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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Soldatov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): The many speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have expressed their satisfaction at the election of so able a chairman as yourself, Mr. President, to preside at this session of the General Assembly. In voting for you, representatives were not simply expressing their friendship—a sentiment that is as precious as it is fragile and which is alas too often but the spontaneous or impulsive reaction of the human heart. Their choice was a deliberate one, made in the light of your distinguished record of achievement.

2. This session is unique, one of the most outstanding in the annals of international life, and my delegation believes that the person entrusted with the heavy responsibility of presiding over its deliberations must possess the qualities of patience and moderation; a deep understanding of the workings, reactions and susceptibilities of political assemblies, and the qualities of a true statesman, accustomed to the stormy seas of political life.

3. All who have known you for any length of time, and even those who have only had the pleasure of meeting you at United Nations receptions, are unanimous in believing that at a time like this the only possible successor to that great President, Mr. Victor Belaúnde, was a man of your experience, with your firmness and fairness.

4. Although by nature sparing of compliments, I should be loath to let slip this opportunity of congratulating you because we know that, shoulder to shoulder with all those who have faith in the United Nations, you will seek to defend the principles of the Charter and that you will endeavour, with us, to revive what I would call the spirit of San Francisco. It is your duty as President to remain above the battle, to counsel calm, tolerance and dignity at the risk of incurring the incomprehension of some and the anger of others, and

my delegation trusts that you will take your place among the great figures of international life who have laboured without fear or favour, during the troubled hours of mankind, for that peace which we need so much, today more than ever.

5. The agenda on which we are to vote is one of the longest submitted to the Members of the United Nations during the fifteen years of its existence. What is more, it is not only the heaviest agenda we have ever had to discuss, but the questions it contains are of the greatest importance, difficulty and complexity and must be considered in an atmosphere that is to say the least highly charged.

6. Some of the items relate to recent events in our restless and troubled world, while others, of no less topical interest and no less controversial, have been matters of international concern at more than one session. They have been the subject of resolutions, and the fact that they are again being raised in the United Nations in sensational terms reflects the growing tendency to forget and depart from what I have called the spirit of San Francisco.

7. From this free rostrum where everyone speaks according to his temperament and his opinions, we have heard the greatest political leaders of nearly all the continents analyse the social and political organization of a world profoundly shaken by the decisive struggle in which the two opposing ideologies are locked.

8. In all this we have seen, not a mere spectacle, but an indication that this second half of the twentieth century, for which the men of San Francisco, in the sincerity of those trying times, believed they were laying the foundations, is in the grip of the most serious crisis which mankind has ever had to face.

9. Notwithstanding the great principle of equality which is the basis of State sovereignty, and under which all States, large and small, are legally on an equal footing, my delegation, remembering the birth of our country and the great lesson which it offered on the morrow of 1789 and only some twenty years after the independence of the United States of America, believes that, in this grave hour for our civilization, it not only has a right to come to this rostrum, but a moral obligation which it would be unpardonable to evade. Today more than ever, a policy of silence is impossible. It would not merely be evidence of criminal cowardice or indifference. It might well encourage an attack on our political faith and our personal convictions.

10. But it is no less essential to express one's views in firm and moderate language which states the truth, and which does not give offence by being unparliamentary or immoderate, but appeals to that human reason in which, in spite of everything, we can but continue to believe.

11. Doubtless a great many among you have been disheartened by attitudes which give pause to all who regard themselves as in any way the defenders and watchful guardians of a world we have inherited as a sacred trust and which it is our duty to pass on to our descendants, enlarged and improved; you may have been impressed by the prophets of doom, whose message raises barriers between men, strains nerves and puts the most vigilant on their guard. Others, less impulsive because they have perhaps a better understanding of that complex being, man, may say: the situation is serious, the world is in a state of crisis, but nevertheless we do not believe that anyone will be so desperate or insane as to unleash war. We do not believe in the possibility of war, because we have seen the representatives of sovereign States from all parts of the world come to this rostrum, appeal to the anonymous crowd of this Assembly and plead, each in his fashion, according to his background, the great cause of the hour, the cause of twentieth-century man and of the civilization he has created.

12. As I said, the world is in a state of crisis. But what is that crisis? Everywhere factories are turning out appalling weapons. The arsenals are filled with them, and even outer space is disturbed by prowling visitors. Is this the symptom of a simple disease of the politico-social organism? Can the word "crisis", which implies, if not a certain innocence, a certain simplicity, at least a relative harmlessness, be applied to this situation? A crisis, whatever it may be, presupposes an imbalance in some organism, whether physical, social or political.

13. In principle a crisis is, in its essence or in its beginning, a purely physiological malady, a growing pain in the case of individuals or of peoples, a structural crisis at one of those great turning points when the need is felt for new approaches and a different way of living, thinking and producing. Crises are cyclical phenomena which have already shaken our world more than fifteen times in seventy years, and the impact has always been greatest at the decisive turning-points marked by such major developments as man's growing awareness of himself, the awakening of national consciousness, the need for freedom, the demand for welfare for all, great industrial changes and, most recently, the astonishing achievements of science which are all too intoxicating to the proud and to those unfortunates not yet touched by the Christian faith, so necessary to the emotional stability of man.

14. The central issues of the great debate, underdevelopment and imperialism in all its forms, explain the presence at this session of so many eminent men, aware of their responsibilities but—and who can say whether justly or unjustly?—mistrustful of each other.

15. Those problems are old as the hills; they have always existed. Their history is familiar to you all and I do not need to repeat it. But the fact remains that they are in the forefront of our minds in this second half of our twentieth century, which is great because it will be the century not only of the atom and of man's exploration of other planets, but also the century of great social achievements and final rehabilitation.

16. Clearly our approaches must defer to problems of such importance affecting the complex social and political structure of our world. We have such different interests at stake that life has made of us, unfortunately, in some way adversaries, and, when passion

obscures reason, I do not think we can work as we would wish, in calm and with the dignity that is expressed in the simplicity of the lines of this hall.

17. Others before me have emphasized the human fact that economic and social ideas are never entirely free, so difficult is it to escape from the influence of our earliest environment.

18. This means that, very frequently, we adhere to this or that school of thought, not out of conviction after having thoroughly explored the world of ideas and of things, but out of snobbishness or because a particular attitude or way of thought appears most likely to advance what we believe to be our true interests in a given situation.

19. I say this in order to explain the open-minded way in which I have listened to every speaker, with a scrupulous respect for everyone's opinion. But, I must in all frankness add that I can but deplore some arguments which, although not without weight in themselves, have been irretrievably weakened through lack of moderation.

20. If it is true that moral authority must be distant in order to remain an effective force, truth must also, to retain its virtues, avoid slipping into any exaggeration that reflects passion or prejudice. That is why it is said that truth may be contaminated by carelessness, false psychology and so on, just as authority can be ruined or abdicated. It is clear, from everything which is said, shouted and proclaimed, that the world is at a decisive turning point and, whether we like it or not, whether we are aware of it or whether we choose to play the ostrich, all men, regardless of their political beliefs, Africans, Americans and Asians, alike, are clamouring for change.

21. They want a world in which equity and social justice—in other words, justice for better wages, better remuneration, better prices for the produce they grow, better conditions for promoting free international trade, and better housing—shall be a reality for everybody. They want human dignity, of which they have heard so much, to be a part of their political and social life, so that they can eliminate illiteracy, disease and poverty.

22. They want the kind of society which impresses visitors to the United States, a society in which, thanks to full employment and credit facilities, well-being is within the reach of all in an expanding economy.

23. I am addressing you, the representatives, at this memorable session, of the conscience of millions of human beings whose anxieties my countrymen share, as the spokesman of a small Negro Republic which has been grappling for over 150 years with the great and vital problems that must be resolved if the world is to be freed of its appalling economic and social inequalities.

24. Those problems are, I need hardly say, of particular significance in Haiti, where underdevelopment imposes so heavy a burden and which like all the economically weak countries, suffered so cruelly from the imperialism of an earlier day.

25. My country, which was the second free and independent State of the American hemisphere, but the first Negro State to claim a place in the international community, achieved independence in 1804. What were the ideas of the time? I have no desire to give a lecture

on political history that would tend to arouse passions since I believe that we should make every effort to be dispassionate. And I confess that, as a matter of party discipline as well as of personal conviction, I would be most uneasy in the rôle of public prosecutor with the ungrateful task of examining and accusing. I will therefore merely say that the creation of the Republic of Haiti was at the time a new, extraordinary and unprecedented development, that was regarded with so much suspicion and hesitation by the proponents of a certain school of thought that it was thirty-eight years before Haiti was first recognized as a free and sovereign State through the exchange of duly accredited diplomatic representatives.

26. After a war in which Napoleon Bonaparte's troops attempted to crush the general revolt of the slaves of Santo Domingo, after the Republic of Haiti's war of independence (which I would describe, with the approval of certain Latin American colleagues, as a beacon whose light was seen far beyond the shores of Haiti), after that war, which was on so long a scale for the period and which spread fire and bloodshed over the rich colony of Santo Domingo, leaving a trail of ruin and devastation everywhere, we were condemned, when we achieved independence, to walk alone, the hapless victims of the greatest conspiracy that can face a newly independent country, a conspiracy of indifference and isolation. At that time, the example set by Haiti in forging its independence by fire and sword was viewed with suspicion and even, in the eyes of the advocates of the ideas of the Holy Alliance, as a very bad example, that ought to have no imitators.

27. Nevertheless, having been schooled early in a certain philosophy, we have never borne a grudge against anyone for what happened. The men of the time were not responsible for the ideas which they held in regard to human relations and to the conduct of international affairs. We understand the power of ideas too well to reproach men when ideas cause them to act as they do. The essential thing is to fight against bad ideas which spread sophism and error, and to defend, disseminate and inculcate ideas which foster principles, mould human values, and promote respect for non-intervention and the sovereignty of States. That is why we have always adhered to the ideas which inspired the souls of our fathers with fanatical zeal; they have done us too much good for us to abandon them, whatever the shortcoming of some of their individual proponents. For us, they have no colour, no motherland; they are purely and simply human ideas.

28. As sons of freedom, we have always taken freedom as our guide. We believe in freedom. As soldiers of freedom, we are always to be found at the side of those who defend freedom, as the President of the Republic of Haiti, His Excellency Dr. François Duvalier, has frequently affirmed. But, it may be objected, it takes time for ideas to be translated into action. The yeast may indeed work slowly, but it works steadily and surely, as witness the crumbling of so many barriers, ancient servitudes and feudal privileges, under whose banner the false gods of yesterday took shelter. Because of this approach, which helps man to rise above himself, it was easy for us to turn the page when the time came, and it is for that reason that no people has shown greater respect than my own for international commitments, especially those we have entered into in accordance with the principles of pan-Americanism.

29. As you know, pan-Americanism is nothing other than the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, which in 1826 was transposed by the United States Secretary of State Blaine to the economic field. After "America for the Americans" in political matters came "America for the Americans" in economic matters.

30. Although the application of the Monroe Doctrine in the tragic Luders affair, which was such an affront to our national dignity, was by no means favourable to us, we have always subscribed wholeheartedly to the great hopes raised by pan-Americanism and have given priority to geographical considerations, even though they were not always in accordance with our short-term interests. Nevertheless we have always believed in pan-Americanism, which we have viewed less from the somewhat emotional angle of continental brotherhood, than from the legal angle of a synallagmatic contract imposing reciprocal advantages and obligations. Though men pass, principles endure, and it is comforting to note that the new American policy which is taking shape reflects the desire of America's leading statesmen that the contract should in truth be synallagmatic. As proof, I would point to the \$500 million recently appropriated by the United States Congress, on the initiative of President Eisenhower, and rightly intended, as the countries concerned have been reassured to learn, as a first instalment of the funds needed to rehabilitate, and seriously to develop the economies of the Latin-American countries.

31. I trust that these few reflexions will have shown that, however bleak the present situation may seem, there have been changes for the better in some respects. These show that man is not content merely to annihilate distance and to achieve an increasingly comfortable material life but that, under the pressure of an irresistible trend towards socialism, his conscience has been awakened.

32. He has realized the existence of certain fundamental errors which nourished prejudices that were based on nothing but folly and lack of understanding.

33. This awakening has been particularly noticeable in the United States of America during the past two decades, and I believe that that awakening is reflected in the high level of living which enables everyone to enjoy a degree of comfort not easily attained elsewhere even by the more prosperous classes. The tragedy is that pan-Americanism, before the new approach was adopted, did not teach the other members of the American family the secret of this success.

34. It is often said that life is made up of contradictions because man, the principal actor, is a complex and frequently contradictory being. Can there be any greater contradiction than the fact that those who talk most about peace are also those who threaten us the most with the strength of their conventional or nuclear weapons and the appalling destructive power of their rockets?

35. All those who took part in the fourteenth session will doubtless recall the tone of the debates and the atmosphere of understanding which inspired the members of all delegations and whose principal result, truly based on the spirit of San Francisco, was the historic resolution on disarmament, to sponsor which was regarded as a point of honour and which, as you all know, was adopted unanimously. That General Assembly resolution, 1378 (XIV), is an historic act,

as I have said; we adopted it because we seek peace, we desire it with all our hearts, with all our good faith, because we are concerned with the responsibilities we have undertaken towards those who have entrusted us with the task of building a better world, and so we believed implicitly in everything we were told because the words in question were uttered not by nonentities but by Heads of Governments for whom we feel the greatest respect and to whom we gave our confidence, because the peace of the world was involved.

36. We, the under-developed countries, voted for disarmament not only because we believe in peace but also because we were given to understand that disarmament and the assistance we were to be given to conquer poverty, disease and ignorance were closely linked. It was rather as if we had been told: "Disarm and you will have bread, housing and well-being. Do not disarm and you will die in poverty".

37. We voted for that historic resolution for a dual reason: firstly, to save the world from the scourge of war; secondly, to eradicate the hideous cancer of under-development, with its attendant horrors of ignorance, disease, privation and pauperism, of which my country is unfortunately one of the most authentic victims.

38. Alas! A few months later a series of disastrous events had dispelled all our optimism. Who was really to blame? Impartial history will one day make it plain to our great-grandchildren. For the time being let us take note that the Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers failed lamentably, despite the efforts made by General de Gaulle, that great leader and eminent statesman, who seems to have done his utmost to induce Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, not to cry off in an outburst of irresistible indignation—whether justified or not it is not for us to say.

39. Disarm and you shall live in peace, we were told, and you also shall know prosperity. With that end in view we delegated our powers to the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament meeting at Geneva for the purpose of abolishing all the weapons, both conventional and nuclear, diligently piled up in the most monstrous arsenal of destruction, and exempt from any supervision, while at the same time everyone continues to talk about peace.

40. That was a fresh disillusionment, a terrible disappointment. After the resounding collapse of the Summit Conference, those whom we had delegated to build a world without war, like new apostles, although there were only ten of them, were unable to carry out their task because once again one of them revealed himself, although not in the manner described in the Gospel, and purely and simply withdrew, on the instructions of his Government.

41. Since then the fever has spread over the world and we, the economically weak countries, doubly and profoundly disappointed by everything that has happened, have understood that more than ever we must cling to our principles, have confidence only in them, and gather round the United Nations, the only international institution capable of imposing respect for them, for the protection of those who, without rockets and without armies, rely only on the principles of the Charter and of international law for the protection and defence of their sovereignty. History will remind those

who are in danger of forgetting it, that we, the small, the weak countries, would be absolutely unprotected without the existence in this world of international organizations of the stature of the United Nations, with its high moral authority, to frustrate the bellicose or honey-tongued wiles of those who, in their great love of humanity, cherish the dream of a vast and limitless empire.

42. But, as I have already said, life is made up of contradictions because man himself is full of contradictions. Perhaps this thought has occurred to you, as it has to me, when listening to speakers who by attacking colonialism, which is moribund and survives only in a few pockets of resistance, and denouncing capitalism, which springs from human imperfection, appear to be defending the weak and the oppressed while in reality they are cleverly scheming to disrupt the United Nations, which, as we all know, provides the only moral force capable of effectively protecting us all, and particularly those who have just achieved independence, as it has guided their steps in the past up to the point where they could take their places, and with so much dignity, in the great international family.

43. I ask of you, in what shall we believe after so many disappointments—in men or in principles? All free men, all who know that they owe their presence here on a footing of equality with others to those principles and to their strength, will reply with me that we should believe in principles. May I be forgiven my lack of enthusiasm for the generous intentions of some, and the fervour of others, for the cause of the weak and the disinherited, since, under the cloak of indignation over certain evils of the past, an attempt is being made to deprive us, the small and the dispossessed, of the moral strength of this institution which, whatever may be said of it, imperfect though it is—as every human creation may be—remains the world's bulwark against many dangers, and the only effective defence available to those whose sole opportunity of making themselves heard is found on this rostrum.

44. However, we must be fair and admit that we would not be so simple-minded as to claim that our Organization is absolutely perfect. God forbid that we should, like the proud and vainglorious, indulge in such exaggeration. The Secretary-General, too, is far too much of a humanist to believe himself the perfect man, whose semblance is not to be found in this mortal world to which we all belong. Having been educated in the great, the best school, which teaches men that they are not infallible, perhaps he prefers criticism, when it is constructive, to banal compliments which in the end are like paper money, a thing without intrinsic value.

45. It is our nature, too, to prefer criticism, for it not only requires a certain amount of mastery over the self and over the tendency to resent opposition, but compels men to weigh the facts more carefully and to exercise moral probity in their actions. Could anything be a more salutary training to help us to improve?

46. Hence so long as criticism is constructive, and is characterized by the mutual respect which is due, we should thank those who criticize us rather than those who praise us.

47. Since I believe in freedom of opinion, I shall refrain from prejudging the intentions of others, and I will not say that the proposal to reform the Secretary-General's post and to entrust it in future to a panel of three, representing three distinct political tendencies or beliefs, constitutes a serious threat to the United Nations. Certainly I do not believe that such a proposal will carry the day because it is not based on any solid or legal argument that could win the support of the free men of good will who form the majority among us.

48. The Charter was drafted at a crucial time in world history by men who combined learning with talent and with a profound knowledge of human nature, which is always inclined to abuse authority, no matter how small. The Charter did not endow the Secretary-General with discretionary powers that would have enabled him to transform the United Nations into an instrument for his own purposes or for those of any cause which appealed to him. Apart from administrative questions, he is simply the executive agent of the main organs, and of the resolutions adopted in Committee and in the General Assembly, in accordance with a procedure which confirms the right of the majority.

49. In connexion with the unfortunate affair of the Congo, he has consistently complied with the resolutions of the Security Council, of which he is but the instrument, the supreme executive agent. We know how that Council works. It reflects the free opinions of the members which compose it. It is not the Secretary-General who imposes his will, makes laws and carries them out. He submits himself to our will, the will of the Members of the United Nations. In this Organization he represents the true executive, carrying out the will of the legislative and governing organ. As you know, in political matters that organ is the Security Council, with its all-powerful right of veto, wielded only by the permanent Members. For all these reasons my delegation considers that, since the geographical distribution of seats ensures equitable and proportionate representation for all, the actions of the Secretary-General are examined and supervised by all, which fact more than justifies the claim that in the United Nations matters are regulated by the most scrupulous parliamentary procedure, which might profitably be used as a model by the most exigent. I am sure that any innovation which would lead us to chaos will be rejected by the majority, in accordance with these democratic principles, to the end that fairness and common sense may continue to prevail in the United Nations.

50. Looking from this rostrum round this distinguished Assembly, I see new names and friendly faces which have come here from far-away Africa, so dear to us Haitians, whence our ancestors were taken and transplanted to America to cultivate Santo Domingo, the fairest and richest colony at that time. I see you therefore, the representatives of all the Republics of the African continent, not as others do but with eyes full of quiet pride and satisfaction, following the example of our great predecessor, the inspired Toussaint Louverture, who, gazing for the last time at the waters of Santo Domingo from the frail bark in which he was being taken to the French frigate that was deporting him for ever, uttered these prophetic words: "My overthrow has felled the trunk of the tree of freedom of the Negroes, but it will grow again, for

its roots are deep and strong". It may have taken some time for that prophecy to be fulfilled, but anyone who hears and sees you must admit that you also are a part of that majestic and vigorous tree spoken of by Toussaint Louverture. You have come to take your places in the great family of nations at a time of great troubles and you are warmly welcomed, since you seem to represent the new blood which is needed to breathe fresh life into this world labouring under so many burdens. I hope, however, that this great lesson will bear fruit but will not intoxicate you, since to defend independence, which calls for persistent and steady economic and social progress, is far more difficult than to win military victories on the field of battle.

51. I hope that this message, transmitted to you on behalf of my Government and of the people of Haiti, will remind you of the close links between my country and yours.

52. In addressing you, gentlemen, I have tried to consider certain international situations which affect us all and at times cause us concern and even alarm. I have said nothing which my conscience could not approve and have tried to offend nobody even though we might hold contrary opinions. In our opinion the purpose of this rostrum is to bring men together and not to separate them. Our words should encourage peaceful coexistence and not hatred. We are here to build, not to destroy. What has chiefly struck us in this troubled world is the fact that while some countries are moving towards a kind of socialism in their own way, in others the early collectivism has become more flexible and human. Thus each side has borrowed something from the other, which may indicate the beginning of a system in which the social sense, with man in his incomparable dignity as a centre of attraction, will enable us to build in the general interest the better world for which we have been seeking for so long.

53. I leave this rostrum with the satisfaction of having done my duty if my words have, as I wished, expressed the idea of peace which summons men to recover what I would term the spirit of San Francisco.

54. Mr. SCHWEITZER (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Chile associates itself with all the delegations which have congratulated Mr. Boland on the distinction conferred upon him by his election as President of our fifteenth session of the General Assembly. His election is a well-deserved tribute to the personal qualities which he has displayed during his long experience as a diplomat and in the United Nations. That Ireland, the country which he represents, shares in his distinction is a source of satisfaction to us, since we maintain friendly relations with that country based on long-standing historical ties dating from the time of our political emancipation. His election to such a distinguished office ensures a very high level in the conduct of our debates and justifies the hope that this will be a successful session.

55. First of all I should like to express once again to all nations of the world the sincere gratitude of the people and Government of Chile for the effective and timely assistance we were given after the catastrophe of May 1960 which devastated a large part of our country. The human solidarity so unselfishly and generously expressed at the time of the disaster moved us profoundly and we shall never forget such eloquent demonstrations of friendship. It was the greatest en-

couragement to us to face our misfortune with fortitude and it now inspires us to hope that it will prove capable of overcoming all the difficulties existing between the brother nations of the world.

56. As soon as the immediate and urgent relief measures for the victims of the disaster had been applied, with all the economic and administrative resources at our disposal, the Government of Chile drew up a vast rehabilitation programme to mobilize the national effort. International and private institutions, as well as the technical government agencies, collaborated in the preparation of the programme, which anticipated the action of the United Nations and the Organization of American States. We acknowledge with gratitude that both the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and the Economic and Social Council gave us wholehearted support, thus fulfilling in respect of our country the objectives and purposes of the United Nations as laid down in Articles 55 and 62 of the Charter.

57. The Government of the United States, too, has decided to grant Chile financial assistance amounting to \$100 million for the work of reconstruction we have undertaken. I am pleased once again to express our profound and sincere gratitude for this assistance. I should like to add that Chile hopes to prove worthy of your assistance and understanding and to complete as rapidly as possible the vast task it has set itself by combining the work of reconstruction with its national economic development plans, the only means whereby it will be able to recover completely.

58. We extend our brotherly greetings and the most cordial welcome to the new States which have just been admitted to the United Nations. Chile appreciates to the full the significance of this formal recognition of their political independence, which constitutes a truly historical event. Although the emancipation process is not yet complete in Africa, we hope that before long other States will follow their example and will also be able to join the United Nations, thus enabling us to reach our common end, which is universality.

59. In all fairness we should recognize the part played by the great Powers in making this auspicious event possible and should also bear in mind the unremitting efforts made by the United Nations, through all its organs. The memoranda submitted to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General, his many reports and the indefatigable energy displayed by the United Nations technical organs all bear the stamp of an unimpeachable determination to put an end to the colonial domination to which a great part of the vast African continent has been subjected.

60. The struggle of the countries of Latin America for independence was quite different. In spite of the genius of its leaders and the will of its peoples it was barely possible to achieve any unity of action in that great undertaking. A century and a half ago transport and communications did not permit the easy everyday contacts available to the people of today, nor was there the solidarity of world effort which is now evident.

61. Nevertheless the problems which the new States will have to face are not so very different from those engaging the attention of the Latin American countries. The similarity of our problems and difficulties should

make it clear to them that they may count on our understanding and our deep respect.

62. Accession to independence does not, however, put an end to the aspirations of peoples, who have to reach the stage of economic and social progress necessary for the full enjoyment of their sovereignty. Self-determination entails for them, as members of the international community, not only the right to participate in the efforts of that community but also the obligations incumbent on Member States.

63. We are convinced that the newly independent States will realize the necessity, from every point of view, of international co-operation and of strengthening and supporting the structure of the United Nations.

64. The unhappy crisis which the Congo is experiencing arose during the first days of its independent life. In facing the realities of the situation it appealed for help to the United Nations, which promptly responded by undertaking an operation of vast dimensions, the greatest it has been called upon to carry out in the fifteen years of its existence. Unfortunately, the initial confusion which still prevails in the Republic, the absence of clearly defined authority and the political influences at work to introduce the cold war into the Congo question gave rise to violent incidents which engaged the constant attention of the Security Council. When an attempt was made to call into question the impartiality with which the United Nations force acted and even to put the blame directly on the Secretary-General himself, such charges were invalidated by the support given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council. Although the veto prevented the adoption of the relevant resolution in the Security Council, the General Assembly, in its emergency special session, maintained the same position without a single opposing vote by its resolution 1474 (ES-IV).

65. We are happy to state that in contributing to the adoption of the resolution in the General Assembly my delegation wished to express the support and respect which Mr. Hammarskjöld deserves for his patient, strenuous, resolute and sustained efforts to interpret faithfully the principles and decisions of the United Nations, which has made it possible for the United Nations to refrain from taking sides in the internal strife in the Congo.

66. Although the Congolese crisis is not yet over we are satisfied that much bloodshed has been avoided and there is every prospect of normal conditions being restored in the new State, all of which will enhance the prestige and influence of the United Nations and its most notable organs and representatives.

67. International tension, which last year decreased encouragingly as a result of the visits exchanged by Chiefs of State and prominent world statesmen and the unanimous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fourteenth session on disarmament [1378 (XIV)] and on the suspension of nuclear tests [1402 (XIV)] began to mount again as a result of the failure of the Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers in Paris in May 1960. There were further unfortunate episodes, regarding which the Security Council had to take decisions, and more recently the Congo crisis to which I have just referred. Following on such episodes we saw the sudden suspension of the work of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva, the stagnation of the Conference on the discontinuance of Nuclear

Weapons Tests and the slow and difficult progress of the talks on that subject.

68. This is the sombre and unpromising background against which the present session of the General Assembly has begun its work, with attention focused upon it as never before by the attendance of many Chiefs of State, Heads of Governments, prominent Foreign Ministers and distinguished world statesmen.

69. Their presence and the views we have heard them express are clear indications of the universal confidence placed in the United Nations, which is recognized by all to be the highest and most appropriate forum for discussing, in an atmosphere of democratic equality, the most important and decisive questions on which the hopes and fears of all peoples of the world are concentrated.

70. On this solemn occasion Chile wishes to reaffirm its unshakable loyalty to the principles of the San Francisco Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, since the respect and observance of those principles, to which we all have subscribed, must, with the active collaboration of Member States, lead to a better future for mankind.

71. In the light of our common aim of maintaining peace and security in the world, the question of disarmament clearly takes priority.

72. The world is not only discouraged by the ill-feeling that prevails but deeply disturbed by the fearful and threatening spectre of tragic events presaged by the tremendous power of increasingly destructive atomic weapons. Man is even driven to doubt his own intelligence, in spite of the immense scientific progress, exceeding his wildest dreams, which permits him to penetrate outer space and the planets with satellites and instruments to collect observations on the earth, moon, and stellar space.

73. Lack of understanding must not be accepted as the normal pattern of coexistence. To reap the disastrous results of the period of instability and permanent insecurity in which we live it is not necessary to reach the point of actual conflagration.

74. Hence, although disarmament depends largely on the great Powers, all countries, whether large, medium-sized or small, are equally concerned in preventing not only the final disaster but the continuance of the alarming armaments race.

75. We must, if we are to be sincere, point out the difficult and complex nature of our task which, although not an impossible one, requires patience, perseverance and above all good faith. Let us bear in mind that hasty decisions are seldom exempt from error. The Emperor Augustus used to repeat the maxim "*festina lente*", or "make haste slowly". Let us be content with modest achievements, seeking, not high-sounding phrases, but the effectiveness of the less spectacular but useful agreements which allow of further progress. Such might be our recommendation that the interrupted talks should be resumed between the great political leaders of the strongest peoples in the world. Something to that effect was decided upon last August by our Disarmament Commission. Let us take one step further and continue to seek a solution of this undoubtedly difficult problem.

76. Let us declare that peaceful coexistence cannot be reconciled with invective and recriminations. Let

us reject the dilemmas which impassioned orators would impose upon us, as also the reduction of many-sided problems to simplified formulae, useful for propaganda purposes but inadequate for an effective solution of the problem.

77. Let us not merely talk about coexistence, let us practise it. It would perhaps be helpful to abandon the unsuitable terminology still being used by those who have taken their stand in opposing ideological camps. That recommendation was put forward during the July session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva by Mr. Luns,^{1/} the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was seconded by the Chilean delegation. We are happy to note that Mr. Macmillan, the distinguished Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, has reached the same conclusion [877th meeting].

78. There is one point on which we are all agreed, which might be summed up by saying that material disarmament must be preceded by a kind of moral disarmament, which would reflect our sincere desire for peace, the supreme ideal of human society and the corner-stone of the San Francisco Charter.

79. It has been recalled in this debate that many aspects of the work achieved in that direction by the League of Nations and later by the United Nations have received unanimous support. We should put those points into practice at once, without waiting for any broader identity of views.

80. During the course of this fifteenth session of the Assembly we have heard opinions which give some grounds for hope. If the United Nations is the supreme forum for negotiation, let us bring to it all the disagreements which divide peoples, in the certainty that they will here find the most just and fitting settlement.

81. Let us encourage every effort to bring the blessings of final peace to the peoples of the East, the Middle East and Europe and to put an end to the conflicts in Africa, for it is our joint efforts which, in the end, will produce the answer for which the world is waiting, the auspicious message which will bring to all peoples the assurance that they will be able to live in freedom from the threat of war and to work resolutely, in constantly improving conditions, to prepare a better tomorrow for their children and for the generations to come.

82. Chile is prepared to join in any decision based on those considerations. It has demonstrated that by its sincere and exemplary active co-operation in the work of the United Nations. Further proof is to be found in the efforts of President Alessandri to obtain a limitation of armaments in Latin America. Last year the Secretariat circulated to all delegations the text of his proposal, which is the best proof of the peaceful trend of our foreign policy. It is pointed out in the proposal that the consequences of the armaments race bear more heavily on the weak countries, like Chile, which are forced, against their will, to spend huge sums of money on acquiring armaments when that money could be used to better effect in meeting their urgent and immediate needs. In substance, the aim is to release considerable financial resources in many countries, which would increase the funds devoted to economic and social development in Latin America.

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirteenth Session, 1117th meeting.

83. Although the initiative of Mr. Alessandri, the President of Chile, received enthusiastic support, nothing positive has come of it so far. It was decided, at the seventh meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of OEA, held at San José, Costa Rica, to transmit the proposal to OEA with the recommendation "... that it continue to consider with the greatest interest and urgency the necessary measures for the convocation, as soon as possible, of a specialized conference on the subject".^{2/} I appeal to the delegations of our sister Republics in the continent to try to obtain the support of their respective Governments for this idea, which would undoubtedly bring very great advantages.

84. I am pleased to add that the Government of Chile, showing once again its scrupulous respect for the obligations laid down in Article 33 of the Charter and for the provisions of various bilateral or collective treaties which are in force under our regional system, has concluded with the Argentine Republic an agreement to submit its border problems with that sister nation to legal arbitration for a peaceful settlement.

85. We wish to reaffirm our confidence in the effectiveness of regional systems for the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided for in Article 52 of the Charter. Such regional agencies act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The Organization of American States (OEA) carries out that important task in America.

86. Numerous Pan-American conferences have worked out a comprehensive system of agreements and treaties for mutual defence and for the maintenance of peace in our continent. The Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs called by OAS have produced noteworthy results such as the Declarations of Santiago, Chile in 1959 and of San José, Costa Rica in 1960.

87. Voicing the general aspiration of the American peoples to live in peace, under the protection of democratic institutions and free from any intervention or totalitarian influence, the twenty-one Foreign Ministers of the American Republics solemnly signed the Declaration of Santiago, Chile, which was approved at the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers. In it, they stated the principles and attributes of the American democratic system, declaring that it consisted substantially in submission to the rule of law, with separation of powers; the choosing of Governments by free elections; respect for fundamental human rights and the maintenance of a system of freedom for the individual and of social justice; and the safeguarding of freedom of information and expression.

88. It is a great honour for my country that that Declaration was agreed upon and signed there, where each and every one of such principles is upheld, having been incorporated long ago in its political constitution and its fundamental laws.

89. The Declaration of San José, with the object of re-establishing solidarity in the hemisphere, re-asserts principles which are common to the American States, such as non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of another State and the incompatibility of democracy with any form of totalitarianism, and recalls that all controversies between members of the

Organization should be resolved by the measures that are contemplated in the inter-American system.

90. The General Assembly will have to consider the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. The extraordinary increase in the membership of the United Nations makes a decision on the matter imperative.

91. My delegation does not wish to go into details, for it has always recognized the need for such an increase in order to ensure adequate representation on the terms envisaged in the Charter. Moreover, such an increase will enhance the effectiveness of the Organization.

92. In that connexion, I must express the surprise with which we heard the suggestion that the office of Secretary-General should be replaced by a joint body.

93. My country wants to see absolute equality between all Members of the United Nations. The existence of the power of veto in the Security Council nullifies such equality, hinders the immediate implementation of its decisions which the importance and consequence of the matters in question usually require, and perpetuates the situation which obtained at the end of the Second World War.

94. If the office of Secretary-General were exercised by more than one person, we should lose the single-minded judgement which is essential in any executive body and the discharge of that office would be so stultified that it would take a long time for agreements and decisions to be implemented. Basically, the idea appears to be an attempt to extend the right of veto, in our view inadmissible.

95. Consequently we declare our opposition to any attempt tending to weaken, rather than strengthen, the effectiveness of the United Nations and of its executive bodies.

96. We have already pointed out in previous years that political peace and economic and social progress go hand in hand; hence the importance which we attribute to the items on our agenda relating to "economic development of under-developed countries" and "programmes of technical assistance" in every form.

97. The peoples will not tolerate the continued existence of different levels of living in the different regions of the world. It is urgently necessary to reduce the economic and social imbalance, which is the most notorious cause of unrest and disturbances, and it is our duty to promote the inseparable unity of peace and prosperity.

98. The industrial nations have already realized that they cannot grow in isolation and that their own prosperity is linked to the development and progress of other nations.

99. We must encourage permanent economic co-operation between all countries; while the developing countries must strive for their own growth, the outcome does not depend on them alone.

100. The question of technical assistance is becoming increasingly important, for it constitutes the effective means of guiding the production and the progress of the developing countries in a rational and scientific way. My country is grateful for, and appreciates, the benefits which it is deriving from such activities,

^{2/} See S/4480, resolution VIII.

including the rehabilitation plans prepared after the earthquake, to which I referred at the beginning of this speech. We must emphasize, however, that such assistance not only should be increased but should be provided without prejudice to those countries which need it as much as, or more than, others.

101. The United Nations has been devoting its attention more and more earnestly to the question of underdevelopment. Thanks to our efforts and the efforts of the other Latin American countries and the African-Asian countries, the Economic and Social Council has recently established a standing Committee for Industrial Development, which we trust will be able to give effective assistance in dealing with the problem and its solutions.

102. Not only must we defend the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources and find adequate means to protect the price of basic produces in relation to the price of manufactured products; we must also maintain in the international market the stable price, free of fluctuations, of the raw materials and products of the developing countries, to prevent the strangulation of their economies. At the same time, we must encourage diversification of economic activity in those countries which are dependent on a single product.

103. Since the growth of the under-developed countries requires the co-operation of the more developed countries, the flow of capital needed to make such development possible must be increased.

104. Whatever plan is drawn up to that end must take into account the vital need both for State loans on a very large scale and for greater investment of private capital, which will make it possible to promote social progress and to raise the level of living of the peoples.

105. It is obvious that the contribution of the United Nations in that respect cannot attain the volume required by the immensity of a problem which affects most countries of the world. The international organs already established are clearly insufficient and while they perform the part of the work allotted to them they should be supplemented by the establishment of a capital development fund, which we have repeatedly advocated. We especially welcome the beginning of operations by the Inter-American Development Bank and we pay a grateful tribute to what is being achieved by the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other existing credit institutions.

106. The international market must welcome goods from the weak countries, in order to avoid the paradox of encouraging their production without improving their position. We cannot but feel concerned over recent agreements, such as the European Economic Community, which should not close the door to goods from other areas, such as Latin America, which until now have been welcomed in Europe.

107. Operation Pan America, which was conceived by Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of Brazil, started a co-operative effort in Latin America, which has been supplemented by the work of the Special Committee to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Co-operation (Committee of Twenty-one). The Act of Bogotá approved in the third meeting of this Committee, on 12 September 1960, includes in its great scope President Eisenhower's generous plan,

endorsed by the United States Congress, to establish a special fund for social development for Latin America. It includes also a number of measures, culminating in those concerned with economic development and multilateral co-operation for social and economic progress. These are positive and encouraging advances, which we welcome.

108. The Montevideo agreements, prompted by ECLA, have the same objective. A free-trade zone has been established by treaty and there is now a project to establish a regional market in Latin America.

109. Since all those measures are designed, not to convert us into a self-sufficient bloc cut off from the world market, but to facilitate trade in the region, our peoples may be expected to increase their imports from other regions, thus co-operating actively in world economic expansion.

110. In the social field, in spite of its limitations as a country struggling resolutely against economic difficulties, aggravated by the earthquakes and tidal waves, Chile is happy to present the picture of a dignified and free life under an administration and institutions founded exclusively on law and popular consent.

111. Relations between capital and labour are developing harmoniously within the framework of advanced and progressive legislation. Education receives preferential attention from the State. Housing needs are being vigorously dealt with and more and more dwellings are being brought within the reach of the people. Our laws protect human rights, human dignity and freedom in all its aspects, especially freedom of information. The administration of justice is a separate power, which performs its functions in an exemplary manner and deserves the greatest respect.

112. We are therefore particularly concerned that this Assembly should hasten the adoption of the pending draft Covenants on Human Rights, the purpose of which is to ensure that those rights are properly respected throughout the world. Within the American regional system, as in the European system, an Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has already been established and a convention on those rights and another convention on the effective exercise of representative democracy are being studied and will be submitted to the eleventh Inter-American Conference, which is to be held at Quito early in 1961.

113. It gives us pleasure to recall the co-operation our delegation gave in the drafts on that subject which appear on our agenda and we urge delegations of other countries to join in approving the Declaration on Freedom of Information, which has already been drafted by the Economic and Social Council, where we contributed to its adoption.

114. I take the liberty of referring to item 57 of our agenda, relating to the construction of the United Nations building at Santiago, Chile.

115. As will be remembered, in 1955 the Government of Chile offered to transfer to the United Nations, free of charge, a site in the Parque Vitacura, near the capital. I should like to mention the practical steps which have been taken to implement that offer.

116. A recent decree approved the agreement between the Government of Chile and the United Nations setting out the financial obligations assumed by our Govern-

ment to supply the property with all necessary public services.

117. Another decree, duly set down in legal form, gave the site in question to the United Nations.

118. I venture to express the hope that the General Assembly will approve the documents which will complete the free transfer of the site on which will rise the future United Nations building at Santiago.

119. We understand the genuine feelings with which every sovereign State strives to make its own point of view prevail and triumph.

120. We venture to suggest that we should not allow the action that we are to carry out to be obscured by arrogance. Without trying to make political converts, let us recognize the measure of reason which inspires the opinions of others, as well as our own opinions. As from the flow of the river and from the refraction of the ray of light, let us be able to separate from the fluctuating truth its transitory and relative value.

121. Our concern in meeting here is the well-being of our fellow-men. However difficult the solutions may appear, however distant they may seem to us at a given moment, let us not be discouraged in the efforts which we must devote to them.

122. The task of doing good has neither beginning nor end; it is like mythology, which translates nature as observed by man. It is born with man, and with him, through him, and for him, it endures.

123. The United Nations was established to enable mankind to enjoy in peace the benefits of freedom, justice, family, health, education, work—in short, happiness. Let us uphold the United Nations, let us increase its effectiveness and its prestige, hoping that one day it will be possible to say, as did Leibnitz, that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

124. The PRESIDENT (translated from Russian): I call upon the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

125. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): At the 897th meeting, the statement made by the representative of Israel has shown that the term "right of reply" is too modest a term to invoke, and too flimsy a norm to employ. We exercise a right of reply to answer a misrepresentation, to impeach an argumentation, to straighten out an inaccuracy or to defeat a testimony. But when a statement is a total falsity, a wilful distortion and an entire subversion of truth, the term "right of reply" does not measure up to the situation. We must then look for another term, another remedy, and this is what the statement of Israel calls for. It calls not for a right of reply, but for a right of erasion, a total erasion from the United Nations records, if we are to keep our records in order and in dignity.

126. This is not a sweeping statement or a verbal exaggeration. Let us take the Israel statement, one distortion after the other. In presenting her case, the lady from Israel raised the issue of war in Palestine. Mrs. Meir claimed that seven Arab armies have marched across their boundaries with the proclaimed purpose of destroying Israel, its villages, its cities, and its population. I do not wish to go into the records of history. This is a heartbreaking story to tell here in detail after fifteen years of tragedy and catastrophe,

a tragedy that has uprooted a whole people from their homeland.

127. Mrs. Meir is right when she asserts that the refugees are a victim of war. It is true that there was war in Palestine and the refugees are its victims, but the war was waged by Israel. It was a war that started with terror by Israel in 1940 and which ended in the creation of Israel in 1948. The Jewish armies were not virtually unarmed, as claimed, as phrased, as eloquently worded by Mrs. Meir. They were armed to the teeth, and their tactics were pillage, plunder, destruction and extermination.

128. Let me rush straight to the facts, facts that were reported not by Arab sources, but by an official, independent organ. I refer to the Anglo-American Committee which was dispatched to inquire into and report on the distorted situation of Palestine. What were the findings of that Commission, Mrs. Meir? This is the answer for you, if an answer can be provided. These findings were a devastating rebuttal of the statement of the lady from Israel. The Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry found that:

"Palestine is an armed camp with a revival of mass, illegal Jewish immigration on a large scale. The organization of the Haganah, the Israeli military force, the Jewish army over 60,000 strong, well armed, procuring its arms since a number of years."^{3/}

129. This army which Mrs. Meir claimed to be virtually unarmed was, in fact, unarmed. But the arms it lacked were the code of war, and the true traditions of warfare. It simply spread terror, destruction and fire and committed acts of lawlessness in the Holy Land. No Arab town, no Arab village was spared, open and undefended as they were. Brutal acts were committed without discrimination upon men and women, young or old.

130. The Anglo-American Committee has narrated all these shocking incidents in the most graphic terms. I shall not read the details; permit me only to read the titles of some of the acts committed by the Jewish forces in Palestine: Large thefts of arms and explosives by the Haganah—please remember that Haganah is the Hebrew word for the Israeli army; tampering with St. George's Cathedral in Jerusalem in an attempt to assassinate the High Commissioner; Attacking the Department of Immigration of Palestine; Bombing police headquarters; Destroying income tax offices; British policemen murdered; Broadcasting station attacked; Government offices bombed; Attempted murder of the High Commissioner and his wife; Police buildings attacked; Lord Moyne, British Minister of State in the Middle East, assassinated; Palestine railways attacked; British soldiers murdered in cold blood; Officers kidnapped; King David Hotel bombed, with ninety killed and scores injured; Bombing of police trolley; Mass killings by explosives in Haifa; Abduction of a judge from the Court; Attack on oil refineries; Red Cross Clinic bombed; Derailment of trains; Attack on Arab towns and villages; Explosive letters to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevin and Mr. Herbert Morrison and other British leaders; Field ambulance blown up; Setting fire to Arab cinema; Bombing Arab quarters; Mining naval welfare centre; Blasting Arab

^{3/} United Kingdom, Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine, Cmd. 6208 (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), p. 39.

Semiramis Hotel in Jerusalem; Attacking Arab villages; Rolling barrels of explosives on Arab quarters; Storming Court building; Kidnapping and killing Polish Consul and a newspaper man.

131. These are only brief headings of those incidents, barbarous and savage as they were, committed by the Jewish Israel forces in Palestine. And here comes the lady from Israel to claim that Israel was an innocent lamb, helpless, defenceless, unarmed. And what a poor lamb Israel is. But the lady from Israel is premeditatedly forgetful. She is forgetful even of the declarations of her Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Gurion, on the issue of war. During the course of the Second World War when the United Kingdom was engaged in a war of life and death, it was Mr. Ben Gurion who declared war as follows—and these are the words of the Prime Minister of the lady who comes from Israel: "We shall fight our war as if there were no war."

132. Mr. Ben Gurion's declaration of war was put into effect. The Zionist forces waged a war in Palestine. At the close of the Second World War the Jewish army command declared: "V-Day for the world would be a D-Day for us." The British Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, in an official communiqué, declared: "The Zionist forces in Palestine are directly impeding the war efforts of Great Britain and assisting its enemies."

133. These are the unarmed Israel military forces who have been described to the Assembly by the lady from Israel. Mrs. Meir might suggest that these Zionist military operations belong to a history long past. This is not a clever argument.

134. The truth is that this war of aggression, of horror, of terror was started in 1939, continued throughout the Second World War, and was continued further until 1948, to culminate in the emergence of Israel, the usurpation of the Arab homeland and the exodus of its people. The intervention of the Arab armies, which was referred to by Mrs. Meir, was only for the purpose of containing a war, a nazi war already started by Israel. I say a "nazi" war as a reminder for the lady from Israel.

135. When the British Minister of State, Lord Moyne, was assassinated by the Zionist forces in November 1948, Mr. Churchill addressed to the House of Commons the following words:

"If our dreams of Zionism are to end in the smoke of assassinating pistols and our labours for its future are to produce a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many like myself will have to reconsider the position which we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past. Those wicked activities must cease and those responsible for them must be destroyed, root and branch."

136. Mrs. Meir has spoken with emotion and anger of the nazi atrocities against the Jews in Germany. We too condemn the nazi atrocities. We shiver at the mere memory of those innocent victims, our brothers in humanity, the millions of Jews who were massacred by Nazi Germany. But the nazi action has led to a similar nazi reaction. Nazi Germany has passed away in Germany, only to be revived in Israel in the Middle East. It is enough that Churchill has passed the verdict. And as the peace of Europe has necessitated the surrender of nazism, the peace of the Middle East and

the world at large calls imperatively for the surrender of Zionist nazism in the Middle East.

137. It was not only Churchill who passed the verdict. Mr. A. J. Toynbee, the great historian of our age, has condemned Israel's nazi atrocities. Mr. Toynbee said:

"The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs, that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis, were the massacre of men, women and children at Deir Yassin on the 9th of April, 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population in large numbers from the districts within range of the Jewish armed forces ..."

Mr. Toynbee's statement goes also to refute mercifully the assertion of Mrs. Golda Meir that the refugees left as a result of the call of Arab leaders. What a ridiculous and fantastic allegation to make. These are facts of history which I have quoted from a distinguished historian, and if history is to be consulted, it is Toynbee, not Mrs. Meir, who is to be consulted.

138. Let me again refresh the memory of Mrs. Meir with another set of facts and declarations. When in 1948 this United Nations of ours was discussing various resolutions on Palestine, it was not the Arab armies but it was Mr. Ben Gurion who challenged the United Nations. Mr. Ben Gurion did not make his challenge through political pronouncements; it was a challenge of war. In an address to the Central Committee of Israel workers, Mr. Ben Gurion declared to the United Nations "Force of arms"—I repeat, "Force of arms"—"not formal resolutions, will determine the issue".

139. This is how Israel was addressing itself to the General Assembly in discussing the Palestine question. They simply warned the United Nations that it was the force of arms and not your resolutions which would decide the issue. Thus, the resolutions of the General Assembly were nothing to Mr. Ben Gurion. The determining factor was the force of arms. I wonder whom we are to believe. Are we to believe the Foreign Minister in her address to the Assembly or the Prime Minister in his warning to the United Nations? Are we to believe the Foreign Minister or the Prime Minister? I dare say this is a prime distortion, foreign to our Organization.

140. In fact, the creation of Israel was not the peaceful implementation of a United Nations resolution. Israel is the culmination of force, of brutal force; it is the fruit of war, a war of aggression. When the future of Palestine was under international inquiry, the Israel command, the command of the Jewish forces, declared its readiness to enforce a Zionist solution at the tip of its bayonets, by the force of arms. These are the words of the Israel command:

"There is no doubt that the Jewish force is superior in organization, training, planning and equipment. If you accept the Zionist solution but are unable or unwilling to enforce it, please do not interfere, and we ourselves will secure its implementation."

This is the language of force, uttered by the command, the Israel command.

141. Again, when the United Nations, seated at Lake Success—and everyone who was at Lake Success will bear testimony—was considering a United States trusteeship plan for Palestine instead of partition, the

Israel command addressed to the United Nations the following warning:

"Our battles serve as additional evidence for Lake Success diplomats who are studying the American plan, that the decisive step would be taken in Palestine."

I can go on endlessly to quote Israel authorities. But this much is sufficient to convince the Assembly that the charge placed at the door of the Arabs is nothing but a fictitious fiction. It is enough to know that it is an Israel fiction.

142. Be that as it may, the Israel statement of yesterday, has proved the very same charge we have been advancing against Israel for years.

143. Our assertion has always been that Israel is the embodiment of imperialism and colonialism. Through Jewish immigration under United Kingdom bayonets, the Jews of Palestine had risen from 50,000 in 1919 to 750,000 in 1948. This is an alien infiltration of masses who have never known the country—owned nothing, possessed nothing, neither themselves, nor their forbears, should they be able to trace their ancestry three thousand years old. As a little illustration, let me assure you that each and every member of the Israel delegation now seated in the Assembly, including the lady from Israel, are not, and have never been citizens of Palestine. But they find enough courage to challenge the right of the citizens of Palestine to go back to their home, their ancestral home, their immemorial home.

144. The lady from Israel has also spoken the language of imperialism and colonialism. Describing the situation in Palestine, Mrs. Meir declared in her statement at the 897th plenary meeting:

"... rocks, desert, marshes, malaria, trachoma—this is what characterized the country before we came ..."

I ask our colleagues from Africa and Asia to pay attention to this quotation from the statement of Israel. This is the language of imperialism, the philosophy of colonialism. In Africa, in Asia, what did the colonial Powers say? They said the very same thing that the lady from Israel has said. The colonial Powers have claimed that they came to Africa and Asia to convert the desert, to drain the marshes, to combat malaria, to battle with trachoma—exactly the very same words used by the lady from Israel. This is no coincidence. Israel and imperialism stem from the same trunk. It stands therefore to reason that Israel should meet the same destiny. Imperialism is fading, withering, retreating, and so it is with Israel. And, there is no force on earth that can halt the defeat of imperialism and all the creations of imperialism.

145. This imperialism of Israel, however, is of a unique character. As claimed by Mrs. Meir, it stems from the antiquated association of the Jews with Palestine. Call them what you call them, such associations are to be found in the archives of history for any territory and for any people. There is not one single span on our earth without association for this people or that. Should we follow the philosophy of Mrs. Meir—or rather, the lack of philosophy of Mrs. Meir—any people can claim any territory, and none could be with a homeland. A ridiculous conclusion; but the conclusion is her's, not mine. Mrs. Meir in her statement also said: "Every mountain, every valley in our

country, as mentioned in the Book of books, tells of our belonging, of our being there."

146. I am afraid I cannot speak on this matter without sarcasm. The lady from Israel wishes the Assembly to be wandering in a wilderness of imagination and legend, travelling back along the avenues of antiquated history. Should we accept Mrs. Meir's statement seriously, we will have to reconstruct this world of ours in the same pattern that existed at the time of the Book of books. Then no nation represented in this Assembly would be in its present homeland, and no homeland would be occupied by its people.

147. Indeed, we would have a different United Nations entirely, only to fit the taste of Israel and the lady from Israel.

148. Yet, when we speak of mountains and valleys, let us not forget the vibrant reality, the reality of life and of history. Let us not make an excursion into the imagination. These valleys and mountains have been possessed and occupied by the people of Palestine in continuity and in perpetuity since time immemorial. On these mountains and in these valleys they built their towns and villages; they planted their vineyards and orchards; they established their farms and factories; they constructed their mosques and churches; they gently and peacefully dug their graves. This is what makes a homeland dear, sacred and deserving of every honourable sacrifice. These are the true teachings of the Book of books, if only Mrs. Meir cares to apply her heart and mind to the Book of books.

149. Even in terms of individual property and ownership, Israel had nothing in Palestine, and the Arabs had everything. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine reported to the General Assembly that Jewish ownerships comprised only 6 per cent of the whole area of Palestine, and nothing more. The Book of books does not permit banditry or robbery, whether it be individual or international. The Book of books pronounces: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house". If the lady from Israel relies on the Book of books, then Israel should hand over to the refugees their properties, their possessions, their farms, their dwelling houses and, indeed, the entirety of their homeland.

150. I come last to the chorus of peace—I say "chorus" because it was nothing but a chorus—which was raised so loudly by Mrs. Meir: "Let us sit down in a free, not preconditioned conference, to discuss peace". This is the call of the lady from Israel. The call "to discuss peace", to those who do not know, is quite enticing; but those who know cannot be deceived so readily by such slogans of peace.

151. Let us ask: to discuss what? Are we to discuss the recognition of the usurpation of our country? Are we to discuss the exile of our people? Count Bernadotte was assassinated in Jerusalem by the Zionist forces while on a mission of peace in Palestine—the free peace for which Mrs. Meir is now clamouring so eloquently here in the General Assembly.

152. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, in its fifteen progress reports, has stated that Israel has not repatriated one single refugee nor compensated one single refugee. The fifteen resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the repatriation of the refugees have been completely defied by Israel. Resolution 1456 (XIV) of 1959, which was

passed unanimously by the General Assembly, with the abstention of Israel, reaffirmed repatriation. The lady from Israel said yesterday that these resolutions were misquoted. Tell us how they are to be quoted. We know that they are resolutions of the General Assembly calling for repatriation of the refugees. The truth is that they are ignored by Israel—resisted and denied. So what are we to discuss with Israel?

153. This call for peace comes from the lady who has recently put the following question to Jewish mothers here in the United States: "Would it be too much to send 1,000 of your sons and daughters to live in Israel?" That is what peace is to Mrs. Meir: our sons and daughters should stay in exile while the sons and daughters of United States citizens are urged by Mrs. Meir to leave their homeland in America, destroy their loyalty to the United States and live in Israel.

154. After all, what is the record of peace of this Israel that clamours for peace? Condemned by Churchill and Toynbee as a nazi institution—that is not all for Israel. Israel was condemned by the Security Council for the massacre of Kibya—a whole village destroyed, soul and stone. Israel was condemned by the Security Council for the slaughter of Nahhalin, another Arab village, soul and stone. Israel was condemned by the Security Council for the outrage of Gaza, killing refugees while they were sleeping in their camps. These are condemnations by the Security Council. Lastly, Israel was condemned for the tripartite aggression on Sinai, traces of the conspiracy of which were displayed yesterday in the ferocious clapping by the French delegation in support of Israel, a comrade in arms.

155. I can count scores of condemnations by the Security Council and the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission. I will confine myself to one, because of its bearing on the issue of peace. On 16 February 1960, the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission passed the following decision with regard to the destruction of a whole Arab village by Israel:

"Having considered that this attack has resulted in the almost total destruction of the aforesaid village, in violation of elementary humanitarian principles...

"Condemns the Israeli attack against the village of Khirbat at Tawafiq;"^{4/}

156. This answers the call for peace—committing an act which resulted in the total destruction of a whole village, which has been described by the Armistice Commission as a violation of the most elementary human principles. This is the record—only part of the record—of Israel, which clamours for peace. Israel has extended a hand of peace, but it is a hand soaked with the blood of the innocent, a hand that had uprooted a whole people from its homeland. This is not peace. This is a surrender to the aggressor. The people of Palestine would choose to die, all in all, rather than abandon their homes and their homeland.

157. The proposal has been made to President Nasser and other Arab leaders to meet Mr. Ben Gurion to make peace. What a ridicule—what an irony of fate—what an affront to peace—what a travesty of justice, to advance such a proposal and, I would say, such a heresy!

158. In contrast, the lady from Israel has referred to the proposal for a meeting between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. The comparison is blasphemous. Both great men have refused such a meeting. Khrushchev claimed an apology, and Eisenhower stressed the release of two United States fliers. In our case, Israel's evils cannot be remedied by an apology. Neither are the rights of the whole people of Palestine to be compared to the liberty of two fliers. But still the two great leaders have refused to meet.

159. Yet, the matter raises a greater issue. The disagreement between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, with all its gravity, does not involve the loss of a homeland. Had the Soviet Union been occupying the State of New York, Eisenhower would be the last man on earth to accept to meet with Khrushchev. And had the United States been occupying the Ukraine, Khrushchev would be the last man on earth to accept to meet with Eisenhower.

160. In this context, President Nasser is our Eisenhower and our Khrushchev, and so are all the Arab leaders. And never will they meet Ben Gurion; nor will any Arab leader conceive of meeting Israel, neither now, nor in any time to come. So let it be known. The role of President Nasser is not the surrender of the Arab homeland. He is committed to a great and noble cause. So are the rest of the Arab leaders. President Nasser strives to emancipate, to liberate the Arab homeland, but not to surrender it to imperialism or Zionism, or to all the creations of Zionism or imperialism.

161. Nevertheless, I should not leave the Assembly in an atmosphere of despair and bitterness. Peace is our goal—our dearest and most sacred—for the homeland is ours, not theirs. And the child of Solomon is ours, not theirs.

162. Peace in the Holy Land can be realized. Other countries and other peoples have attained peace. It is only through the same way and through the same means that peace can be attained in Palestine. India and Pakistan achieved peace after imperialism was relinquished. So it was in Indonesia. And thus it was attained in Africa. In Ghana and Guinea the people were freed in their homeland and imperialism pulled out, and peace reigned.

163. With Israel it is the same. There are now thousands and thousands of Jews who are clamouring to get out from this tyranny and misery which is called Israel, if they are only given an exit visa. If Israel challenges my statement, I would ask here and now that a United Nations commission be set up to proceed immediately to Israel to inquire into the wishes of the Jews, and I challenge Israel to accept this referendum.

164. This is the real challenge of peace. When the alien Jews are allowed to quit the country, the situation will go back to normal. There will be no one in Palestine except its legitimate inhabitants—Moslems, Christians and Jews, all alike. They will constitute the independent State. They will be admitted to the United Nations, and their delegation, composed of Moslems, Christians and Jews, would occupy their worthy seats here in the Assembly hall.

165. This is how peace can be realized in the land of peace, and this is what we are endeavouring to achieve. So help us God.

^{4/} See S/4268.

166. The PRESIDENT (translated from Russian): I now call upon the representative of Israel in exercise of his right of reply.

167. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation has no intention of replying to the representative of Saudi Arabia. We have heard these harangues for years. We are accustomed to them, and I think we can afford to treat them with contempt...

168. I have asked for the floor for one purpose only, and that is to register our sense of disgust that there should be on the records of the Assembly a comparison of any people, my own or any other, with the Nazis.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.