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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. IRIBARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the Venezuelan delegation was gratified by your election to the presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.
2. It is fitting to mention that Venezuela has recently established diplomatic relations with your country, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and we have no doubt that this will redound to the benefit of both States.
3. In your inaugural statement, you described the Organization as an instrument for strengthening world peace, and you expressed a sincere desire to contribute to the creation of a climate propitious for the settlement of the great international problems. Your abilities equip you, I am sure, for the noble task which you have set yourself. We must also pay a tribute to the skilful manner in which Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan conducted the proceedings of the previous session.
4. I should also like to say a word of appreciation to the Secretary-General, who in his interesting annual report to the General Assembly of [A/6701] has given a very lucid account of the work of the United Nations.
5. An analysis of the events of the past year certainly gives no grounds for optimism. The same conflicts continue; some of them have worsened; and new conflicts have broken out. Perhaps the only encouraging sign is that the countries have reaffirmed their will to avoid at all costs any final confrontation. We must all be of one accord in strengthening the Organization and endowing it with effective means of keeping the peace. Yet some important nations cling to views which make this impossible; for example, the Committee of Thirty-Three, despite its efforts, has still not attained its objectives.
6. It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of Viet-Nam is a matter of the utmost concern

to the entire world. The fact that not all the countries directly involved in the conflict are represented in the United Nations reduces the chances of finding a solution to it. As has been said and repeated time and time again, the solution can be only a political one. Only the countries involved in the situation are capable of settling it. The rest of us can but express our concern and our fervent hope that the situation will shortly be restored to normal.

7. The General Assembly is once again faced with the question of the Middle East. When this matter was discussed at the emergency special session of the General Assembly the prevailing atmosphere was not the most propitious imaginable for a real solution. Fortunately, the Security Council had previously arranged a cease-fire. We believe that a new effort during the present session, in full awareness of the urgency but in a calmer atmosphere, will offer a better chance of success. There can be no doubt that the present situation demands a political solution to the problem. A satisfactory end to the conflict must be sought which at the same time will preserve the prestige of the United Nations.

8. The problem of the Middle East, which the United Nations has had to face in varied and at times dramatic circumstances, is one of world-wide significance because of its vast and complex repercussions. Every one of the Member States can help towards its solution. The greatest responsibility, however, lies with the countries directly concerned, and they must be prepared to adopt a reasonable solution satisfactory to all parties in its essential elements. The General Assembly nevertheless cannot be expected to bring about a final settlement in one move. We must proceed by stages, never losing sight of the ultimate goal, namely the establishment of conditions in which a lasting peace can be achieved.

9. The Venezuelan delegation, inspired by the attitude of the Latin American delegations at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly, considers that the measures calculated to create a climate propitious for a final settlement should begin first and foremost with the withdrawal of Israel troops from the occupied territories. At the same time, the parties to the conflict would have to refrain from any belligerent attitude that might lead to acts of war and behave in a manner in keeping with the provisions of the Charter. We shall have come no nearer to settling the conflict unless such a change of heart is forthcoming.

10. Israel's concern to have its frontiers guaranteed is perfectly legitimate, and it is equally obvious that such a guarantee must extend to the neighbouring States also. Similarly, the obligations inherent in

any agreement will have to be freely accepted; in fact otherwise any results which might be achieved would be short-lived. Of particular importance among the other points that should be taken into account in the search for a solution are the right of all nations to freedom of navigation through international waters, particularly the Gulf of Aqaba; the acute problem of the refugees, which far from improving has worsened; and the status of Jerusalem, bearing in mind that the city is the meeting point of three of the world's great religions.

11. On the question of decolonization, the line taken by Venezuela is quite clear. Everyone is aware of my country's solidarity with those struggling for self-determination and independence; it has always been and still is based simply and solely on our adherence to the principle of freedom for men and for peoples. We have the courage of our convictions.

12. The Venezuelan Government continues to regard with concern the problem of South West Africa as well as the practice of the policy of apartheid and the question of Rhodesia. The first two are directly concerned with South Africa, and all of them are survivals of the colonial period.

13. Once again we must state with pride that Latin America has been first in the field in concluding a treaty for regional denuclearization. Apart from its intrinsic value, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, signed in Mexico in February 1967, serves as encouragement for continuing the negotiations for world disarmament. Another important step in this connexion will be taken when the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [Resolution 2222 (XXI) and Annex] comes into force shortly.

14. As a step towards the control of nuclear weapons, we can point to the draft treaties prepared by the United States and the Soviet Union on the non-proliferation of such weapons.^{1/} We are all awaiting with interest the report shortly to be submitted by the Secretary-General on nuclear weapons; we have no doubt that it will bring up new points for consideration in regard to this important programme.

15. In the treaty on denuclearization already referred to, Latin America proclaims that:

"... general and complete disarmament under effective international control is a vital matter which all the peoples of the world equally demand". [A/6663, p. 13].

16. Venezuela respects the principle of self-determination for all peoples. This principle, together with that of non-intervention, constitutes the basis of coexistence among nations. My country embarked on independent statehood with that unwavering attitude which embodies respect for the sovereignty of other States and the vigilant defence of its own. Venezuelan troops have gone beyond the frontiers of our country only to contribute to the emancipation movements of other neighbouring States.

17. The attitude of the Cuban Government has twice forced us to have recourse to the Organization of American States. On the second occasion, at the

Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs which ended in Washington last week, it was unanimously decided to ask the countries members of OAS—which are also Member States of this Organization—to submit to the United Nations the problem threatening peace as a result of the Cuban Government's acts, which openly and publicly flout the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX). This places the Cuban problem in a political context in keeping with its true international proportions.

18. This decision represents the unanimous will of the American States and voices the grave concern of all the Latin American countries, which we wish to convey to this Assembly. We are sure that the prestige of Latin America, which consistently champions the just causes of oppressed peoples, fully warrants the position we have adopted.

19. The United Nations came into being twenty-two years ago for the essential purpose of promoting the social, political and economic progress of mankind in an atmosphere of freedom, peace and security. Until the Second World War, colonialism and nationalism were the predominant themes. The problem of development and the concept of economic integration appeared only recently, and there is a certain degree of interdependence between the two. Economic development must go hand-in-hand with independence in the economic relations of the country or community. Integration, in its turn, seeks the expansion of markets within a region comprising independent economies. Later came the idea of international co-operation as a direct means of speeding up the development process of the economically less prosperous countries.

20. A cause of concern for the United Nations has been the implementation of economic development plans, which have not come up to expectations. It has been found not only that the results achieved by the United Nations Development Decade have fallen short of the minimum targets, but that even the levels attained previously have not been reached. This situation calls for serious thought and the application of the appropriate corrective measures. It might quite well be shown that, within the current world economic framework, it is impossible to achieve the desired level of economic development without removing the limitations imposed by national economies. In his search for well-being, man tends to establish economic systems on a broader basis than that of the national State, and it has been said that international co-operation is inadequate as a means of achieving development.

21. If we agree that within present-day possibilities economic integration is the most direct means of promoting development, and if we recognize that one of the basic aims of the United Nations is to ensure that mankind achieves a state of well-being, then the Organization must be expected to help to further the process of economic integration in the various geographical regions and zones of the international community. Thus we deem it wise to begin the study and planning of any changes and adjustments needed to adapt the existing machinery to the technical and financial assistance requirements of integration programmes submitted to the United Nations organs for consideration.

^{1/} ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

22. Economic integration raises a series of problems so wide and complex that it requires the co-operation of all the various sectors, public and private, in the countries of the integrated area. At government level, fiscal and economic policy measures are called for. The private sector should view integration as an advanced form of international trade. Economic integration offers the entrepreneur an expansion of markets and the chance to raise his productive capacity to the maximum. It also ensures basic stability in the production process and rapid and secure marketing of products.

23. When my country became a member of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), I had the opportunity to express the views of the Venezuelan Government on the problem of regional economic integration. In my statement I stressed the need to take decisions which would represent firm and positive steps towards the creation of an economic area large enough to ensure our development. Venezuela is aware of the need to translate into concrete facts all the studies undertaken and the views expressed on the subject; for that reason, we whole-heartedly support the projects aimed at establishing a system of planned tariff reform and a common external tariff, and the proposals for sub-regional and area agreements within LAFTA. We must make a valiant effort to put an end to internal economic imbalances which lead to persistent migration from the rural areas to the towns, with the consequent emergence of a marginal sector of the population; to foster bold reforms of the tax systems, which are often inequitable and archaic; to form rational plans for improving standards of living, while trying to prevent this from becoming a mere attempt to prevent population growth; in short, to carry out national integration at all levels. This is the way, in which each nation taking a reasonably objective view of its own economic structure, should help to strengthen and harmonize the main regional economic policies.

24. It has been said that the growth of interest in economic integration among the less developed countries seemed to be due more to a desire to emulate the European Common Market than to a conscious desire to promote their own development. The fact is that it is an economic concept of universal validity, antedating the European experiment; furthermore, in the case of the Latin American countries, there was the concern at the possibility of losing their European markets, as well as the overriding need to establish a regional organization to promote the development of Latin America. Thus integration has become a "must" among developing countries throughout the world.

25. Within our continent, the American Chiefs of State, meeting at Punta del Este in April this year, proclaimed at the highest political level the need for the total economic integration of Latin America as the only means of ensuring the harmonious development of the countries of the continent.

26. The Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven which will take place at Algiers in a few days' time emphasizes the need for all the developing countries to review, within the context of their own

national economies, the degree of co-operation received from the industrialized countries.

27. The problems confronting the developing countries call for capital investment on a scale which the countries themselves cannot supply owing to the weakness of their economic structure. The flow of capital from the developed to the developing countries has been at a standstill for the past five years, despite the fact that the earnings of the developed countries have risen considerably. There is every reason to think that the situation will become more acute in the next few years unless there is a considerable change in the policy adopted by the industrialized nations.

28. The vital problem confronting us as developing countries is, and will continue to be for some time, the conditions governing the marketing of our basic export products and, in general, the terms of trade.

29. The main achievement thus far is the creation of an awareness of this problem in the international community, for little progress has been made in actually achieving the desired objectives. The Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will take place at New Delhi in 1968, offers a new opportunity for realistic and effective planning of measures that should be adopted within the framework of UNCTAD in the next few years. That occasion will be a crucial test of the readiness of the more developed countries to face the need to contribute all they can to the solution of one of the world's serious problems: the widening economic and social gap between their countries and ours. In this connexion, the views expressed by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Development Decade in his Annual Report [A/6701] merits our full support.

30. Although Venezuela has achieved the goal of progress set for that period, we realize that our development will not give us a firm foothold in world economic affairs until a clear-cut trade policy favourable to all developing peoples has been devised and implemented. It has been said that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. Among the developing countries, this is an incontrovertible truth. Apparently, however, it has gained no currency in the industrialized countries' attitude.

31. The concept of free trade without reciprocity must be put into practice on a world scale as soon as possible; otherwise vertical trade flows will crystallize and develop in a way which would be far from beneficial to the developing countries, whose economies would become more and more dependent upon particular States. Similarly, the raw material exporting countries must obtain, within the framework of UNCTAD, more favourable conditions for tackling the problems created by the steady deterioration in commodity prices coupled with the constant price increases of the manufactures those same countries are importing in growing quantities.

32. Unless specific agreements within UNCTAD are forthcoming soon, the only alternative will be agreements, several examples of which already exist, among exporting countries.

33. My country is proud to state before this Assembly that it has at no time been stinting in its efforts to

contribute to the achievement of international harmony. We shall continue so to act in the future, for we are convinced that well-being and prosperity will appear on man's horizon the day we decide genuinely to unite our efforts to achieve the essential objective, namely, the improvement of the standard of living of all mankind.

34. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Allow me first of all, Mr. President, to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania on your unanimous election as President of the current session of the General Assembly.

35. The General Assembly is beginning the work of the present session in an ominous atmosphere, at a time when the guns of the Israeli-imperialist aggressors are still thundering against the Arab countries, and at a time when peace-loving Member States are still stunned by the shameful impression left by the shocking failure of the fifth emergency special session of this Assembly. That session was unable to adopt a single resolution condemning the aggressors, thus once again proving that it is not the principles of the Charter and the interests of peoples that prevail at the United Nations, but the policy of the United States of America. That, to be sure, does not reveal the reality of the world situation, for history is made neither by the imperialists nor by the United Nations, but by the peoples struggling against imperialism, against colonialism, and against all reactionaries, clearing their path towards full national and social liberation.

36. It is a fact that world imperialism, led by the United States of America, is waging a life-and-death struggle and is intensifying its criminal acts against freedom-loving peoples and countries. But throughout the world, increasingly angry and rebellious peoples are reacting with ever-growing resolution and strength, in greater numbers and with a greater reliance on the victory of their just cause. The heroic Viet-Nameese people, the Arab peoples of Palestine, South Arabia and Oman, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, of South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Puerto Rico, and all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America still suffering under imperialist, colonial, neo-colonial and racist oppression, are today waging a resolute battle, unflinching in the face of hardships and sacrifices. The courageous revolt of the Negroes of the United States of America against savage racial discrimination is also beginning to form a part of the great world-wide liberation struggle waged by the peoples against imperialism, which is now profoundly impaired and breaking apart under their crushing blows.

37. In their struggle for national and social liberation, the peoples must face a brutal enemy, American imperialism, which is at the centre of world reaction and is constantly increasing the scope of its aggressive activities. In order to attain the aims of its global strategy and find a way out of the dangerous isolation resulting from its encirclement by the peoples, the United States of America makes other capitalist countries work with it in reactionary political alliances and aggressive military blocs.

To achieve the same ends, it gives paramount importance to the strengthening of relations with the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union. The leaders of those two Powers, despite their differences, manage to agree when conspiring against the peoples. The Soviet revisionists, who have blatantly betrayed the ideals of the October Revolution and the vital interests of the peoples of the world, have today become the principal allies of American imperialism in stifling revolutionary and liberation movements, in order to ensure the protection of their rear in connexion with their plans for unleashing a new war.

38. American-Soviet co-operation to the detriment of the peoples' cause is one of the salient features of our era. That co-operation covers various fields. It is constantly being extended and strengthened, becoming firmer and more definite, more flagrant and dangerous, and it is directed towards world domination by the two Powers. It is carried out against the freedom and independence of peoples by means of plots and conspiracies and through co-ordinated action for their implementation, by means of public and secret agreements, secret diplomacy, contacts and negotiations between representatives of the two countries including summit meetings and even the Moscow-Washington "hot line".

39. At Glassboro—which marks a new stage in the imperialist-revisionist "holy alliance"—the two partners not only scrutinized the outcome of the aggression against the Arab countries which was carried out in conformity with their previous plans, as well as their future attitude towards that aggression, but they also co-ordinated their stands on many international problems. They drew up new counter-revolutionary plots and spun new conspiracies against the people, against Viet-Nam, the Near and Middle East and other countries—especially against the People's Republic of China, which forms the main obstacle to the fruition of their counter-revolutionary and neo-colonialist plans. At Glassboro, they drew up plans for a detailed division of world spheres of influence between them.

40. The most desperate and bloody battle between American imperialism and the forces of revolution is taking place today in Viet-Nam. American imperialists have aimed at transforming that country into one of their colonies and into a bridgehead for their war plans against the other freedom-loving countries of that region. They have striven to put down with fire and the sword the just struggle of the heroic Viet-Nameese people. But they have not reckoned with the fact that they are facing a people which has brilliant traditions of patriotic struggle, a people resolved to fight to the death for their freedom. Despite the continual escalation of their armed aggression, despite the use of the most savage means of warfare, they have in Viet-Nam come up against the unshakable determination and iron will of the courageous Viet-Nameese people, who have risen and are fighting with signal heroism as one man, striking the enemy with a succession of crushing blows which have humbled his imperialist arrogance and driven him into an impasse.

41. The notorious global strategy of American imperialism has suffered an irreparable defeat in

Viet-Nam, whereas the strategy and tactics of the popular struggle are emerging triumphant. The aggression of the United States of America has turned into shameful failure. The victories won by the splendid Viet-Nameese people in its struggle for the welfare of its country have aroused the admiration and support of all progressive mankind. Today, these victories constitute a priceless contribution to national and revolutionary liberation movements throughout the world and a great source of inspiration to those movements, demonstrating as they do that the armed struggle of a united and resolute people is the sure road to the conquest of freedom and independence.

42. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Albania, had the following to say in his speech of 14 September before the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Democratic Front, concerning Viet-Nam:

"Events in Viet-Nam have shown that a people, however small, can successfully resist and even conquer when it fights resolutely and with determination for its freedom and its independence, even if it is confronted by a powerful enemy, even American imperialism."

43. At the same time, the heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people has revealed the Trojan-horse role the Soviet revisionists have been playing. Despite their camouflage attempts, it is now clear that they are not in favour of the victory of the Viet-Nameese people, that they are not in favour of the liberation of South Viet-Nam and the reunification of the entire country. Quite the contrary, the Soviet revisionists want to preserve American imperialism; they want to help it to maintain its position in Viet-Nam in order to turn that country into a training ground for the battle against the People's Republic of China and the other peaceful countries of the region.

44. The American imperialists are making desperate attempts to get out of the impasse in which they find themselves in Viet-Nam by an unceasing escalation of the aggression and by simultaneously resorting to their treacherous manoeuvre of negotiations, in which they are being openly supported by the Soviet revisionists. It is obvious that the latest escalation of the heinous aggression in Viet-Nam and in particular the criminal large-scale bombing of Hanoi, the dams of the Red River and Lang-Son, near the China-Vietnamese border, has been perpetrated in line with plots hatched by Johnson and Kosygin at Glassboro with the intention of forcing negotiations by means of the bombardments. The Soviet revisionists cannot possibly escape their heavy responsibility for all the crimes being committed in Viet-Nam by the American imperialists. However, neither the sending to South Viet-Nam of fresh American troop reinforcements—at the present time there are approximately half a million American soldiers there—nor the stepping up of the bombings in the North will save the United States from its inevitable defeat. Its monstrous crimes have only served to intensify the hatred the Vietnamese people feels for it and to strengthen that people's inflexible purpose even further.

45. The Viet-Nameese people cannot be deceived by the manoeuvre of forcing negotiations through bombings. They will never give in to force, but will fight on to final victory, until the last of the aggressors has left the sacred soil of their homeland.

46. The United States of America and its allies are now renewing their efforts to submit the Viet-Nam question to the United Nations so that it may use the Organization as an instrument of its policy of aggression, even in the case of Viet-Nam. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to intervene in the internal affairs of Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nameese people—and that people alone—has the right to settle its own affairs. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam have firmly rejected those attempts and have made it clearly understood that such schemes will come to grief when opposed by the unshakable determination of the entire Viet-Nameese people to fight on to final victory over the American aggressors.

47. The Albanian people, its party and its Government have always been and will always be on the side of the fraternal Viet-Nameese people. They support with determination its just struggle and they subscribe fully to the four demands of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and to the five points of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam as being the only just solution to the Viet-Nam question. The great Viet-Nameese people will fight to the end and cannot fail to achieve final victory.

48. Some four months have elapsed since the opening of the Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab countries, but aggression is still going on. The Israel armed forces still occupy territory of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria. The Israel authorities are engaging in terrorist acts and persecution and committing heinous crimes against the Arab population in those territories. At the instigation and with the overt assistance of the American Government, and at the same time enjoying the support of the Soviet revisionists, Israel is continuing its armed provocations against the Arab countries. All these Powers, following different paths but for identical ends, without the slightest scruples and acting from positions of strength, are resorting to every kind of pressure and intrigue against the Arab countries, endeavouring to impose on them "direct negotiations" with Israel. Israel, meanwhile, persists in its insane, expansionist claims and makes every effort to legalize at all costs its occupation of the Arab territories and exploit the riches of those territories, gain control over the main waterways of that highly important economic and strategic area, and in this way lay the groundwork for future expansion.

49. It is common knowledge that the claims of the Zionist aggressors, as well as the plans peddled by the notorious emissaries of the American imperialists, are in essence identical to the plan drawn up at Glassboro by the two great Powers, who are feverishly engaged in forcing the Arab countries to abandon their just struggle against the aggressors and accept the so-called "political settlement," which for those countries would mean giving in to the conditions imposed on them by the Tel Aviv aggressors. In

other words, the same revolting tactic being used against Viet-Nam—armed aggression followed by an offer for "negotiations" under the threat of force—is here being used against the Arab countries. The Arab countries have made it clear that they cannot accept such a surrender. The Zionist aggressors must get out of the Arab territories immediately and unconditionally. The rights of the Palestine people and other Arab peoples must be restored without delay.

50. At the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly, the Albanian delegation, in setting forth the true facts about the events in the Near East, submitted its objective proposals in the form of a draft resolution,^{2/} which would have enabled the General Assembly to adopt the necessary and urgent measures needed in face of the aggression and its aftermath. However, under pressure from the American imperialists and their partners, our proposals were rejected; that was a further proof of the deplorable state of affairs prevailing in this Organization owing to the baneful influence of the United States of America. Subsequent events have borne out our position; they have confirmed that the Albanian draft resolution was the only just solution which would avert aggression and its consequence.

51. The aggression in the Near East was a great trial and a great lesson, not only for the Arab peoples, but for all the peoples of the world. That aggression and the whole complex of machinations and various manoeuvres accompanying it—before and after—showed the Arab peoples who were their enemies and who were their friends. They fully revealed the true faces of the enemies of the people, and in particular the faces of the American imperialists and their principal partners, the Soviet Revisionists. That is of the utmost importance for the future of the peoples' struggle for independence, freedom and security.

52. The Albanian people and their Government have closely and sympathetically followed the efforts of the Arab countries to achieve their unity in the struggle they must wage for the liberation of enemy-occupied territories and for the elimination of all the consequences of the imperialist-Zionist aggression. We denounce and condemn all the pressures and treacherous manoeuvres of the imperialists and revisionists against the Arab peoples and countries. The People's Republic of Albania and its people have supported and will always resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab peoples and countries.

53. We are fully convinced that our Arab brothers, with their brilliant past and their fine record of struggle for freedom and independence, will successfully overcome the difficulties of the moment and triumph over their enemies, by relying first of all on their own strength and on the support of the revolutionary forces of the world. The Arab peoples are struggling for a just cause, to live freely and independently, and their cause will triumph.

^{2/} See, Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.52.

54. While obstinately continuing the frantic arms race, the American imperialists and the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have been acting out here for a long time the comedy of disarmament discussions. It is clearer than ever that in the present state of affairs there can be no disarmament; it is quite unthinkable that the imperialists would agree to disarm of their own accord. Weapons and wars are the inseparable companions of their existence. Sterile debate here in the General Assembly or at Geneva in the Seventeen-Nation Committee enable the two great Powers to camouflage their frantic arms race and their efforts to improve their armaments of all kinds, including nuclear weapons.

55. Furthermore, those two Powers seek to use United Nations bodies to legalize their aggressive counter-revolutionary designs. That has been proved by their draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons drawn up at Glassboro and submitted jointly by them to the Seventeen-Nation Committee.^{3/} That treaty is an important step forward in their vast conspiracy against the interests of peoples. Faced with the great achievements of the People's Republic of China in the field of nuclear weapons, achievements which have dealt a stunning blow to their policy of nuclear monopoly and blackmail, these two Powers have speeded up their efforts to strengthen their privileged position in this field and have hastened to reach agreement on the so-called treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In their hands, that treaty would be in every way an instrument of nuclear intimidation, dictation and domination directed against independent, freedom-loving countries; it has nothing to do with the question of disarmament.

56. If those two Powers were really desirous of achieving nuclear disarmament and eradicating the danger of nuclear war as they try to pretend, they could quite easily reach an agreement on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all stock-piles of those weapons. The non-proliferation treaty is an insufferable hoax perpetrated against peace-loving countries. It is a cynical and aggressive act. For the nuclear countries it entails nothing but obligations which would infringe on their sovereignty and on their vital interests, giving them no rights, while the nuclear Powers would have nothing but rights and no obligations whatsoever. That treaty's aggressive and neo-colonialist aims have nothing to do with the aspirations of peoples desirous of freedom and progress, and are in blatant opposition to the interests of international security. The danger of nuclear war comes from American imperialism and its allies, and not from peace-loving States.

57. The Albanian Government, for its part, has often expressed its position on this matter in the past. It has been and it remains in favour of the prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. It has been and it continues to be firmly opposed to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Its position is determined by the basic principles of its foreign policy, by its resolute stand for the freedom, progress and security of peace-loving

^{3/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

peoples and countries, as well as by its unshakable loyalty to the principle of the sovereignty and equality of States, regardless of their size, and the principle of respect for their sovereign rights—in particular their all-important right to take the measures needed for their national defense, by any means, including nuclear weapons.

58. It is in that spirit that the Albanian delegation once more appeals to those Member States who hold dear the principles of international freedom and security, asking that they reject that fraudulent treaty which embodies a serious and direct threat to the national security of each one of them, and to universal peace.

59. One of the direct results of the aggressive policy of American imperialism and its insane plans for world domination is the serious crisis through which this Organization has been passing for many years. Having long been under the harmful influence of the United States of America and hence, in recent years, subject to the consequences of American-Soviet collusion, the United Nations has been transformed into an instrument for mystification and a centre for bargaining at the expense of the peoples, into an instrument for disguising the imperialist policy of aggression and oppression of peoples, into an instrument of pressure, intervention and aggression against freedom-loving peoples and countries.

60. What confidence can mankind have in the United Nations when, faced with a situation such as that resulting from the imperialist-Israel aggression against the peaceful Arab countries, it not only takes no steps whatsoever against the aggressors, but defends them, as well as the territories they have gained by force of arms? The peoples, disillusioned by the activity of this Organization up to now, have the right to ask to be told its true role, and to what extent its existence is justified by its present course of action.

61. It is obvious that, far from fulfilling its mission in accordance with the Charter, the United Nations is embarked on a path diametrically opposed to that laid down in its fundamental principles; persevering along that path is bound to lead to its total collapse.

62. The Albanian Government has frequently stressed the fact that the United Nations can surmount the serious crisis in which it now finds itself only if it can shake off the hold the United States has upon it, and only if it ceases to be a bargaining ground for the two great Powers, to the detriment of the peoples struggling for freedom and national independence.

63. A serious and very important step in that direction must be the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China within this Organization. Indeed, how can the United Nations be called an international organization with a universal role when the largest State in the world is not represented in it? How can the peoples have proper respect for this Organization when the seat of the great people's China is usurped by a clique of renegades chased out long ago by the Chinese people, by a noisome corpse preserved by the intrigues and pressures of the United States of America to poison

still further the oppressive atmosphere which hangs over the United Nations? The peoples have long been demanding that that grave injustice to the 700 million Chinese people should be redressed, for they regard it as intolerable and are convinced at the same time that none of the important international problems of our time can be resolved without the great people's China.

64. The People's Republic of China is a powerful socialist State which is developing and progressing in every sphere of activity with irresistible revolutionary zeal; it is a great international Power with high authority and prestige and an important factor in the maintenance of international peace and security. China tirelessly pursues a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, firmly combats the aggressive and warlike policy of imperialism and international reaction, and unreservedly defends and supports the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress.

65. The People's Republic of China has already joined the nuclear Powers. That event was greeted with enthusiasm by peace-loving States and peoples as an important factor for international peace and security.

66. No power in the world can tarnish the brilliant results achieved by the great Chinese people in the socialist construction of its country, the enormous potential and the colossal creative vigour of the People's Republic of China or its ever-growing international role.

67. The American Government and its avowed or concealed collaborators unceasingly persist in stepping up their hostile acts against the People's Republic of China and the great Chinese people; they foment shady plots and make feverish attempts to carry the torch of war near to its borders. The American imperialists, in league with the Soviet revisionists, have unleashed a savage campaign of calumny and revolting slanders against the People's Republic of China aimed at belittling its just and principled policy as well as the overwhelming victories won by the great Chinese people.

68. But their efforts are vain; all the plots hatched by the enemies of great socialist China, all their efforts and all their slanders, are doomed to failure. The overwhelming victory of the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, which has dispelled the last hopes the imperialists and revisionists had of bringing China back under a capitalistic and colonialist régime, serves as a further proof of the invincible strength of the great Chinese people and as a solid guarantee that the great people's China will continue to go forward.

69. The struggle being waged by Member States for the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations not only works for the vital interests of this Organization, but is at the same time an integral element in the struggle of peaceful peoples and countries against the aggressive and enslaving policy of the United States of America and its revisionist partners.

70. We consider that, with a full sense of the responsibilities involved, it is time for those Member States which are truly concerned with the future of the Organization and with the cause of peace to express their unreserved support of the request for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [A/6831], a request co-sponsored by the People's Republic of Albania.

71. It is now more than ever clear that a widespread conspiracy is being hatched against the peaceful countries, against the freedom-loving peoples and against the national liberation movement in the world. That conspiracy entered a new and more dangerous phase at Glassboro. But the peoples are in the overwhelming majority, and they are the real makers of history. They will never allow anyone to bargain about their higher interests and their futures. They will not submit to violence and imperialist aggressions any more than they will allow themselves to be misled by imperialist tricks or by those of the revisionist clique. Counter-revolutionary violence will be met with a firm and appropriate revolutionary response.

72. In the face of that criminal conspiracy, the peoples form a vast liberation front in the struggle against imperialism, which will wipe out the plans of aggression and the hateful imperialist system itself, and which will open up for them the route to their true liberation and to peace and social progress. That is the manifest objective reality unfolding before our eyes. At the present time, it is more than ever clear that the great ideas of freedom, independence, social progress and socialism which have vitally aroused the peoples of every continent, and in particular—at the present stage—those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have been transformed into an invincible, world-wide force. The present gigantic struggle, which is of outstanding historical significance for the fate of mankind, gives those ideas new and ever-increasing strength and vigour.

73. Nor is the situation in Europe favourable to the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, who would nonetheless like to have their kind of calm prevail in that region so that their knives might carve up, like so much butter, the rights and democratic freedoms of the peoples, including those of the German Democratic Republic, whom the Soviet revisionists are conspiring to sacrifice on the altar of the Soviet-American alliance.

74. The influence of great revolutionary ideas and the people's struggle for freedom are lending new impetus to the battles, upheavals, disparities and large-scale regroupings of social forces. As a result of those battles and of the victories won by freedom-loving peoples, the balance of forces has continually been changing in their favour, in favour of the cause of the freedom of peoples and of the revolution.

75. In this hour of historic importance for the fate of mankind, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to draw the attention of peace-loving Member States to the importance of the task incumbent on them of forcefully combatting the vast American-Soviet conspiracy against the peoples. In the present world situation, it has become an imperative and paramount necessity to denounce and to stamp out the collusion between

the two Powers. That is an urgent task for all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and countries.

76. Under the just leadership of its party and its Government, the Albanian people has achieved significant successes in its peaceful work of building socialism in its country. In the building of its new life, it has been obliged to struggle resolutely against the many attempts of the imperialists, and of their collaborators and tools of all kinds, to wrest from it its gains in its revolutionary national liberation struggle, and to transform our country into a colony and into a training-ground in accordance with their aggressive designs. Thanks to the revolutionary vigilance of the Albanian people, thanks to its monolithic unity and to the just leadership of party and Government, all the hostile attempts, all the plots and all the diabolical designs of the imperialists and revisionists have failed ignominiously, and the People's Republic of Albania has continued to advance triumphantly along the road of socialism towards progress and prosperity in all fields. As in the past, the Albanian people will in the future victoriously safeguard the victories of the revolution and its socialist homeland; it will give its enemies the response they deserve, and it will wipe out all attempts made against it, of whatever nature they may be.

77. The People's Republic of Albania has faithfully followed a policy of international peace, friendship and co-operation based on the principles of the sovereign equality of States, of non-interference in their domestic affairs and of mutual self-interest. It has done and will do its utmost in the future to bring, along with other freedom-loving and peace-loving countries and peoples, its modest contribution to the cause of freedom, peace and the strengthening of friendship among peoples.

78. The Albanian people and its Government have supported and will always support unreservedly the struggle the peoples are waging for national and social liberation and for the defence and strengthening of national independence and sovereignty against the designs of the imperialists and their cohorts. They are firmly convinced that the heroic and revolutionary struggle of freedom-loving peoples and countries will totally destroy the imperialist policy of intervention, oppression and aggression, and that in the end that struggle will wipe out the imperialist system—a source of war, oppression and exploitation of the peoples—itsself.

79. The just path of political principle firmly pursued by our Government in its relations with other States and with regard to all international problems will guide the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania in its consideration of the items on the agenda of the current session.

80. Mr. RIAD (United Arab Republic):^{4/} Mr. President, I wish at the outset to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. We are confident that you will steer the General Assembly

^{4/} Mr. Riad spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

at this crucial session with wisdom and skill. We also see in your election the restoration of a sense of justice and equality in the geographic representation in this high office.

81. The delegation the United Arab Republic also wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the President of the twenty-first session, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak. He presided over the deliberations of this General Assembly with rare talent and resourcefulness. He also presided over the last emergency special session and led its work with objectivity and dedication, leaving a distinct mark in the records of this august Assembly.

82. The General Assembly today is called upon to continue its efforts begun during the last emergency special session to eliminate the consequences of the aggression which took place against the Arab countries on 5 June 1967.

83. At its present session, the United Nations has another opportunity to ascertain its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, the elimination of aggression and the safeguarding of the territorial integrity and political independence of States. We are in full agreement with the statement of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report in which he said:

"It is indispensable to an international community of States—if it is not to follow the law of the jungle—that the territorial integrity of every State be respected, and the occupation by military force of the territory of one State by another cannot be condoned." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 49.]

84. In considering the aggression which has taken place against the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries, the international Organization must be fully aware that it is also determining the future of international relations and the rule of law. If the General Assembly fails to perform this fundamental duty, what in the future would deter a State from committing aggression against another State, and what would make other countries feel secure? We are all faced today with one question: whether we are to live in a civilized world or whether we are on the threshold of an era of international chaos where force will rule supreme.

85. The deliberations of the fifth emergency special session revealed a unanimous sense of commitment on the part of all Member States with respect to military occupation of States and the inadmissibility of military occupation of any part of one State by another. Absolute support of this principle was the common denominator of all the statements in the emergency special session. This was natural, for this is a principle on which the whole structure of the Charter of the United Nations is based. It is an essential corollary of the principle which prohibits the use of force. Despite this, however, we in the United Arab Republic were shocked to see the General Assembly fail to put this principle into practice. It was unable to adopt a resolution condemning aggression and calling upon the aggressor to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally from the territories it had occupied and, at the same time, it failed to demand compensation for all the crimes

committed and the damages resulting from that aggression. This wide gap between the principles emphasized in the deliberations and the negative results achieved by the emergency special session constitutes, in our opinion, a rare phenomenon which requires the most serious consideration.

86. We realize that there has been great misunderstanding on the part of a number of States regarding the realities of the situation which was before the emergency special session—a misunderstanding which was reflected in their voting last July. We also realize that the responsibility for this misunderstanding may be partially ours for we had believed that the justice of our cause was in itself sufficient to convince others.

87. But, it is equally true that there has been a sustained campaign of deception carried out on a global scale which has sought to distort, and even to reverse, the facts put before the international community. The organizers of that campaign utilized all the great resources and means at their command. We admit that we do not possess corresponding means to counter this barrage of propaganda. This campaign of deception was also accompanied by a campaign of pressure—pressures of all kind. Thus, it was possible for some Powers, through pressure and deception, to impress upon others that Israel did not commit an act of aggression but that it is the Arabs who carry out war.

88. Consequently, today we in the Arab world are faced not only with the challenge of the presence of aggressive Israeli forces on our territory; we are equally faced with the challenge of informing international public opinion of the actual facts regarding the Israeli aggression.

89. We live in a world in which the great Powers exert immense influence. The power to exert this influence carries with it the corresponding responsibility when dealing with international questions to adopt positions conforming to the Charter requirement of objectivity and justice. Proceeding from this fact, we consider that not only has the United States regrettably adopted a position of alignment with Israel and hostility towards the Arab people, but also a position which is inconsistent both with its commitments emanating from the United Nations Charter as well as the commitments strongly emphasized in its own statements prior to 5 June.

90. Consequently, the United States bears a special responsibility in this situation, as a result of its extensive assistance to Israel—politically, militarily and economically. By refusing to admit that Israel has committed an aggression, the United States has moved away from the just position it should have taken regarding the consequences of aggression.

91. On many occasions before the Israeli aggression of 5 June, the United States affirmed its support of the political independence and territorial integrity of the States of the Middle East. It also affirmed beyond any doubt its opposition to aggression. Indeed, the United States invited the States of the region to rely upon the fact that it continued to oppose any violation of the territorial integrity or political independence of the States of the Middle East.

92. Some days before the aggression, specifically on 23 May 1967, the United States Ambassador-designate in Cairo handed me an official memorandum which contained the following words:

"In the present situation, the Government of the United Arab Republic as well as other Arab Governments, can rely on the certainty that the Government of the United States maintains firm opposition toward aggression in the area in any form, overt or clandestine, carried out by regular military forces or irregular groups."

93. On the same day that the United States Ambassador-designate handed this memorandum to me, President Lyndon Johnson delivered his well-known speech in Washington in which he emphasized to the leaders of the Middle East that the United States was "firmly committed to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all nations of the area".

94. A sincere adherence to this commitment on the part of the United States would inevitably have led the United States to condemn the Israeli aggression. We realize that the United States has differed with us on some of the positions we had taken prior to the aggression, but these differences in themselves cannot justify the negative position taken by the United States following the Israeli aggression. This position was a major cause of the failure of the General Assembly in its special emergency session to adopt a resolution for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressive forces.

95. Naturally, we compare the United States' negative position regarding the Israeli aggression of 1967 with its just position in 1956 regarding the Israeli aggression of that year. The United States then unequivocally opposed the aggression and, consequently, the General Assembly was able to meet the grave challenge to world peace both positively and with efficacy. The success of the United Nations in 1956 was a success for the Charter and the rules of international justice. As a result, the international organization acquired power which enabled it later to perform a major role in dealing with other international questions. The success of the General Assembly in 1956 created a new source of protection for small States and was a warning to the forces of aggression.

96. In order for the United States to fulfil its obligations under the Charter to oppose aggression and support the political independence and territorial integrity of the States in the region—a position it had affirmed before 5 June—the United States must stand among those countries who condemn the Israeli aggression and insist on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of aggressive forces to positions occupied before 5 June.

97. A genuine respect for the territorial integrity of States can mean only one thing: opposition to aggression and insistence on the immediate and unconditional elimination of its consequences. We do not believe that the General Assembly can possibly hold the position—that elimination of the consequences of aggression can be a matter for bargaining or negotiations.

98. We therefore consider that the primary responsibility of the international community, as represented in this international Organization, is to take effective measures to secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of aggressive forces to the positions held before 5 June. This is a responsibility which emanates from the collective-security system, the most essential base of our Charter. It is our responsibility here not to condone any position which would reduce the Charter to mere words and the international Organization to a debating society.

99. I wish to discuss now some of the misconceptions which seem to have impressed themselves on the minds of some of my colleagues here. First, I wish to refer to the allegation of some who describe our position as a position of war rather than a position of peace. To those I would address the following questions.

100. Was it not Israel which committed the perfidious aggression of 5 June? Was it not the Israeli armed forces which launched a massive attack on the territories of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, even while the Security Council was considering the problems of the area and at a time when every responsible leader in the world had appealed to all parties to refrain from any use of force? Was it not Israel which, in October 1956, committed another perfidious attack against Egypt? Was it not Israel which, before and after 1948, committed an aggression against the people of Palestine and by acts of force and barbarity transformed a million Palestinians into a million refugees? Was it not Israel which committed the horrendous massacres at Tiberias, Haifa, Jaffa, Safad, Gaza, Khan Yunis, Qibya, Hula, As Samu, and many others, in which thousands of Palestinian men, women and children were murdered in cold blood? Is it not Israel which today acts as though aggression can legalize territorial annexation, and which indeed has already declared the annexation of Jerusalem? Is it not Israel which for the last nineteen years has adopted armed retaliation as a basic policy under the guise of self-defence in order to justify its continued, systematic aggression against the Arab countries?

101. As recently as November 1966, after Israel had destroyed the Arab village of As Samu, the Security Council censured Israel and emphasized to Israel in paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 228 (1966) that "... actions of military reprisal cannot be tolerated and that, if they are repeated, the Security Council will have to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter to ensure against the repetition of such acts".

102. Can anyone, in answering these questions, hold the view that it is the Arabs who exercise a policy of war and that Israel exercises a policy of peace? War is not a state of mind; was is aggression. Thus, continually to commit acts of aggression is to wage war. The Charter does not differentiate between war and aggression. Peace, like war, is made up of deeds, not words.

103. Some have interpreted certain steps taken by the United Arab Republic before the last aggression as an exercise of war. In this connexion, I should like to refer to certain established historic facts.

First, the starting point in the present crisis was Israel's threat to Syria. This was a threat which followed a number of acts of aggression against Syria, including an air attack on 7 April. This threat was equally evident from the statements made by Israeli officials during April and May threatening to invade Syria and occupy its capital. Second, in the chain of events which followed, the United Arab Republic took no step beyond its established sovereign rights, whether it was the request for the withdrawal of UNEF or the application of its sovereign rights in the Strait of Tiran. Third, the United Arab Republic emphasized throughout that it was committed to a position of defence. I wish to refer particularly to two diplomatic contacts between the United States and the United Arab Republic during the days prior to the aggression.

104. On 23 May 1967, President Lyndon Johnson sent a message to President Gamal Abdel Nasser in which he urged the avoidance of hostilities. On 26 May, Mr. Eugene Rostow, United States Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, called the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic in Washington to inform him that Mr. Abba Eban, the Foreign Minister of Israel, had just arrived from Israel and had asked for an urgent meeting with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, on a matter which could not be delayed. During that meeting, Mr. Eban informed Mr. Rusk that the United Arab Republic was going to launch a surprise attack within the following twenty-four hours. Mr. Rostow informed the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic that he had been instructed by President Johnson to warn the United Arab Republic against any such action. He said that if this were to happen, it would have far-reaching consequences and added that the United States Government affirmed that it would continue to exert all its efforts with the Government of Israel to refrain from any military action against the United Arab Republic. President Nasser replied to President Johnson in a later message that the United Arab Republic would not initiate any use of force and would not go beyond its position of defence. President Nasser also informed Secretary-General U Thant of this same position during his visit to the United Arab Republic. This was stated by the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council on the situation in the Near East.^{5/}

105. Fourth, the United Arab Republic also declared its readiness to co-operate in seeking a solution to the crisis. It welcomed the visit of the Secretary-General to Cairo on 24 May, extended full co-operation to him and reacted positively to proposals he made. We also asked [1343rd meeting] the Security Council to consider steps with a view to securing the maximum operation of the Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement. During this time there were contacts also between Cairo and other capitals, including Washington, with a view to finding ways of preventing the deterioration of the situation. In this connexion it was agreed that the Vice-President of the United Arab Republic would visit the United States for this purpose, and 7 June was mutually agreed upon as the date of his visit.

106. These facts clearly illustrate that the United Arab Republic, while emphasizing its commitment to a position of defense, took all possible steps on its part to prevent any deterioration in the situation, co-operating with others. But those efforts were destined to fail because an aggression had already been planned to take place on 5 June.

107. I turn now to the position taken by some countries that "direct negotiations" should take place between Israel and the Arab States. We realize that some of those countries, in subscribing to this position, are motivated by the fact that the principle of negotiation is a sound principle provided by the Charter as a means of pacific settlement of disputes.

108. But we, on the other hand, insist that faithful adherence to the principles of the Charter requires the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of aggressive forces to the positions held before 5 June with no conditions or bargaining. If we were to allow the withdrawal of aggressive forces from territory of Member States to be a matter subject to bargaining and negotiation, we would be negating in fact the whole principle of territorial integrity and the inadmissibility of armed occupation by one State of the territory of another State. That principle was rightly upheld by all Member States in the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly. We were particularly indebted to the Latin American countries for their great contribution in asserting that principle as a basic principle of the Charter and one of the essential rules of international law.

109. Israel insists on direct negotiations in order to free itself through negotiations from commitments previously arrived at through negotiations to which it is bound by virtue of its signature. Israel also seeks through new negotiations to legitimize a fait accompli and to allow it to proceed with its territorial ambitions.

110. In 1949, negotiations were held between Israel on the one hand and the respective Arab States of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon on the other. These negotiations were held in accordance with the decision of the Security Council of 16 November 1948 [resolution 62 (1948)], and with the assistance of Dr. Ralph Bunche. They resulted in the General Armistice Agreements, signed by Israel and the Arab States concerned in 1949.

111. These Agreements stipulated that their provisions could not be revised except by mutual consent. Furthermore, the Agreements laid down certain basic principles which could in no way be subject to revision. These principles are:

(1) Respect by both parties of the Security Council's injunction against resort to military force in the settlement of the Palestine question;

(2) Abstention from any aggressive action by armed forces of one party against the other; and,

(3) Full respect by each party of the other party's security and freedom from attack by its armed forces.

112. The General Armistice Agreements of 1949 also established a Mixed Armistice Commission com-

^{5/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967, document S/7906.

posed of seven members, with each party to designate three members and the Chairman to be the United Nations Chief of Staff or his representative. The function of this Commission was to supervise the execution of provisions made in the Agreements.

113. The Agreements delineated certain geographic sectors on both sides of the armistice lines which were not to be occupied except by the respective defensive forces of both parties. It also designated as such the El Auja demilitarized zone, from which both Egyptian and Israeli armed forces were to be totally excluded. Only the United Nations Observers were to occupy this zone and the Headquarters of the Mixed Armistice Commission was to be maintained there.

114. To those who invite us to enter into direct negotiations, it is our duty to refer briefly to Israel's attitude towards the General Armistice Agreements and to ascertain whether Israel has fulfilled its obligations emanating from these Agreements in order to ask for new negotiations.

115. Ever since the signing of the Armistice Agreements, Israel has continued its aggressive military operations across the armistice lines. In 1953 Israel began to occupy the El Auja demilitarized zone, expelling its Arab inhabitants, and later, on 9 October 1955, even expelling the United Nations Observers, lowering the United Nations flag, and occupying the whole demilitarized zone.

116. In October 1956, it committed its perfidious aggression against Egypt, and the Prime Minister of Israel at that time actually declared that the Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement was dead and buried and that it would never be resurrected. That is a declaration not very different from those being uttered at present by the Israeli officials. Today Israel asks for new negotiations only in order to free itself from the commitments emanating from the Armistice Agreements and for this purpose seeks the endorsement of this international Organization.

117. I should like to refer also to the negotiations which took place between Israel and the Arab States with the assistance of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. This Commission was established by the General Assembly on 11 December 1948 [resolution 194 (III)]. It was to mediate between Israel and the Arab States and to seek agreement by negotiations of a settlement of outstanding questions. During the early months of 1949, negotiations took place in Lausanne, Switzerland, and resulted in the signature by Israel and the Arab States of the Protocol of Lausanne which adopted a territorial settlement on the basis of General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. All this took place prior to the admission of Israel to the United Nations.

118. Only a few weeks after Israel signed the Protocol of Lausanne, it alleged that the circumstances had changed and that it was no longer committed to the Protocol agreement. The fact was that its signature had been merely a manoeuvre aimed at enabling Israel to be admitted to membership of the United Nations. Once that was achieved and Israel found that the Protocol put limitations on its expan-

sionist objectives, no time was wasted by Israel to declare that it no longer was committed to the Protocol. This is another example of how far Israel respects its international obligations.

119. I have referred to Israel's policy towards its international obligations emanating from international agreements. This policy does not differ much from its policy towards the United Nations resolutions. I could read out to the Assembly a long list of resolutions adopted by this Organization which have been violated by Israel, but I prefer in particular to refer to the latest resolutions adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly.

120. What was Israel's answer to the General Assembly resolution on Jerusalem [2253 (ES-V)]. Israel flouted that resolution, defied the unanimity of the international community, as well as the spiritual sentiments from which that resolution emanated, and continued its expansionist policy with the annexation of Jerusalem.

121. What has been Israel's position regarding the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly throughout its last eighteen sessions in which Israel has been called upon to enable the people of Palestine to exercise their right to return to their homeland? Israel's reply is evident in the fact that the people of Palestine have remained in the refugee camps. What was Israel's reply to the resolution [237 (1967)] adopted lately by the Security Council in which it called upon Israel to allow the return of those citizens who were forced to leave the territories occupied by Israel after 5 June? Israel's reply has been to place one obstacle after another in the way of the return of those citizens.

122. That has been Israel's consistent policy and its own brand of respect for its international obligations, whether arising from international agreements it has signed or from those which the international Organization has asked it to respect. Why, then, does Israel ask for negotiations with the Arab States? Israel aims at one essential objective: that is, to use new negotiations in order to release itself from previous obligations and to impose a fait accompli and score political and propaganda victories.

123. Some have attempted to project the question of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries from an artificial perspective. They have alleged that the origin of the problem in the Middle East lies in a refusal by the Arab States to recognize Israel's right to a secure existence in the region. In fact, an objective evaluation of the problems of the Middle East indicates that tension in that part of the world originates from two sources: first, Israel's continued violation and denial of the rights of the people of Palestine; and, second, Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy against the Arab States.

124. Israel expelled the people of Palestine from their homeland, transformed more than 1 million Palestinians into refugees, usurped their territory and properties, and has continued to ignore their established rights. In its latest aggression of 5 June, Israel again chased out the people of Palestine, expelling them from the Western Bank of the Jordan

and the Gaza Sector, and creating another problem by turning 350,000 citizens of Jordan and Gaza into refugees.

125. The conditions created by Israel, and the sorrows it has inflicted on the people of Palestine, constitute a unique historic phenomenon. Israel has created an abnormal situation and has refused to correct it. It is only natural that this abnormal situation has remained a source of tension and instability in the region.

126. The United Nations, which bears a cardinal responsibility towards the people of Palestine, is in duty-bound to undertake effective measures to secure the implementation of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, session after session. The United Nations played a basic role in the creation of Israel and in all the subsequent developments of the history of the Palestine question. That role makes the United Nations an essential party to the question. Consequently, the rights of the people of Palestine are not a subject for negotiation or bargaining between the Arab countries and Israel, for those rights are established rights within the framework of the international Organization, upon which falls the responsibility of securing their implementation.

127. It is erroneous on the part of some to believe that the problem of the people of Palestine can be solved exclusively from a humanitarian point of view, It also cannot be considered simply as a tragedy similar to an earthquake or an epidemic which fate causes to fall upon a certain people. The question of the people of Palestine is a national and political question and must be dealt with on that basis.

128. The United Nations resolutions recognizing the right of the people of Palestine to choose between repatriation and compensation emanate in fact from the principle of self-determination, a principle which is acquiring ever-increasing importance. No other principle in contemporary international relations has gained more strength and universal recognition. It is our conviction that the realization of a genuine, durable and just peace in the Middle East requires that the United Nations continue to recognize this principle and take appropriate steps to ensure its implementation in a free atmosphere and with adequate safeguards.

129. I wish to refer to the other source of tension in the Middle East, namely, the policy of aggression exercised by Israel. We witness it daily. Israel continues to disregard the Security Council cease-fire decision of last June [resolution 233 (1967)]. Practically every day Israel is committing acts of wanton aggression and destruction against the cities along the Suez Canal; bombarding heavily populated centres; killing hundreds of children, women and men; destroying hospitals, schools, mosques, churches, office buildings and factories. These daily acts of aggression indicate that Israel adopts aggression against the Arab countries as a national policy.

130. This policy of aggression is closely linked to Israel's expansionist policy stemming from the Zionist mentality. It is manifested today in the steps taken by Israel towards the annexation of the city of

Jerusalem. It was equally evident during the Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956 when Mr. Ben Gurion, then Prime Minister of Israel, declared that they had "freed" Sinai. The same mentality is being revealed nowadays in statements by Israeli officials flooding all international media of information and suggesting annexation of one part of occupied Arab territory or another. This policy of aggression and expansion is a real source of tension and is a constant threat to peace in the Middle East.

131. I have already explained that it is erroneous to attempt to analyse the crisis of the Middle East as one resulting from the absence of arrangements for security in that part of the world. If Israel had genuinely felt insecure, it would have insisted upon and upheld the Armistice Agreements, which prohibited the use of force, ensured the security of their respective parties and ensured freedom from fear of attack by the armed forces of one party against another.

132. But Israel's insistence on a hostile attitude towards the Armistice Agreements and its unilateral renunciation of these agreements can only underline one fact, namely, that Israel is seeking a different kind of security. It seeks to secure its freedom of action to fulfil its expansionist objectives, to secure its aggression against the people of Palestine, and ultimately to negotiate the Arab States into acquiescence to the results of its expansionist and aggressive policy.

133. It is for this reason that we consider it imperative on our part to emphasize the dangers inherent in Israel's consistent efforts to relieve itself from its established commitment to the Armistice Agreements and to consider these Agreements as obsolete. All the breaches of peace which have taken place in the Middle East have in fact resulted from the violation of the Armistice Agreements. The answer does not lie in burying these Agreements as Israel would wish, but lies instead in insisting on the maximum operation and strictest adherence to the provisions of the Agreements.

134. In this connexion it may be useful to refer to the note which the United States Ambassador designate in Cairo delivered to me on 23 May 1967, which contained the following: "We believe that the General Armistice Agreements remain the best basis for maintenance of peaceful conditions along the border." The memorandum went on to say: "We hope the United Arab Republic will join us as well as other Governments in urging all parties to the agreements to observe scrupulously their provisions." We, on our part, believe that total respect for the Armistice Agreements constitutes a basic factor in the maintenance of security in the Middle East.

135. I have explained the basic causes of the problems in our region. We are convinced that sustained and serious efforts aimed at enabling the people of Palestine to exercise their right to self-determination, as specified in the United Nations resolutions concerning the people of Palestine, together with Israel's abandonment of its policy of aggression and expansion would, without a doubt, lead to peace and stability in the Middle East.

136. However, the General Assembly must be fully conscious that it is now faced with an aggression and a most serious breach of the peace. The situation resulting from Israeli aggression must be eliminated immediately, unconditionally, and without being a subject for negotiations. The provisions of the Charter are both unambiguous and categorically firm. This Organization has an essential duty which supersedes all other duties—that is, to adopt appropriate resolutions condemning Israeli aggression, to secure the withdrawal of aggressive forces to the positions they occupied before their aggression, and to provide compensation for the crimes and damages caused by the aggression.

137. The present Arab generation was born facing the challenges of building its economic structure and founding a prosperous society. The first prerequisite for internal development is the existence of peace and stability, and also the mobilization of all potentials to compensate for what we have missed through generations of colonialism. However, tension and instability have been imposed upon this generation by foreign Powers. It is inconceivable that a nation facing the demanding challenges of development such as we are facing would wish to engage in war once every decade or wish to be obligated to channel a substantial portion of its human and economic resources towards armament. But we have been faced with a situation which has imposed upon us: the inescapable necessity of arming ourselves in the face of Israeli aggression. Israel believes that it can secure its existence through aggression. If history can be a guide to any of us, then the history of the military Nazi aggressions should particularly convince Israel that war is never the path to peace.

138. The international Organization is called upon to discharge its responsibilities in the elimination of the consequences of aggression. The Charter does not provide any other course. This is also the path to peace. If the international Organization failed to perform this most sacred duty among all other duties, it not only would be turning away from the Charter but would equally be turning away from the road to peace. The people of the United Arab Republic, faced with an aggression on their territory, are fully aware of their essential national responsibilities and are determined to eliminate the consequences of aggression. Thus our call upon the United Nations to perform its duty is in fact a call for peace.

139. We in the United Arab Republic look forward to achieving further objectives in the realm of economic development and social progress; to increasing our contribution to international prosperity; to reopening the Suez Canal, at present closed by the aggression, so that it may play its role once again in the flourishing of international trade and the deepening of understanding between peoples, and allowing the recently-found oil fields in the Egyptian desert to further our progress and promote mutual benefit. Equally, with the High Dam approaching completion in true co-operation with the Soviet Union, we stand on the threshold of new horizons of development. Yet we know that all our resources for construction will be meaningless until all traces of aggression are eliminated.

140. Before concluding my remarks on the Israeli aggression, I wish to express the deep gratitude which the United Arab Republic feels towards the States that upheld the rules of the Charter and adhered to the principles of international justice. I wish, in particular, to mention the just and honourable position that was taken by the Soviet Union which stood closely by our side through difficult times. The history of Soviet-Arab relations provides a great example of the principles of peaceful coexistence and constructive co-operation among States and peoples. The response by the Soviet Union to help in the construction of the High Dam is an historic contribution to Egypt's resistance to economic pressure, the construction of the Egyptian economy and the doubling of Egyptian arable land.

141. At a time when the friendly Soviet people and their leaders are preparing for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Socialist revolution, I express the sentiments of the people and the Government of the United Arab Republic in congratulating the Soviet Union on that historic occasion and record our admiration for the immense accomplishments they have scored in the building of the Soviet State. We equally congratulate the Soviet Union on the honourable position it has taken in support of the peoples struggling for fulfilment of their national aspirations.

142. I have found it incumbent to allocate the largest part of my statement in this general debate to state our stand on the aggression committed against my country and other Arab States. I did not refer to the other items on our agenda. However, the United Arab Republic delegation will assume its full duty in tackling these issues in their respective committees. In dealing with these questions the United Arab Republic will be guided by established principles: the principle of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence, opposition to colonialism and racism, and the strengthening of international co-operation. The United Arab Republic delegation will also assume its responsibilities in defending the just Arab and African causes.

143. The war in Viet-Nam is not an item on our agenda, for abnormal conditions make this Organization incapable of dealing with this question. We have always subscribed to the view that the first prerequisite to ending the Viet-Nameese war lies in the basic step of ceasing the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We would not consider it just to ask the Viet-Nameese people to accept a political solution while their homeland is being bombed and heavy human and material casualties are being inflicted upon them. We demand that the United States unconditionally stop its air raids against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, so that peace will prevail in Viet-Nam and the valiant Viet-Nameese people will be able to determine their own future and build their country in an atmosphere of peace and freedom.

144. We are in the midst of an important and decisive stage in the development of international relations in which this international Organization is facing basic challenges. The General Assembly in determining its response to these grave challenges

should ponder its course most carefully so as to ensure that in the future we will be able to look back confident that we had chosen the right path.

145. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representative of the United States of America has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I now call upon him.

146. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I regret exceedingly that the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic deemed it necessary to single out the United States as he did in his remarks, and in an unhelpful way. I shall not, because of the lateness of the hour, attempt to reply in detail, but I reserve my right to do so at a later stage in our debate. There are, however, a few remarks that I am impelled to make now in the interest of accuracy.

147. The Foreign Minister referred to the extensive assistance given Israel by the United States, and specifically to military, economic and political assistance. I trust that the Foreign Minister is not trying by this reference to revive the discredited charge that the United States in any way participated militarily in the recent conflict. Even the Arab sources which made this charge originally have now conceded that there was never any basis for it.

148. With respect to economic assistance, we have tried to help all countries in the area, and it is a plain and simple fact that our Government's economic aid to the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries has been far greater than our aid to Israel.

149. With respect to our political aid, I assume that the Foreign Minister means the unshaken and unshakable United States policy that we respect the right of all nations in the area to live, and expect them, in fidelity to the Charter, similarly to respect the right of all nations in the area to live in conditions of peace and security. Live and let live is the prescription for peace in the Middle East.

150. The Foreign Minister referred to arrangements concluded in 1956, in which my country played a

principal role. I should like to remind him—and this is well known in this Assembly—that the cornerstone of those arrangements was the understanding that the Strait of Tiran would be open to the innocent shipping of all nations and that the United Nations Emergency Force would be present in Sinai. I put this simple question: Who disturbed the status quo which had existed for ten years? Was it the United States, or the United Nations, or was it the United Arab Republic?

151. Finally, I shall not attempt to reply to the distorted and incomplete account of our diplomatic efforts to prevent this war from breaking out, although I should say that I deprecate the increasing tendency to put on record the course of private diplomacy, so indispensable to the conduct of diplomatic efforts if progress is to be made in solving disputes. In so far as the record is a public record, I have laid it before the Security Council in our debates, and that record shows that the United States took the lead in trying to prevent the war from breaking out and also took the lead in trying about an immediate cease-fire. It was not the United States which charged, when the matter was before the Security Council and there was an opportunity to prevent the war from breaking out, that we were trying to dramatize the situation. The Foreign Minister surely knows of our efforts in the last Assembly and since, to help in a balanced way towards an honourable settlement.

152. President Johnson has pointed out that the United States has consistently sought to have good relations with all the States of the Near East. Regrettably this has not always been possible, but my Government, despite invective and false charges, will continue in the conviction that our differences with individual States in the area and their differences with each other must be worked out peacefully and in the spirit of the Charter's requirements of mutual respect and dignity.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.