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**President:** Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MUNA (Cameroon): Since this is the first time that my delegation has spoken, I hope that Mr. Slim will allow me to associate myself, on behalf of my delegation, with the very warm sentiments of congratulation already expressed on his election as President of the General Assembly. My delegation feels that the fact that he holds this elevated and well deserved—although not easy—position stems from the very able part he has played in discharging his duty as the representative of his country. We promise faithfully to give him the fullest support and co-operation, and we also appeal to our fellow representatives to do the same.

2. It might interest representatives to know that, in the month of March this year, during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Prime Minister of Cameroon, Mr. J. N. Foncha, and I were here as advisers to the United Kingdom delegation. Today I feel greatly honoured and gratified to find myself mounting this rostrum and speaking not as an adviser to a foreign country but as the chairman and on behalf of the delegation of my country, which is now united and independent.

3. The Cameroon delegation expresses its deepest regret in connexion with the untimely and tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, who died on active service in his selfless and untiring efforts to find a solution for human and world problems. The visit of the Secretary-General to the Cameroon last year, when he had the opportunity to discuss our problems with great sympathy, will long be remembered. Any measure or measures which have been proposed to commemorate the name of this great soul fully meet the support of my delegation. We support also the proposal that only one Secretary-General, with assistants, will be the solution to the deadlock that has been created by this irrecoverable loss. We must be guided by the fact that too many cooks will spoil the broth and that there can be no more than one captain in one ship.

4. It was with the greatest joy and congratulations that my delegation witnessed the hoisting of the

Sierra Leone flag amongst those of other Members of the United Nations. We have noted also the march to independence by other States, particularly Tanganyika. The Cameroon pledges itself to support any dependent State towards the ultimate goal of independence.

5. The statement of my delegation will be based, first, on the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement in the Southern Cameroons, now West Cameroons, and then lastly, on our observations on the general problems now facing the General Assembly.

6. It will be recalled that for many years in the past, the Cameroon problem has been one of the most brain-cracking and vexing questions for solution by the General Assembly. The story or plight of Cameroon as a colony under the Germans, and later as a Trust Territory under the United Kingdom and France as Administering Authorities had been related repeatedly before the Fourth Committee and on many occasions before the General Assembly.

7. Through petitions from individuals, officials and private delegations, the peoples of Cameroon left no stone unturned in pressing persistently the problems of their country before the United Nations for solution. Many Cameroon nationalists, in their undaunted pursuit to liberate their country from the grip of the deadly talons of colonialism and imperialism, have faced terrible persecution and loss of life and property.

8. Our historians will have an important job to do when they place on record the terrible tragedies, political upheavals and remarkable changes which have finally brought freedom and unity to a country which was arbitrarily and cruelly torn into pieces. Indeed, it has been said that Cameroon was probably the most manipulated territory in Africa.

9. On 1 January 1960, the section of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration achieved its independence as the Republic of Cameroon and, afterwards, was admitted as a Member of this international arena or club to which belong also the smallest and newest nations.

10. With the achievement of independence, the Republic of Cameroon, now known as East Cameroon in the new Federal Republic of Cameroon, fought like a bulldog in order to attain unification with, and independence for, the Southern and Northern Cameroons. I believe that the memory of the storm raised during the debates, both in the Fourth Committee and in the General Assembly, on the results of the plebiscite conducted in the Northern and Southern Cameroons early this year is still fresh in the minds of my fellow representatives.

11. In spite of the fact that the results of the plebiscite were absolutely decisive in the Southern Cameroons, much controversy, bitterness and resentment was expressed by a host of petitioners from the

opposition party who favoured federation with Nigeria. The incredible and ridiculous statements of the opposition, coupled with threats of riots, gave rise to the great fear in the minds of those who listened that there would be confusion and civil war in the Southern Cameroons and that the unification issue would be lost. Happily, when at last it became abundantly clear through the resolution adopted by the General Assembly endorsing the results of the plebiscite [resolution 1608 (XV)], the opposition party gave in and promised co-operation, which went a long way towards making unification easy.

12. We are fully determined to face our intricate and peculiar problems, both externally and internally, with optimism. We are convinced that, backed by the spirit of hard work, co-operation, and the vast untapped natural resources of our blessed land, we shall succeed. Those who know Cameroon have confirmed the fact that apart from its natural or physical beauty, which is unique, the whole territory has the greatest potentials in the whole of West Africa.

13. Unfortunately, reports which the world received when Cameroon was struggling to throw off the yoke of colonialism had tended to give a poor picture of the territory. In fact, until recently British newspapers gave very distorted and exaggerated facts about the state of affairs in Cameroon. My delegation wants to assure the General Assembly that unification and independence have been achieved in a peaceful atmosphere. As time goes on, the problems arising out of the marriage of British and French cultures in Cameroon through unification will be solved one by one.

14. In this connexion, we want to take this opportunity and appeal to those nations which delight in the training of the nationals or radicals of young independent and dependent countries in the terrible art of guerilla warfare or terrorism, to stop doing so. Some of these States support and harbour rebels or refugees from other States to form puppet governments for the main purpose of upsetting the legitimate home Government by acts of terrorism from time to time. World peace cannot be achieved when such subversive and treacherous tactics and intrigues are allowed to go on and are encouraged.

15. I should like to refresh the minds of representatives by referring to the relevant sections of resolution 1608 (XV), adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session, on 21 April 1961:

"4. Decides that, the plebiscites having been taken separately with differing results, the Trusteeship Agreement of 13 December 1946 concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration shall be terminated, in accordance with Article 76b of the Charter of the United Nations and in agreement with the Administering Authority, in the following manner:

"(a) With respect to the Northern Cameroons, on 1 June 1961, upon its joining the Federation of Nigeria as a separate province of the Northern Region of Nigeria;

"(b) With respect to the Southern Cameroons, on 1 October 1961, upon its joining the Republic of Cameroon;

"5. Invites the Administering Authority, the Government of the Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon to initiate urgent discussions

with a view to finalizing, before 1 October 1961, the arrangements by which the agreed and declared policies of the parties concerned will be implemented."

16. As the result of this resolution adopted by the General Assembly, the Cameroun as a whole very regrettably and reluctantly lost part of its territory, the Northern Cameroons, on 1 June 1961, when it became a province of Northern Nigeria. After that, Northern Cameroons was baptized by Nigeria, and given the new name of Saradaune Province. A name can be changed overnight, but not a people.

17. I shall now proceed to outline briefly how this important United Nations decision has been implemented, as far as the Southern Cameroons is concerned. In the first place, the Administering Authority, the Southern Cameroons Government and the Republic of Cameroon initiated urgent discussions based on the arrangement by which the agreed and declared policies used at the plebiscite would be implemented. In short, we required a Federal Constitution for a new united Cameroon, drawn up by and acceptable to the people. The leaders of the major political parties, traditional rulers, local Government councillors and parliamentarians met and held from time to time several meetings and conferences to discuss and draw up a new constitution.

18. Finally, we successfully produced a draft Federal Constitution, which, having been adopted by the two legislatures of East and West Cameroon, now binds the two States together as a Federation, which came into being as the Federal Republic of Cameroon on 1 October 1961. We are proud to report that this Constitution, drawn up by us, is typical and adaptable to our peculiar and existing problems.

19. I should now like to read out parts of several articles of the Constitution in order to impress upon representatives that the unification we have achieved is not a faked or an imaginary one, but a reality.

20. Article 1 states, inter alia:

"The Federal Republic of Cameroon is formed, as from 1 October 1961, of the Territory of the Republic of Cameroun, henceforth called East Cameroon, and the Territory of the Southern Cameroons formerly under United Kingdom administration, henceforth called West Cameroon.

"The Federal Republic of Cameroon is democratic, secular and social. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law. It affirms its adherence to the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

"The official languages of the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English.

"The national motto shall be: 'Peace—Labour—Fatherland'.

"The national flag shall be: green, red and yellow, in three vertical bands of equal size, with two gold stars superimposed on the green band..."

Article 2 reads, in part:

"National sovereignty shall be vested in the Cameroonian People, which shall exercise such sovereignty either through its deputies in the Federal Assembly or by way of referendum. No section of the People, nor any individual, may

assume the exercise thereof. The vote shall be equal and secret; all citizens who have attained the age of twenty-one years shall participate therein..."

Article 8 states:

"The President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, Head of State and Head of the Federal Government, shall uphold the Federal Constitution and shall ensure the unity of the Federation and the conduct of the affairs of the Federal Republic."

Article 9 states:

"The President of the Federal Republic and the Vice-President, who must not be natives of the same Federated State, shall be elected, on a single list, by universal suffrage and direct and secret ballot."

Article 39 reads, in part:

"The President of the Federal Republic shall appoint the Prime Minister of each Federated State, who must be confirmed in office by simple majority vote of the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned."

Article 47 states, inter alia:

"Any proposal for the revision of the present Constitution which impairs the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible ....

"Any proposal for revision submitted by the Deputies must be signed by at least one-third of the Members of the Federal Assembly."

These few extracts go a long way to show that the unification achieved by both East and West Cameroon is not an imaginary unification, but a reality.

21. By achieving unification and independence, the Federal Republic of Cameroon has reached a point which can be compared to throwing wide open the curtains at the beginning of a new scene on the stage of its national drama of progress into the future. The last scene, which we can adequately call the notorious colonial rule, has yielded its place to a new scene, independence.

22. The Federal Republic of Cameroon is tied to the apron strings of neither the French Community nor the British Commonwealth. My country has chosen to be a really free nation with freedom of worship, thought, speech and action within the framework of the United Nations Charter. We have successfully torn ourselves away from colonialism and imperialism, without friction or bitterness towards the Administering Authorities. We shall continue to maintain friendly relations with them and with any other nation, on equal terms.

23. My delegation wishes to seize this timely and historic opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and the entire people of the United Federal Republic of Cameroon, its very hearty sentiments of gratitude and appreciation for the great and noble work which the United Nations as a whole has done to bring the Cameroons to its present status. The United Nations, through its various visiting missions—which, in many cases, worked under terrible hardships and in abnormal physical conditions—took positive steps towards dissolving the Cameroon problem. The magnitude of the problem and the degree of interest shown by the Assembly in the Cameroon question can be adequately gauged by the incredible

volume of documents, reports and so forth which has now accumulated in the United Nations.

24. Words, indeed, are inadequate for my delegation to convey from this rostrum its boundless thanks to all the representatives, particularly those in the Fourth Committee of this Assembly, for their great devotion and humanitarian feelings in connexion with our problems. When the annals of Cameroon history are written one day, we believe that the names of the fighters for freedom will not be forgotten. It is with gratification and delight that my delegation thinks of the valuable work which the United Nations has done and continues to do for the people of the Cameroon and other countries through its various bodies, especially the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization. The stamping out of smallpox and other diseases, such as yaws, is a great blessing to the people.

25. Next, my delegation wants to register our special thanks and appreciation to the Administering Authorities, the United Kingdom and France, for all the great and varied efforts they have made to develop the Cameroons socially, economically and politically. From the annual reports regularly submitted by the Administering Authorities, representatives in the Assembly are familiar with the progress made by the Cameroon people. My delegation does not intend to compare the scale of development rendered possible by the Administering Authorities, but we should like to express special thanks to the United Kingdom for the peace and tranquillity and the security measures maintained in West Cameroon, particularly at the time when it separated from Nigeria.

26. It is well and good to criticize indiscriminately and condemn without any reservation the colonial Powers for their many and notorious crimes and misdeeds, but it would be sheer blindness or madness for my delegation to fail to appreciate the humanitarian activities of the United Kingdom and France throughout the world from time immemorial. Indeed, these two great Powers, in spite of their terrible crimes and failures in particular cases, have helped many countries towards the rapid achievement of independence, peace and prosperity. These facts are obvious from the strong ties of friendship still existing between these Powers and their ex-colonies, and between them and other countries; and also from the fact that these Powers still spend millions and millions of pounds as free grants and loans for these independent States.

27. We feel very strongly that political emancipation without economic freedom is nothing but day-dreaming, which finally may lead a people into misery and revolution. For this reason, it is incumbent on the United Nations to help more vigorously, through its various organizations, the new or young independent nations to achieve independence, which will bring them peace and prosperity. Like babies these young nations need all the assistance possible to get through the weaning and teething period.

28. My delegation will crave your indulgence to express here the gratitude of the Cameroon people to the Germans, who first carved us into a political and national entity. It is true that all African independent and dependent States were carved many years ago by the colonial Powers. So, without the Germans perhaps the Cameroon would have taken quite a different shape on the map, or not existed under the same name as at the moment. Indeed, without the good work of

the Germans in the Cameroons, leaving aside their brutality and terror, the Administering Authorities would not have found it so easy to administer the territory from the start.

29. The Germans constructed railway lines, built roads, schools, harbours, post offices and administrative stations and headquarters all over the territory. For example, in Buea, in West Cameroon, the Head of State and all the ministers still live in German built houses. Whether the Germans did all these things to exploit the Cameroons or not, the fact remains that these improvements now belong to an independent, united Cameroon.

30. After thanking the Administering Authorities, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to Nigeria, particularly about its past relation with West Cameroon. In spite of the separation, politically and nationally, the relation between Cameroon and Nigeria is growing healthier and healthier. Nigeria, having had a good share of our territory, has demonstrated a great amount of good will in order to ease the complicated problems arising out of unification.

31. We appreciate the permission for West Cameroon to use Nigerian currency, the repatriation of Cameroon soldiers and police from Nigeria to the Cameroon free, and for the agency services rendered us when we could not get adequate staff. It is the sincere hope of the Federal Republic of Cameroon that this healthy and strong relation will continue indefinitely for the happiness of all concerned.

32. At this juncture, I want to point out that my delegation strongly believes that the time has come for all the African States to pool their resources and to press forward with a vigorous economic programme for the whole of Africa. Such a programme will destroy the artificial barriers, created by the colonial Powers, which have prevented us for a long time from making full use of our natural and rich potentialities.

33. That one State has a French or British culture of background should not be an insurmountable barrier to a vigorous economic programme and development for the whole continent. Unless this is done and done quickly, our people will continue to groan under the yoke of economic slavery and exploitation for many years to come. Why should there not be a Commonwealth of African States and an African Common Market? We cannot substitute economic control for the previous foreign political domination. Ties with colonial Powers only tend to limit the expansion of the new or young nation's trade and investment.

34. Until the different African States, cities, towns, etc., are linked by easy means of communication and transport, progress in all its various aspects will be very slow indeed. Let those who are able to go to the moon or space do so; we congratulate them, provided they do not intend to use their discoveries to destroy the earth.

35. But African leaders have, as their very first obligation to the African masses, the great duty of making them enjoy life fully and abundantly, particularly in Africa and the world in general.

36. May I say here that it is with mixed feelings that my delegation has to make its statement and observations before the General Assembly. I say mixed feelings because, while my delegation rejoices in its country's achievement of unification and independ-

ence, it is not unmindful of the existing world tension of which we all are so apprehensive and which I think we must inevitably, by hook or by crook, try to ease during this unique and historic session.

37. The world-wide political tension has been attributed to various causes, some minor and some major, some remote and some immediate, some logical and some sentimental, some ideological and some materialistic, all of which are influenced by the unfortunate social and economic instability now existing in the world.

38. My delegation has listened with the greatest and most profound interest to the many timely, eloquent and able speeches made during the general debate at the present session. My delegation would be failing in its duty if it made no observations on the precarious position of world peace. It is very important to note that, throughout the debate, the very grave situation in which the whole world now finds itself has been more than adequately emphasized. The importance of the United Nations, the greatest organization in the world and the only hope which humanity has for its very existence and for the maintenance of world peace, has also been repeatedly stressed by the representatives who have spoken before me. It is not the intention of my delegation to labour these points again, since it is our belief that the facts raised are so obvious and fundamental that without them there would have been no United Nations.

39. It would be a real sign of irresponsibility if we were to underestimate the grave situation now threatening world peace. There can be no problem without a possible or acceptable solution, provided that there is a spirit of good will and co-operation, a spirit of live and let live, and, above all, provided that the Charter of the United Nations is interpreted and carried out according to the well-accepted principle of what is right, and not who is right. How very much my delegation wishes that we were all disciples of Moral Rearmament.

40. As long as humanity exists, there will always be great problems endangering the peace of the world. Indeed, it was in recognition of this hard fact that the United Nations was set up, so that nations might ventilate their feelings and find, by peaceful discussions and negotiations, solutions for any complicated or vexing international or human problems.

41. One cannot help wondering what the fate of mankind in this world would have been without the United Nations. In order to appreciate the great work and usefulness of the Organization, one need only reflect or look around the world and see the results or effects of the resolutions and decisions adopted by this body since its inception. There is no need to bore the Assembly by enumerating these obvious facts.

42. Earlier, on behalf of my delegation, I attempted to classify the causes which have contributed to the present tension as far as world peace is concerned. My delegation feels that, in spite of the continued and remarkable achievements of the United Nations so far in promoting world peace, eliminating deadly and epidemic diseases, starvation, and so on, the original propelling force of good will which brought this indispensable world Organization into being is, regrettably, deteriorating. My delegation believes that all representatives know why this is so and why there is uncertainty beclouding the future.

43. Is it not true that the great Powers have chosen to play a game of hide-and-seek politics for reasons of pride and self-preservation, rather than catering for the good of all nations, both great and small, irrespective of religion, race or creed?

44. Is it not true that these nations are now, more than ever before, increasingly relying on power politics rather than on the time-honoured fact that law and order, as the most important normative element for the maintenance of peace and prosperity for all mankind, could not easily be replaced?

45. Is it not true that these political giants are imperceptibly and gradually disintegrating and luring the small and newly independent States into their own camps or blocs, to be used as barbed wire in case of attacks by their opponents?

46. Is it not a struggle between the communist East and the democratic West? Is it not true that the United Nations is being used as a forum for selfish political propaganda and political expediency?

47. There is no limit to such simple but pertinent questions. The few so far asked demand a "yes" or "no" answer. Whether we say "yes" or "no" will not improve our present precarious and disheartening position.

48. My delegation is strongly convinced that at a propitious moment such as this, at a moment of political impasse, all of us in the Assembly, knowing that we each have a sacred duty toward the preservation of world peace as a matter of top priority, can, with the co-operation of one another, find an acceptable solution on the basis of compromise for the world problems now confronting us.

49. Our greatest problem here is not only to reach agreement on possible solutions to our difficulties but to strive to be loyal and to adhere to the circumscribed or airtight policies of our various countries or blocs, while at the same time striving to solve complicated international issues requiring tolerance, peaceful negotiations, the spirit of give and take, and respect for human rights and dignity.

50. My delegation believes that the admission of theory without practice is sometimes dangerous, and therefore any major change by the United Nations should not be based on technical majorities alone.

51. The various approaches and measures necessary, or contemplated, for settling human problems must be carefully weighed and evaluated before being adopted. Unfortunately, some nations will want to grab everything, and by any means, but will not spare a mite for the sake of goodness or humanity. This, my delegation believes, is the crux of the matter.

52. To elucidate this fact, I want to refer to some practical examples. Based on the provision of the United Nations Charter that the wishes and self-determination of the people must be respected, countries which were a simple political unit have sometimes been torn into more than one unit and vice versa. The most recent example is the decision of the United Nations regarding my own country, on which I dwelt a few moments ago. I am sure that if Cameroon had wanted to precipitate another Congo situation by insisting on uniting with Northern Cameroons, which unfortunately, or fortunately, is now a province of Northern Nigeria, it would have been an easy matter. Certainly some nations would have

supported us for one reason or another with arms, directly or indirectly, to fight out the case of Northern Cameroons. But common sense taught us to respect United Nations decisions. Apart from that fact, any use of force would have resulted in transforming our peaceful country into a battleground which, of course, would have had very grave repercussions. The problem of Togoland was resolved in a similar way.

53. One would have thought that the easiest means of solving the Berlin problem would move them to give the people of Germany the freedom to decide in one way or the other whether they wanted to unify or not. This is the only solution, in the opinion of my delegation. If the great Powers are afraid that by uniting Germany again the Germans would again start the doctrine of the "Herrenvolk" and sing "Deutschland, Deutschland Uber alles", let them say so.

54. My delegation believes that man has progressed up to this stage through careful planning, experiments and discoveries. We will support any tests or experiments designed to enable mankind to enjoy life more abundantly and peacefully. We condemn very strongly any tests, either nuclear or otherwise, which bring with them disaster and deadly calamities not only to the tester himself but to the whole human race.

55. My delegation appeals to the great Powers, to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France, to make categorical statements about their stand on the testing of nuclear weapons. There is no hide and seek in this question. We also hope that the great scientists of the world are working untiringly to find out the means by which the fall-out from nuclear tests can be neutralized and made harmless to human beings.

56. At a time like this when feelings and tension are really high, unscrupulous, wild and provocative attacks on one another will only go a long way to worsen the situation. Colonialism and imperialism have been condemned in very strong terms time and time again.

57. The Western and Eastern Powers or blocs have attacked, condemned, and defended each other here in no light terms. Say what we may, colonialism and imperialism are not what they were a few decades ago. Our arduous task is to pinpoint the areas where they still exist, and use all the means and forces we can mobilize to stamp out these evils from the society of world communities. For example, my delegation would strongly support any measures of censure, no matter how severe, on Portugal, Belgium and the Government of South Africa for the notorious state of affairs in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

58. With the passage of time, generations have changed with regard to human relations and thoughts and are still changing rapidly. There is no doubt, as I pointed out earlier, that in many cases there is a great deal of good will and a strong relationship between many States now independent and the colonial Powers which wickedly dominated and exploited them. Byegones must be byegones. Sores and painful wounds, particularly in the delicate parts of the body, must be allowed to heal without frequent scrubbing.

59. For the sake of preserving world peace, and since no useful purpose can be served by unearthing the crimes and evils of colonialism and imperialism committed by our forefathers or States many years

or centuries ago, my delegation makes a very strong appeal that any observations or judgements we make here should be based logically, not sentimentally, on our present attitude or that of any State towards the same type of crime or evil being committed in the present century.

60. My delegation reserves the right to air its views at the appropriate time and, if necessary, on all other questions raised during the general debate about countries now struggling and their people dying under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism.

61. My delegation, hoping that before the sixteenth session of the General Assembly adjourns the dark clouds threatening world peace and humanity will have subsided, wants to remind all delegations of the words of this verse:

"Once to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood  
For the good or evil side."

This is the moment for us to decide.

62. Mr. ELIZALDE (Philippines): On this our first opportunity to address the General Assembly, I should like, in the name of the Philippine delegation, to express to Mr. Slim my heartiest congratulations on his election to the Presidency of the sixteenth session. We are extremely pleased at the election for the first time of a leader from the continent of Africa to preside over the deliberations of this chamber. We are confident that with his wisdom and experience, tact and proven diplomatic ability, our session will be fruitful and constructive.

63. We likewise commend the representative of Ireland, Ambassador Boland, President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, for the outstanding manner with which he presided over the meetings of that session.

64. Recently, a new sovereign nation was born. It is always a deep satisfaction to the Philippines to be able to participate in the admission of additional Members to this Organization. We welcome Sierra Leone. Its presence here is another token of the extension of the frontiers of freedom and liberty. It is the hope of the Philippine delegation that other countries, including Algeria, will soon find their respective seats in the Assembly.

65. We begin our work in the shadow of a tragic event—the death in Africa of our distinguished Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. He died in the line of duty and in the service of peace.

66. Mr. Hammarskjöld was a man of exceptional qualities, and it is hard to find his equal to cope with the difficulties of the present time. That is why his death poses a problem that involves the very existence of this Organization. He was not only a diplomat and distinguished economist, but also an exemplary administrator.

67. The functions of the Secretary-General comprise not only the execution of the mandates of the General Assembly, but also the effective, complete and orderly administration of all United Nations offices and personnel. By express provision of the Charter the Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the United Nations. The Charter likewise provides that in the performance of his duties the Secretary-General or any member of his staff "shall

not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization". Finally, the Secretary-General and his staff are enjoined to "refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization".

68. As a corollary to the foregoing, and to preserve the independence and integrity of the Secretariat, every Member of the United Nations is under obligation "to respect the exclusively international character of ... the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities".

69. We believe that there is a consensus in this body that Mr. Hammarskjöld was performing all the duties of the position of Secretary-General with exceptional ability and efficiency and that he helped in the smooth functioning of the United Nations in its relations with all specialized agencies and financial institutions related thereto. Unfortunately, we now find ourselves facing an unexpected situation and in consequence we have to meet new realities. Our distinguished Secretary-General is here no more, and it must be the concern of all the Members of the United Nations to give continuity to the position as well as to the authority and duties of Secretary-General as envisioned in the Charter. Our delegation is of the opinion that it would be advisable for us in this new task to maintain the organizational system which has been in effect since the founding of the United Nations, which has been proven to most to be both effective and practical. Naturally, we are opposed to any division or dilution of the powers of the Secretary-General because it would reduce the effectiveness of the office and lead toward disorganized management. We are solidly and unreservedly behind the continuance of a single executive for the United Nations Secretariat responsible only to the Organization as a whole. It is our firm conviction that the Secretariat should be insulated from power conflicts and political struggles. We feel that the selection of a successor to Mr. Hammarskjöld is of extreme urgency and must be resolved speedily. Immediate action should result in continued smooth functioning of the General Assembly, its Committees and the United Nations in general. This would also effectively prevent the disintegration of the Organization for lack of a head, administrative direction and control.

70. It is most important and even essential, therefore, in the light of what has just been said, that the person assuming this post should be both seasoned and mature in the diplomatic and political sense and at the same time a proven executive administrator.

71. Countries like ours are ever more interested in the immediate solution of this problem, for the position of Secretary-General has been an instrument to harmonize the actions and differences of big and small nations in the achievement of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. We are, therefore, deeply concerned over the divergence of opinions which is causing the delay in the selection of a Secretary-General.

72. The Philippine delegation, in the interest of an effective, responsive and impartial administration of the United Nations, would support any proposal which would take into account the provisions of the Charter, and we hope that whatever arrangements are made to fill the vacancy, the staff of the Secretariat as well as the Members of the United Nations, would recognize the full authority of the incumbent to make such



decisions as are implicit in his position as executive head of this world Organization.

73. We recognize that there is need for studies to be made with a view to effecting changes in some sections of the Secretariat to make it conform to the growth of membership and the expansion of its work and functions. But we must reject any formula which, even by the slightest implication, would lead to interference with the Secretary-General or functions of the personnel of the Secretariat by any country or group of countries.

74. It has become evident to all that the increase in the membership of the United Nations requires that the present composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council be reviewed. Whereas for the last fifteen years the total membership of the United Nations has doubled, this growth up to now has not been reflected in these Councils. The Philippine delegation takes the position that the new countries which now comprise a large proportion of the total membership, and older Members which have not had adequate opportunity to serve, should be given a voice in these important Councils. An increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council will doubtless make these bodies more realistic and responsible in carrying out their important functions effectively.

75. In recent weeks some of the major Powers have embarked upon a resumption of nuclear testing. This resumption has indeed created anxiety, if not distress, all over the world. In the course of their statements before this body, some delegations have informed the Assembly of the alarming increase in the intensity of radio-active fall-out recorded in their countries since the resumption of atmospheric tests. It is known that such radio-active fall-out endangers the health and life of mankind and that no adequate protection has so far been devised. Radiation is universally recognized as a hazard to human life, and all of us must be convinced that the perilous consequences of nuclear testing could become a scourge to mankind.

76. We, therefore, join those delegations which have already taken the rostrum, in appealing to the Powers concerned—whether conducting tests or just preparing to do so, in the atmosphere, in outer space or elsewhere—to impose upon themselves voluntarily and in the interest of the world a moratorium on any and all kinds of tests. It is to be hoped that the overwhelming expression here by the Members towards such an end will create a new consciousness of the imperative need for the immediate cessation of all tests.

77. In discussing the question of disarmament, we have in our minds the principle in the Philippine constitution outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. Before proceeding further, we are pleased to commend the address of President Kennedy of the United States to this Assembly outlining a comprehensive programme towards world disarmament [1013th meeting]. He also gave us a picture of the troubles of this world which could help focus attention on the magnitude and urgency of the task of building for peace.

78. There are many trouble spots in various parts of the world today, and South-East Asia, which includes my country, the Philippines, is no exception. Here, as in other parts of the world, the big nations are the main protagonists, but the smaller countries

within these troubled areas are in constant danger of being engulfed at short notice. We see today uncertainty in political and military conditions in several countries in South-East Asia. The dangers of war are becoming apparent, and national upheavals are growing in alarming proportions. Such a situation compels the countries within the region to devote substantial portions of their resources to their own defence and provide safeguards against infiltration and subversion. The result of this is that resources which could otherwise be used for much needed economic and social progress have to be wasted in military spending without tangible benefits to the entire population.

79. At this juncture, some delegations have expressed the view that nuclear testing, as it is now being carried out, must be related closely to the arms race. It has been stated, furthermore, that these tests may even be considered as a prelude to the production of arms and weapons more deadly and destructive than the ones now existing.

80. We feel that, unless and until the big Powers agree to disarm, many millions will go down the drain not only by limitless spending by the strong Powers but also by wasted effort on the part of the smaller nations. Considerations of this and a similar nature have impelled some countries, including my own, to enter into defence arrangements with stronger friendly Powers for purposes of protection. Pending the advent of the climate of peace which is long awaited, the Philippines has seen fit to permit the establishment of bases by a friendly Power as a deterrent to war and as a protection against surprise attack. Let it be known, however, that these bases have been agreed upon to be purely for defensive purposes and have been negotiated freely and voluntarily, with full respect for the sovereign powers of the parties concerned.

81. It has been said here that "the weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us". With this in view, we join other delegations in an appeal for a renewal of honest efforts aimed at complete and general disarmament under international control. We endorse the general principles arrived at by both the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We express the hope that these general principles will be implemented.

82. We will support any proposal intended to prevent and prohibit the transfer or further dissemination of nuclear weapons from one country to another. As a stage in the process of industrialization, we should like, of course, to see the atom harnessed for useful and constructive purposes. We should like to see mankind closer to the era of Atoms for Peace.

83. Like most of the new and small nations, the Philippines is exerting every possible effort towards an extensive development of its resources. Through international co-operation and the partnership of domestic and foreign capital, our industrial capacity has increased substantially in the last decade. It is with satisfaction that I state here that the present trend towards industrialization and economic and social development in the Philippines is due mainly and in great measure to the wisdom, vision and dynamic "economic nationalism" of His Excellency, Carlos P. Garcia, President of the Philippines. However, like other countries not yet fully developed economically, we still depend mainly on the export of raw materials for our income and foreign exchange earnings. Consequently, we have not moved away

enough from our original position of dependency, continuing to be as ever before subject to the requirements, controls and inordinate fluctuations of the markets dominated by the industrialized and richer countries. In such circumstances heavy dependence upon the export of raw materials has slowed down the social and economic progress in many parts of the world and not less in our own country. The people in these raw-material producing countries are forced by economic circumstances to suffer low standards of living. Accordingly their wages and per caput incomes are out of proportion compared with the higher individual incomes prevailing in the highly industrialized countries. It is true that during the last decade the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as financing and lending institutions related to the United Nations, have extended assistance for the industrial and economic development of the less developed areas. Sadly enough, the conditions prevailing in such countries have not changed as much as would be desirable, and the gap between the industrialized and unindustrialized countries not only has not been narrowed but, in general, has been aggravated.

84. It is often suggested that industrialization is the most effective means of hastening the economic development of the under-developed and less developed countries. But it must also be realized that in the initial stages any plan for industrial development brings about serious financial problems, even though they can be expected to taper off in the course of time. Likewise, the general theory of replacing imports through industrialization and production of equivalent goods is an excellent one, but this per se gives rise to special problems of financing. Invariably, therefore, the only recourse open to the countries confronted with these and allied problems is to seek loans, the heavy amortization and interest charges of which, at least temporarily, weaken their economic structures. We feel that present borrowing facilities available to Members of the United Nations are by no means sufficient to meet the requirements and the growing demands of smaller and new nations.

85. We all believe in the necessity of an expanded interchange of goods, commodities and services among all nations. But we must realize that, without improved world conditions, free communications and elimination of barriers, the accomplishment of such objectives does not appear likely in the foreseeable future. In recent years, we have seen the emergence and establishment of regional economic blocs and groupings. But until we see them working in harmony, the expansion of trade will be a myth and, therefore, the interchange of commerce must continue at its present limited pace.

86. I wish to express my appreciation to the representatives of Malaya and Thailand for making reference to the joint efforts of their countries, together with mine, in establishing the Association of South-East Asia. The basic objective of this Association is to foster closer economic, social and scientific co-operation between the members and thus enable them better to comprehend their mutual problems. Philippine participation in this Association is under the personal direction of our Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Serrano. We hope for great success in this endeavour.

87. The position of the Philippines on questions regarding the rights of nations and peoples to self-

determination is well known. Fortunately, the Philippines achieved its independence through a peaceful process and our transition to sovereignty was orderly, resulting from normal international negotiations.

88. Our record in the United Nations shows that we have joined many nations in the espousal of proposals for the termination, as speedily as possible, of all traces of colonialism. Naturally enough, we are against the maintenance in one form or another of colonialism or neo-colonialism, in any part of the world. We strongly believe that peoples in every continent are entitled to live freely and without interference or pressure from any external source and to exercise their right of self-determination as to their political status. At this juncture, it is well to recall the Charter, which enjoins all men irrespective of race, religion, creed, or colour to develop friendly relations among themselves and to "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

89. The Charter likewise enjoins the people all over the world to "establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and...in international law can be maintained". Viewing the Berlin question in this context, the Philippines can only reaffirm its conviction of the necessity of traditional respect for international treaties and commitments. We here express the hope that the parties concerned should find their way clear to peaceful negotiations and settlement.

90. Our respect for the provisions of the Charter constrains the Philippine delegation to continue, in present circumstances, to oppose the membership in this Organization of Communist China, which has flouted the cause of peace, has challenged and fought against the collective will of the United Nations, and has, through aggression, infiltration and subversion, disregarded the peace and territorial integrity of its neighbours and of many other countries.

91. It is our hope that, under your wise guidance and able direction, we shall move together towards harmony and peace.

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Saudi Arabia to exercise his right of reply.

93. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): I have a little confession to make. Through no fault of mine, I rise so late to answer Israel and the lady from Israel. But, unlike Israel, wedged in the Middle East, I did not wish to be wedged in the speakers' list, nor did I desire to displace a delegation as Israel has displaced a whole people from their homeland. Rather I have chosen to wait, no matter how late, for it is never too late to refute a distortion, particularly when it emanates from Israel.

94. The lady from Israel has seen fit to raise the question of the Arab minority in Israel. Probably we should provide the answer. With Nazi determination, the lady has challenged the Arabs to find fault with Israel on the question. What an amazing challenge, a challenge indeed to human decency and, I would say, a challenge to the intelligence of this august body. We flatly reject the challenge as groundless and baseless.

95. The life of the Arab minority under Israel is a travesty of the United Nations, an insult to mankind, and a mockery of human dignity. Becoming a minority after being a majority, the Arabs in Israel are a



classic example of the most ghastly persecution. Under Israel legislation, the Arab minority lives within security zones reminiscent of the security zones designed by colonial authorities in Africa and Asia. In Galilee alone, as has been admitted in Haaretz, the Israel newspaper, no less than twenty-four villages were deprived of their lands by Jewish collectives. Again, on the strength of Israel legislation, Israel authorities had confiscated, by 1957, 40,000 acres of land belonging to the Arabs. Deploring this robbery, Moshe Keren, a well-known Jewish writer, said the following:

"The future students of ethnology will wonder how it came to pass that it was the Jewish people, having themselves been the victims of unparalleled acts of robbery and expropriation, that should have been capable of doing this to a helpless minority."

This is for the lady to hear and to speak no more of Arab minority.

96. In his book, Israel and the Palestine Arabs, Don Peretz summed up the position of the Arab minority in the following tragic words:

"Arabs ... lived under a complex of legal restrictions. Their movement into, out of and within security zones was regulated by the military. Legal residents could be banished and their properties confiscated. Whole villages could be removed from one area to another."

Again, this is for the lady of Israel to hear and to speak no more of the Arab minority.

97. Furthermore, this disastrous state of affairs has been reported to the United Nations. In January 1956 Advocate Elias Kousa, Secretary of the Arab bloc in Israel, cabled to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, a desperate appeal in the following terms:

"In name of humanity and justice we appeal to you intercede Israel Government stop oppression humiliation dispossession impoverishment Israel Arabs. Thousands still unsettled owing cruel Government measures .... Jewish villages established on land belonging Israeli Arabs consequently becoming jobless and landless. Over one million 'dunams' fertile land taken from Arab owners.... Military rule cruelly applied in Arab areas in Galilee and Little Triangle. Eighteen thousand Arabs pinned Beersheba district. Diverse malpractices applied.... Though paying taxes, rates compulsory loans and other inquests including contributions for purchases of arms for Israel, the Arabs are treated second class citizens. Muslim community prohibited manage Muslim 'wakfs' and religious affairs.... Grievances too numerous to enumerate. Generally, Arab conditions lamentable. We implore"—and this is the final appeal of the Arab bloc in Israel—"intervention of United Nations find reasonable solution for serious problem Israeli Arabs."

This, again, is for the lady of Israel to hear and to speak no more of the Arab minority and to challenge no more the Arab State.

98. The British correspondent, Derek Tozer, writing in the magazine American Mercury, in August 1957, stated: "The official policy of the Government of Israel is unequivocal. Arabs—like the Jews in Nazi Germany"—what a tragic parallel—"are officially class B citizens, a fact which is recorded in the

identity cards". As a matter of record, this charge of Nazi practices as carried out by Israel is not only the verdict of a journalist. Indeed, it is the verdict of history. The Nazi régime, it is true, has disappeared in Germany, but only to reappear in Palestine in Israel. It was the great historian of our age, Arnold Toynbee, who condemned Israel as a Nazi incarnation. In his famous book, A Study of History, Toynbee compared the evil deeds committed by the Israeli Jews against the Palestinian Arabs to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis. This verdict of history, let me inform the lady, is to be found in Toynbee's book, volume VIII, pages 289-290. The lady would do well to read Toynbee before she throws gloves of challenge across this rostrum to the Arab Governments—gloves smelling of persecution and soaked with the blood of human beings, innocent, defenseless, helpless, simply because they happen to be Arabs, the remnants of a whole people in their homeland.

99. But that is not all. Israel persecution—or, to recast Toynbee's verdict, Israel Nazism—did not end with the living people. The apartheid of South Africa is being practised by Israel, but against whom? Against the living and against the dead. The dead resting in their graves have not been spared defamation and mutilation, nor have the churches escaped desecration and demolition. On Good Friday—and how holy is Good Friday—in 1954 the Christian cemetery in Haifa was desecrated and seventy-three crosses were smashed and trampled underfoot. The Press, and particularly the Catholic Press, was furiously aroused, and the late Monsignor MacMahon declared: "It is neither a campaign nor defamation when the Catholic Press throughout the world expresses indignation over the destruction of villages and churches in Israel".

100. Recently, in June 1959, it was reported in the Israel newspaper Letzte Nyess that: "The Christian cemetery in Jerusalem was desecrated and forty-two crosses burned".

101. But the worst episode in the record of Nazi Israel is the destruction of the Christian village of Irit in western Galilee—western Galilee, the home of Jesus Christ, messenger of peace for the whole world. In that village on Christmas Day in 1951—again, another holy day: not only Good Friday, but this time Christmas Day—when the world was chanting peace on earth, the Israel army was singing destruction. The Israel forces attacked the village, expelled its inhabitants, destroyed each and every house, and demolished the church. To crown this debasement by Israel, they removed the church bell to a Jewish settlement, not to call for prayers but to call for meals—to call the Jewish settlers together to have their meals. After visiting the scene, Archbishop George Hakim, head of the Greek Catholic community, with a broken heart and with his eyes full of tears, wrote to Rabbi Hertzog, Minister of Religious Affairs, these trembling and crying words:

"From above the churchyard, overlooking the village, I could not but ponder over these atrocities, and ask what would the righteous God ... keep in store for these crimes that are committed by a people or a State, and what would be the verdict of the international conscience."

102. The verdict is obvious. It is barbarism seated in gangsterism and rooted in nazism. If the Arch-

bishop did not pronounce it, here is the place to make the pronouncement. Never again should the lady from Israel stand at this rostrum to speak on the question of Arab minority. Indeed, never again should the lady, challenge the unchallengeable or refute the irrefutable. Israel stands guilty, and the bell of the holy church that resounded for decades the call to prayers shall stay for ages and ages registering silently but indignantly the unspeakable atrocities of Israel.

103. With this record of Israel, it was therefore a paradox, a tragic paradox, for the lady from Israel to refer to the trial of Adolf Eichmann. Adolf Eichmann, no doubt, is criminal number one and the number one enemy of mankind, but Israel can neither be his judge nor his prosecutor. No criminal shall prosecute a criminal or be his judge. Israel is another Eichmann in a State. Israel and Eichmann should stand in one dock, for one trial, for one crime and for one verdict. Eichmann has sought the solution of the Jews by decimation, and Israel is seeking the solution of the Arab refugee problem by deprivation and slow starvation. The two crimes are one and the same. The difference is only one of degree and one of means. And the time is not too far, the lady can be sure, when Israel shall stand trial before the world tribunal, just like Eichmann, helpless, defenceless and stateless.

104. Israel, however, possesses special skills to deny these charges. Israel is a master at this art. It is easy to make verbal denials, but the test lies in a United Nations investigation. Should Israel agree, we formally propose the establishment of a United Nations commission to investigate the conditions of the Arab minority living in Israel and to report to the Assembly at its forthcoming session. We propose that the commission be constituted by the United States and the Soviet Union as members of the Security Council, together with four others representing Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Instead of launching empty challenges from the rostrum, let the lady come to this rostrum to answer the proposal. If the record of Israel is clean, then let the lady give the Assembly an answer—a clean answer.

105. I come now to the slogan of negotiation which was voiced by the lady from Israel. I say "slogan", because in the last thirteen years Israel has been crying out persistently for negotiations. The absolute truth is that the proposal of Israel for negotiations is an Israel game, Israel tactic, and Israel acrobat. I shall leave for a moment the central axiom that no people can be called upon to negotiate the surrender of their homeland. I shall address myself to certain issues of the Palestine question and still be confined within the framework of the United Nations.

106. It is simple fact that the main issues of the Palestine problem are the refugee question, the question of Jerusalem and the territorial problem. The lady from Israel has stressed that—and I quote her words:

"No Israel-Arab issue can be solved without negotiation; every one of the issues can be solved by negotiation." [1030th meeting, para. 214]

So let us consider these issues, one by one, to see how they can be solved by negotiations.

107. Taking the Jerusalem issue first, we all know that pursuant to General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 1947, upheld by General Assembly resolution 194

(III) of 1948, the Assembly decided on the internationalization of Jerusalem as a corpus separatum under effective United Nations control. Israel rejected internationalization. On 17 December 1949, Israel moved its Parliament to Jerusalem and declared the city to be its capital. On 20 December 1949, the United Nations called upon Israel to revoke its action.<sup>1/</sup> In response, Mr. Ben-Gurion declared:

"The United Nations ... saw fit ... this year to decide that our eternal capital should become a corpus separatum under international control .... Our rebuttal"—I invite your attention to these terms—"Our rebuttal of this wicked counsel"—he describes the resolution as being wicked, while the lady from Israel here is chanting and singing about observance and respect for the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations, and Mr. Ben-Gurion is calling your resolutions wicked. I wonder who is wicked in this game. Certainly it is not the United Nations. Mr. Ben-Gurion went on to say—"Our rebuttal of this wicked counsel was unequivocal and resolute: the Government and Knesset at once moved their seat to Jerusalem, and made it Israel's crown and capital, irrevocably and for all men to see."

These are the words of Mr. Ben-Gurion and with this adamant position of Israel on the question of Jerusalem, the lady's proposal for negotiations becomes meaningless, and we invite her to tell the Assembly how such negotiations on Jerusalem can be meaningful. On the basis of defiance of the United Nations and negation of its resolutions there can be no negotiations.

108. On the question of the refugees, the Israel position is glaringly clear. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine for the last thirteen years to implement the sixteen resolutions of the General Assembly for the repatriation of the refugees, not a single refugee has been repatriated and not a single refugee has been compensated. In an official statement Israel informed the Conciliation Commission: "...the clock cannot be put back ... the individual return of the Arab refugees to their former places of residence is an impossible thing ...".

109. The words are those of Israel, and the stress is ours. In all its progress reports the Conciliation Commission clearly stated that it has not been able to prevail over Israel to accept the principle of repatriation. Most recently, and subsequent to the statement of the lady, The New York Times of 12 October, just last week, published a statement by Mr. Ben-Gurion which said: "Israel categorically rejects the insidious proposal for freedom of choice for the refugees". This time he speaks of an insidious proposal of the United Nations, as he has spoken about the question of Jerusalem being a wicked proposal. There is a great deal of progress in Israel's mentality, attacking the internationalization of Jerusalem as being wicked and now attacking the resolutions of the United Nations on repatriation as being insidious. It is for the General Assembly to judge whether the Assembly is insidious and wicked or whether it is the other which is insidious and wicked. What is the insidious thing about it?

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Second Special Session of the Trusteeship Council, Supplement No. 1, resolution 114 (S-2).

110. Mr. Ben-Gurion says that it is an "insidious proposal for freedom of choice for the refugees". I wonder, are we to accept "negotiations" from the lady and no "repatriation" from the gentleman? The gentleman speaks of no repatriation; the lady speaks of negotiation. Are we to believe the man or the lady, for, as you know, they are all honourable citizens. Whether we believe the man or the lady, the proposal for the negotiations becomes meaningless, and we invite the lady to tell the Assembly how negotiations can be meaningful.

111. Lastly, on the question of the territory, Israel has rejected all proposals put forward by the Conciliation Commission. Israel now occupies 35 per cent—I invite your attention to this figure of the United Nations—more territory than was assigned to it by the United Nations. Mr. Ben-Gurion, plagued by the philosophy of conquest, has stated that Israel will not relinquish on the peace table what it has gained on the battlefield. The advice of Mr. Ben-Gurion is not to give up in the peace conference what has been gained in the battlefield. When the British Prime Minister suggested certain changes in the territory under the control of Israel, Mr. Ben-Gurion burst into a roar of war and declared: "I am convinced that Britain's Prime Minister knows very well that the boundaries of Israel could not be altered ... without a bloody war, a war of life and death". With this defiance the proposal of the lady for negotiations becomes meaningless and we invite the lady to tell the Assembly how those negotiations can be meaningful when Mr. Ben-Gurion says: "I will not change my frontiers except in a bloody war, a war of life and death".

112. These are the issues involved in the Palestine question and this is where negotiation leads. Israel urges negotiations, any time, any place and with no prior conditions. These are the words of the lady from this rostrum, offering negotiations any time, any place, and with no conditions. But Israel sets out, in advance, prior conditions: for the refugees, no repatriation; for Jerusalem, no internationalization; and for the territory, no evacuation. Such negotiations lead nowhere; they simply lead to a blind avenue with a dead end. Israel's position can be summed up in the well-known phrase as expressed by President Kennedy in his Press conference: "What is mine is mine, what's yours is negotiable". This is the position of Israel: "What is ours is ours, but what is yours is negotiable". These are not negotiations; they are nothing but surrender. It is Israel, not the Arabs, who will ultimately surrender, for the ultimate triumph must be on the side of justice, and justice only.

113. Yet, let us ask: with whom are we to negotiate? Israel is no party to negotiations. Israel is a congregation of aliens from all parts of the world. Of all the residents in Israel, no less than 80 per cent are not lawful citizens of the country, neither their fathers, nor their forefathers since the days of Abraham. They do not know the country. They possess not one ounce of its sacred soil. They are aliens just as the imperialists are aliens in Asia or Africa. Their claim to the country is no more valid than the claim of the Portuguese to Angola, the French to Algeria and the British to British Honduras. The lady from Israel alleged that the number of Jewish refugees who came to Israel from Arab countries is equal to the number of Arab refugees who left. It is miscalculated calculation, typical of the mathematics of money-lenders. The Arab refugees number 1,200,000.

The Jews who went to Israel from Arab countries number only 200,000—not 1,200,000. I shall not ask the lady about this distortion, for this is Israel—a distortion of figures, of facts, of arguments, and conclusions. Israel has even the skill to distort a distortion.

114. In the second place, the Jews who migrated from Arab countries to Israel are not refugees. They had been citizens of our lands with full rights and without any discrimination. And here is our record for the world to judge. They were victims of Israel agitations. We offer to repatriate those Jews to their original countries should Israel grant them their liberty—simply an exit permit. We stand prepared to repatriate those Jews to their countries. It was only Israel which made them fictitious refugees. Thousands of Jews are still living in Arab countries more prosperous than all the Jews in Israel. The whole evil lies in this obnoxious movement of the ingathering of Jews. The principal trade of Israel has become this ingathering. He is not a Jew who does not migrate to Israel, declared Mr. Ben-Gurion. And the lady here extends an offer of peace, an offer of negotiations when Mr. Ben-Gurion declared that he is not a Jew who does not go to Israel. A Jew might be here in the Assembly as a member of a delegation, seated here as a worthy representative of his country, but still he is being incited and invited by Mr. Ben-Gurion to migrate to Israel, otherwise he would be condemned as being a non-Jew. This is the whole philosophy of Israel. Recently, Mr. Ben-Gurion addressed an appeal to the Jews of the United States in the following words: "We appeal to the parents"—here in the United States—"to help us bring their children to Israel. If they decline to help we will bring the youth but I hope this will not be necessary". Mr. Ben-Gurion seems to intimidate the parents—if you do not send your infants, your children, we will take your youngsters—probably on the Eichmann style, but more refined and more gentle.

115. The question, however, arises: are the Jews of the United States to be considered refugees that they should seek refuge in Israel? Until a few years ago, the lady from Israel, whose title is the Foreign Minister of Israel, was an American citizen. Was the lady a refugee in the United States, did she then seek refuge in Israel, and later become elevated to the position of Foreign Minister of Israel? Like the lady, there are thousands upon thousands in Israel who have never been refugees. The lady from Israel is not a refugee. But I am a refugee, and so are 1,200,000 of my countrymen. I admit it. This is the occasion to admit it. All of us are dispossessed from our homeland. Peace, therefore, should not be sought by negotiations, by empty slogans. It can only be realized by complete and general repatriation: the repatriation of my people to their homeland, and the repatriation of the lady—the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel—to her United States, together with all her people, to their countries.

116. But instead of talking nonsense, and urging negotiations, why not strike at the root and not around the bush? The lady from Israel has devoted a great deal of her statement to praise the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations. The lady has strongly advocated a meticulous observance of United Nations resolutions. Pondering such a statement, many African-Asian delegations have wondered whether Israel would accept a proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Commission to put into

effect all the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine. It is for the lady from Israel to say whether Israel is prepared to accept such a proposal. Instead of conducting this orchestra of negotiations, it would be more sensible for the lady to say whether Israel is ready to accept the will of the United Nations—and the United Nations was the birthplace of Israel.

117. The deeds of Israel speak more than that; they speak of murder and massacre. It is a lengthy record of bloodshed and destruction. The emergence of Israel has made of the Holy Land a land of desecration and defamation, and of the Middle East a region of turmoil. The Israel aggression of the Sinai has brought the world to the brink of war—a nuclear war. Massacre seems to be Israel's code and murder is its policy. No State in this Organization, except Israel, has earned six condemnations by the Security Council and the General Assembly, within the span of four years only. None, except Israel, has been censured by the United Nations for massacres reminiscent of the Nazi atrocities. They are too many to be recounted, and too moving to be related. They have passed on to history known as the Nazi massacre of Babi Yar.

118. Thus, Israel has placed in our modern history the massacre of Deir Yasin of 1948, the massacre of Nas rad din of 1948, the massacre of Wadi-Araba of 1950, the Christmas massacre of 1951, the massacre of Falamo of 1952, the massacre of Qibya of 1953, the massacre of Nabalin of 1954, the massacre of Gaza of 1955, the massacre of Khan Yunis of 1955, the massacre of Tiberias of 1955, the second massacre of Gaza of 1956, and the massacre of Tawafee of 1959—a lengthy record of bloodshed, fire and destruction and Nazi-like atrocities. But the lady from Israel finds a great deal of pleasure, joy and satisfaction in coming here and speaking of peace, negotiations and disarmament of a regional character.

119. All these atrocities, and many others, have been condemned by the United Nations as savage and barbarous. On no occasion—I challenge the lady from Israel to mention only one—has the Security Council or the General Assembly censured any Arab State for any action whatsoever. Some internationalists observe that here is the benevolent and chivalrous weakness of the Arabs. Weakness or no weakness, justice shall triumph; it is only a matter of time.

120. Thus the lady's proposal for a non-aggression pact—this proposal to the Arab States is intended to consecrate aggression. Non-aggression cannot co-exist with invasion. The Nazi-dominated peoples of Europe in the Second World War could not have been asked for non-aggression. Nor can the people of Algeria or Angola sign non-aggression pacts with their aggressors. It is on record that there was a non-aggression agreement between the Israelis and the inhabitants of Deir Yasin, an Arab village a few miles from Jerusalem, in 1948. But, despite that agreement, 250 of the inhabitants of Deir Yasin were massacred and their bodies were mutilated and thrown into a well. That is non-aggression in the dictionary of Israel.

121. Non-aggression is based on a premise of faith and the will for peace. The lady from Israel seems to have forgotten that it was Mr. Ben-Gurion who said: "I accept to form the Cabinet on one condition, and that is to utilize all possible means to expand towards the south". So expansion towards the south

is used as a condition by Mr. Ben-Gurion for forming the Cabinet; but the lady from Israel gives an orchestration about non-aggression. The lady from Israel seems to forget the following statement of her predecessor as Foreign Minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett: "I counsel the Government to declare war upon the Arabs, as this is the most suitable time for realizing our long-cherished dream. Otherwise the time would be too late to crush their power". The lady from Israel seems to forget the statement of Moshe Dayan, Chief of Staff of the Israel Army, that: "It lies upon the people to prepare for the war, but it lies upon the Israel Army to carry out the fight with the ultimate object of erecting the Israel Empire". The lady seems to forget the statement of Mr. Ben-Gurion that: "This is not the real map of Israel. You have to strive ardently by conquest or diplomacy to establish the Israel Empire, which must cover the whole territory from the Nile to the Euphrates". These statements the lady should never forget. Israel strives to become an empire, and the lady aspires to be not only the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but also, probably, the Minister for Colonies of that Israel empire.

122. I come last to the proposal of disarmament which the lady has put forward to the Arab States. Let me say outright that coming from Israel the word "disarmament" is a mockery of disarmament. It was the establishment of Israel in the Middle East that led to rearmament in the Arab States. Since that time, defence expenditures in the Arab States have risen from one to twenty. Why this manifold rise in our budgetary expenses? Is it to face the power of the great Powers? That is simply ridiculous. Without Israel there would have been in the region nothing except simple security forces; and with Israel out of the region there will be total and general disarmament in the area, automatic disarmament, without any proposal and without any need for the lady to make any proposal.

123. Disarmament has been the dream of ages, starting from the Jewish prophets and going up to the present day. But it is Israel, injected into the Middle East, which has made this dream a dreadful nightmare. In the days of the League of Nations the Israelis started building up a clandestine army and engaged in the illegal traffic of arms. Many British investigation commissions are on record with the statement that large quantities of arms were smuggled by the Israelis in cement bags—cement bags intended to contain construction material had within them those weapons of mass destruction. In the Command Paper of 1946,<sup>2/</sup> it was shown that the Israelis acquired a great quantity of arms by robbery—and that is the word used by Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry. Furthermore, the Committee of 1946 reported the formation of an unauthorized Israel army—that was the exact term used in the Commission's report—highly equipped, highly trained and highly financed, an army no less than 60,000 strong; and all this at a time when the country was under British administration, in accordance with the Mandate of the League of Nations.

124. But in the age of the United Nations, Israel has continued an armaments build-up in violation of the

<sup>2/</sup> Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine, Cmd. 6808 (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946).

cease-fire ordered by the Security Council in 1948.<sup>3/</sup> The reports of Count Bernadotte to the United Nations and reliable Press reports revealed that during the cease-fire ordered by the United Nations Israel smuggled in large quantities of arms, ammunition and military aircraft. An airlift operated between Europe and Israel. Flying Fortresses were smuggled in from the United States, and Beaufort fighter-bombers from the United Kingdom. Even Jerusalem, the Holy, was made into a military arsenal by Israel. Time and again Israel has refused the demilitarization of Jerusalem, time and again decided by the United Nations. In the spring of this year—just a few months ago—the Security Council called upon Israel not to hold a military parade in Jerusalem, since that was outlawed under the Armistice Agreement. Israel held the parade and defied the Security Council. And the lady is bold enough to propose from this rostrum regional disarmament, rather than respect for the Security Council resolution not to hold a military parade in the streets of the Holy City, Jerusalem. Instead of quoting the prophet Isaiah, the Jewish prophet, about beating swords into ploughshares, let Israel beat its guns out of Jerusalem; let the Holy City again become holy; instead of being militarized and Israelized, let Jerusalem be demilitarized and freed from Israel.

125. So far, year in and year out, Israel has been shopping for enormous amounts of arms in the United States, the United Kingdom and France—with the lady from Israel, year in and year out, clamouring from this rostrum for disarmament. Such has been the situation up to the past session. But at this session, any proposal by Israel for regional disarmament merits only ridicule. Recently, Israel has built a large atomic reactor capable of producing a nuclear bomb. At first, Israel claimed the construction was a textile plant—so very innocent, and quite peaceful. The London Mail, The New York Times, the Montreal Star, The Washington Post, The New York Herald Tribune, The Daily News and The Christian Science Monitor—all these papers, in issues of December 1960, voiced apprehension that the atomic bomb was entering the Middle East through the atomic reactor of Israel. Also, it was stated that, according to intelligence reports, France was sending to Israel shipments of pitchblende, from which uranium can be extracted. It is quite easy for the lady from Israel simply to deny these facts or assert that the atomic reactor is designed for peaceful purposes. But denials are very simple to make. They cause no labour—no more than allowing oneself just to talk, whatever the talk may be, sense or nonsense. But the acid test

should be a United Nations test. Rather than propose a regional disarmament, as the lady from Israel has done, let us urge a United Nations investigation into the matter. The International Atomic Energy Agency is the proper United Nations organ to conduct this inquiry. If the lady of Israel stands consistent with her yearning for disarmament, there should be no difficulty in acquainting the world with what is really going on in Israel and her atomic reactor. Instead of proposing a regional disarmament in lavish obscurity, it is more constructive and more tangible a proposal to ask the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect the atomic reactors in Israel. It would give real peace to the Middle East if the doors, the backdoors, and the corridors, of Israel in this ghastly business of atomic rearmament were opened. This is the real challenge for Israel and the lady from Israel. The English dictum says: "He who seeks equity, let him come with clean hands". And it must be made a United Nations dictum: he who seeks disarmament, let him come with clean hands—not with hands full of atomic bombs. I have replied to the lady from Israel with nothing except the official declarations of Israel. Not a single assertion have I made without being supplied with an official position, or declaration, of Israel. I have been bitter and brutal, I admit, but I want you to stand in our shoes, nay, I want you to live higher up in the hearts and minds of the people uprooted from their homeland. The facts are brutal beyond imagination. It is a problem of a whole people in exile. And you know what a homeland means because you represent your homelands here. I pray that no nation suffers what the Palestine people are suffering. It is a tragedy without parallel, one of unspeakable injustice, of untold disaster.

126. In the course of my reply, I have outlined three concrete proposals. The first is designed to establish a United Nations Commission to implement the United Nations resolutions on Palestine—all the resolutions, without exception—those of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council. My second proposal is to appoint a United Nations committee of inquiry to ascertain the conditions of the Arab minority now living in Israel. The third proposal is to request the International Atomic Energy Agency to investigate the true nature of the atomic reactors recently built by Israel.

127. Those who clamour for peace, those who clamour for negotiations and a host of hollow slogans are now put to the test. Rather than talk peace, let us walk onwards to peace. These three proposals point the way. And it remains for the lady from Israel to accept the proposals, or to reject them. This rostrum, I am confident, is ready here and now for the lady to answer, if she cares—if she dares.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Supplement for July 1948, document S/902.