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**1555th  
PLENARY MEETING**

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**FIFTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION**

**NEW YORK**

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**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 5**

Letter dated 13 June 1967 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/6717) (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: As I mentioned at the 1554th meeting, I have drawn the attention of the various groups to the fact that the Assembly should be formally informed about the outcome of the consultations regarding the agenda of the emergency special session. I have also, for the information of Members not belonging to any of the groups, read out the letter which I had addressed to the Chairmen of the various groups of the Assembly which discuss such matters.
2. From the information that I have received, I believe that Members have been united in the conviction that a solution must be found which is in full accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
3. However, the consultations in search for ways and means by which our joint conviction can become a reality have not ended. I have been informed that there is a prospect now, however slight, of reaching agreement. It is the general feeling that these consultations should end as soon as possible with a view to reaching an agreement and that, if there is no agreement, the Assembly should not continue indefinitely.
4. Therefore, after having given consideration to the different suggestions about a time-limit for consultations, and being of the opinion that all points of view should be taken into consideration, I would suggest that the Assembly should consider the consultations concluded by the morning of Thursday, 20 July. This should be on the clear understanding that no further delay shall be allowed.
5. I hope that all Members will agree with me that the Assembly, quite rightly, has taken all the necessary and desirable time and that Members who have devoted most admirable efforts to reaching an agreement have not wasted a single minute in doing so. I am confident that they will continue their efforts in the same

spirit, and that they will do so this time with the even greater sense of urgency and determination required by the emergency special session. I hope also that every Member will agree that the President has been in the hands of the Assembly for all necessary consultations.

6. In those circumstances, therefore, and if there is no objection to the suggestion I have made, I shall inform the Assembly of my intentions with respect to our programme of work.

*It was so decided.*

7. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Saudi Arabia has asked for the floor to make a statement. Before calling on him, however, I would ask his co-operation to allow me first to inform the Assembly of our programme of work for this morning and this afternoon, after which I shall call on him.

8. Unless I hear any other proposal, and if there is no objection, the Assembly will consider the next item on our agenda for today, agenda item 3, the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6742 and Corr.1].

*It was so decided.*

9. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to agenda item 3 of the agenda, I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

10. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, I beg you not to think for a moment that I have turned out to be a pessimist. As long as there is life, there is hope. However, I personally have not deemed it useful to participate any longer in the deliberations of the various groups, nor have I been consulted; I am not referring to you, but to many of my colleagues who are banding themselves together in groups with the hope of working out something that may yield tangible results. The further is, so to speak, in the lap of the gods. There is no crystal ball into which we can peer to see what may happen or what may not happen. However, not only on behalf of my delegation, but as someone who has been committed to this Organization since its inception, I would feel that I would be remiss if I did not at this juncture communicate the feeling I have about this emergency special session and at the same time apprise my colleagues, with all humility, of the situation not only as it obtains today, but as it will obtain even after more consultations have been held.

11. Now that the curtain is about to fall on another act of the seemingly interminable tragedy of Palestine, I must seize this opportunity to address myself to what I may call the academic results achieved during this session. In so doing, I cannot extricate myself

from the aftermath which, to my regret, will raise the curtain on the subsequent acts of the human tragedy that has unfolded before our eyes ever since Israel was established in the Holy Land.

12. Inasmuch as the General Assembly found it expedient the other day to invalidate, in its last resolution [2254 (ES-V)], the annexation of the Old City of Jerusalem by the usurping Zionist authorities, I must hasten to reiterate that the whole creation of Israel was illegal and immoral, to say the least. Before the Mandate was granted to the United Kingdom at the Versailles Conference, the population of Palestine was estimated at a little over 700,000 persons, of which less than 60,000 were of the Jewish faith. We are meeting here as representatives of Governments. Have we forgotten the indigenous people of Palestine, who have had no voice since 1947? How can they have a voice when their rights have been trampled underfoot? I dare say, without arrogating to myself the responsibility, that someone should speak about these forgotten people.

13. In 1946 the whole population of Palestine, according to a census taken by the British, amounted to about 1.3 million persons, of which 600,000 were Jews. Within sixteen years, during which, under Zionist pressure, the British Government opened the gates to the immigration of Jews, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, the Jewish population in Palestine rose tenfold, from less than 8 per cent to 45 per cent of the whole population, and it became evident that successive British Governments of those days had flagrantly betrayed the indigenous people of Palestine, whom the British were supposed to prepare for self-determination and ultimate independence.

14. Those are the facts. Why should we quibble? The facts speak for themselves. When the Second World War ended, the British emerged as an impoverished country. The British people could no longer bear the burden of additional taxes to contain the turbulence brought about by the equivocal policies of their Government in Palestine. In consequence, the British Government threw the whole issue into the lap of the United Nations. This is how the problem started.

15. A special session of the General Assembly was convened in 1947, which I attended as a member of the Saudi Arabian delegation, and I personally witnessed the dastardly injustice that was perpetrated upon the indigenous people of Palestine by none other than Mr. Harry Truman, who by-passed the judicious advice given to him by the experts of the State Department. In his Memoirs,<sup>1/</sup> Mr. Truman derisively referred to these experts as the "striped-pants boys".

16. During the first special session in 1947, I also personally witnessed the machinations and the pressures exerted upon representatives of Member States who had declared themselves from the rostrum of the General Assembly—the United Nations Headquarters was then located at Lake Success—as being vehemently opposed to the partition of the Holy Land. Mr. Truman badly needed three votes to make parti-

tion effective, and he got them by a combination of cajolment and threats, directed even at chiefs of State who were in dire need of aid in the wake of the Second World War.

17. But the Zionists were not less active; they even resorted to bribery and other illicit means to attain their end. Does it become understandable why I have said time and again that the creation of Israel by the United Nations—this same United Nations—was at once an illegal and an immoral act? Jerusalem is the heart of the Holy Land; political Zionism is a foreign incursion into that heart. If the Zionists had come to Jerusalem with humility, to worship the same God with Christians and Moslems, there would have been neither a violent nor a persistent reaction to their presence, as indeed the indigenous people of Palestine had never complained of the Jews who had lived amongst them for centuries past.

18. But political Zionism is a Western colonial movement which has foisted an alien people in the midst of the Arab homeland. The ideology behind Zionism, as formulated by Herzl towards the end of the nineteenth century, was that the Jew would continue to be persecuted in Europe and, therefore, should have a country of his own. As a consequence, Israel was created, with the projected scheme of ingathering all the Jews of the world into Palestine.

19. The majority of Jews—especially those living in Western Europe and the new hemisphere—have tenaciously refused to be ingathered into Israel. The Jews in America, as well as in all countries of the Western world, have long since become honoured and well-satisfied citizens, with no desire to be ingathered into a perpetual hornets' nest. No wonder that Herzl's dream of ingathering all the Jews of the world into Palestine has back-fired.

20. Nevertheless, Zionism is still endeavouring to convert Judaism, a religion, into a sort of intransigent "Israelism", which the Arabs, rightly or wrongly, consider contrary to their customs, traditions and the very essence of their national life.

21. Unfortunately, some Western political upstarts, currying favour with the Zionists, still abjectly declare that it is high time for the Arab world to cast away its customs and traditions and accept Israel in its midst as an outpost of Western culture and civilization.

22. Should Asia and Africa change their personalities and opt for Western culture and civilization to suit those upstart politicians? Just because the West has achieved technological progress, should we be mesmerized and forget our way of life, transform our time-honoured institutions, and let them tamper with our moral codes that had withstood the onslaught of many invaders before the Western Zionist invaders came on the scene? Where are Alexander the Great and his successors? Where are the Romans and their mighty phalanxes? Where are the Crusaders and their knights-at-arms? Where are the mandatory Powers of colonial days?

23. Gone—all gone; extant only in the history books. Conquerors all, but the bones of their troops have, throughout the ages, bleached our soil, and their works are mere relics for the tourist to see. They

<sup>1/</sup> Harry S Truman, Memoirs, vols. I and II (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday and Company, 1955-1956).

are gone—all gone—those conquerors of yore. But the Arabs, in spite of all the vicissitudes that have shaped their destiny, still remain—approximately a hundred million of them.

24. The ravages of the Western Zionists in the midst constitute no more than one of the many wounds inflicted upon the Arab body, as has happened throughout our history. Deplorably, the Western Zionists have conquered and usurped Palestine by the sword; and, deplorably, the Western Zionists one day shall be vanquished by the sword. I say "deplorably" for it is invariably the innocent who suffer most. He who takes by the sword shall be taken by the sword, as the Arab proverb says.

25. It is ironic and most pathetic that such things should come to pass in the era of the United Nations. How inane indeed do the words of Mr. Eshkol sound—that by the annexation of Jerusalem, Israel has gained its head. How futile and lamentable it shall be when, through the sacrifice of precious human life, Israel shall lose its head.

26. With head or no head, Israel is considered a usurper of the indigenous people of Palestine, who will never forget the soil where their ancestors have been buried, and the self-same soil with which their blood has been mixed. And in spite of all this, our venerable friend, Mr. Goldberg—I wish he were here—still clamours, at the distance of 6,000 miles from Palestine, that the Arabs should extend their hands and make peace with those who robbed them of their homes, their land and their patrimony, after having killed many of them and scattered to the four winds those who survived.

27. Peace under duress? Peace by compulsion? A peace which is tantamount to a living death? A sort of peace which, time and again I have warned this Assembly, cannot be attained by coercion in the Holy Land? And yet, our venerable colleague and my good friend, Mr. Goldberg, still insists that Jerusalem is part and parcel of the whole Arab-Israeli conflict and, therefore, Israeli armed forces should remain in occupation of Jerusalem and the other wrested Arab lands unless the contiguous Arab Governments make peace. It does not matter whether such peace with Israel is imposed: peace at any cost—of course, at the expense of the Arabs of the contiguous lands. Once these Arab Governments make peace with Israel, everything will be "fine and dandy", we are told—to borrow an American expression. Yes, everything will be "fine and dandy".

28. But, what about the indigenous people of Palestine, who were robbed of their homes, their land and their patrimony? They are the forgotten entity here in the Assembly. What about their rights, which were sold down two rivers: the Thames in 1917 and the Potomac in 1947? The natives of Palestine should have been independent like their Lebanese, Syrian and Iraqi brothers, who had also been placed under mandates at Versailles. Are these natives of Palestine another breed? Are they sub-human or retarded, that the Zionists should have expelled them as unfit citizens of the Holy Land?

29. Again I say, is it any wonder that the creation of Israel in 1948 was at once illegal and immoral?

30. Assuming that the impossible were to happen and the Arab Governments were coerced into making a formal peace with Israel, and assuming thereafter that these Governments could survive the bullets and daggers of vengeful patriots, again what about the indigenous people of Palestine and their inalienable right to their native land? Should this inalienable right go willy-nilly because Western Zionists use Judaism, a noble religion, as a motivation for a political end in the Holy Land? And what assurance do we have that embittered Palestinian refugees—some of whom are scattered all over the Arab countries—will not vow vengeance to kill any leader or leaders who may accept some sort of accommodation with Western Zionism? For your information, many of these Palestinian refugees are already banded together in secret societies throughout the Arab world and have taken a sacred vow to make short shrift of any leader or leaders who may even toy with the idea of coexistence with Israel.

31. Those are the facts. I do not like them, but those are the facts. What shall we do with these desperadoes? Kill them, and have Arab blood on our heads? But such a solution will not obtain, since the non-Arab Palestinian people have full sympathy with the aspiration of these desperadoes to regain their homeland. The number of these desperadoes is legion and they are ever ready to martyrize themselves to retrieve Palestine.

32. Make peace because of the fait accompli? Because the dagger is pointed at the jugular vein? Make peace because then the dagger will be removed and Israeli forces withdrawn? All this, I regret to say, is wishful thinking. Unfortunately, there will be no genuine peace in the Holy Land. Perhaps once in a while there may be short periods of false tranquillity, but I dare say that permanent peace will not be assured even after the armed forces of Western Zionism are withdrawn from the armistice lines—which in any case are far beyond the partition frontiers of 1947.

33. Political Zionism is segregating the Jew from the Gentile because of its misguided belief that the Jews of the world will eventually be ingathered in Palestine—16 million of them. Subterfuge and subversion, pressure and propaganda, and other overt and covert means have been marshalled towards that end. Political Zionism indeed has become an epidemic of indoctrination spread through the various mass media of information in the Western world. The dogma of political Zionism is predicated on a retrogressive chauvinistic form of nationalism which is the antithesis of universal brotherhood as envisaged in Judaism and the other two monotheistic religions. Instead of extricating themselves from the traditional ghetto mentality, political Zionists persist in creating an exclusive State in which they consider themselves as supermen, the descendants of a chosen race, at a time when discrimination is being decried in the modern world.

34. Unfortunately, these Zionists have lent themselves as an instrument to various vested interests, mostly in Western countries, for the economic exploitation of Western Asia and a good part of the African continent. Furthermore, Israel is being supported by certain Powers on the political premise of divide

and rule. Israel, in whose establishment these Powers have abetted, has served as an excuse for the abettors to interfere with Arab unity whenever they imagine that such unity might jeopardize their interests.

35. Certain big Powers seem to have learned nothing from the past; they have not learned that sooner or later such a policy of divide and rule would ultimately boomerang, as it has done time and again throughout history. Israel will not heed any United Nations resolutions which it considers detrimental to its own expansionist schemes. Israel has cynically disregarded all United Nations resolutions which did not contribute to its aggrandizement.

36. How have the Zionists so far succeeded in attaining their ends while we sit here discussing what we shall do today, or tomorrow? They have succeeded by worming themselves into the body politic and the body social of influential Western States; and lest I may be considered as engaging in a sweeping statement, allow me, Mr. President, to quote a passage from a speech made by Senator Fulbright of the United States on 2 May 1960. Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, referring to Zionist pressures in this host country, said:

"Foreign policy was too important to our national security for it to become the instrument of minorities whose lobbyists stand outside the chambers urging members to follow courses of action beneficial to special interests but with potential catastrophic consequences for the nation as a whole."

37. May I also read from the United States Congressional Records...

38. The PRESIDENT: I would draw the attention of the representative of Saudi Arabia to the fact that I am the first to recognize—and I am sure that all Members of the General Assembly will agree with me—that he has been here in this Assembly longer than anybody else. It was for that reason that I extended to him the courtesy which he deserves, and also because of my confidence that he, better than anyone else—myself in particular—knows what statement is relevant at what stage. I would ask for his co-operation, and he may proceed.

39. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The question which was brought before the Assembly was based on a letter submitted by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [A/6717], and that question was the withdrawal of Israeli forces from usurped Arab land—to paraphrase that letter. Some representatives elected on the first day of the session to broaden the horizon and to deal with the whole question of Palestine. It was their privilege to do so if they could get away with it; and they got away with it. The item on the agenda was only the withdrawal of Israeli forces, and for a month—not because I have been here for twenty years; others who may have been here for only a few months or perhaps a few weeks have had the same experience—I have witnessed how the item was broadened. And I sit as a witness to such machinations to confuse the issue as it was intended to confuse it in 1956. But then Mr. Dulles stopped them. He said that the only question was the withdrawal of troops from Port Said.

40. This time there was no Mr. Dulles; and I had no choice, seeing what happened in this emergency special session, but to make a statement in final expression of the attitude of my delegation and free from the strait-jacket of procedure which sometimes has been applied and at other times ignored in this and other sessions of the Assembly. Therefore, with your permission, Mr. President, and thanking you for the courtesy which you have accorded me and which I greatly value, I shall conclude my statement, of which there are only a few pages remaining.

41. May I now read from the United States Congressional Record excerpts from a speech made by Senator Ralph Flanders some years ago with regard to Israel's policies. These statements have indeed been prophetic. I quote Senator Flanders:

"The present policies"—meaning those of Israel—"are not refugee policies. They are policies inherent in the Zionist programme—an ingathering of the Jews from all over the earth. Whether they are oppressed or not, whether they are needy or not, matters not so long as they are Jews—bring them into the new Zion no matter what injustices are perpetrated on the former owners of the land. Not one penny of tax-free American money should go into this project. In fairness to American tax payers, the Treasury must re-examine the tax-free status of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal."<sup>2/</sup>

And again, Senator Flanders speaking:

"... I am pro-Semitic; but if they"—meaning the Zionists—"successfully persist in their present plans for an ingathering of the Jews of the world into an area too small to contain them; if they continue to ignore the injustices to the Arab land-owners which are involved in their actions and policies so far; and if for the future they apply superheat to the pot already boiling in the Middle East, such a wave of anti-Semitism as the Jewish race has never faced will sweep, not only this country, but the world."<sup>3/</sup>

Once more I quote from the same record:

"As a personal friend of hundreds of Jews; as an admirer and lover of the Jewish race, fully appreciative of its surpassing contributions to civilization in commerce, in philosophy, in literature, and in the arts, I beg of the Jewish people that they do not destroy themselves."<sup>4/</sup>

That was Senator Flanders speaking, one who states that he has always been a friend of many Jews and an admirer of many of their achievements.

42. I am sure that the Jewish people at large have no desire to destroy themselves. It is the Zionists, bedeviled as they are with Herzl's dreams, who—God forbid—may cause bigoted and frustrated factions, in none other than countries of the Western world, to make scapegoats of innocent Jews who would be accused,

<sup>2/</sup> United States of America, Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 85th Congress, Second Session, vol. 104, part 12, p. 15525.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid.

mistakenly and unjustly, of being disloyal to their countries of birth or adoption other than Israel. Then Herzl's dream, because of unbridled Zionist ambition, may very well become a nightmare to many an innocent Jew. All this may come to pass because the Zionists wish to turn back the clock of history and create a nationality out of a religion, in spite of the fact that the majority of Jews living in Western countries have rejected Mr. Ben-Gurion's dictum which states: "It is not possible to enjoy a full Jewish life outside Israel". This is the selfsame Mr. Ben-Gurion who has renounced both Jesus and Paul as being virtually traitors to what seems to be his exclusive brand of Judaism.

43. It was in Jerusalem that Jesus laboured and died. It was Paul of Tarsus, later known as the Apostle Paul, who spread the new Christian faith which Mr. Ben-Gurion still renounces. Jesus does not exist for Ben-Gurion and therefore Jesus should have no place in Jerusalem. The Christians and the Moslems, however, are to be tolerated in visiting their Holy Shrines for the revenue which will be gathered from them to fill Israel's coffers. But this time there will be no Jesus to drive the money-changers from the temple. What a shame. What a shame that Jerusalem should come to this.

44. The God of Jews, Christians and Moslems, the one and only God, is the God of justice, love and compassion, the Universal God of mankind. Political

Zionism, whose leaders are mostly secular, have chosen to put their faith in the sword. There can be no compromise between the God of justice, love and compassion and the power that puts its faith in the sword. The Judaic prophet Micah said: "And what does the Lord require of thee but to do justice and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" When Jesus was asked by one of his disciples to describe God he answered, "God is love". And the opening verse of the Holy Koran proclaims: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

45. This was the spirit which reigned over Palestine before the Western Zionists came on the scene. It is not the mundane law of the United Nations that shall prevail, nor shall the adoption of cease-fire and other resolutions usher peace into the Holy Land. It is only God, the God of justice, of love and mercy, who alone can conquer the hearts of men and thereby bring genuine peace to the Holy Land.

46. The PRESIDENT: I would suggest that, with the consent of the Assembly, we begin consideration of the next item at this afternoon's meeting.

47. Before adjourning this meeting, I would request all members who wish to speak at this afternoon's meeting to inscribe their names in the list by 2.30 p.m.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*