The draft resolution is a step in the right direction. The Soviet delegation fully supports it and calls upon the General Assembly—in its consideration of

concrete proposals aimed at strengthening peace between the peoples—to make a constructive contribution to the solution of important problems such as those of general and complete disarmament, the complete elimination of the colonial system, and the abandonment by the United States of the policy of provocation which is poisoning international relations and creating a threat to peace.

138. For its part, the Soviet delegation will exert itself to find a positive solution for these most important problems, and counts on the co-operation of all delegations which have at heart the consolidation of peace, the peaceful coexistence of States and the removal of the fearful threat of a nuclear-rocket war.

139. The draft resolution submitted to us for consideration may prove to be one way of contributing to the accomplishment of this vitally important task, and it is for that reason that the USSR delegation expresses confidence that the General Assembly will support it unanimously. Its unanimous adoption should create the necessary prerequisites for the Committees, and for the General Assembly as a whole, adopting on major international issues practical decisions whose implementation would be decisive for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

140. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): The Peruvian delegation strongly supports the twenty-eight-Power draft resolution, and I will now give the reasons for its doing so.

141. The Assembly has not only to make recommendations regarding legal matters or economic needs, but also to reflect the opinion of the peoples here represented. It has been said, with exaggeration, that there is a decisive factor in great opportunities and great problems. This factor is the world's conscience; it is world opinion. We all receive, not only the instructions of our Governments, but, as it were, an occult message stemming from the feelings, aspirations and needs of our peoples. For this reason I reminded the Assembly on 20 September [864th meeting], quoting the words of the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, that we often act not merely on behalf of our Governments but on behalf of our peoples.

142. No one has been unaffected, in recent months, by the period of distress, anxiety and painful uncertainty about the future of the human race through which the whole of mankind has been passing with the increase of international tension.

143. We shall therefore be doing our duty if, sensible to this world-wide distress, we also give voice to the aspiration which accompanies it, as a measure of consoling hope—the hope that we, here, will attack the problems realistically and honestly, and create a favourable atmosphere for their solution along lines which are in harmony with the aspirations of mankind.

144. You are well aware that the whole world is longing for real peace. And you also know that what is required in order to achieve such peace is not only compliance with certain legal standards and a certain harmony of interests, but also a profound and decisive change in the spirit of all nations, and particularly of the leading Powers. It would be a mistake to think, as some unrealistic minds do, that peace can be consolidated merely through a balance of power, or by some magical harmonizing of interests which often does not materialize, even by a miracle; still less

can it be consolidated by the effectiveness of the "deterrents" to aggression.

145. The policies of balance of power and reliance on deterrents to aggression produce merely a temporary and uncertain peace, a truce which can be broken by any accident or mistake. And mankind is living precariously in such a period of truce. What our peoples and our Governments want—what, I venture to say, the peoples and Governments of all countries want, including of course, with all respect, those of the nuclear Powers—is undoubtedly to find a formula whereby, with all considerations of political hegemony, ideological supremacy and utopian dogmatism set aside, practical solutions can be found on which to base a genuine and just peace. That is the aim of the resolution; that is the meaning of the request made by the Indian representative, who introduced it, and confirmed by my friend the representative of the sister Republic of Venezuela, to the end that the Assembly may adopt the resolution unanimously. That is our hope. May there be an echo, within this distinguished forum, of the common hope of all peoples that this Assembly will not be a failure, will not simply provide a jousting-ground for conflicting ideologies and systems, but will lead, through patient and unsparing human efforts, to a formula reflecting the true and sacred interests of mankind.

146. Attached as I am to the United Nations, after working here for so long and seeing the miraculous way in which it has been preserved—for if we have arrived at the present day we must admit that it has been thanks to a series of miracles, to the overcoming of what appeared to be insoluble crises—I cannot but express the hope that all hearts will undergo this spiritual change, and that this ideological conflict will cease. Civilizations, and political and economic systems, may contend with each other on the intellectual plane, in debate; but life is greater than disputation, and is continually producing "rapprochements", adaptations and readjustments often undreamt of by the thinkers themselves.

147. We have had enough of recrimination; we have had enough of purely ideological discussion. If art has succeeded in using material objects in combination, as with the stones in the Inca fortresses or in the Gothic cathedrals, why cannot we use ideas in support of each other, as is done with the stones of a marvellous dome? Can we not combine interests, aspirations and, indeed, all our ideas to form an eternal dome under which can live a human race dedicated solely to constructive work, progress and justice?

148. For these reasons the Peruvian delegation warmly congratulates the twenty-eight Powers on their initiative, and urges the Assembly to adopt the draft resolution unanimously.

149. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): The United States fully supports the twenty-eight-Power draft resolution contained in document A/L.320 and Add.1-6.

150. We share the concern of the sponsors at the increase in world tension, and we deplore it. We also believe that it is necessary to arrest this trend, both in the General Assembly and in the world at large. We agree with the sponsors that a way to achieve this is for all countries to conduct themselves in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and refrain from actions likely to aggravate international tension.

In this connexion, it should be emphasized that the Charter obliges Members to refrain both from the use of force and from the threat to use force in their international relations. My delegation believes that a more faithful compliance with this provision of the Charter would contribute to a relaxation of tensions.

151. The draft resolution also stresses the need for the United Nations to become a more effective instrument for the safeguarding of peace and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The United States is in full sympathy with this objective. In fact, in his address to the General Assembly on 22 September, President Eisenhower reaffirmed the dedication of our country to the United Nations, and of his statement I give this one brief excerpt: "The United States stands squarely and unequivocally in support of the United Nations and those acting under its mandate in the interest of peace." [868th meeting, para. 23.]

152. In keeping with this spirit, the United States will fully support those measures which will help make the Organization a more effective instrument for maintaining peace and will oppose any measure which tends to weaken the United Nations or make it less effective in discharging its responsibilities. We also agree that immediate and constructive steps should be adopted in regard to the urgent problems concerning the peace of the world and the advancement of its peoples.

153. We believe that one of the first and most constructive steps which can and should be taken is the resumption of disarmament negotiations. I have pointed out earlier that the United States remains ready to resume such negotiations immediately.

154. With regard to the need of steps to advance the peoples of the world, our delegation is on record as having stressed that the area which perhaps requires the greatest and most immediate attention of this Organization is Africa, with its many new States. To serve this purpose, the United States has introduced for consideration by the General Assembly an item entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development". We will also support any other constructive measures designed to advance the welfare of mankind.

155. A draft resolution sponsored by Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador and Tunisia similar in scope and intent to this draft resolution was adopted by the Security Council on 27 May 1960.^{3/} The United States supported that resolution then. We hope that the draft resolution before us will be adopted and that it and the Security Council resolution will be observed by all Members of the United Nations, and that the violence, threats and disorder of recent weeks will be put behind us forever.

156. That was the brief statement which I had prepared to give to the Assembly on the occasion of this particular debate, until I heard Mr. Zorin's statement. I sincerely regret that the Soviet representative has already tried to turn this initiative toward peace into an instrument for further cold war propaganda by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is exactly this sort of attempt to fan the flames of hatred and suspi-

^{3/}See Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1960, document S/4328.

cion that we had understood the draft resolution to be directed against.

157. We will continue to support this draft resolution, and I will prove it by refraining from a reply in kind to the Soviet representative's statement. Perhaps our example may help.

158. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan considers it an honour to its delegation to support this draft resolution. This is a resolution which is directed towards the attainment of peace, and I doubt if there is any delegation in the United Nations which would be opposed to such a virtuous move. For this reason, my delegation considers it an honour to be associated with this effort.

159. By operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution the General Assembly would urge "that all countries, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, refrain from actions likely to aggravate international tensions". International tensions are caused not merely when there is a conflict or a dispute between nuclear Powers or great Powers. International tension is aggravated when there is a dispute between any Powers, because peace is indivisible. If you are to attain permanent and lasting peace, it can only be done if the causes of friction are removed in all theatres of the world, not only in theatres in which either the great Powers or the nuclear Powers are directly concerned or have a direct interest.

160. The world today is a shrunken world, and any friction or dispute in any part of the world is bound to have its ramifications and its effects throughout the world. It is for this reason that it is essential for all of us, small and big, nuclear and non-nuclear, to direct all our attention and all our energy—this is an obligation which we owe not only to our peoples and the peoples where the disputes are concerned but we owe it to humanity—to removing all frictions, and with the elimination of each cause of friction the purpose and the spirit of this draft resolution is brought all the closer to reality. It is all very well here in this international forum to urge and talk of peace and then, either in one's own country or elsewhere, to do things which do not really promote peace. It is incumbent on all of us here, as well as in our own respective countries, in our own respective regions, to direct all our constructive energies for the assurance of peace, for, as I have said, peace is indivisible.

161. We heard this morning a lengthy discourse on how ignoble war is. This is a self-evident proposition. The means of destruction are so complete today that we do not have to rub it in or to reiterate it. We all know that in days gone by, in days of the past, when humanity was going through a period of evolution, when civilization had not matured to this level of development, there were people, there were philosophers, who eulogized war, who considered war a biological necessity. But that was not only in the nineteenth century. Even in the philosophies of the most ancient of civilizations there has been a eulogy of war. But that is an era gone by. It is obsolete today. In the present circumstances and in the present context, it is the duty of all humanity, of all peoples—and I repeat, nuclear and non-nuclear—to direct all their energies toward the achievement of permanent peace. I say that this can only be done if, first and foremost, as a condition precedent, they remove the friction in

their own areas. Then only can we advance towards true and lasting peace.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

162. Mr. ROSSIDÉS (Cyprus): My delegation fully supports the draft resolution just proposed. We consider this draft resolution to be very important, although it may at first sight seem to do no more than repeat what is contained in the United Nations Charter and what is in the mind of everyone: that there should be a relaxation of tension and that something should be done towards a greater spirit of co-operation among the nations.

163. It might be said that this draft resolution does not suggest any constructive measures to be taken towards that end, but its importance is that it expresses the feeling of the General Assembly and tends towards the creation of that atmosphere in which it would be possible to take measures that would lead to a relaxation of tension and to proceed to steps for disarmament. What is important is the moral aspect of what lies in the hearts of men, and this draft resolution is intended to create that spirit, the spirit of less recrimination, the spirit of fewer attacks and counter-attacks, the spirit of less antagonism and more co-operation, and therefore fewer wars of words—because wars of words and attacks can lead to another war—and to create an atmosphere of co-operation.

164. I submit that this draft resolution has already had its impact in the attitude of the representative of the United States, who has, as he said, avoided making any attack on the other side. I submit that, if this spirit is followed, it will show that this draft resolution has already from the first moment had its impact upon the General Assembly, upon the whole progress of the disarmament negotiations and upon world affairs in general.

165. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Israel has the floor for an explanation of vote:

166. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation wholeheartedly supports and endorses the substance of the draft resolution. We express the hope that all Member States, including the sponsors themselves, will in their relations with other States try to live up to the principles of greater harmony, co-operation and non-aggravation of tension which are set out in the text.

167. When the draft resolution was first communicated to us yesterday, my delegation immediately expressed its desire to be included amongst the sponsors. We regret that in a matter of this kind we should not have been included amongst the sponsors, for reasons of political expediency which we are unable to reconcile with the language or the spirit of the draft resolution itself. We, nevertheless, will vote for the draft resolution in the sincere hope that a unanimous vote for it will be a milestone on the road to universal peace.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

168. The PRESIDENT: As there are no further speakers, I take it that the Assembly is prepared now to proceed to take a decision on this matter. If so, I now propose to put the draft resolution contained in docu-

ment A/L.320 and Add.1-6 to the Assembly. A roll-call vote has been asked for.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Saudi Arabia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

169. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to make a brief announcement. Two years ago the General Assembly by its resolution 1285

(XIII) launched what proved to be a remarkably successful endeavour. I refer to the World Refugee Year, the observance of which began in most countries in June-July 1959 and is still continuing in many countries. No one, of course, expected that this year of special effort on behalf of refugees would solve all the refugee problems of the world. Indeed, the basic thought behind the proposal was that it should be not an end but the beginning of a new and higher level of help to refugees everywhere. The real success of the World Refugee Year can only be measured in the degree to which the world's conscience is permanently awakened.

170. The Members of the Assembly will soon have an opportunity to demonstrate in a practical way the extent to which they intend to respond to the challenge which is now before them. Next Thursday, 20 October, the Assembly will meet in Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole in this hall to hear pledges announced for the two refugee programmes of the United Nations—for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the morning, and for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the afternoon. The financial needs of both these programmes have been made known to the Members, inter alia, by a letter dated 14 October 1960 from the Chairman of the Assembly's Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds.

171. I venture to urge all Members of the Assembly to make a special effort to attend these two meetings on Thursday, 20 October.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.