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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar)	1
Speech by Mr. HUNLÉDÉ (Togo)	3
Speech by Mr. AL-SOWAYEL (Saudi Arabia)	6

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): On behalf of the Chief of State, the Government and the people of Madagascar, allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. Like all the speakers who have preceded me, I see your election as an eloquent testimony not only to your outstanding abilities as a statesman, but also to your country, which we all of us admire.

2. Already in the last three weeks your impartiality, your wisdom, your indefatigable perseverance, and the orderly conduct of our debates, have made it clear that you are in the line of the great Presidents who have preceded you. Of these I shall mention only the distinguished President of the twenty-first session, Mr. Pazhwak, who so ably presided over the work of an exceptionally difficult session filled with dramatic incidents.

3. The lucid and pregnant report of Secretary-General U Thant has been given careful attention here. On behalf of my country I would like to assure him of our admiration for his constant efforts to seek peace and to promote the welfare of the developing nations. There is still a great deal for him to do before the end of the difficult and arduous road to peace is reached. But he should know that he has the support of all of us, including the strong support of my country, which remains loyal to the principles of the Charter.

4. Non-interference in the affairs of other countries; respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all Member States; avoidance of threats or the use of force; conciliation, negotiation, and arbitration; these are the guidelines of the foreign policy of my country. The Chief of State of Madagascar, President Tsiranana, has constantly reiterated them. In 1965 we requested the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of a special item embodying these principles,^{1/} some of

which were included in important resolutions adopted at the twenty-first session.

5. Before touching on political problems, my delegation would like briefly to refer to the issues which disturb us in regard to world economic trends and to express our regret, as many other delegations have done, that the Development Decade has not fulfilled the hopes of the Third World.

6. With but few exceptions—first and foremost among them France—the majority of the industrialized countries have not increased the volume of their international aid parallel with the growth of their national revenue, as they are pledged to do, at any rate by implication.

7. In its work, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has systematically analysed the various aspects of the world economic situation and the causes of stagnation and recession; but it has not yet found practical and effective solutions. The forthcoming conference at New Delhi^{2/} must resolutely and realistically work out a scheme which will give an effective fillip to world economy and, above all, narrow the widening gap—not to say chasm—between the standard of living of the industrialized countries and that of the developing nations.

8. The constant deterioration in the terms of trade has been so well covered by the many previous speakers that I need not dwell on it. One remedy, in my delegation's view, would be an international agreement establishing minimum prices and minimum tonnages on the major world markets for the main primary commodities. A system of compensation would provide producing countries each year with a minimum revenue from their essential production. At the last Conference of the International Monetary Fund at Rio de Janeiro,^{3/} fourteen African States and France, having met specially at Dakar before the Conference, submitted a resolution asking the international financial organizations to make a study of the problem of prices of the main products. The resolution was adopted unanimously. The distinguished experts of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will no doubt find realistic and speedy solutions.

9. The Malagasy Republic has participated actively in the efforts of the Organization to rid the world of colonialism completely. As a member of the Committee of Twenty-Four, Madagascar co-operated

^{2/} Second session of UNCTAD, to be held at New Delhi from 1 February to 25 March 1968.

^{3/} Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund, held at Rio de Janeiro from 25 to 29 September 1967.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 90 and 94 (A/5937).

fully, not only in the meetings held in New York, but also in those held in Africa. We have scrupulously implemented the decisions concerning the African Territories under Portuguese administration, South West Africa and Rhodesia. We shall continue to fight with all our strength for the eradication of all forms of racial discrimination, especially the so-called system of apartheid.

10. My delegation remains faithful to the policy we adopted seven years ago and will at all times uphold the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. We are anxious that the peoples now so distressingly divided, those of Germany and Korea, for example, should be able freely to decide their own future. The same applies also, of course, to Viet-Nam, where we hope that peace will return through the speedy opening of negotiations, either directly between the parties concerned or by the convening of the Geneva Conference.

11. My delegation feels that the maintenance of UNCURK and of a United Nations Force in Korea is an essential condition for safeguarding peace. Whenever peace is threatened, a United Nations presence is, as we have noted elsewhere, a factor for moderation and dissuasion—in Cyprus for example.

12. It is because of our respect for these same principles that Madagascar cannot support the resolution calling for the admission of the Peking régime [A/L.531], since those who advocate a modification of the present state of affairs make no secret of their desire to force thousands of free Chinese to accept a solution which there is nothing to suggest is to their liking. There is in fact another and still more important point—a country cannot be a Member of the United Nations if it does not clearly and unequivocally accept the obligations of the Charter; and the fundamental principles of the Charter are peace, renunciation of the resort to force, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. Unless these criteria are respected, my delegation will refuse to support the admission of any State, however powerful.

13. Africa is in the forefront of the battle for the freedom of peoples. Our strength lies in unity, which was impressively affirmed at the recent Kinshasa Conference.^{4/} Very important problems affecting African States were frankly examined at the Conference, and the measures adopted are a very important step towards lasting solutions. Africa has again called for conciliation and dialogue to settle its differences. Giving the lie to pessimistic prophecies, the Organization of African Unity has once again shown how deeply rooted in the Africans is the desire for unity and co-operation.

14. The Malagasy Republic is convinced that it is only through understanding among nations that enduring peace can be established. This conviction explains our attitude in the distressing conflict that has broken out in the Middle East. Our feeling is that the best way to achieve true peace is frankly and persistently to seek peaceful formulas which will safeguard the existence and integrity of all the States concerned.

15. My delegation continues to hope that common sense and moderation will prevail in both camps so that the present difficulties can be overcome, and feels that it is contributing to this by following the line of sympathetic understanding, friendship and objectivity vis-à-vis our brothers of the Arab States and Israel.

16. There are other no less important problems on our agenda. I spoke earlier of economic questions. There cannot be peace or lasting co-operation if the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries continues to widen as it has done over the past five years.

17. The instability of world markets for commodities is no doubt one of the most alarming aspects of this situation, but we must also not lose sight of the need to promote and increase the flow of capital and investments. My delegation is constantly repeating that an effective means by which the industrialized nations can help their less prosperous brothers is by encouraging investments in the latter's countries so as to promote their industrialization.

18. Disarmament has always been another of the major concerns of this Assembly. We discuss it every year; progress is slow, but we must not lose heart. My own country is firmly convinced that gradual, simultaneous and controlled disarmament is the most realistic path to pursue.

19. The successful crystallization of a general agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space is a source of hope and encouragement; and further headway is possible.

20. Social questions again are an important part of our agenda. Here the United Nations has proved its moral strength, and resolutions condemning the various forms of discrimination, and favouring equal rights, and the safeguarding of individual freedom and the freedom of women, and the resolutions of the Sixth Committee on the rights and duties of States, do great credit to the Organization.

21. While we are only too well aware of the inadequacy of the Organization in many fields, we have reason to be proud of what it has achieved in the social sphere; and we can look towards the future with confidence. In a happier, freer world more aware of the importance of moral values, the evil forces of violence and war will rapidly lose ground.

22. The moral authority of the Organization grows with every year that passes. It is the duty of all of us to work courageously and sincerely at every task calculated to strengthen still further the United Nations—the strongest bulwark against war.

23. It is of course regrettable that the United Nations has been unable to solve certain critical problems. But let us not underrate the results of its efforts. In the majority of the armed conflicts which have broken out in the world, at any rate since 1960 when Madagascar became a Member, the United Nations has nearly always succeeded in bringing the parties to agree to a cease-fire, at times an uneasy truce, admittedly, but one which at least has stopped the bloodshed.

^{4/} Fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 11 to 14 September 1967.

24. Signs of an easing of tension between the major Power blocs appear from time to time, but unfortunately they are ephemeral, and very soon the resentment, suspicion and mistrust return.

25. Within these walls dedicated to the maintenance of peace, let us all work with faith and perseverance so that the sources of conflict will disappear one by one and the hideous threat of a conflagration which would mean the end of mankind will gradually recede.

26. Mr. HUNLEDE (Togo) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Togolese delegation to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations associates itself with all those which have preceded it at this rostrum in offering you the earnest congratulations of our Government on the occasion of your election as President of this Assembly. In you, Togo salutes and congratulates the gallant and sympathetic country of Romania.

27. We should also like your predecessor, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, to know how highly the Togolese delegation appreciated the tact, authority and patience with which he conducted both the work of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and that of the two special sessions following it.

28. We would be failing in our duty if we did not express also to Secretary-General U Thant our great admiration for his untiring dedication to the cause of all the nations. We realize the difficulties that confront him, but we know that he gives of his best in facing them; and we wish him well in the task.

29. Before presenting my Government's views on the major international issues of today, I should like, if only for your information, to sketch a general outline of the situation in my country since the last session.

30. Following the events which took place in Togo in January 1963, the army at once handed the power over to the civilian body with a view to establishing a policy of national union and reconciliation under which all Togolese could live in peace and harmony. Unfortunately, the previous régime was unable to achieve that policy, vital though it was. On the contrary, many of our countrymen had to seek exile, to say nothing of the prisons crammed full of political prisoners. The leaders themselves engaged in futile rivalries, relegating the higher interests of the nation to the background.

31. This policy could not last. On 21 November 1966, the people rose and demanded that the unpopular Government resign. However, in the interests of stability, without which development is impossible, our young army did not feel that another change should be permitted, and it advised the incumbent Chief of State to review his policy.

32. The response to the appeal was a renewed outbreak of arrests and expulsions, this time affecting the best elements in the country. Many senior officials, heads of departments, were thrown into prison while the administration of the country was completely paralysed. In the face of this untenable situation the army, under popular pressure, found itself obliged

to intervene so as to restore calm and create the conditions for a true national reconciliation.

33. Unlike what has happened in other countries, no leader of the former régime has been harmed. At the present time there is not a single political prisoner in our prisons. All the refugees have returned and are participating in the work of national reform. The present governing team, consisting of twelve members—eight civilians appointed solely on the strength of their technical capacity and four military men—has settled down to the essential task of restoring the economic and financial situation of the country. Austerity measures have been introduced, and are reflected in a substantial reduction in State expenditure and considerable cuts in the remuneration paid to political figures.

34. These measures are designed by the new Government to associate political leaders with the effort demanded of all citizens to help to put the country economically back on its feet.

35. But the army has no intention of remaining in power. As soon as circumstances permit, free and democratic elections will be held with a view to setting up a civilian régime. A constitutional committee has already been set up to draft a national Constitution which will be approved by the people.

36. I felt it my duty to outline the domestic situation in my country in this way so that the delegations here present would be informed and possible confusion would be avoided.

37. But all this has not diverted my Government's attention from the major problems troubling the world. We have been watching the events in the Middle East with considerable concern. We maintain friendly relations both with the Arab countries and with Israel. Our duty is to help our friends to settle peacefully any differences which may arise between them, but we feel that the solution to those problems necessarily lies in negotiations.

38. As long as the parties involved are estranged, no solution will be found to this disquieting problem. Our unanimous call for the withdrawal of Israel's troops to the positions they held before 5 June 1967—and this applies equally to the occupied part of the City of Jerusalem—implies the recognition that Israel does have frontiers. Why then refuse to recognize a patent reality?

39. In this matter we wish to see neither victors nor vanquished, but only men of goodwill desirous of preserving the peace which the world desperately needs. We urge both parties to silence for ever the weapons which destroy the peace and to seek in a spirit of brotherhood a realistic and honest solution to their differences.

40. What is to be said of the appalling and distressing war in Viet-Nam? Is it not time the parties engaged in the conflict realized that they have caused enough suffering to mankind already?

41. For a start, the conditions for peace must be created, and the first of these seems to us to be the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. Needless to say, during the halt the other party must avoid

doing anything likely to lead to a resumption of the fighting. But stopping the bombing is not enough. After that, all weapons must be silenced to make way for negotiations, in which all the parties engaged in the war would participate; otherwise, the party excluded could scotch any possible solution.

42. We have to recognize that all the conflicts just referred to are closely bound up with the armaments race. This must be stopped; for apart from the fact that it unnecessarily deprives a large part of mankind of increased aid, it endangers man's precious boon of peace. But stopping the arms race is not sufficient. What is needed is controlled disarmament, and only the realization of the dangers to which they are exposing the world is likely to bring the Powers possessing weapons of mass destruction to their senses. We venture to hope that common sense will in the end prevail over the insanity of men.

43. Nor can I omit mention of the German problem, which we Togolese have many reasons for mentioning specially here. Togo is linked to Germany through history, and the Togolese people cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of a divided German people. A solution to this question must be found at the human level, and it involves self-determination for the German people as a whole.

44. I should now like to deal with some specifically African problems. Africa's firm determination to free itself completely and to achieve unity is not without its difficulties. Internal unrest, the mercenaries in the Congo, latent border disputes, the failure of economic sanctions against the Smith régime, the intensification of apartheid and the defiance of the United Nations by South Africa over South West Africa, are so many thorns in the flesh of African unity.

45. Enough has been said from this rostrum over the years of the evils of apartheid. But while the international danger which this shameful and humiliating practice implies has been recognized, the organization of the struggle to eliminate the scourge has been slow, and today, after twenty years, the results are still meagre and the evil actually seems to be gaining in intensity and scope. Was it not apartheid in South Africa that give birth to Smith's racist régime in Southern Rhodesia?

46. Without wishing to recount the history of the struggle against apartheid, I would recall that at the outset, and for a number of years, the United Nations did no more than address appeals to the Pretoria régime. It was not until 1962 that the General Assembly advocated diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa [resolution 1761 (XVII)]. Since then an impressive number of resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and various ministerial conferences and meetings of the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity; but with the encouragement given them by the duplicity or acquiescence of those who cannot see beyond their own selfish interests, South Africa has defied all these peaceful measures, and the resolutions have remained a dead letter.

47. Togo has always endeavoured to apply the resolutions of the United Nations; in fact, by Decree No. 67/36 of 14 February 1967, the Government of Togo implemented Security Council resolution 232 (1966) on selective sanctions against the régime of Southern Rhodesia. One of the articles of this Decree stipulates as follows:

"The Government of the Togolese Republic reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and recognizes the legitimacy of its struggle to ensure the exercise of its rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations."

48. On 29 August last, by Decree No. 67/170, the Government of Togo adopted the following measures:

"No diplomatic or consular relations shall be established between the Togolese Government and the Governments of Portugal and South Africa;

"All trade with those countries, direct or indirect, shall be prohibited;

"Shipping and aircraft flying the flags of those countries may not call at Togolese ports; similarly, ships and aircraft belonging to or registered in Togo shall be prohibited from calling at the ports or airports of those countries; transit through the ports or airports of Togo by ships and aircraft flying foreign flags and bound for or coming from Portugal or South Africa shall be prohibited, as shall the sale, dispatch and transit of arms, munitions of all kinds, military vehicles and oil products;

"The issue of transit or entry visas for the territory of the Togolese Republic shall be prohibited to nationals of Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, except in special circumstances at the discretion of the Togolese authorities."

49. The Togolese Government considers that measures of this nature, if sincerely applied, should have a distinctly favourable effect on the cause we are upholding. But if they should prove inadequate, logic would suggest that enforcement measures should be taken, under Chapter VI of the Charter, in order to bring the recalcitrants to heel.

50. The success of the recent Summit meeting at Kinshasa has demonstrated that Africa was able to rise above pettiness and acknowledge the real troubles which threaten it, namely, the islands of backwardness represented by Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and so on.

51. The Charter of the United Nations stipulates that for the maintenance of international peace and security it is necessary to "develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

52. This principle, embodied in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, constitutes the essential condition for the establishment of a real community of sovereign and equal nations. The acceptance of the principle without qualification has made it possible for peoples of Asia,

Latin America and Africa to accede to international sovereignty in less than a decade.

53. Despite this gratifying trend, we must still deplore the lack of realism shown by certain backward-looking elements which are trying to row against the tide of history. But the tide cannot be turned back, and whatever happens, Africa will resolutely march forward, trampling down every obstacle in its path till it reaches its ultimate goal, which is the liberation of the whole continent.

54. But real independence implies first and foremost economic independence. The trend in the world economic situation has not been very favourable for the under-developed countries. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his annual report [A/6701, p. 101], their growth rate has again declined, and their currency reserves increased proportionately less than in 1965. The gap between the prosperous and the poor countries continues to widen.

55. But the United Nations is alive to the gravity of the situation brought about by an economic imbalance which has always existed in the world, and has taken steps to cope with it. One of the measures was the first United Nations Development Decade, instituted by the General Assembly in resolution 1710 (XVI) of 19 December 1961. Unfortunately, now that it is in its second half, we are obliged to recognize that the Decade has not entirely come up to expectations. It is hardly likely that the targets of the Decade can be reached by 1970 even if we redouble our efforts. But the fact that its objectives are almost universally accepted is heartening, since it draws the attention of the Organization to the problems of the Third World. We must analyse the way things moved over the first five years if we are to improve the results of the second five years. And moreover, we must begin at once to think of the future and make plans for the period following the Decade. Any proposal along these lines from the Committee for Development Planning will be studied with the utmost interest by the Togolese delegation.

56. Another measure applied by the Organization to promote better understanding between producers and consumers is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This understanding should be evident in all spheres of trading in the form of the will of all the States concerned to co-operate.

57. UNCTAD has studied problems arising out of trade in commodities, whose prices must be made remunerative and stable for the producer. Thus a United Nations Cocoa Conference was held in New York under its auspices from 23 May to 23 June 1966. Unfortunately, the Conference was unable to take any decision calculated to reassure the producers. A second conference held at the time of the twenty-first session of the Assembly likewise foundered on the question of minimum prices and buffer stocks at the very moment when the producing countries were having an optimistic resolution adopted in the Second Committee of the General Assembly. ^{5/} Mr. Prebisch, the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, in a statement to the Second

Committee on 9 December 1966 [1096th meeting] did not hesitate to point out the bad faith shown by certain cocoa-consuming countries in their attitude towards an agreement. The Lagos Conference, from which we expected so much in regard to the settlement of this problem, was also to prove disappointing. As a cocoa-producing country, Togo urgently appeals from this rostrum to the countries in question to give proof of a better spirit of co-operation in future negotiations.

58. Last year we established [resolution 2152 (XXI)] a specialized agency in the field of industrial development. The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) is designed to supplement the machinery already existing in the economic field and to enable the under-developed countries to take advantage of the experience of the other countries so as to improve their economies as part of a policy developed at the world level. UNIDO is still too new to warrant passing judgement on its operation. Its success is conditional upon the flow of private or public capital towards the poor countries. The latter can do nothing, however hard they try, if they are always faced with a critical inadequacy of funds; and the net flow of public aid from the industrialized countries to the under-developed countries is at a standstill, while the debt service charges payable by the latter countries are steadily increasing. That is why my delegation is particularly interested in a detailed examination at the present session of agenda item 42: "External financing of economic development of the developing countries".

59. However, a measure designed to alleviate the burden on the poor countries was adopted by the Assembly at its last session [resolution 2186 (XXI)], with the establishment of the United Nations Capital Development Fund, its purpose being:

"To assist developing countries in the development of their economies by supplementing existing sources of capital assistance by means of grants and loans, particularly long-term loans made free of interest or at low interest rates."

60. Unfortunately, the Fund exists in name only, because of opposition by the great Powers to its establishment. I should like to draw the kind attention of those Powers, which are already giving us appreciable bilateral assistance, to the fact that the United Nations Capital Development Fund is intended merely to supplement, and not to replace, the disinterested aid they give us. We therefore appeal to their goodwill in order that this Fund may rapidly become a reality.

61. I should not like to close this economic section without referring to the forthcoming UNCTAD Conference to be held at New Delhi. All the developing countries attach special importance to this Conference, at which rich countries and poor countries will once again have to study the problems connected with their co-operation in the economic field. We hope that goodwill on all sides will bring concrete results. The stability so indispensable in the world today depends on this.

62. I have come to the end of a statement whose sole purpose was to present the views of my Government on the various problems with which the world is

^{5/} A/C.2/L.909 and Add.1 (see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 37 (A/6567/ Add.1, paras. 24 and 25).)

dangerously confronted. The problems are many, serious and difficult. No doubt their solution calls for courage, patience, and sometimes self-denial. But the Member States must give the Organization all the authority it needs in order to grapple with these problems and thus to fulfil the hopes of the peoples of the world.

63. Togo has always had faith in the Organization, and will spare no effort to make its modest contribution towards strengthening its authority.

64. Mr. AL-SOWAYEL (Saudi Arabia):^{6/} Mr. President, it gives me great satisfaction, on behalf of the Saudi Arabian delegation, to tender you my warm congratulations on the occasion of your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Your esteemed reputation as a proficient Foreign Minister of your country and a diplomat of high qualities and immense insight preceded you, before your election. It therefore stands to reason that you will guide our deliberations with tact and wisdom worthy of the great responsibility placed upon you in this eventful session.

65. I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge, on behalf of the delegation of Saudi Arabia, the accomplishments of your predecessor, the illustrious son of Afghanistan, His Excellency Abdul Rahman Pazhwak. We offer him our heartfelt congratulations for the vital role he played not only during the previous regular session, but also during the fifth emergency special session on the Middle East and the fifth special session on South West Africa.

Mr. El-Farra (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

66. Although we rate highly the many international items that have been inscribed on the agenda of this session, we are of the opinion and believe that you, Mr. President, and the overwhelming majority of the delegations participating in this session share our conviction that the situation in our area—the Middle East—resulting from a new wave of vicious Israeli aggression against the Arab countries contiguous to the usurped Arab homeland of Palestine deserves priority in our discussions. Furthermore, it calls for our utmost concerted efforts in order to enable our Organization to reach an unequivocal decision in conformity with the fundamental principles of our Charter.

67. That course of action is dictated not only by justice and equity, but is also necessary to dispel the deep frustration of peace-loving peoples all over the world over the failure of our Organization during the last emergency session to adopt a positive, honourable and equitable decision.

68. In our opinion, the Palestine question remains most simple and very clear, in spite of the many complexities that have engulfed it, the various manifestations and the incessant efforts that have been made by the world Organization during the last two decades to deal with it. It is a question of a homeland usurped by brute force from its lawful and indigenous people. That usurpation resulted from a far-reaching,

diabolical conspiracy between certain rapacious interests alien to our area and Zionists, in a common endeavour to achieve their insatiable objective through manipulation, aggression and destruction.

69. Our position towards the foisting of an alien so-called State upon Arab Palestine has not changed since 1948. That imposition vitiates the Charter of the United Nations; it vitiates the principle of justice; it vitiates the principle of self-determination enunciated by the late President Wilson in 1919, which was also the declared aim of the Allies during World War II.

70. The great human sacrifices suffered during that holocaust were intended to guard the principle of self-determination, confirming it as a right and implementing it as well. This principle of self-determination is the cornerstone of our Charter, drafted at the end of World War II.

71. In 1947 [resolution 181 (II)], the United Nations recommended the partition of Palestine, by a very slim majority, following intimidation and undue influence brought to bear upon certain small States by the very same Powers which for many years had vociferously claimed that they fought World War II in order to achieve liberty and freedom for the oppressed peoples and nations.

72. If we were to submit that the aims of the Charter are in fact basic and fundamental principles, and if we were further to submit that justice and the right of self-determination are indeed accepted by all as basic principles and not subject to any compromise whatsoever, then it is axiomatic that we should never waiver or hesitate in implementing those two basic principles in any form or manner. By the same token, we should not consider a compromise of those principles even for the sake of achieving a political solution or out of the necessity of reaching a decisive settlement, unless we understand the nature of such a solution and the exact manner in which it conforms with the provisions of the Charter.

73. While we rejected the foisting of an alien impostor régime into the midst of an Arab homeland, subsequent events have proven and consistently justified our apprehension and fear and what we warned against, as well as the reasons that dictated the position we originally took.

74. We have repeatedly stated again and again from this rostrum and on many occasions that the existence of an ersatz Israeli enclave in Palestine will continuously be a cause of turmoil and upheaval and will remain the principal factor causing violence in our area. Have not the last twenty years of the Israeli presence been a cause for more upheaval, more disturbances, and more turmoil, impeding the development of our area, wasting the resources so badly needed for our development and progress towards a better life for our people?

75. In short, if it is compelling for the world Organization to achieve a just solution, it is equally imperative that such a solution should conform to the provisions of the Charter. Such will not be the case unless equity and justice supersede any and all other considerations.

^{6/} Mr. Al-Sowayel spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

76. Many voices have been raised repeatedly during the last two decades urging us to accept the fait accompli, particularly after the lapse of so many years. We wish to make it patently clear to those who care and to those who are concerned in any manner whatsoever that we will never accept the fait accompli which was foisted upon us. It will continue to be alien and unwanted until it disappears. Accepting the fait accompli would mean the liquidation of the rights of the people of Palestine to their homeland, their country, their properties, their holy places and their hopes and aspirations.

77. The Arab people of Palestine remain first and foremost the legitimate owners of Palestine, in spite of their expulsion from their homeland, living in refugee camps on a few cents a day. In spite of the objectives of the Mandate system, which was contrived in 1922, ostensibly for the purpose of enabling a big Power to prepare the indigenous people of Palestine for self-determination, it was in fact manipulated and subordinated for the fragmentation of the indigenous people and their expulsion from their ancestral homeland.

78. On the eve of the Mandate, the population of Palestine was 94 per cent Moslem and Christian, while the Jewish population was less than 6 per cent, mostly of Oriental ethnic origin, speaking Arabic, with customs and traditions similar to those of the Moslem and Christian population. Those were the conditions which prevailed in Palestine on the eve of the Mandate. What were the conditions prevailing at the termination of the Mandate? The answer is clear and well known to all of you, and I need not go over it again.

79. Accepting the fait accompli would mean perverting all our sacred beliefs, which constitute the cornerstone of our worldly and spiritual life. Accepting the fait accompli would simply mean our willingness to force the indigenous people of Palestine to pay for the crimes and persecution that were perpetrated thousands of miles away from that country, by a people in no way connected with the people of Palestine and for reasons completely alien to our thinking and our way of life.

80. Accepting the fait accompli would mean condoning usurpation and domination, and whitewashing the long chain of terror and crime, while accepting the massive, deceptive propaganda which has clouded the truth behind a thick layer of lies and chicanery. An outstanding example of this world-wide campaign of deception and perversion undertaken by the aggressor is the endeavour to project the Arab people as aggressive and fanatic, while at the same time the aggressor claims to be peace-loving, civilized, democratic, and eager to coexist in security and peace. This is in fact one of the far-reaching fallacies which, most unfortunately, have been accepted by many.

81. Do we in fact find in the present, the near or the distant past, any proof substantiating the aggressor's claims and pretences? It is pertinent to recall the historical record of the Arabs during the last thousand years. The Arabs have always been seekers after peace and justice and have set the best example of tolerance and love. The Arabs spread Islam

throughout the world. Wherever they settled they were known for their tolerance, understanding and desire for peace and coexistence.

82. Did they in fact preach fanaticism, intolerance, extremism and aggression? They could have imposed Islam on many peoples in the East and West without much effort. However, history indicates something totally different. It recalls how many minorities enjoyed a peaceful life under Arab and Moslem rule and equal rights and opportunities with their fellow Moslem nationals.

83. Have the aggressors who spread their deceptive propaganda forgotten that many of their co-religionists, in spite of all the tribulations and upheavals resulting from their aggression, still live in those same Arab countries, enjoying full rights in all walks of life?

84. Having reviewed the conditions that brought about the imposition of the Israeli cabal in Palestine, it is not at all surprising for us to find a sinister and ugly record of massacres, terror and aggression. The records of the United Nations and its related bodies contain examples of hundreds upon hundreds of crimes, of terror and bloodshed, of serious breaches and flouting of the United Nations resolutions and of international law and human rights. Such behaviour is endemic and not alien to the usurpers in Palestine.

85. We regret the ugly impact of these aggressive acts, which breed further aggression unless they are deterred and met by force. We further regret that such flouting and challenging, unless checked and contained immediately and effectively, only whet the perpetrators' appetite and their desire to go on committing further aggression with arrogance and pugnacity.

86. It was to be expected that the aggression committed against the Arab people of Palestine in 1948, which continued escalating without being deterred or contained, should once again try to re-assert itself. And it led to naked armed aggression not only against the rest of what remained of Palestine and its people, but also against the citizens and the territories of three contiguous Arab countries.

87. When we characterize Israel as an aggressive, criminal gang, we are not deviating by one iota from the truth. Furthermore, this is neither our innovation nor a mere reflection of our thinking. The evidence speaks for itself and is projected for all to see.

88. The result of the recent aggression is still in existence in spite of its ugliness and bestiality. The Zionist military machine is still in possession of the territories of Arab countries. The indigenous people of Palestine still live in the refugee camps away from their homes. The Holy City of Jerusalem still suffers under the oppression of the occupying forces which have transformed the Holy Places of the Moslems and Christians into bars, cabarets and dance-halls.

89. This is what is taking place. This is taking place in spite of the Charter and its provisions. This is taking place in spite of two resolutions

unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and in spite of the tens of resolutions that were taken on the refugee question. This is taking place in spite of all the affirmations and declarations made here and there to uphold political sovereignty and territorial integrity.

90. One may ask if there is any necessity, after the nature, quality, behaviour, thinking and activities of Israel and its leaders have been thus set forth, to point out the responsibilities of the United Nations in the present crisis and at this session, and what is to be expected of it in coming to a decision and settling the problem without wavering, without hesitation.

91. Before answering such a question it is imperative to pose the following question: are we living in fact in the era of the United Nations, or are we living under the law of the jungle, using the language of armed force, occupation, usurpation and annexation? Is there an honest desire, one may ask, for this Organization to continue to exist and progress, implementing its objectives which represent what humanity has set as its supreme goals and ideals? Or is it permissible to set obstacles in its way, allowing it to drift and founder, thus letting humanity lose its most precious hopes and aspirations in life, in a world where peace and security should prevail?

92. The naked aggression inflicted upon the Arabs of Palestine in 1948 continued to escalate until the world was suddenly faced, on 5 June, with a new destructive wave of aggression. The consequences of the latest aggression still exist today. In fact, those who planned and executed this naked, armed aggression gloat most arrogantly on every occasion that they are determined to hold on to the fruits of their aggression. An outstanding example of their repeated, impudently made declarations is their assertion that the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem is final, not subject to any negotiation, and that the United Nations is not competent to interfere in this matter.

93. Are you aware of the causes that brought about this new wave of naked aggression that took place on 5 June and the circumstances that made it possible? The answer is that this Organization has failed most regrettably as a result of the interference and the manoeuvres of the big Powers during the last twenty years, which made it impossible to take deterrent action. Furthermore, it has failed because it did not act in accordance with the provisions of its Charter and did not assert its power, its authority and its dignity.

94. Does this Organization in reality wish to be a party to the perpetuation of this painful role? Does this Organization wish to succumb once again and act obsequiously, overlooking aggression and crime and thus preparing the stage for another wave of aggression? It is a fact that our first and basic duty in the current circumstances is to act resolutely and effectively to liquidate the consequences of the aggression of 5 June. And I repeat: it is imperative that all the consequences of the aggression of 5 June be eradicated. This is a basic step, and a matter of principle permitting no vacillation, procrastination or compromise.

95. If indeed there is an earnest desire for peace to prevail, and if, in fact, there is a need to emerge from this impasse which may push the world into a holocaust, we feel that we are in duty bound to put the United Nations—and in particular the big Powers, with their prestige and capabilities, which helped in many ways to perpetrate the tragedy suffered by the people of Palestine for the last twenty years—face to face with its immense responsibilities and fundamental duties in this crucial period.

96. There are two approaches in dealing with the problem. The first approach is that of reason, justice and equity. The alternative to this course is bound to lead to an explosion engulfing the Arab world.

97. There is no need for equivocation or subterfuge. Accordingly we declare clearly and emphatically, for all to know and understand, that the Arab peoples everywhere are in a state of restlessness and turmoil and might explode at any minute, with far-reaching consequences not only for the Middle East but also for the world. This is so because of the interrelation and interconnexion of the international interests that exist in our area. This upheaval is the result of the continued military occupation of the Arab territories, the desecration of the Holy Places and the expulsion of the Arab people from their homeland. So far the Arab people have shown utmost restraint, giving the United Nations its last opportunity to assert its authority, which it is hoped will be done in accordance with justice and equity. It is for the United Nations to choose.

98. Sooner or later justice is bound to prevail. Unless the United Nations takes the initiative it will lose its opportunity and conditions will get out of hand and beyond the control of any Power; all settlements eventually will fail. For if the United Nations loses this final opportunity and fails again to deter the aggressor, then and only then will the Arab people resolve the problem in the manner well known to them.

99. Let no one imagine that the massive world-wide propaganda spread by the aggressor, in which the 5 June aggression is depicted as a brilliant victory and a display of strength, will deter the Arab people or make them lose their faith in themselves, in the justice of their cause, or in their ability to resist, no matter how long it takes to achieve their just objective by all possible means.

100. I wish to make clear to you, Sir, and to the representatives in this august body our understanding of the myth of the fait accompli and the lapse of time. The fait accompli which no force on this earth can alter is that Palestine is an Arab homeland. It is part and parcel, it is the heart, of the Arab world. It has been so and it shall continue to be so irrespective of aggression, irrespective of the lapse of time and irrespective of any military might.

101. Furthermore, I wish to reiterate in this Assembly that Jerusalem is the second holy city for hundreds of millions of Moslems throughout the world; it is the city where Jesus Christ preached. It suffered during its history from many foreign invasions which lasted for long or short periods, but eventually it was liberated by the valour of its sons. It has continued

to be at all times an Arab city reflecting the finest in Arab tradition, tolerance and peace.

102. Jerusalem never lost its Arab characteristics— not even during the seventy years of occupation by the Crusaders. That remained so even during a period when the Moslem calls for prayers from the minarets were neither permitted nor heard. But Jerusalem eventually returned to the Arabs, enjoying the calls for prayer and the toll of church bells once more.

103. Today Jerusalem is again denied all this; it will not continue to be so for long. Yes, Jerusalem will never lose its Arab characteristics and will not turn its back on long centuries of illustrious Arab history merely because a certain misguided journalist, labouring under sinister delusions, conspired seventy

years ago to establish Jerusalem as the capital of a State for Jews gathered from all over the world. Furthermore, Jerusalem will continue to retain its Arab characteristics in spite of the evil thoughts and crimes of that journalist and in spite of his thwarted dreams and the attempts that are being made to achieve his goal.

104. Ninety-nine Member States have declared [resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)] their clear and unequivocal stand on Jerusalem. The aggressor at the same time, in a most insolent and intransigent manner, has taken the stand well known to all. It is now up to the United Nations to take its stand, face the challenge and assert its existence and dignity.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.