



## CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (continued) . . . . .	285
Speech by Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria) . . . . .	285
Speech by Mr. Haikal (Jordan) . . . . .	289
Speech by Mrs. Meir (Israel) . . . . .	292

**President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).**

## AGENDA ITEM 9

## General debate (continued)

1. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly includes some extremely important items, items which are of crucial significance to mankind, but for which, despite all efforts, no satisfactory solution has as yet been found. Although some progress was made late last year and early in the present year towards the settlement of some particularly serious problems, the situation as a whole remains strained. It is therefore natural that the attention of the world's peoples should be focused on the work of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, on the formulation of the questions before it, on the decisions it adopts and on the recommendations it makes to ensure peaceful coexistence between peoples. In order to guarantee its success, our work should be guided by the purposes of the United Nations, as laid down in the Charter, and by respect for its principles. It is right and proper that we should keep the purposes of the Organization constantly before us and should consistently respect the principles on which it is based. The course of development of international relations and, more particularly, the experiences of the last few decades, have made the peaceful settlement of disputes indispensable.

2. The two world wars, which brought untold calamities and sorrow to mankind, have proved that the use of force and violence to settle international disputes does not yield lasting results. The peaceful settlement of international disputes is now no longer simply a moral issue; as a result of contemporary developments, it has also become a historical necessity. Having paid for their victory over fascism with rivers of blood, the world's peoples expressed, in the Charter of the United Nations, their firm determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. That is why the Charter rules out the use of force in the settlement of disputes and imposes an obligation on all States Members of the United Nations to settle disputes by peaceful means and in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

3. But the hopes placed in the United Nations do not rest solely on the fact that its purposes and principles as laid down in the Charter reflect the desires of ordinary men and women. The peoples of the world know from their own experience that, whenever they find suitable means of making their unanimous opinion heard within the Organization, real results can be achieved, existing tensions removed and peace maintained.

4. Still fresh are our memories of the tragic events in the Middle East, where the basic principles of the Charter were flagrantly ignored and an attempt was made by the use of force to impose a policy dictated by patently selfish interests on a Member State of the United Nations in violation of its sovereign rights.

5. The resolute action taken by the peace-loving States and the peoples themselves in defence of the victim thwarted the aggressors' plans. It became obvious at that time that when the peoples of the entire world unite against aggression and to preserve peace they become an irresistible force which, with the weight of the United Nations behind it, can make a decisive contribution to the maintenance of peace and can prevent conflicts from spreading.

6. The constructive part played last autumn by the United Nations in halting aggression and restoring peace in the Middle East should be emphasized in this connexion. The General Assembly resolutions on the cease-fire and the withdrawal of the aggressors' forces from Egypt, which reflected public opinion throughout the world, justified the hopes of the peoples and strengthened their confidence in the Organization's ability to maintain peace. There can be no doubt therefore that the United Nations is capable of playing a constructive part in the settlement of all the outstanding international issues on which the maintenance and consolidation of world peace and the security of the peoples depend.

7. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria hopes that, during the current session, the General Assembly will succeed in taking constructive decisions on the items on its agenda, thus contributing to the strengthening of peace and understanding between peoples and establishing a solid foundation for subsequent co-operation between nations. It can do so if the Members of the United Nations make the effort required for a practical settlement of the most urgent international issues.

8. The present course of events in the Middle East, in other words, in close proximity to our country, is being followed with keen interest and attention by the whole population of Bulgaria. The explanation is not hard to find. With the technical facilities of today, any important event, any disturbance in no matter what country has repercussions and effects on other countries, particularly on neighbouring ones.

9. As a result of developments during the past few decades and principally after the Second World War, the peoples of the Middle East have achieved their national independence. They are now making great efforts to maintain and strengthen it and also to promote the development of their national economies, which were retarded by foreign rule, and to raise the very low level of living in that part of the world. In view of their long history and their substantial contribution to the development of human knowledge and culture, these peoples are justified in asking to be left alone to manage their own affairs. However, certain financial circles interested in the exploitation of this area and its great natural wealth apparently have different ideas. They are not prepared to accept the fact that the peoples of this part of the world are firmly resolved to manage their own affairs, to undertake the exploitation of their national resources as they see fit and in accordance with their own interests.

10. The halting of the aggression against Egypt did not extinguish the aspirations of these circles, and especially those of the United States oil monopolies. It is a well known fact that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its ramifications were set up to protect the specific interests of these monopolies in the area. Because of their close ties with British and French financial groups, the monopolies regard themselves as the rightful heirs and successors to these groups. In fact, as the prestige and influence of the United Kingdom and France in this region declined, the cupidity of these United States concerns increased. It was these monopolistic interests which evolved the theory that the end of British and French influence in the Middle East had created a power vacuum which the Arab peoples were incapable of filling themselves. To fill this imaginary vacuum a special doctrine, the Eisenhower doctrine was devised, which was backed by the influence and the armed forces of the United States. Of no avail were assertions by the Arab States and their peoples that there is no vacuum in the Middle East, and that even if there was, they would be capable of filling it. Special emissaries were sent to persuade the Arab peoples that a vacuum existed and that only the United States was in a position to fill it. After protracted efforts, in which the United States fleet stationed in the Mediterranean played a not inconsiderable part, some countries, principally those already belonging to the Baghdad Pact and NATO, were induced to accept the Eisenhower doctrine.

11. The formulation of this doctrine was essential to United States ruling circles in order to justify before world opinion - including Arab opinion - their blatant interference in the domestic affairs of the Middle East States. The reason given for the formulation of this dangerous doctrine, which jeopardizes peace and international co-operation, was alleged Soviet interference in the Middle East, which was in fact non-existent.

12. In reality, whenever and wherever peoples rise to free themselves from colonial bondage or to safeguard the independence they have already won, the monopolies and their spokesmen invariably repeat the old, outworn lie about the communist threat, a lie which was responsible for Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

13. Only a few weeks ago, under similar pretexts, a fierce campaign was launched against Syria. Syria was accused of constituting a threat to its neighbours,

even though some of them are larger and more powerful than itself. Special envoys were sent to study the situation on the spot, but not to Syria. An airlift of arms to Syria's neighbours was organized as a demonstration of strength. Warships belonging to certain Powers appeared off its shores. There was discussion as to whether or not there were grounds for putting the Eisenhower doctrine into effect. Arab statesmen from countries other than Syria, countries which the Americans believe are well-disposed to the United States, unanimously supported Syria, thus categorically refuting all these fabrications. All the turmoil and commotion over the Middle East have increased tension between States in this part of the world and have contributed to keeping international relations tense.

14. Yet the clear and unequivocal statements of the Arab leaders reveal the allegations that Syria threatened the security of its neighbours to be completely false. It is evident on the other hand that the present rulers of Syria are not liked in certain quarters because they are out of step with the tune called by Washington. But why should the rulers of any sovereign country keep in step with the tune called by Washington?

15. At the same time, under cover of the hue and cry over Syria, two other Arab States, Oman and Yemen, have become the victims of acts of aggression by the United Kingdom, the ally of the United States.

16. Demonstrations of strength such as the organization of airlifts of arms into one country in order to exert pressure on a neighbouring State—among the methods used to intimidate Syria—might well miscarry and precipitate a war which could not be localized. These attempts at intimidation, carried out in accordance with the Eisenhower doctrine, were condemned by a section of the United States Press itself because they were a failure. Is that not convincing proof of the real purpose of this doctrine and of the harmful effects of its application?

17. It is time to put an end to the policy of intimidation and threats against the peoples of the Middle East, a policy pursued simply because these peoples refuse to allow the region to revert to domination by foreign interests. It is high time to put an end to attempts at interference in their domestic affairs. The Arab peoples must be left free to manage their own affairs, a task for which they are fitted by their long history and their recent experience. It is exclusively for the State concerned to decide such matters as the identity of its rulers, the composition of its Government and the nature of its political system.

18. The peoples want an end to foreign interference in the Middle East and consider that the countries of this region should be left free to manage their domestic affairs themselves. Men and women everywhere are anxious to safeguard and strengthen peace, to guarantee the normal development of all peoples and to ensure peaceful coexistence among States.

19. The desire and concern to ensure peace and the peaceful development of nations acquire increasing force and urgency as methods of waging war become more destructive. As a result of the invention and development of atomic and thermonuclear weapons of hitherto inconceivable destructive power, world war offers the sombre prospect of the annihilation of tens and hundreds of millions of human beings in different

parts of the world and the infliction of appalling diseases on hundreds of millions of others.

20. The destructive power of atomic and thermonuclear weapons is so great and, with the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles and guided rockets, the means of delivering them have been so improved that no country in the world, regardless of its level of technical development and its defence system and no matter in what part of the world it is situated is immune from attack by these weapons.

21. In these circumstances, it is natural that the question of disarmament should have become one of the crucial issues of our time, for it is one of vital concern to world public opinion and the working masses throughout the world. That is why the work of the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, which met in London for more than five months, was followed with unflagging interest by Governments as well as by the peoples which profoundly desire the conclusion of an agreement, if only of a partial character, which could provide a basis for the eventual solution of the disarmament problem.

22. Unfortunately, these expectations and hopes were disappointed. Despite the optimistic statements of the representatives of the United States and other Western countries in the Sub-Committee, no progress was made towards disarmament. In making such statements, the representatives in question were perhaps trying to allay the growing dismay and anxiety felt by the peoples of their own countries at the armaments race and the fearful prospect of another world war.

23. There must be a real desire to disarm, if progress is to be made towards disarmament. The peoples would find evidence of this desire in a resolute attempt to achieve immediate and practical results by first tackling questions on which, in the opinion of the parties concerned, the prerequisites for agreement have been fulfilled.

24. Do the proposals made by the Western countries in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission reflect such an attempt? Do they pave the way for agreement, at least on some of the questions under consideration? It is common knowledge that the joint proposals submitted by the representatives of the NATO countries during the concluding meetings of the Sub-Committee, linked together all the questions, both those on which agreement could be reached as well as those on which there are irreconcilable differences of opinion, in such a way as to prevent any progress towards disarmament.

25. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, made a number of efforts to meet some of the demands of the representatives of the NATO countries and to allay their fears, however unjustified, by making a series of concessions. Yet instead of evoking a similar desire to reconcile attitudes and positions, it seems to us that the concessions made by the Soviet Union merely aroused in the representatives of the Western countries a desire to perpetuate and, if possible, to widen divergencies of opinion. This is clearly indicated by their joint proposals. Surely we can only conclude they neither desire nor really intend to progress towards disarmament?

26. Everyone, including the representatives of the Western countries in the Sub-Committee, is prepared to acknowledge that the Soviet proposals are realistic

and that they can provide a basis for the conclusion of an agreement. These proposals by the Soviet Union are supported by the great majority of the peoples of the world because they are unequivocal and accord with the desire of the peoples for specific measures towards effective disarmament.

27. In these circumstances what is there to prevent the States participating in the work of the Sub-Committee from reaching agreement on a reduction of armed forces? Was not agreement reached, after long discussion, on maximum levels of armed forces? What prevents these States from assuming a solemn obligation to renounce the use of atomic weapons and from agreeing to the dismantling of all military bases in foreign territory?

28. Yet because groundless objections were raised owing to the fact that control had become a fetish obstructing all efforts to achieve practical agreement on disarmament at an early date, the Soviet Union also submitted proposals on partial measures. It proposed that countries possessing atomic and thermonuclear weapons should assume a solemn obligation not to use these weapons for a period of five years and that tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons should be discontinued for a period of two or three years.

29. No control is necessary for the discontinuance of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Was it not generally admitted some time ago that modern scientific and technical devices can detect any test explosions in any part of the world? Nevertheless, in order to provide even greater security and to meet the demands of the Western countries, the Soviet Union proposed the establishment of control posts in all areas where such explosions could be set off.

30. Can anything be clearer or more practical than these proposals? In addition to constituting a realistic approach to the problems involved, these proposals for partial measures have the advantage of providing a basis for a lasting disarmament agreement. To be sure, there is no easy solution to the disarmament problem. We feel, however, that this urgent topical question is being artificially complicated and obscured by a host of technical and organizational questions which, it is contended, should be settled before disarmament takes place.

31. If an intention and desire to break the present deadlock in the disarmament negotiations really exists, agreement must be reached at least on certain urgent and fundamental issues. Useful progress in this direction would undoubtedly be made if States possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons agreed to assume a solemn obligation to renounce their use, at least for a certain period. An agreement of this kind would have an extremely favourable effect on the international situation and would help to restore people's confidence that great Powers possessing atomic and thermonuclear weapons genuinely intend to renounce their use.

32. If they really want to achieve agreement on disarmament, what prevents the Western Powers, and in particular the United States and the United Kingdom, from accepting the proposal for a temporary discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, for a period of two or three years at least? Furthermore, this question can easily be singled out from the disarmament problem as a whole and speedily settled. It is a ques-

tion which does not involve discussion of control or other complex technical and organizational matters despite the fact that, in this connexion too, the United Kingdom representative managed to raise a number of technical points which he claimed must be settled before disarmament could take place. The argument that the discontinuance of test explosions would create a false feeling of security and calm is groundless. What could be false about the sincere relief that peoples would feel at the news that tests of atomic weapons had been discontinued and that the dangerous increase in radioactivity had been stopped? Is it perhaps felt that the explosions on Bikini and other islands bring greater peace of mind to the inhabitants of Japan, Indonesia or Australia? Or that life is more peaceful and secure in the shadow of these mushroom-shaped clouds?

33. I would point out, in connexion with the refusal of the Western countries to accept proposals for the discontinuance of tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, that an attempt is being made in certain quarters to reassure us by producing "clean" atomic bombs - nuclear weapons with reduced radioactivity. This is strange consolation indeed. Would these weapons be any less destructive in the event of a third world war? Obviously not. How then do they help the average man upon whom their destructive force would be visited? Would it be any less painful to die of burns or wounds caused by "clean" atomic weapons than those caused by ordinary atomic weapons? Would these bombs destroy fewer cities or fewer monuments of human culture? Would they make the annihilation of the inhabitants of large towns and densely-populated areas any less horrible? In any event, what is to guarantee that, in a third world war, with passions running high, only "clean" atomic and hydrogen bombs and no others would be used?

34. There is a real danger that a world war would result in unparalleled destruction and slaughter as a result of the use of thermonuclear weapons. That is why the necessary steps must be taken here and now, while calm still prevails, to stop tests of thermonuclear weapons, to prohibit their use, and even to destroy existing stocks of these weapons.

35. The assertion that the Soviet Union would rely on the possibility of exerting moral and religious pressure on the Western Governments and of exploiting the repugnance of the masses to atomic and thermonuclear weapons obviously disregards the facts of history. It is common knowledge that no moral or religious considerations prevented the use of atomic bombs at Hiroshima or Nagasaki, where they killed tens of thousands of human beings outright and condemned hundreds of thousands of others to a slow and painful death. No moral or religious scruples prevented United States militarists and monopolists from developing atomic weapons at feverish speed before the Soviet Union was producing or was even planning to produce them. Why then, at that time, did United States ruling circles which try to give the impression of devotion to the cause of disarmament, fail to accept the Soviet proposal to prohibit production of atomic weapons? At that time they would have had the advantage of being able to institute complete control, since the USSR was producing neither atomic weapons nor fissionable materials.

36. This was obviously a lost opportunity. It is al-

ready part of history, but these historical facts can help us to understand present developments better and to form a clearer picture of the positions of various countries on the disarmament question and particularly on the discontinuance of tests of nuclear weapons.

37. Others have tried to prove that a third world war, waged with conventional weapons, would be no less destructive than a war waged with atomic and thermonuclear weapons. We agree that there should be no war at all. Yet we are surprised by an argument of this kind, because obviously its only purpose is to justify the production of atomic and nuclear weapons, to justify world war.

38. Clearly, no one could be convinced by any of the arguments presented by the representatives of the NATO countries in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission and in the present debate, arguments designed to prevent the early conclusion of a disarmament agreement, which the peoples of the entire world are anxiously awaiting.

39. The USSR proposals for total disarmament reflect the hopes and desires of all the peoples of the world, who in particular unanimously support the proposal for renouncing the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and eliminating them from the armaments of States. That is why the proposals have the wholehearted support of the entire world.

40. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has repeatedly affirmed, and once again reaffirms, its support for the USSR Government's proposals on disarmament, the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, and on the discontinuance of tests of those atomic weapons, because those proposals are in keeping with the interests of the Bulgarian people and with the interests of peace and security throughout the world.

41. In one of the speeches made in this hall - that of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom - the socialist countries represented in the United Nations were reproached for voting with one voice on all basic questions affecting international relations, including disarmament. We cannot but find that reproach surprising. The relations among the socialist countries and their complete unanimity on all major international problems at all times and in all places, including the United Nations, are perfectly natural and logical. That unanimity stems from the very nature of their policy, which is one of peace, economic, cultural and scientific co-operation, peaceful coexistence and closer relations among nations.

42. It would be strange if it were otherwise. It would be strange if these countries, which pursue similar policies of peace and peaceful coexistence, co-operation and close relations among nations, were not unanimous on major international issues. There are undoubtedly some who would like to see deviations from this unanimity, but such a desire is not realistic. It should be quite obvious that no socialist State will abandon its foreign policy, which reflects the interests and hopes of the masses of its people, and embark on a different policy solely to please certain circles which are interested in the maintenance of international tension.

43. In line with its policy of peace, peaceful coexistence among States, co-operation and friendship among peoples, which determines its position on all interna-

tional problems, including those discussed in the United Nations, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has proposed a whole series of measures for improving its relations with its neighbours, and establishing close economic co-operation and cultural, scientific and technical exchanges with them.

44. In many cases, the goodwill and initiative shown by the Bulgarian Government have been reciprocated with understanding and goodwill, which has led to substantial progress in improving our relations with our Balkan neighbours and strengthening co-operation among them.

45. We appreciated and welcomed the initiative taken by the Government of the Romanian People's Republic in calling a conference of the heads of Government of the Balkan countries with a view to discussing the strengthening of peace in the Balkans, non-aggression, the peaceful settlement of all disputes, and the development of economic and cultural relations.

46. Although there are some outstanding problems and certain differences of opinion on certain issues, the Bulgarian Government believes that direct contact between the heads of Government of the Balkan countries in an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding can pave the way to the conversion of that area of the world into an area of lasting peace and harmony.

47. However, certain great Powers are still trying to divert public attention in some Balkan countries from questions embarrassing to those Powers by stirring up old resentments and setting the peoples of the Balkans against each other.

48. However easy and convenient such methods may be, this system of playing politics at the expense of others must be brought to an end. We are convinced that the Balkan peoples will not allow the Balkans once again to become the powderkeg of Europe. They will undoubtedly pursue the course of agreement, co-operation and peaceful coexistence so that they can devote all their energies, material resources and talents to economic and cultural progress.

49. Many speakers have emphasized during this debate that a climate of mutual trust and co-operation is essential to the solution of important international problems. Such a climate could easily be created by giving priority to certain questions, the solution of which presents no special difficulty, given goodwill on all sides. For example, instead of setting up artificial barriers to trade with certain countries, and more particularly with the socialist countries, Governments could co-operate actively in restoring traditional trade and economic relations among nations and in paving the way for their future expansion. That would largely resolve the difficulty many Western countries are experiencing in finding markets for some of their products and help them to make full use of the productive capacity of certain branches of their industry. It would also establish the necessary conditions for better mutual understanding among peoples and consequently, for greater mutual confidence. For that reason, we should seriously consider the advantages offered by the Soviet proposal for convening a world economic conference to consider questions of economic co-operation among all countries.

50. Another question which deserves full and careful attention with a view to creating mutual understanding

and an atmosphere of confidence among nations is that of strengthening cultural exchanges and relations among all peoples, particularly among those with different social and political systems. The study and knowledge of other peoples' cultural, scientific and artistic ideas, their outlook and way of life, and their philosophy and aspirations can do much to bring nations closer together.

51. The United Nations has an extremely important part to play in solving these and similar problems. It has the means at its disposal to promote firm progress towards economic and cultural co-operation among nations.

52. We hope that at this session the General Assembly will use these means and its authority to hasten the solution of these and all the other problems on its agenda, and particularly, the problem of disarmament. That solution will contribute to the achievement of a lasting peace and the peaceful coexistence of all the peoples of the world.

53. Mr. HAIKAL (Jordan): I should like, first of all, on behalf of the Jordanian delegation, to convey our congratulations to Sir Leslie Munro on the occasion of his election to the Presidency of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

54. I should like, at the same time, to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, on the occasion of his re-election. The unanimous vote received by Mr. Hammarskjold in the Security Council and in the General Assembly expresses the general appreciation of his great ability in directing this world Organization and of his untiring efforts in upholding the principles of the Charter.

55. On behalf of the Government of Jordan, I want also to extend our welcome to the Federation of Malaya as a new Member of the United Nations. The Arabs have kept for many centuries cultural and economic relations with the people of Malaya and we feel sure that these friendly links will be strengthened with the independence of the new State.

56. It is gratifying to note the contribution that the United Nations continued to make, all through last year, to the welfare of many countries in the cultural, economic and political fields. A number of heads of delegations have already surveyed these United Nations activities and we fully share their appreciation.

57. The United Nations efforts in maintaining peace deserve special mention. The most recent and praiseworthy example of these efforts is the important role played by the United Nations last year in stopping the tripartite invasion of Egypt, an invasion that, if permitted to develop, would have no doubt brought catastrophe to the entire world. World security is indivisible and the concepts of little wars, short wars, or limited wars are, in our age, fast becoming increasingly dangerous fallacies.

58. The historic stand of the United Nations in the Suez war convinced the smaller Powers in our community of nations that this great international institution remains one of the best instruments to check aggression, maintain peace and uphold international justice. Because world public opinion proved so irresistible a moral force when Egypt became the victim of aggression, it prompted many countries to turn with renewed faith to the United Nations, whose prestige and authority rose higher than ever among nations.

59. As the representative of an Arab country, I should like to be allowed to limit my remarks to a few general aspects of the difficulties affecting world security in the Near East.

60. As we all know, a general atmosphere of crisis, together with much discontent and political instability is prevailing in the Near East. A number of States outside the area are endeavouring to remedy this state of affairs. But effective remedies will not be found until the real nature of the ills in the region is fully understood.

61. For the last ten years, all unprejudiced students of the political local scene are agreed on one thing: that the roots of basic difficulties in the area stem from the Zionist movement and the Israel policy of expansion, unrelentingly pursued at the expense of Arabs.

62. I am not going to take the Assembly's time to retrace these historic developments. The circumstances in which the creation of Israel made more than one million Arab refugees, representing over 75 per cent of the original Arab population of Palestine, are known well enough. These unfortunate victims of the Zionist aggression are still scattered in refugee camps, or live destitute lives in various Middle East countries or in far away places, in the four corners of the world: families who for centuries had lived in the same cities, the same villages, or even under the same roofs are now dispersed — innocent victims of events in which they had no voice and no control, they feel abandoned by all. This has been allowed to happen in spite of the fact that the same United Nations decisions which created Israel, uphold the natural right of the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homes. Yet, ten years after the creation of Israel, these refugees continue to live in degrading circumstances on Arab charity and on United Nations relief, which amount only to about \$2 per person per month, for each refugee. These \$2 include expenses for health, education, transportation, shelter, food and the salaries of the United Nations relief workers.

63. One of the tragic sides of this situation is that, in reality, these unfortunate Palestinian refugees forced to survive on charity, are not poor: in fact, they own 90 per cent of the area of Palestine now known as Israel. The value of individually owned Arab properties in Israel is estimated at \$12,000 million, and in 1947 these properties were yielding a yearly revenue of about \$150 million.

64. One does not see why the Arab properties in Israel should continue to be exploited by Israelis, and why the rightful owners, who are in such dire need, should continue to be deprived of these revenues. One does not see why the United Nations should, year after year, beg Members of this Organization to contribute to the upkeep of the Arab refugees, when the properties in Israel of those Arab refugees are yielding a revenue of about \$150 million a year. We are told that this year the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East is again experiencing financial difficulties and intends to discontinue part of its services to the Arab refugees. The General Assembly cannot escape much longer facing the moral responsibilities involved in this matter, and this Organization would take a very practical step if it considered whether it is not time

to set up a committee for the custody of Arab properties in Israel, which would administer and supervise their maintenance, instead of leaving the refugees' properties to the Israelis who purposely allow them to deteriorate. This United Nations Committee would also collect Arab revenues in Israel and distribute them for the benefit of the refugees, until a definite settlement of the Palestine problem was reached.

65. Homage should be paid here to the specialized agencies of the United Nations — particularly the United Nations Relief and Works Agency — for their untiring efforts to help the refugees to fight famine and disease, although all these efforts combined do not ensure more than a near-starvation level of existence to the victims of Zionism.

66. World opinion cannot, without danger, continue to remain humanely insensitive and politically blind to the fact that one of the main causes of the present bitterness and unrest in the area derives from Israel's continued disregard of the repeated United Nations decisions calling for the return of the Arab refugees to their homes and stipulating that those refugees who might choose not to return should be properly and individually compensated. But, unfortunately for the refugees' fate and for the fate of world security, Israel has consistently refused to implement the provisions of the United Nations decisions, which aimed at safeguarding some Arab rights in Palestine.

67. There are also other reasons for the dangerous tensions prevailing in the Near East. The deterioration of the political situation in this part of the world is found to be directly linked with the pursuits of Israel political ambitions. Every day Israelis are trying to overrun more Arab lands. Israel leaders are making no secret of their expansionist policy. Only recently, Mr. Ben Gurion declared that Israel intends to bring no fewer than 2 million new Jewish immigrants to the shores of Palestine in the near future. At the same time, Israel continues to refuse to allow the return of the Arab refugees to their homes and properties, under the pretext that there is no more room for newcomers in Israel.

68. Jewish immigration has always proved to be the main tool for the implementation of Israel expansionist plans. As such, it is a matter of serious concern to the Arabs. They cannot forget that the immigration of 700,000 Jews into Palestine during the British Mandate resulted in the carving out of a foreign State in the heart of the Arab countries, and in the dispossessing and exiling of more than one million Palestine Arabs. The present Arab unrest, fear and tension cannot be studied in isolation from the context of this historic development: when fewer than 750,000 Jewish immigrants brought to the Arabs a tragedy of such magnitude, is it really surprising if they are at present alarmed, if they desire to arm themselves and resist the expansionist aims of Zionism? With 2 million more immigrants in Israel, Israel's propensity to expand will be greatly increased. As it is now, the Israel danger is already felt by each one of the Arab countries in the area. They have endured many blows and suffered many losses. The United Nations itself has been put to great pains to contain repeated Israel aggressions.

69. The fact that Israel is already heavily armed and continues to arm itself with foreign help, out of proportion to its defensive needs, and the fact that Israel

has welcomed a foreign military mission inimical to the Arabs, constitute a major threat to the security of the Arab States. The situation is steadily worsening, and that explains why Arab leaders are looking for help from anywhere. To them falls the unenviable task of facing day and night the Zionist danger, the avowed aims of which are to seize more Arab lands, to dispossess more Arab owners, and to exterminate more Arab men, women and children, so that an always more powerful Zionist State may rule in the Near East. To put an end to that chronic source of unrest in the Near East something must be done, because, in the present circumstances, if things are left to themselves they can only become progressively worse.

70. Some Western politicians seem to think that the Palestine problem can be solved through economic measures. But the realities of the situation created by the Palestinian tragedy make this approach completely inadequate. It cannot be stressed enough that the Palestine problem is essentially a political problem; and no progress will be made until the political issues involved are squarely faced. Only after a political settlement is reached guaranteeing Arab rights in Palestine will the way be open to successful economic developments.

71. We are convinced that some measures, taken without delay through the United Nations along the following lines, would have a quieting effect: First, the implementation of the United Nations decisions, which have been repeated again and again in the last ten years, stipulating the return of the refugees to their homes in Palestine and compensation for their losses. Secondly, the return to the Arabs of the territory which Israel unlawfully occupies in the part of Palestine that the United Nations decided should remain Arab. Thirdly, the creation of a United Nations committee for the custody of Arab properties in Israel, which should be responsible for the administration and maintenance of these properties, as well as for the collection and distribution of the revenue from them for the benefit of their rightful owners, the Palestinian refugees. Fourthly and most imperative, bringing an end to uncontrolled Jewish immigration to Israel, the present unlimited Jewish immigration being the most real and immediate danger to the stability of the area. This danger is so threatening that, in the view of most political observers, it should not be allowed to continue, even under the pretext of sovereign rights, because the point has been reached where Zionist immigration affects not only the situation in Israel but, in fact, affects the future of every Arab country in the Near East; that is to say, the political stability of the area.

72. It is our deep conviction that it is urgent for this great assembly of nations to study the questions raised by unrestricted Zionist immigration in a very restricted enclave of the Near East. This introduction of a foreign and hostile element into the area has proved, during the last decade, a most disturbing political factor. We believe that the Members of this Assembly could exercise a stabilizing influence in this troubled area by removing the matter of Jewish immigration from national control and putting it under international control. This new approach would allay some of the deeper fears responsible for the rapid deterioration of the situation. Time is running short in the Near East.

73. Other political difficulties arose recently in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, at Oman and Yemen. Here, too, the difficulties developed as a result of foreign ambitions to dominate these Arab parts of the world. Continued aggression must be stopped in the south of Arabia if political stability is truly desired. It is our fervent hope that the spirit of domination still, at times, misguiding some big Powers will disappear as people become more aware of the greater advantages to be derived from political and economic co-operation, freely consented to between countries.

74. Another area of great concern to Arabs everywhere is North Africa, particularly because of what is happening in Algeria.

75. French policy concerning Morocco and Tunisia, which ultimately resulted in the independence of the two countries, was an enlightened and wise policy. It prevented unnecessary loss of life and much human suffering to both sides, and opened the way to fruitful co-operation.

76. Unfortunately, France has followed a quite different course in Algeria, a course which has been disastrous for all concerned, a course that the friends of France are following with a heavy heart and that Arabs everywhere watch with consternation and anger. France is writing a sad page of its history in Algeria. It is sad indeed that a country which, at the end of the eighteenth century, was the champion of people's emancipation, should now turn to the use of brutal force to keep under its yoke another people.

77. I am not going to describe how Arab national emancipation is repressed in Algeria. But I want to register here Arab indignation at the use of NATO forces and armaments in exterminating the Arab population of Algeria. In fact, the horror of what is going on in Algeria is beyond description. And one wonders why no powerful voice in the West has been raised to denounce these atrocities. For us, aggression and the brutal repression of national liberation movements are reprehensible wherever they happen, and we would like to see the principles of the Charter upheld everywhere in regulating international relations.

78. I should like to acknowledge here the courageous stand of Senator Kennedy, who asked for a cease fire in Algeria and justice for the Algerians. Also to be acknowledged with gratitude are the statements of a number of speakers in this Assembly, particularly the statement of Mr. Aiken, Minister for External Affairs and Chairman of the delegation of Ireland, for their unequivocal stand for justice in Algeria on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

79. Everywhere, Arabs find it hard to pass over in silence the fact that about 200,000 men, women, children and old people have already been massacred in Algeria. In spite of all appearances in that unhappy land, we refuse to believe that democratic principles and the principles of the Charter are interpreted or applied differently when the question of their application is raised in Europe, in Africa or in Asia. We believe that respect for human life should be the same everywhere.

80. Last year, France was given a chance by the United Nations to arrive at an understanding with the

Algerian people, and to reach a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem. It was hoped, by the representatives of the eleventh session of the General Assembly, that France would use the delay granted to it to find ways and means to achieve these aims. But, unfortunately, France used the time to pour 500,000 soldiers, with modern arms of all kinds, into Algeria and it continues to entertain the false hope that ultimately force will crush the movements for independence, and that torture will kill the spirit of liberation in Algeria. But these repressive efforts and atrocities have not crushed the national liberation movement in Algeria; on the contrary, more than ever, the Algerian people continue to ask for justice.

81. France might try again to propose palliative measures, but we all know that such measures cannot bring any satisfactory results. The main essential step in reaching a peaceful solution in Algeria, would be for France to abandon the unreal claim that Algeria is an integral part of Metropolitan France, and to recognize the right to independence of the Algerian people. The United Nations, we believe, could play a very useful role by ordering a cease fire, together with the withdrawal of French forces, by sending a United Nations force to keep order, and by appointing a committee to supervise really free general elections in Algeria, so that the people may decide on their political future and form of government. The granting of independence and self-determination to Algeria would benefit all concerned, including France itself in the sense that destructive past hatred could be buried, and that a common policy of co-operation among the three North African countries and France could fully develop.

82. As this session of the General Assembly gets under way, the point of highest political tension has moved to our Arab part of the world, and most observers consider the present situation dangerous to world peace. To us, the inhabitants of the area, this is a sad destination and a threatening one. But we remain convinced that none of our difficulties would be unsurmountable, if they were approached in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which reaffirms the faith of the Members of this Organization "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". Indeed, proper respect of all countries for the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter would ensure the reign of justice, freedom and tranquillity in every part of the world.

83. In our hopes for a brighter future, we fully share the belief of that great soldier, humanist and leader, President Eisenhower, that there is no peace without justice.

84. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): It is my privilege, at the outset of my remarks, to express to Sir Leslie Munro the deep pleasure and satisfaction evoked in my country by his election to the highest office in the gift of the United Nations. His integrity of purpose, his clarity of thought and expression, his judicial temperament are an example here to us all and we feel fortunate indeed in the choice of our presiding officer.

85. I wish also to convey to the Secretary-General the sincere congratulations of my Government on his unanimous re-election to the onerous and distinguished office which he occupies. I hope that in the years to

come, and with his vigilant help, we shall all witness the United Nations come closer and closer to the ideals expressed in the Charter.

86. In the course of the debate the Prime Minister of Canada expressed the wish that this, the twelfth session of the Assembly, might be known as the disarmament Assembly. Many other speakers have echoed this wish and this hope. But, is it not tragic that at the twelfth session of the Assembly we should still be talking of hopes for disarmament, twelve years after a war that was characterized by horrors which no human mind could comprehend or envisage. Is it not tragic that forty years after the First World War which was fought under the slogan "the war to end all wars", we of this generation, many of whom witnessed the ravages of both world wars, are still engaged in debating the need and desirability of disarmament?

87. All employ almost the identical terminology. All speak of peace. But this is accompanied by such lack of confidence, by such lack of friendship that one often stops and wonders whether words have retained their original connotation; whether the same word spoken by different representatives really has the same meaning.

88. This general debate is being conducted in the home of the United Nations, the Organization to which the eyes of all mankind are turned. Never in history has there been an organization of States so near to true universality. Upon admittance to the United Nations, all Member States pledge themselves to respect and to uphold a Charter which embodies the universal longing for peace more faithfully than any other document in modern history, a Charter which envisages the realistic implementation of the prophet's vision of disarmament "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks... neither shall they learn war any more".

89. Recently we have been privileged to witness the admittance of more and more new States. In our midst are seated representatives of peoples that have newly gained their independence and sovereignty. In theory, membership in the United Nations in itself guarantees their independence and integrity as it does to all Member States — including the smallest and weakest among them. I say, in theory, because neither the achievements of the United Nations nor our fervent desire for peace should blind us to the realities of the world situation. Having achieved independence, these new nations know quite well that this new status, even this link with other nations is not the fulfilment, not the final achievement in their development. Independence and membership in the United Nations is not the end — it is the beginning. It is the opportunity given to a people to build, to develop, to create and to prosper unhampered by foreign rule. We — all of the new sovereign States — should be permitted and encouraged to concentrate all our energy, all our resources in manpower and all our economic resources in fighting poverty, illiteracy, disease and desolation. But are these the realities of the world in which we live? No. The sad and cruel fact is that these new countries are born into a world bitterly divided and preoccupied with a headlong race to increase destructive power and distressed by a global tension which moves from one region to another without losing its acuteness or peril. It is under the burden of armaments that we, the young and small nations, begin our

new life, and before we can cope with the problems of development we are driven by necessity to prepare to defend what was just gained — our freedom and our very being.

90. Israel fully agrees that problems of disarmament, both global and regional, should have a primary place in the work of this session. It is vital that we should break the cycle of failure which has for so long characterized this central problem. While it is true that effective progress is dependent upon the action and agreement of a very few of our Members it is the duty of all of us not to remain merely passive on-lookers. We must express our opinion that it is inconceivable that these talks be discontinued. They must go on until an understanding is reached. If all those who call for peace mean it, then an agreement will be reached, has to be reached. Israel, together with all other Members of this Assembly, will follow most closely and anxiously the disarmament negotiations.

91. Ten years ago on 29 November 1947, the General Assembly adopted an historic resolution providing for the establishment of a Jewish State. In May 1948 the Arab League States launched against Israel a war intended to destroy the new State. They failed in their attempt and a few months later Israel was admitted to the United Nations; and yet to this day these same States, despite their membership of the United Nations, refuse to accept the Charter as the basis of their relations with Israel, a fellow Member.

92. This long standing violation of the Charter is a basic factor in the unrest and tension in our area. It has expressed itself in the illegal continuance by these Arab countries of a declared state of war, of belligerency, blockade and organized acts of hostility. It was directly responsible for the crisis of last winter which in turn led to United Nations intervention. It continues unabated to this day.

93. It is true that the United Nations, which initiated Israel's withdrawal last spring, has itself assumed active responsibility for preventing belligerent acts at the two points where the United Nations Emergency Force is deployed. No Government of peaceful intent or aspiration would wish in any way to disturb the status quo which now prevails in those two sectors. But in the Suez Canal not even this limited degree of progress has been achieved. Its international character in fact has been subordinated and obscured and the Canal is being operated under an illegal system of discrimination. Israel ships are not permitted to pass through the Canal and even ships of other flags bound for Israel are detained, cargo and crew are examined, and if an Israeli is among the crew, he is taken off the vessel, interrogated and mishandled, and kept under arrest for weeks.

94. The New Zealand representative has accurately evaluated the situation as follows:

"Shipping is once more passing through the Suez Canal, but the conditions of passage are by no means satisfactory. As long as Israel shipping is prevented from using the Canal, the provisions of the 1888 Convention will not be fully carried out, and the international character of the waterway will be infringed" [683rd meeting, para. 134].

95. This discrimination against Israel shipping is a flagrant violation of the Security Council decision of 1951 and of the six principles adopted by the Security

Council in October 1956. It is a part of the continuing breach by the Arab League States of the Charter and of their international obligations.

96. In its failure to meet this challenge to fundamental principles of the Charter the United Nations has not lived up to its responsibilities. The standard for observance by members of the United Nations must be the same for all. Equality is indeed the first condition for justice. This is a question not only for Israel but for every nation; for action in respect to one sets a precedent for all.

97. The apparent passivity of the United Nations in the face of Arab political terrorism and obstruction is unfortunately reflected also in the regional activities of the United Nations. The ramified boycott operations of the Arab League against Israel extend into the fields of health, of education, of agriculture, science and economics. In this tireless campaign the Arab States seek even to involve the United Nations and its specialized agencies despite the fact that their constitutions expressly or implicitly outlaw every form of discrimination. As a result, on the economic side, for example, the Middle East is today the only one of the world's regions without a United Nations economic commission. The regional office of the World Health Organization in Alexandria is inaccessible to one of the members of that region. The International Civil Aviation Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations are other examples of bodies whose work has likewise been detrimentally affected. One is driven to ask whether the United Nations really has to accommodate itself to Arab tactics so that even its regional agencies are paralysed or severely handicapped in their efforts to secure higher standards of economic and social progress, of health and education for all.

98. The basic problem in our area has been aggravated since 1955, when symptoms of the world struggle were introduced into the Middle East. Since then, the great Power rivalry has resulted in an increase in the offensive armed strength of those very States which openly and repeatedly express their intention of attacking and destroying Israel.

99. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in his speech to the Assembly last week [681st meeting] placed much emphasis on "the need for and advantage of peaceful coexistence between States". That is an objective to which Israel stands committed with all its heart and soul. But is the massive and uninterrupted flow of weapons of destruction into our region, to States that deny the right of existence to a neighbour State, remotely likely to bring about that desirable end? We believe that this is a question which answers itself and we feel entitled to ask Mr. Gromyko whether the principle which he has adumbrated for all does not apply also to our part of the world. For Israel there is a special and unique danger in the fact that while Egypt and Syria are being flooded with arms from the Soviet Union, other Arab States, no less vigorous in their hostility to Israel, are receiving arms from other quarters. Mr. Dulles has said:

"Those who feel an abnormal sense of power, as a result of the recent putting into their hands of large amounts of Soviet-bloc arms, are being incited against their neighbours by violent propaganda. And

that, I say, is risky business" [680th meeting, para. 49].

It is well known that the primary target of this incitement and propaganda is Israel, and it is for us that the risks are greatest.

100. In fact a deadly spiral is being created with these consequences: first, the danger of destructive war is increased; secondly, the tensions within the region make it the focus for even greater tensions from outside, to the detriment of the hard-won independence of Middle Eastern States; and thirdly, a pathetically large proportion of the region's own resources, and of the resources available to the region from outside, must be devoted to weapons of destruction, while the population and economics of the region languish in sterile hardship and backwardness.

101. The Foreign Minister of Ireland told the Assembly, when speaking on the subject of the Middle East:

"If the Powers concerned can substitute joint schemes of human betterment for their present competitive economic diplomacy, the consequent reduction in international tension will enable them to slacken the present terrifying rhythm of the arms race. And if the resources — of human skill and ingenuity no less than of material — at present committed to the arms race are used instead for an equally strenuous effort for prosperity and peace, the prospects for humanity, not alone in the Middle East but throughout the world, can be utterly transformed" [682nd meeting, para. 18].

This pertains most of all to the under-developed countries which are in urgent need of economic development. Even to avoid a decline in the standard of living, production in those countries must be stepped up considerably in order to keep pace with the rapid increase of population which is taking place in most of them. But if a rise in the standard of living is sought, how much more necessary is the effective use of all available resources for this end.

102. The Middle East is one of the under-developed areas of the world. National income per capita in the Arab countries of the region is on the average estimated at a little above \$100 per year, barely 10 per cent of that of some of the countries of Europe. All this expresses itself in such very real things as insufficient food consumption, unhealthy and congested housing, primitive sanitary conditions, a high incidence of disease and especially of those chronic diseases which weaken the body, sap the energies and shorten life, a high infant mortality rate and a high rate of illiteracy. Most of the amenities of life are virtually absent in the vast rural areas of the region.

103. At the same time, while in Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Egypt expenditures on health and education have amounted to between 8 per cent and 21 per cent of the total budget, defence expenditures have ranged from 19 per cent to 60 per cent of their budgets. The combined defence expenditures in these four countries during the last three years amount, according to their published budgets, to some \$930 million. But this figure includes in part arms shipments by foreign Powers at nominal value only, while the real value of these shipments is in some instances estimated to be several times as high. Some of the latest arms

shipments are not included at all in this figure. The real value, therefore, of the resources used for armaments and the maintenance of armies in these countries for the last three years may be estimated at the figure, huge for our area, \$1,500 million to \$2,000 million.

104. Imagine what such amounts, used for investment in irrigation works, farm implements, factory plants and transport facilities could have meant in economic development and in the expansion of health and education.

105. In Israel too the burden of armaments presses hard. For its part it would wish nothing better than to use all the resources available to it for development and the fruitful economic absorption of its growing population. But in the context of its neighbours' threats and menaces, it has no alternative. Nevertheless, despite this tragic diversion of manpower and resources to the needs of defence, Israel's record in the economic and social fields is one of no mean order.

106. Since 1948 it has received nearly one million immigrants, the great majority of whom are refugees, hailing from over seventy countries and from all corners of the world, including nearly 400,000 from the Arab-speaking lands. Its population within nine and a half years has increased from 800,000 in the middle of 1948 to almost 2 million now, including some 200,000 Arabs living in Israel today.

107. The economic and cultural integration of these immigrants and of those still to come has been regarded by the young democracy as its main goal. To achieve this, the economic framework has had to be widely expanded and production doubled and tripled. Large irrigation works have been constructed to bring water to barren areas, hundreds of agricultural settlements established, modern factories built, and great new urban areas developed.

108. But above all we are proud of what has been done with people. The great majority of those who came to Israel during these ten years came either from the post-war camps in Germany and Italy or from Arab-speaking countries. Practically every one from the camps reflected in his loneliness the destruction of all who were dear and close. These were the remnants of the 6 million, the Hitler slaughter of the Jews of Europe. Broken in body and spirit, they came to a country of hardship, and yet at the meeting of desolate desert with victims of horror and destruction, both the land and the people have come to life. The desert has given way to cotton and wheat, forests and vineyards cover barren hills, and with a new dignity and hope the settlers themselves bear witness to the unconquerable spirit of free man.

109. I should like at this point to make reference to the problem which must be in the minds of many, if not of all the representatives. I refer to the Arab refugee problem. True, it is one of the many refugee problems in the world, but it concerns us specifically when we deal with the Middle East. Those who followed events at the time will know that this problem was the direct result of the war of annihilation launched by the Arab States on Israel in 1948. It is not my intention here to go into the history of this situation. I only wish to ask, why is this problem still unsolved? Why are many of these people still in camps idling away their lives and feeding on misery?

110. It is beyond any doubt that the solution could have been found years ago if there had been on the part of these same Arab countries a will for a constructive approach. The issue was most forcefully summarized by the adviser on refugees to the World Council of Churches in his report of May 1957. Pointing out that there were three classic solutions to the refugee problem in the Middle East — repatriation, emigration and integration — he recalled that repatriation has never yet proven to be a solution to any modern refugee problem. Both on grounds of historical experience and of practicability, the repatriation of the Arab refugees to Israel was, he concluded, "physically and politically impossible". As to the second solution it had become manifest that the possibilities of emigration out of the Arab lands for Arab refugees were in fact sharply limited. The author of the report then went on to say:

"I therefore come to the solution of integration and I hold the view that, political issues aside, the Arab refugee problem is by far the easiest post-war refugee problem to solve by integration. By faith, by language, by race and by social organization they are indistinguishable from their fellows of their host countries. There is room for them, and land for them, in Syria and in Iraq. There is a developing demand for the kind of manpower that they represent. More unusually still, there is the money to make this integration possible."<sup>1/</sup>

111. Another detached and responsible source, which made a detailed study of the situation of the Arab refugees the Research Group for European Migration Problems, published its findings in its bulletin. After stating that the official attitude of the host countries "is one of seeking to prevent any sort of adaptation and integration, because the refugees are seen as a political means of pressure to get Israel wiped off the map or to get the greatest possible number of concessions",<sup>2/</sup> the Research Group recorded its conclusions as follows:

"A return to the original places of residence in Israel is no longer possible, except in individual cases. Unwillingness to face this fact greatly impedes the solution of the problem.

"Iraq and Syria, with the aid of U.N. Agencies and with outside financial assistance, could within the next ten years settle a large contingent of refugees, provided the projected plans are executed as envisaged.

"Adaptation in the host countries is obstructed by wilful stimulation of the demand for repatriation and by the present inability of the majority of the refugees to earn their own keep."<sup>3/</sup>

112. I venture to say that in this respect Israel offers a contrast and an example. Since the establishment of the State nearly a million of our people have, as I have earlier mentioned, sought refuge in our small land. Not less than 90 per cent of them are in the literal and technical sense of the word refugees. The countries from which they came have become countries in which they cannot live and to which they cannot and will not return.

<sup>1/</sup> The Refugee Problem, Today and Tomorrow, Conference Report, Geneva, May 27-28, 1957, p. 37.

<sup>2/</sup> R.E.M.P. Bulletin, vol. 5, No. 1, January/March 1957, p. 26.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

113. In this connexion, what the representative of Saudi Arabia had to say during this session on 2 October was perhaps too ludicrous to be worthy of notice. Having with much feeling pleaded for understanding for Arab nationalism, for the desire of the Arab people to live in freedom and independence, he went on to speak of another country and another people in the region. It was his thought that the Assembly should accept the doctrine that there is one and only one people in the world chosen to be denied that simple inherent right to be free, sovereign and independent. And since it had unfortunately happened that that people had in the meantime achieved independence it was for the United Nations itself to liquidate it. At the same time, with a magnanimity worthy of high praise the representative of Saudi Arabia notified the Assembly, "It becomes clear that we do not propose to throw the Jews into the sea." For this we thank the representative of Saudi Arabia. But does even he really believe that the 120,000 Jews who within little more than a year streamed destitute and terrorized from Iraq into Israel should or could be repatriated to Iraq? Or similarly in the case of thousands upon thousands from Egypt or from the other Arab-speaking countries? Or that the survivors of the Nazi slaughter could return to lands which are filled with tragic memories? Israel has said to these refugees, "You are our brothers." It has taken them to its heart. And today they are a part of the living and growing fabric of our life. Let the Arab nations also for their part, with their vast territories and possibilities of development and with the funds already available from United Nations and other sources, let them, who at the very least are not without blame for what has happened, say to their refugees: these are our brethren and we shall take them in. Let them do that, let them cease to play politics with human misery, and this grievous problem is solved.

114. May I take a moment to refer to the speech that we heard this morning by the representative of Jordan. He proposed a new approach to the Middle Eastern problem: first, no recognition of Israel's existence; and secondly, he put forth once again the fiction about Israel's expansionism. The only area in the Middle East that is in danger of Israel's expansionism is the vast desert within the territory of Israel itself. We have already gone into that desert. We intend to go more and more deeply into it with irrigation, agricultural implements, industrial enterprises and means of communication. We intend to make out of that desert what it was once in history — a very fruitful section of Israel in which many people can live and be happy.

115. The representative of Jordan also suggested disregard for the most elementary right of every sovereign State to conduct its internal affairs. Immigration is a purely internal affair. Israel and Israel alone will make decisions upon this question. Its policy is well known. The establishment of Israel is based on this very principle — that Israel's doors remain open forever to any and every Jew who wishes or must come to its shores. We are convinced that not only does this immigration to Israel mean not only no danger, no threat to any of our neighbours, but, on the contrary, as has been proven in the last ten years, the incoming of these people has helped in the development of the country and, I am convinced, it will also eventually serve as an example for the development of our neighbouring countries.

116. I have sought in the course of my remarks today to draw attention to some of the problems as well as to some of the potentially hopeful aspects of our area. Basically the position can be improved only by a modification of policies within as well as outside it.

117. Within the area, the question is whether the Arab States are ready to change their outlook and policy and bring them into conformity with the principles of the Charter - especially those which concern the independence and integrity of each Member State.

118. Israel has, through the Secretary-General, asked Egypt and Syria within the past six months whether they were prepared to renounce their claim to the maintenance of a state of war with Israel - surely a legitimate question when addressed to a State Member of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has received no reply from either country.

119. The position of Israel has been stated on many previous occasions and it remains unchanged. It seeks peace above all. It remains ever ready to defend itself, if attacked, but it has never had and has not now any aggressive intentions or designs against the independence or integrity of any of its neighbours. The obvious and essential need for our area is the conclusion of peace treaties placing the relationship between neighbouring States on a permanently normal footing. However, if the Arabs are not ready for this, I reiterate what was stated by the Israel representative at the ninth session of the General Assembly:

"...as a preliminary or transitory stage toward this end" - towards a peace settlement - "it might be useful to conclude agreements committing the parties to policies of non-aggression and pacific settlement. Such agreements would include undertakings to respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence, to refrain from all hostile acts of a military, economic or political character, and to settle all existing and future differences by pacific means" [491st meeting, para. 37].

120. I should like from this rostrum to address to the Arab States of the Middle East a solemn appeal: Israel is approaching her tenth anniversary. You did not want it to be born. You fought against the decision in the United Nations. You then attacked us by military force. We have all been witnesses to sorrow, destruction and the spilling of blood and tears. Yet Israel is here, growing, developing, progressing. It has gained many friends and their number is steadily increasing. We are an old tenacious people and, as our history has proved, not easily destroyed. Like you, the Arab countries, we have regained our national independence, and as with you, so with us, nothing will cause us to give it up. We are here to stay. History has decreed that the Middle East consists of an independent Israel and independent Arab States. This verdict will never be reversed.

121. In the light of these facts, what is the use or realism or the justice of policies and attitudes based on

the fiction that Israel is not here, or will somehow disappear? Would it not be better for all to build a future for the Middle East based on co-operation? Israel will exist and flourish even without peace, but surely a future of peace would be better both for Israel and for her neighbours. The Arab world with its ten sovereignties and 3 million square miles can well afford to accommodate itself to peaceful co-operation with Israel. Does hate for Israel and the aspiration for its destruction make one child in your country happier? Does it convert one hovel into a house? Does culture thrive on the soil of hatred? We have not the slightest doubt that eventually there will be peace and co-operation between us. This is a historic necessity for both people. We are prepared; we are anxious to bring it about now.

122. I should also like to address myself to all representatives in this Assembly and especially to the Powers directly involved in the problems of the Middle East. The deserts of the Middle East are in need of water, not bombers. The tens of millions of its inhabitants are craving for the means to live and not for the implements of death. I ask all of you - old Members of the United Nations and the new - use your influence not to deepen the abyss of misunderstanding, but to bridge it.

123. And I wish to conclude with a word of deepest appreciation to those countries, Member States of the United Nations, who just ten years ago helped to lay the foundations for Israel's statehood and whose continued understanding, assistance and friendship have enabled us to weather the storms which have beset our path.

124. Many of these are countries without direct interest of any kind in our area. But their appreciation of the moral, social, historic and religious factors involved, led them to profoundly held convictions which they have maintained with staunchness and courage. Their friendship and their help will never be forgotten by the people of Israel and the Jewish people as a whole. It is a satisfaction and a joy too that with many among the new countries, that have in the meantime been admitted to the United Nations, we are linked in bonds of friendship, understanding and mutual aid.

125. In celebrating the tenth anniversary of Israel's independence we look back on a decade of struggle, or achievement in some areas, of failure in others. But by and large it has justified a thousandfold the vision of those who saw in the re-establishment of Israel's nationhood an historic act of reparation and of statesmanship. Our greatest grief has been the lack of progress towards peace with our Arab neighbours. It is our profoundest hope that the coming period may make a decisive forward step in this regard, to the inestimable benefit of all the people of the Middle East and perhaps of the entire world.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.