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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 5

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

number of airfields in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. There can be no shadow of doubt that the plans for this sneak attack had been drawn up and rehearsed long before the actual aggression was committed.

4. At a very early hour on 5 June, the United Arab Republic requested that the Security Council be convened immediately to deal with the Israeli aggression. But it was not until the evening of 6 June that the Security Council was able to agree on a resolution for a cease-fire [233 (1967)], a resolution which neither acknowledged that aggression had taken place, nor ordered the belligerents to withdraw to the positions they held before hostilities began. These are the usual—and entirely rational—measures which the Council has called for in the past under similar circumstances in order to prevent the resumption of fighting. But even this watered-down appeal of 6 June by the Security Council for a cease-fire was ignored by the Zionist forces of aggression. They continued their relentless penetration of the territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria despite the Council's resolution, which was repeated on 7 June [234 (1967)] and 9 June [235 (1967)].

5. We commend the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other Member States which supported the Soviet initiative in calling the General Assembly into emergency special session after the Security Council found it impossible to agree on a resolution calling upon the combatants to return to the positions they occupied before the fighting began. Such a resolution should have been adopted, to prevent any aggressor from reaping the fruits of aggression.

6. The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council primary responsibility for preserving peace and security in the world and for protecting mankind against calamities and tribulations. The resolutions of the Council should be based on justice and fairness. With due respect to its members, however, I must say that the Council has disappointed the hopes of suffering humanity.

7. Since the Security Council was unable to gather the required number of votes to adopt a resolution which would eliminate the effects of aggression, the General Assembly, which represents all nations of the world, must stand up to its responsibility and order the invading forces to evacuate the territories they have seized by treachery and betrayal. This must be done prior to an examination of any other aspect of this problem. The fact that Israel committed aggression is obvious and needs no further documentation. Israel itself was created by the force of arms. A quarter of its territory was seized by violence, bloodshed, and the expulsion of the peaceful inhabitants.

1. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the Members of the Assembly that consultations are still going on regarding our programme of work and time-table after the conclusion of the general debate. Representatives who may have any views on this matter are requested to meet with me in my office this morning before noon. This will enable me to put the matter before the Assembly before the adjournment of this meeting, or, if further consultations are required, at a later stage.

2. Mr. BISHTI (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya): The noble objective of this Organization, peace on earth, has been gravely endangered in recent weeks by the Zionist blitz war against three neighbouring Arab countries. This calculated assault was launched even as the Security Council was attempting to deal with the changes which had taken place after the United Nations Emergency Force was withdrawn and the United Arab Republic rightfully reasserted its sovereignty over its own lands and territorial waters. The Israeli invasion came as the Security Council was seeking a resolution compatible with the principles of the Charter, which call for the solution of differences by peaceful means.

Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

3. At the outset of the crisis, the Secretary-General, during his visit to Cairo, was assured personally that the United Arab Republic would never initiate hostilities. The other Arab representatives, speaking for their Governments, affirmed the same non-belligerent policy before the Security Council. But despite these assurances by Arab representatives that their Governments would never go to war except in self-defence—in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter—the Israeli forces launched a surprise attack on the morning of 5 June against three Arab nations. In the meantime, the Israeli air forces raided a large

8. The short history of Israel is a chronicle of aggressions, threats and punitive attacks against neighbouring Arab countries. How often have the Israeli military forces crossed the armistice lines to attack the Arab countries. Since Israel's inception, the United Arab Republic, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon have been all too familiar with these aggressions and their tragic results. These acts of aggression, it has been claimed, were in the nature of retaliation. But the General Assembly and the Security Council are well aware of the true situation: both bodies have condemned Israel many times. We do not want to recapitulate these aggressions, to which Israel has confessed; we do not want to review the Suez war of 1956. We will simply refer to the Israeli aggression against the Jordanian village of As Samuon 23 November 1966, when Israeli forces destroyed almost all the buildings in the village and murdered dozens of peaceful inhabitants.

9. Another example of Israel's aggression against Syria took place a few weeks ago, on 7 April 1967. In recent months Israeli notes to the Security Council have been filled with threats that it would take harsh measures against Syria, and those threats were reinforced by Israeli troop concentrations on the Syrian border. There can be no doubt that Israel was preparing to invade Syria or another Arab country.

10. For twenty years Israel has repeatedly committed aggression against its neighbours, murdering innocent people, occupying Arab territories and expelling their rightful inhabitants. For twenty years the Zionists have been able to do pretty much as they please, while the root causes of the tensions in that area have been ignored and justice has been denied to the one and a half million refugees, who have been living for twenty years on international charity under the worst inhumanitarian conditions.

11. As soon as the United Arab Republic had announced its determination to support Syria if Syria were attacked, and the United Arab Republic had reasserted its sovereignty over its lands and territorial waters, international Zionism began marshalling the information media around the world and, under the cover of a sympathetic psychological umbrella, launched its blitz war, on the pretext that the United Arab Republic had closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping.

12. During the discussions on this subject before the Security Council, neither Israel nor its friends could establish any legal right or any customary usage which would prevent the United Arab Republic from asserting its sovereignty over the Strait of Tiran. That right had been exercised by the United Arab Republic since the inception of Israel and until the Suez aggression of 1956; that right has been admitted by Israel and the States which defend it today. The fruits of the Suez aggression cannot be considered a right, especially as the victim of that aggression, the United Arab Republic, has never conceded that Aqaba waters are international. Not only is the sovereignty of the United Arab Republic over its own lands and waters indisputable, but the Port of Elath itself has been illegally occupied by Israel since two weeks after the signing of the armistice.

13. It is evident that Israel, since its inception, has never been content with the territory assigned to it by the partition resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1947 [181 (II)]. Not only has Israel persisted in occupying towns and territories assigned to the Arabs—maintaining its rule by force, terrorism, intimidation and murder—but it has also pursued a policy of expansion, using the same methods to extend its territory, by grabbing lands in demilitarized zones.

14. The latest measures taken by the Tel Aviv authorities to change the status of the holy city of Jerusalem, to proclaim the annexation of more Arab territory, and to change the features of the occupied areas and the borders in several places, are but further proof that the attack perpetrated by Israel on 5 June was not in self-defence—as Zionism and its supporters allege—but to achieve a new phase of expansion at the expense of its neighbours.

15. The unprovoked nature of the assault by Israel on the neighbouring countries is obvious. Since the Security Council was unable to condemn that aggression, the General Assembly, the majority of whose Members could themselves fall victim to such aggression, must condemn Israel and order its forces to return to the positions they held before the attack. The General Assembly would thereby prevent the establishment in the United Nations of the dangerous precedent of allowing the aggressor to reap the fruits of his aggression. By failing to condemn Israel, the General Assembly would create a precedent which would encourage other States to achieve expansionist ambitions by the force of arms without fearing either the United Nations or the world conscience, which is represented in this Organization.

16. The reputation of the United Nations itself is at stake. This Assembly must act to fulfil the hopes of humanity by preserving peace and upholding justice in this world. The General Assembly must not hesitate to condemn the clear and obvious aggression by Israel and resolve to eliminate the fruits of the Zionist blitz war.

17. The history of the Arab nation abounds in examples of humanity and tolerance, which have been characteristic of Arab rule wherever it has been established. But the Arabs will never submit to injustice. The problem of Palestine has always been the creation of a Zionist State based on injustice for the Arabs, the negation of their basic human and political rights, and the occupation of their homes and lands.

18. The Arabs have fought for more than half a century for their freedom, their independence and the integrity of their homelands. They actively participated with world Powers during the two World Wars in the efforts aimed at restoring justice, righteousness and peace in the world. But, despite all these noble struggles and generous efforts, the forces of domination opposed Arab liberation movements with all their might and carved up Arab Palestine to establish a Zionist State which was intended to serve as a spearhead for foreign influence in the region and as a base from which to threaten Arab countries.

19. The British Mandate allowed and helped the immigration, settlement and arming of the Zionists. It helped in establishing the nucleus of the Israeli State at the very time when the mandatory authorities were fighting the people of Arab Palestine to suppress their just demands for self-determination and an end to Zionist invasion. After the Second World War, the United States, helped by other countries sympathizers with Zionism, took charge of the Special Committee to create Israel. The role played by this great nation in the United Nations is well known and is recorded in the documents of the Organization.

20. The United States, in connivance with other big Powers, played a leading part in the adoption of this unjust resolution of the General Assembly of 1947. The resolution is the source of all the calamities which have befallen the Arab countries, the most recent of which is the sinister aggression which the General Assembly is considering at this time.

21. Zionists have occupied Arab lands, expelled more than a million refugees and committed acts of barbarism and murder. For twenty years they have been committing aggression against the Arabs, threatening them and occupying their territories. This oppression and this human calamity, which have no precedent in human history, cannot be condoned by fair-minded people. No nation can lose its land to an invader and ignore the fact.

22. During the past twenty years the Arabs have never ceased demanding just treatment of the one and a half million refugees forced to exist on a dole of seven cents a day while the usurpers are occupying and enjoying the produce of their land. The Palestinian Arab lives with his family in a tent which does not protect him from the freezing cold in the winter nor the scorching heat in the summer, while he witnesses before his eyes his own land being enjoyed by strangers who have come from all parts of the world.

23. Is there any human conscience that could condone such human oppression and tragedy? But when the Arabs stand up and demand the rights of their brethren, the sons of Palestine, they are met by punitive campaigns, raids, destruction of their villages and occupation of their territories. Then the Israelis come here, after committing their latest crime against humanity, to demand recognition for themselves and the fruits of their aggression. Our modern world, the world of the United Nations, international co-operation and human justice, cannot condone this. To do so would mean the abolition of the great principles of this Organization.

24. The Israeli aggression, which was perpetrated against the Arab countries on 5 June, is a repetition of the aggression committed by Israel in 1956. The reasons for and motives of the Suez war have not changed. What has changed is the attitude of the United States. In 1956 the United States stood fast in its demand for the withdrawal of the aggressive forces behind the armistice lines.

25. The present position of the United States is very obvious in its draft resolution [A/L.520] which would allow Israel to continue occupying Arab territories and to dictate its conditions. We ask ourselves: is this draft resolution compatible with President John-

son's declaration, which affirms the guarantees made by three former United States Presidents of the independence and territorial integrity of all countries in the Middle East? It now appears that this declaration was made to protect Israel alone. We also ask ourselves: What would have been the attitude if the Arab forces had occupied Israel? Every member of this Assembly realizes that the attitude of Washington would have been quite different.

26. Israel itself has a population of a little more than two million people; but the Arabs did not face little, tiny Israel alone. They faced a State protected, armed, financed and assisted by the richest, biggest and strongest countries in the world.

27. My delegation would like to express its complete support for the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.519] which provides the minimum that should be done in this case. In addition to condemning aggression, the draft resolution firmly demands the withdrawal of the invaders to their positions behind the armistice lines, and the evacuation of the Arab territories. It also calls for reparations to be paid to the victims of aggression and the return of military equipment and other property seized by the Israelis as a result of their calculated plans and napalm bombs. We appeal to all peace-loving nations of the world to support the Soviet draft resolution and to vote for it, and to reject all other endeavours exerted by Zionist sympathizer countries to force the General Assembly to enable the aggressor to reap the fruits of his aggression.

28. The battle is not yet over, and it will not end until the United Nations corrects the injustice inflicted on the Arabs of Palestine and until Israel restores to the Arabs their rights and their homeland. It is the solemn duty of the General Assembly in these circumstances to abide by the principles of the Charter and to face its responsibilities by condemning the aggressor and ordering him to withdraw his forces behind the armistice lines. The mistake cannot be corrected by committing a new mistake. The status quo cannot prevail over the truth and the passage of time cannot obliterate this tragedy.

29. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia) (translated from French): This Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly has been convened to enable the nations, united by the Charter signed at San Francisco, to consider the aggression committed by Israel against its neighbours and to pass judgment upon it.

30. This is a problem which, despite the tragic turn of the most recent developments, is nevertheless the logical outcome of a conflict which started exactly fifty years ago.

31. There is no need to trace its various stages. It is important, however, to place it in its true historical and geopolitical context, not only in order to study the recent developments and the grave consequences which ensue from them, but also—and perhaps above all—in order to disengage its real causes.

32. It would indeed be dangerous, in our view, to limit our consideration to the events of June, or even of April and May 1967. The history of the last twenty

years amply shows that every time we have tried hurriedly to stifle the conflagration of one moment we have merely gathered together the ingredients for the next explosion. Each time we have contented ourselves with asking the Arabs to be quite and reasonable. But the fait accompli, the result of each aggression repeated over twenty years, has invariably been sanctioned by the fear, felt by all of us, that the conflict might degenerate into a wider war, a greater threat to the security of the world. It must be recognized that if there is a tragedy today, if the peoples of the world are looking to us to put an end to this drama, it is precisely because for twenty years we have confined ourselves to preaching patience to the Arabs, while refusing to comprehend what it means to them, to their dignity, to give up their rights to their country, their homeland, or to live there as aliens under foreign rule.

33. Nineteen years ago, this fact presented itself in the shape of the creation *ex nihilo* of a State consisting of a colony of immigrants whose numbers have risen in the course of fifty years from 50,000 to 2 million. Today, the new fait accompli is the occupation of whole regions whose inhabitants are experiencing for the second time in a single generation the sorrows of war and exile.

34. Thus, once again, the United Nations is called upon to give its verdict on an aggression by Israel. This time, however, it is not a matter of frontier incidents; we are faced with aggression on an extraordinary scale. It contains all the elements of a war of conquest, the premeditated nature of which stands out for all to see. Nor is anything lacking to give it significance far beyond that of a mere punitive expedition. Everything is there: the vaunting of the merits of the *Blitzkrieg*; the bombing of towns and villages; the humiliation of prisoners; the glorification of the warrior virtues; and, to give final meaning to this concatenation, Mr. Levy Eshkol spoke on 5 June of the "challenge taken up by Israel", while General Dayan extolled the virtues of "this new generation of Israelis who know how to make war".

35. In the face of an aggression eulogized, glorified, sublimated even, by its authors, some eminent authorities have evoked the "God of Battles", the "Lord of Hosts", and called upon the Arabs once again to envisage the future on the basis of this new fait accompli.

36. For twenty years there have been persistent efforts to make this future more and more sombre by the accumulation of faits accomplis. For more than twenty years, in the last analysis, this future has been decided, fashioned and defined by the ploys of the great Powers.

37. At this point in the debate, it would be superfluous to recapitulate the stages in the creation of Israel and the evils which this has meant for the Arabs. I do wish to stress, however, that to us it is essential that the aggressor should be condemned. In point of fact, this war which in four days has wrought immense havoc is merely the latest link in a chain of acts of violence; it is also, unfortunately, one more manifestation of the competition between the great Powers. Not to note this, not to take it into account, would be to fall into the trap of a policy which

has always sought—successfully, alas, so far—to prevent a really thorough examination of the problem of Palestine.

38. For twenty years—nay, for fifty years, since the Balfour Declaration of 1917—the Arabs have seen their country shrink like some *peau de chagrin*, even changing its name. A veritable violent mutation, of a kind with few parallels in history, has been brought about, not by an authentic effort for development, not by a process of normal expansion—as we are told over and over again—but by the implementation of a policy of continuous aggression whose stages succeed one another according to an immutable programme: first colonization by force, raids or lightning warfare, then affirmation of the irreversible nature of the situation thus created, settlement of new colonists brought from all parts, and so on.

39. There is no point in recalling the details of Deir Yassin, Qibya, Ghor Alsafi, Haifa, Gaza, Qalqilyah, Samu and other names familiar in the archives of the United Nations, to illustrate the atrocities committed by Israel against the Arab population. Nor is there any need to recall the countless times that the United Nations has condemned Israel for these same acts. The policy, or rather the cult of force and power, which inspires this systematic colonization of the land of Palestine is illustrated by other acts, one of the most notable perhaps being the assassination of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte. It is also illustrated by other flagrant violations of the Charter. Need I recall in this connexion Israel's repeated refusal to comply with the many decisions of the Organization; the occupation of the Negev two weeks after the cease-fire in 1948; the attempt yesterday, rejected by all, to transfer the capital of Israel to Jerusalem, the attempt today to annex it by unilateral action; the occupation of the demilitarized zones; and still more recently, the occupation of Kuneitra in Syria after the acceptance by both sides of the cease-fire.

40. Need I emphasize, at the risk of repeating myself, that all these acts have been committed in violation both of the decisions and of the principles of the United Nations? I do not think it is superfluous to point out that the port of Elath, the blockading of which has been presented here as the origin of the present situation, only exists because of the violation of an international decision and only owes the freedom of access which it has enjoyed for ten years to the aggression of 1956. For twenty years we have been watching repetitions of the same scenario; for twenty years attempts have been made to get the Arabs to ratify the gains which Israel has achieved from each of its acts of force. And then we are surprised that the Arabs are not "reasonable"!

41. Why, and in the name of what principle, should it be the Arabs only—in this case the Arabs of Palestine—who must always and unceasingly suffer the consequences of the fate meted out to the Jews by the Romans two thousand years ago and by Europe from the Middle Ages up to the madness of Hitler? Why, according to what principle, when the Arabs try to recover their homeland is it called "aggression", while the displacement of 1,200,000 Palestinians

followed now by tens of thousands more and their replacement by hundreds of thousands of immigrants is called "Israel's right to live"? It is this way of thinking, which endorses injustice and sanctions Israel's colonialism by settlement, that makes the Arabs doubt the universality of the principles upon which our Organization is based.

42. Cornered and desperate, the constant target of aggression by Israel, how should they not be reduced to thinking seriously that war, well planned and prepared for, might be a solution?

43. But how can there be a purely military solution when, in the last analysis, the keys to the situation are held by the great Powers? The Soviet Union itself has never thought and does not think now of questioning Israel's existence; the latest Soviet statements have sufficiently reassured the Zionist States on this matter.

44. Indeed, on the essential point, to wit Israel's existence, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been in agreement since 1947. It is the only point on which they have been constantly united for the last twenty years. There is a lesson to be drawn from this, a lesson to meditate on.

45. We of Tunisia, who have never ceased to draw the attention of the great Powers to the true colonialist character of the Palestine affair, believe it our duty to underline the grave historical responsibility which they one and all assume in this regard.

46. These nations, which have long-standing humanistic traditions, should make an effort to comprehend the Arab point of view with the sympathy demanded by objectivity at least. For every Palestinian refugee, indeed for every Arab, there is one question which never ceases to be asked: how, how have first the Jewish Agency, the Hagganah, then the Irgun and Stern gangs, finally how has the State of Israel been able to accomplish this colonization by settlement, this conquest in defiance of the world by force of arms and bloodshed, by continuous violation of the Charter, by defiance of the decisions of this Organization, without Israel's ever having been subjected to the pressure that has always been exerted upon the Arabs? Propaganda as skilful as it is shameless pictures the State of Israel as the incarnation of Jewish virtues, a reservoir of intelligence and skill, a universal example of what economic and social development can be and, more recently, a brilliant illustration of martial valour. The least that can be said of this presentation is that it seeks to hide the real problem from the eyes of the world. It must be recognized that this propaganda has been largely successful, for there is scarcely anyone outside the people directly concerned, who recognizes Israel's colonization for the flagrant injustice that it is. Everywhere, even among our best friends, in East and West alike, people bring in considerations that are foreign to the real problem and end by creating a confusion that masks its true colonial significance.

47. Though we cannot change this attitude, common to many of our friends, immediately, we must not give up trying. There is no other means of attaining the objectives of dignity, justice and peace that we pursue.

48. This is an important lesson of the last few weeks; when the Arab States were attacked, world opinion was already won over to Israel's arguments and the Arabs, who had counted on an awakening of the international conscience, found themselves alone.

49. This is, of course, one of the contradictions of our time: the supreme power of world opinion, considered as a sort of super-national moral awareness, capable of making judgments, and at the same time the inability of this world opinion to judge rightly, through failure to distinguish always what is moral from the tumult of passions, complexes—even honourable ones—and interests which are not always or necessarily in conformity with justice and law.

50. We find ourselves faced with a real crisis of international morality. It is the duty of all of us to meditate on this contradiction, to measure its scope and to understand what is really at stake, namely man's freedom to live, to organize his life according to those ideals which are still dearest to humanity. As is natural in such cases, it is of course for the victims to unmask the reality, to dismantle the machinery of an operation of mystification that has threatened the peace of the world for too long. Stage by stage, contingent after contingent, town after town, military coup after military coup, history and statistics show that Israel has constantly expanded at the expense of its neighbours. Today it occupies at least twice the territory it held before 5 June 1967. I will not even compare it with the lines that were set by the United Nations in 1947. It is the only known modern example of a diktat whose authors receive almost universal assent, not to say the approval or applause of certain Powers, even their blessing. In our view, this is a very serious question which should be posed in terms of morality, of the future of the United Nations and of the responsibilities assumed by the great Powers.

51. For ourselves, we refuse to accept this policy of force, based on racism, on the concept of the "chosen people", on the notion of a return to a land which was never promised by its indigenous inhabitants to anyone whatever. The historical argument advanced with complete seriousness in the case of Israel is coolly and vigorously rejected when the Arabs invoke it. For our own part, we reject this notion of a "return to the Promised Land", which in fact consists in displacing one nation in order to replace it with another. The Jews, we are told, have not forgotten Palestine in two thousand years; are the Arabs, who were driven out twenty years ago, expected to efface it from their memories?

52. Nor can we endorse an undertaking which is racist both in its principles and in its development. How can we not be revolted, as were the Jews who have suffered it, by an anti-Semitism which, being no longer directed against the Jews in Europe, has been transferred to those other Semites, the Arabs? How are we not to rebel when to crown it all this racism is practised by those very Jews who have suffered so much from it? We believe this transference to be as immoral as the racial discrimination that preceded and gave rise to it. We see in it a continuation of that hostility to the Semites which from the progroms of the Middle Ages to the genocide of

the twentieth century rose steadily in Europe, to reach its culmination in the madness of nazism which made it a principle of its policy.

53. Raised to the status of a doctrine by Hitler, this anti-Semitic racism has been rejected and fought against by the whole world, the whole civilized world. But its new anti-Arab form, perhaps because it is less open, does not yet seem to be arousing serious disapproval not to say indignation; in this present tragedy, we have heard people refer quite seriously to what they call "the congenital incompetence of the Arabs". We have even read a statement from the pen of the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to the effect that the Arab national movement had neither the desire, the capacity, the profound need, nor—mark this—the intellectual power to grasp the nature of Jewish history. I leave you to reflect upon this judgement.

54. In this age when euphemisms flourish, when words are enough to unleash uncontrollable forces, when the word European means White and African means Black, the word Arab tends more and more to denote a victim who can be abandoned in complete freedom of conscience, with complete impunity. This is a very dangerous phenomenon. It has already created among all the Arab peoples the feeling of living under a constant threat. It has led them to arm themselves, to try to protect themselves against the designs of force and the will to conquer. How could it be otherwise when they see that constant aggression, the violation of their rights, the conquest and colonization of their lands by brutal force, are justified by a current of world sympathy for Israel and sanctioned by the passivity of nations which could have prevented this tragedy for the world, which would have arrested its course and which would have been able—and perhaps are still able—to limit its disastrous consequences.

55. But the Arabs are not the only victims of this war. It is a fearful error to believe that, if the "turbulent and vindictive" Arabs, as some take pleasure in calling them, are given a lesson, things will stop there. If the United Nations once again sanctions a fait accompli and is led once again to absolve aggression, how are we to avoid the possibility that countries with declared expansionist ambitions or avowed bellicose missions will think themselves entitled tomorrow, if they think their military strength adequate, to invade other lands, either to annex them or simply in order to bring them to heel?

56. What would become of the United Nations, which was set up principally to defend the small countries—for the large ones are able to take care of themselves—to safeguard their right to peace and to impose on all a certain morality, certain rules of behaviour?

57. I think I may say that my Government and my country could never be suspected of racism, extremism or warmongering, still less of fanaticism or intolerance. Since we regained our freedom, we have never ceased to preach and to practise moderation, resort to peaceful settlement, understanding between different creeds and ideologies, brotherhood among races and political realism. We have even earned a certain reputation for frankness which has not always

been an advantage to us in our relations with our relations with our brothers or friends. Our line of conduct is such that it forbids us to be passive witnesses of the violation of that set of principles and values that makes peace among mankind possible. We reject colonialism wherever it is rife, because it stands essentially for the enslavement of one people by another. We fight racism in Africa and elsewhere because it means the humiliation of one race by another, the degradation of one man's dignity through the act of another.

58. Peace among men, among communities, among countries, has never been born of violence, for if it is, it is the peace of the conqueror, that is to say humiliation, which nourishes bitterness and the inevitable desire for revenge.

59. It is on behalf of these principles that we charge the State of Israel, as it was created, as it has developed, as it seeks to impose its will on the Arabs. We oppose colonization, especially when it is based on the affirmation of racial supremacy. We oppose the policy of aggression which through raids, reprisals, or even, as in this case, lightning war, seizes towns and provinces and then tries to have the fait accompli recognized and sanctioned by the whole world.

60. In the face of this tragic situation, this impasse, it is the duty of every member of the international community to ask himself what outcome is possible.

61. Tunisia does not believe in the inevitability of war between peoples and still less in the power of arms to solve a problem that has been deliberately observed for nearly half a century. As an Arab country, Tunisia proclaims its solidarity with the community of Arab peoples and must therefore share their fate in war and misery as well as in building the future and safeguarding their freedom. It is in the name of this brotherhood that, in the search for a solution to the Palestinian problem, we have made an analysis which we still believe to be objectively valid.

62. We trust that, in the light of the tragic events which we have just experienced, it will be possible for us all to devote our efforts to a searching analysis of the facts, for we are convinced that this is necessary and no less convinced that it is certain we shall all, great and small, benefit greatly from it.

63. I have already examined the causes of the situation which occupies us today in sufficient detail to be able to say that we are in fact faced with a colonial problem. From the Mandate of the League of Nations to the present crisis, the chain of events is too plain for us not to recognize the classic process of colonization. But the colonies are freeing themselves one after the other, while Palestine slips further and further from the reach of its inhabitants. This reversal of the current of history is due to the fact that the problem of Palestine, instead of being dealt with as it should have been, that is to say as a colonial problem, has been treated as a conflict among nations.

64. The reality with which we are faced, that is to say this flagrant violation of the right of a people to live in their homeland, is as cruel, unjust and immoral as that obtaining in Southern Rhodesia or South

West Africa, which, incidentally, was placed under mandate at the same time as Palestine. But unlike these two, Israel has received international sanction through the agreement between the great Powers and the decision of the United Nations in 1947 and by subsequent acts conferring on Israel a part of Palestine. Unacceptable as it may be from the point of view of international law, equity, justice and morality—and we have dwelt on this at length—the colour of legitimacy thus lent to the State of Israel has helped to thrust the Arab cause into the background as far as the international community is concerned. It is vital that this inherent aspect of the action taken in support of right and justice in Palestine should be taken into account.

65. Today, despite affirmations of support and declarations of sympathy, the horizon is almost blocked by the majority of the nations represented here, and above all by the four great Powers, none of which has ever questioned the actual existence of Israel, whereas in our eyes the very existence of the State of Israel has constituted a continuous act of aggression since its inception. It is essential for us to end this isolation, for one cannot, alas, fight injustice in isolation, particularly when the warmest expressions of sympathy or support addressed to us concentrate on salving the wounds inflicted by the blows of the adversary rather than on eliminating their cause.

66. That is our view of the tragic problem now before the General Assembly, the extraordinary and urgent nature of which is already growing blurred. Every day that passes nurtures the seeds of a new conflict. Every day that passes undermines the foundations of this edifice, which when all is said and done has represented the hopes of so many nations for the last twenty-two years.

67. The decision which you are about to take will tell us whether the problem which gave rise to the situation through which we are now living will be solved one day or not. It is the judgement which you will pass on the aggression that will tell us whether there is still any hope for a peaceful life for defenceless peoples.

68. That is why we utter a warning cry from this rostrum to all the small countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and even Europe, to draw their attention to the danger which the precedent of an endorsement of armed invasion may represent for them. Tomorrow, one of us may be the victim of aggression, of an occupation of our territory. Some, incredulous or resigned, may shrug their shoulders, but I shall only quote here, since it involves Israel, this paragraph from a long article published this month by Shimon Péres, former Minister of Defence of Israel:

"When, then, will war break out?"—the reply comes at once—"When one people desires to attack another and feels that it has the means of winning. It is only when these two prior conditions—the desire to attack, and the feeling of having a reasonable chance of winning—are fulfilled at the same time that peace is in danger."

This says a great deal about the fate that has befallen the principles of our Charter. Such statements, though they require no comment, merit reflection.

69. The great Powers must decide here and now—for we firmly believe that this is the moment—to put an end to this dangerous game of acting as arbiters, impartial arbiters indeed, in a situation that they have themselves created and must do all in their power to repair the injustice and to put an end to the tragedy.

70. Is it not significant that, at the moment when we are discussing this matter in the General Assembly, the fate of the world should be the subject of a *tête à tête* between the two super-Powers? These two conversations of Friday, 23 June, and Sunday, 25 June, show how well the two great Powers, equipped for several years now with the ultimate weapon, have understood the danger of continuing the cold war. Must the little nations, the small countries, take their place and maintain international tension by localized wars on behalf of the great Powers?

71. Although we persist in believing that war cannot provide a solution to any problem, we also believe that it is dangerous to drive peoples to despair and to force them to contemplate the problems of their survival and their freedom in terms of force alone.

72. We should all listen closely to the clamour that comes to us from beyond the "Great Wall", a clamour whose deep echoes we have heard even here, proclaiming to the oppressed peoples that their rights have been trampled underfoot by both sides. The stability and coexistence that we all desire would only be made more difficult if that clamour were to be heeded because events seemed to have given it some semblance of justification.

73. No matter what their ideology, the great Powers must join their efforts to see that justice triumphs, even if it goes against their habits of thought or action. No peace can be built on the wretchedness of a people. Those who believe that the Arabs will end by forgetting their misfortunes or resigning themselves to them hold the lessons of history very cheaply. Against the national fervour of a humiliated people neither time nor weapons can or will prevail.

74. Those who believe that the war is on are wrong. Violence breeds violence and the dreadful logic of the war can only be interrupted by the cessation of the injustice.

75. Tunisia believes that it is vital for all the great Powers to make an effort of imagination and impartiality in order to make a real and substantial contribution to the safeguarding of peace in equity and justice.

76. But there is one essential prerequisite: the total and unconditional liquidation of the consequences of the aggression of 5 June, in every field. Only a return to the *status quo ante bellum* will make it possible to examine the chances for a settlement. Such a settlement cannot, in any event, be a prize of battle or the result of a *diktat*. The evacuation of the occupation territories is a *sine qua non* for any prospect of peace. It is vital that the aggression should be recorded and condemned both for the sake of justice and in order to discourage any attempt at aggression against small States in the future. Reparation for war damage is the logical consequence of this.

77. Can we hope that the great Powers, equally responsible as they are, in the last analysis, both for the beginning and for the latest development of a situation which has deteriorated constantly with the changing phases of the cold war itself, can we, I say, hope today that the great Powers will unite their efforts in order to open up new prospects for a lasting peace in this region, based on the restoration of the rights of the people of Palestine to their homeland and their dignity?

78. In this way, and we believe in this way only, will it be possible to safeguard international morality, to ensure the survival of our Organization and to make peace reign in men's hearts and minds, that peace to which the Arabs are no less attached than other peoples of the world.

79. Mr. LUISI (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): It is reassuring at this stage in the life of the United Nations to find the Assembly reaffirming its fundamental objectives and thus restoring confidence to world public opinion, shaken as it is whenever nations resort to force in order to settle their disputes instead of approaching the international organizations in accordance with the rules of peaceful co-existence.

80. We realize that our purpose in meeting here is not to use the debates as a sounding-board for urging individual viewpoints, or for political manoeuvring with a view to exerting pressure or power later on. All the States, great or small, represented here obviously realize that all their efforts must be so channelled as to ensure that the situation at the danger spots in the world does not degenerate into a conflict jeopardizing the survival of all the peoples of the world.

81. Mankind has achieved such a degree of technical development that it must either be redeemed integrally or be destroyed totally. We believe, however, that even amid all the difficulties which arouse fears for our future, there still exist great moral reserves which restore our faith in the possibility of peaceful understanding.

82. Powerful nations whose history is one of constant warfare and bitter antagonism today find themselves at one in an economic community which heralds even closer co-operation in the political field. The desire for co-operation and yearning to live in peace replace the aggressive impulse to vengeance or retaliation. History enjoins us to live in harmony and not to destroy one another. All peoples are anxious to live in peace, with the means needed to live quietly in their homes and satisfactory employment and education.

83. We are here not to assign responsibilities, to pass judgements or to cast aspersions. Our purpose here is solely to co-operate and to do our part in helping to find solutions which will ensure just and stable peace in the Middle East within the framework of international law, formulas for peace which will enable not only the States involved in the conflict but all the countries of the world to direct their efforts towards peaceful economic development that will guarantee prosperity for all peoples.

84. We believe that the way of salvation lies first and foremost in a proper state of mind, in an attitude of tolerant and constructive co-operation which will make each one of us a helper in the common task of finding peace based on justice, lasting peace, and peace with security.

85. We believe that the primary condition for this is that the parties to the dispute should recognize: (a) the irrevocability of their existence as sovereign States; (b) the right of all nations, large or small, to survival, free from aggression, open or concealed, and free from actual or potential intimidation; and (c) the principle that territorial conquest by force never confers rights or establishes a better bargaining position. These principles, which we regard as an essential prerequisite for any subsequent progress, must be supplemented by reasonable and objective identification of all the critical areas and application of the means required for avoiding them.

86. Those critical areas which are geographically identifiable should be placed under international control according to their nature. A United Nations presence should guarantee the withdrawal of the military forces from the occupied territories and ensure that the return to the previous positions does not give rise to further tensions such as those we are now trying to eliminate. Control of military installations in the territories of the parties should be supervised in order to eliminate any real or potential threat from either side. An international commission should effect an immediate freezing of the armaments situation of the parties and institute a system of armaments reduction. An international commission should be set up to inform and advise the Security Council whenever any Government is seen to be embarking on a policy calculated to create an atmosphere of war. An international commission should guarantee freedom of innocent passage through shipping routes leading to the open seas. There should be an international commission to supervise the operation, and defray the costs, of restoring to the Palestine refugees conditions compatible with their status as human beings. This is a responsibility incumbent upon us all.

87. Finally, there should be an international commission to ensure that Jerusalem becomes truly the heritage of all mankind, so that the Holy Places of the three great religions emerging from the same source, may be a bond between East and West formed through free and unrestricted access for all who wish to pray before the Qubbat as-Sakhra, the Wailing Wall, or the Holy Sepulchre. Perhaps, when it finally becomes possible for all men to worship God in one and the same place in the way their forefathers taught them, the nations now engulfed in tragedy will be able to follow the path of others which have ceased to use their strength for destruction and are applying it instead to the construction of one of the most powerful economic mechanisms for prosperity yet known to man.

88. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria) (translated from French): My country's delegation intervenes today after most of the aspects of the situation in the Middle East have been dealt with at length by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum. All these speeches

have rightly underlined the indignation aroused throughout the world by Israel's unjustifiable aggression against the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. There emerges from all these statements a sincere and unshakeable desire to maintain peace and to ward off the new dangers that hover over the destiny of mankind. To do this, a proper atmosphere, brought about by the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the occupying troops from Arab territory, is essential. This vital aspiration, expressed unequivocally by all the delegations which have addressed the Assembly, demonstrates the complete faith of men in the United Nations and their distress in the face of the uncertainties which weigh so heavily upon international security.

89. The wise lead of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in calling for this emergency special session won the immediate support of nearly all the Members of the Organization, with the exception, of course, of the aggressors and their allies.

90. We are also assembled here today, however, because the Security Council did not see fit at the appropriate juncture to range itself ambiguously on the side of right and justice. By its attitude the Security Council placed the aggressor and the victim on an equal footing; it is not, incidentally, the first time that this has occurred and probably not the last, precedents being piled one upon the other in a dossier thick enough to give rise to the most serious misgivings about the ultimate future of the United Nations.

91. For having applied the Charter and the decisions adopted by this Organization with a steady courage and probity that could only be inspired by immense faith in his mission, U Thant, the Secretary-General, has been the target of the most misplaced and unjust criticism. In fact, in the attacks now being directed against him we are witnessing yet another attempt to weaken international institutions still further. This man of vision and integrity may be assured of our trust and esteem, for we know that his only ambition is to serve the principles to which we are all unswervingly attached.

92. We are witnessing a spectacular intensification of Zionist propaganda, which began even before the Israel-imperialist aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. A new form of anti-Semitism has emerged, which has raised against the Arab world an opinion long led astray by ignorance of our legitimate rights. The unfair and irrational behaviour of the West towards our cause is the result of a vast shifting of guilt, an uneasy conscience, all Europe, or nearly all, having participated on a vast scale in the collective massacre of the Jews. There is no reason to deny this slaughter or to minimize the frightful acts of genocide perpetrated by a Europe that was complaisant towards fascism. This guilty Europe searches incessantly for an outlet or an alibi to ease a heavily burdened conscience.

93. In the Arab world, on the other hand, throughout the Second World War, not a single Jew was threatened or even harassed. On the contrary, two Mahgreb rulers, Mohammed V in Morocco and Moncef Bey in Tunisia, intervened personally to save the Jewish

communities of these sister countries from the slightest persecution by the Petainist authorities and the Italo-German armistice commissions. In Paris itself, during the Nazi occupation, North Africans, including Algerian patriots, helped Jews to escape from the Gestapo inquisition. In addition, the Vichy legion which was installed in Algeria among the European ex-servicemen and whose task was among other things to set the Algerians against their Jewish compatriots, failed lamentably in all its manoeuvres.

94. It is universally accepted that the status of a colonial or former colonial country, the struggle which it has waged or is still waging to recover its dignity, the sacrifices it has made, the suffering and death which it has faced for the victory of a just cause, put it out of reach of any accusation of racism, particularly when this comes from countries which have massacred 6 million Jews, millions of Arabs and Asians, and enslaved whole continents for decades. Any national of the "third world", the victim for centuries of racist oppression, is in a position to denounce the "humanitarian" sophistries of Western imperialism, even though they may be disguised as amends to the Israelites persecuted by Europe, at the expense of an Arab nation long martyred and kept in servitude.

95. The whole history of the conceptual origins of Zionism is closely linked with a sector of nineteenth-century German thought, with the now insecure, now privileged, condition of an important group of intellectuals imbued however reluctantly with the eternal mystique of Germanism, with a peculiar moral situation made up of fascination, disappointed love, real affinities, unavowed recognition, which led the Jews to consider their German compatriots, at certain times, as "brother enemies", but brothers none the less.

96. Professor Gershon Sholem of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, one of the pioneers of Zionism, said at a special meeting of the World Jewish Congress at Brussels in August 1966:

"To many of us, the German language, our mother tongue, has brought unforgettable experiences, has helped to define and express the landscape of our youth. Today a kind of appeal comes from Germany, both from the depths of history, and from the younger generation which will henceforward take the front of the stage, and precisely because of the hesitant and uncertain, almost embarrassed, nature of this appeal, there is something in it which many of us are unwilling to reject."

97. Then came the advent of Israel. The German theoreticians of Zionism and the Central European activists, German-educated, carved themselves a place in the forefront of the political administration of a usurped country. The German vocation, the quintessence of the Western spirit of exclusivism, domination and racial superiority, was to be reinforced by a colonialist logic, in the real sense of the term, and was to take Israel in relatively little time and space through several joint stages of nazism and the European colonial experience, in regard both to the African and Eastern Jews and to the Arabs, massacred, despoiled, subject as outcasts to degrading

legislation or the victims of frequent "punitive" expeditions in the best style of the Foreign Legion.

98. Western imperialism rightly considers Israel a child of its own flesh and spirit, by the very fact that the Jewish survivors of the European persecutions have in their turn become persecutors and colonialists. This is so true that with each aggression we have seen all the mercenaries who distinguished themselves in the Congo, all the former members of the OAS, the adventurers from the colonial armies, the activists and reactionaries whom the transfer to Corsica and the cutting down of the Foreign Legion have robbed of their dreams of violence and destruction, rush to Israel's assistance. The traditional anti-Jewish racism of the West ceased to exist against Israel as soon as the latter revealed its own fierce racism against that impacable enemy of Western imperialism, the Arab world. By itself becoming colonialist, Israel allied itself with those activists of all descriptions whom the former colonies of the third world have thrown out of their newly liberated territories.

99. A colonial process is growing and developing, similar to so many others but even more insidious because of the abuse of trust and the deceit which it practises upon international opinion. This process will inevitably lead Israel to unmask itself one day, to the eyes even of the most unwary. The bourgeois and intellectual élites of Europe, for example, the political parties, even those of the so-called Left, in their haste to foster and promote Israel at any price have disregarded all the Zionist crimes, the massacres of Jaffa, Haifa and Deir Yassin, the assassination of Count Bernadotte, racial segregation, theocratic fanaticism, the Sinai campaign, the 1956 expedition against Egypt and all its consequences, the innumerable armed incursions into Arab countries, and now the brutal and perfidious aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan.

100. Among them, how many self-styled liberals lived ignobly off colonialism, living on its glories, and its profits, before our wars of liberation shook them out of their torpor, tore them away from their myths and their passivity? These are some of the reasons why the very concepts of aggressor and victim of aggression seem to have become curiously confused today, even in minds that are habitually lucid. We say this calmly and confidently, without resentment. Our peoples, whose patience is equalled only by their generosity of feeling, are inspired by no rancour, no will to exterminate. The people of Palestine—who today are called "refugees", perhaps as a euphemism—may need food, medicines and supplies, may need compassion even and care, but will all these palliatives together be able to make up to them one day for the incomparable warmth of their own fireside? Will they really be able to wipe out the memory of that physical devotion to the homeland which successive injustices and humiliations make a little stronger every day? Was it really necessary for Uganda, Guinea or Palestine to pay for all the crimes of Hitler's Europe? Genocide does not necessarily demand more genocide as reparation; and if it was really necessary to set up a State on a religious basis, why were the Jews not offered the Rhineland or Bavaria to heal their wounds and make them forget the crimes that had

been committed against them? But that is another story. In fact, the tragedy of Palestine cannot be separated from the situation of the entire Middle East. And the tragedy of the Middle East is only a variant of the history of imperialist aggression throughout the world.

101. The present situation in the Middle East is a logical consequence of the deterioration of international relations. It was unthinkable that the war in Viet-Nam could continue without itself engendering other conflicts. A wider and wider desire for peace was beginning to make itself felt, not only throughout the world but even among the American people. Inevitably, the prophets of aggression had to find something to distract public opinion and had to produce a curious camouflage by creating another focus of tension. There had to be war for the war to be forgotten. And because action had not been effective either against the unconquerable will to live of the revolutionary people of Cuba, or against the people of the Congo, or even in Santo Domingo and still less in Viet-Nam, local conflicts had to be stirred up, through a new style of expeditionary force, this time thinly disguised.

102. The United Kingdom, which sees its economic and strategic interests in the third world threatened a little more each day, naturally applauded the preparations for war and encouraged the aggression against the Arab countries by all possible means. The frenzied activity of its leaders was comparable only with that during the Suez crisis.

103. Israel is merely a tool of imperialism and when it acts effectively it brings into play primarily the powerful means by which it was created in the first place.

104. Tensions persist almost everywhere in the world, and, side by side with the peoples who are continuing to wage a hard struggle to seize their independence, many countries still suffer imperialist oppression, their most elementary rights flouted. As before, the problem of world peace depends upon the state and even the nature of the relations between the great Powers; as far as the young countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are concerned, the matter is governed by the ideological clashes and the still insatiable appetites of the imperialist Powers.

105. Nowadays the sources of conflict are most often found at the level of relations between the great Powers and the small countries. The claims of the former to continue to exercise a trusteeship over the latter, in virtue of the power bestowed by material might, sometimes force on us bloody confrontations between unequal forces. It is an established fact that certain Powers continue to regard their relations with other countries in terms simply of political pressure or economic domination, the failure of such an approach justifying in their eyes the most brutal interventions against the freedom of peoples and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. The countries which have been the victims of aggression in the Middle East have made an important contribution to the political advancement of the countries of the third world. Like us, they belong to that group of countries which follow an independent policy in the face of the blandishments of the great Powers. The

United Arab Republic, an African country, and Syria, for example, have always refused to play the bloc game and above all to be accomplices in imperialist activities. The fact that their policy of national independence and their non-alignment—which is not necessarily complicity and still less complaisance—have given them no protection from oft-repeated imperialist aggressions, may be grounds now for serious and bitter reflection on the future of the third world and even the viability of the concept of non-alignment.

106. The war which imperialism has forced on us in the Middle East has all the characteristics of a new Crusade; at best, colonial conquests might have found some kind of justification in the context of the nineteenth century. The one thing that is certain today is that Israel would never have committed aggression on such a scale without the blessing and the actual support of imperialist forces throughout the world. Today the Arab armies have been defeated by a crushing superiority in war *matériel*, but that in no way signifies that the battle is over. The battle is not over. The Arab nation will stay mobilized until the abnormal situations have been liquidated and until all the consequences of the aggression have been completely eliminated. Though we have been betrayed momentarily by force of arms, our faith in final victory is untouched. We have no reason to underestimate our real potential, or to overestimate that of the adversary.

107. The cause of the people of Palestine is just; as just as the cause of the people of South Africa, of South West Africa, of Zimbabwe, of Mozambique, of Angola, Cape Verde and Aden. The duty of all countries which know the true price of freedom is to uphold all just causes without distinction. It is also the duty of the Arab countries, especially those of the Middle East. If such an attitude is enough to make Israel's attack upon them lawful, henceforward no member of the Organization of African Unity will be safe against attack by South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. If we accept the logic of Israel's aggression, Zambia's support for the people of Zimbabwe would justify a direct attack on its territorial integrity. We cannot accept that Guinea or Senegal, which will continue to support the struggle in Spanish Guinea (Bissau), or the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Kinshasa), which will continue to demonstrate their active solidarity with the people of Angola, or Tanzania, which will spare no effort to hasten the liberation of Mozambique, should be threatened, still less attacked, either by Portugal or by imperialism. If it were otherwise, world peace would be still more fragile and in danger.

108. Just as the distant expedition against the heroic people of Viet-Nam, embattled in this epic fight for more than a quarter of a century, instead of isolating the National Liberation Front has made of it a moral force commanding esteem, solidarity and admiration, so, in this tragic affair in the Middle East, the people of Palestine are not alone. The whole Arab world is at their side. The Arab world is not isolated, for it has behind it the formidable potential of the peoples of the third world. No matter what is said, neither Africa, Asia nor Latin America are abandoned to their

fate when they can still count on the active solidarity of all the forces of peace and progress in the world.

109. Perhaps the time has not yet come to put the problem of Palestine in its real context and therefore to solve it once and for all. Nevertheless, although Israel owes its existence to a special international situation, one day conditions will emerge which will inevitably give rise to a change of direction in the sense of the restoration of justice.

110. During this debate, many references have been made to the role and the responsibilities of the great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council. Without letting ourselves get involved in discussions regarding their possible future contribution to the preservation of world peace and security, we should like to examine briefly their attitude to this attack on the whole Arab nation.

111. The socialist camp has undoubtedly made a considerable contribution to the safeguarding of equity and the maintenance of peace. Whatever may have been said before, we can state today that their support for the just cause of the Arab countries is explicable only as an unswerving attachment to the principles of the Charter, exceptional comradeship and a firm determination to protect the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from further aggression and thus from further suffering. This action by the socialist countries on behalf of peace has found a positive and encouraging echo in the objective and unambiguous stand of General de Gaulle. Unfortunately, praiseworthy as they are, the efforts of France and the Soviet Union have been brought to nothing by the dangerous activities of the two great imperialist Powers which have totally and unconditionally assumed the role of Israel's allies. After encouraging, supporting and openly assisting the aggressor, the United States and the United Kingdom paralysed the Security Council, thus enabling Israel to secure certain though temporary advantages on the field of battle. We have serious grounds for believing today that the imperialist Powers are still playing this negative role at the present emergency special session.

112. Israel and its British-American allies do not even deny their crimes, they would almost dare to try to justify them. With arrogant assurance they plead their case that might makes right and request, quite simply, the endorsement, nay the rewarding, of aggression. Whatever its motives, such a position, at a time when international security has never been so precarious, results from an attitude towards responsibility which gives grounds for the liveliest apprehension. Our anxiety is the greater because the United Nations, already stamped, alas, with inadequacy and impotence, barely solvent since the last session, still far from its goal of universality and deeply undermined by anachronisms and political contradictions, is once again being put to the test. If we still wish to avoid digging its grave by the side of the defunct League of Nations, we must, by vigorous measures, the condemnation of aggression and the immediate and unconditional liquidation of its consequences, help the Organization to overcome its difficulties so that strong in the confidence of all its Members, it can for once truly respond to the immense hopes placed in it by all the peoples of the

earth. It is on this note of faith in the future of our Organization and of mankind that I should like to conclude my speech.

113. Mr. BA (Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mali) (translated from French): The fact that nearly all the States Members of the United Nations hastened to respond favourably to the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly is a proof of its great international importance.

114. The credit for it must go to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which my delegation has pleasure in congratulating. The historical importance of this session lies in the fact that it will be called upon to deal with the gravest challenge ever made to our Organization by a Member State which has deliberately chosen to endanger peace and security in a region that has for twenty years been wracked by disturbance, thus choosing to pose a serious threat to the peace and security of the world.

115. Many speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have irrefutably established the responsibility for the aggression committed by Israel on 5 June last against the United Arab Republic and the other Arab States of Syria and Jordan.

116. We shall summarize the facts. Already on 25 November 1966 the Security Council had censured Israel, in resolution 288 (1966), for large-scale military action against Jordan in violation of the United Nations Charter. On 7 April 1967, an attack was recorded against the territory of Syria. On 5 June came the surprise attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. On 6 June came the Security Council's cease-fire, an order which was reiterated on 7 June with a specific time-limit for the cease-fire, as Israel's troops continued to bombard Arab territory. On 9 June came the categorical demand of the Security Council for a cease-fire as Israel obstinately continued its offensive against Syria.

117. It was only after the fourth demand for the halting of hostilities that Israel agreed to comply, after occupied a large part of the territory of the Arab countries. It is noteworthy that as early as 9 May the Parliament of Israel gave the Government a mandate for military action against Syria.

118. Persons better informed than I have already described to us the grievous course of the bloody drama lived through by peaceful peoples not prepared for war. The event, though it lasted only a few days, was none the less tragic: war, with its train of grief, destruction and humiliation; war, abominable in every time and place.

119. My country, like so many others, is not a party to the dispute. But, like any justice- and freedom-loving State, Mali, the fierce and intransigent defender of peace and freedom for nations and peoples, of the right of peoples to self-determination and of truth and international morality, with complete impartiality, in the name of the law and of the United Nations Charter, to the principles of which all peace-loving States are committed, in the name of all this, Mali strongly condemns the aggression by Israel against the Arab countries.

120. Peace-loving and freedom-loving countries must consistently condemn aggression wherever it occurs, and by whatever country—great or small—it is committed. By unreservedly condemning aggression and by finding firm ways of wiping out its consequences, our Organization will be able to prevent "local wars"; in the present world context, when the anti-imperialist forces of peace and progress are confronted by the imperialist forces of war, this is the only attitude which will enable our Organization, in accordance with the noble principles of its Charter, to prevent a general war, nuclear and thermo-nuclear war from which no nation will emerge truly victorious.

121. Mali, a small developing country, despite everything has never yielded to war propaganda. But we have never forgotten Jaurès' maxim: "Capitalism bears within it the seeds of war, as the cloud bears the thunderstorm". Without the firmness and vigilance of the forces of progress, 5 June might well have seen the start of the world's worst holocaust.

122. Israel alleges, in its defence, that it is surrounded by large hostile countries and that war, therefore, was its only chance of survival. It must have been inspired by the old adage "Si vis pacem para bellum"—"If you wish for peace, prepare for war". But the old adage has been twisted and extended and Israel concluded: "If you wish for peace, make war".

123. But authoritative voices have already declared, after mankind's sorry experiences in this matter, that war is really an anachronistic, an outworn method of solving problems. By taking this course, Israel becomes strongly suspect of having had prior aggressive intentions. For if it felt itself threatened, why did it not appeal to the United Nations, whose essential task is to maintain international peace and security? Why, if its intentions were really pure, did it seek to oppose the convening of this Assembly?

124. For the time being, we shall not copy certain interpreters of the law, for we have let ourselves be told that it will be several years before the legal specialists arrive at a definition of aggression. Here, aggression has materialized. It has been perpetrated. Many people have been killed, villages have been set on fire with napalm, there are hundreds of thousands of wounded, hundreds of aircraft have been grounded in the United Arab Republic and elsewhere, there have been de facto occupations, the beginning of the absorption of Arab territory and the military administration of the conquered and occupied territories. All this is a strange reminder of Hitler's brutal methods of occupation, the more incomprehensible in that 6 million Jews, in the still recent past, paid with their lives, in the fearful horrors of the ghettos and the concentration camps, for the barbarous procedures of the nazi soldiery. The whole world deplored and still deplores these acts, which dishonoured their authors and mankind in general.

125. The great empire of the nazi racists and expansionists crumbled under the united action of the forces of peace, freedom and democracy. The lesson should not be forgotten. It should be meditated upon, before the important decisions which our Assembly will be called upon to take, both by Israel and by its

great imperialist protectors whose objective was not simply this victory but the liquidation of all progressive and anti-imperialist régimes in the Near East, held responsible for the failure of the imperialist dreams of international monopolies in the Arab East. In fact the crisis which has erupted in the Near East should be analysed and interpreted in the light and in the context of the offensive launched by international imperialism in the last few years to stifle the revolutionary movements of the third world, to strike down the leaders and régimes whose policies are based on solid popular support, to slow down the emancipation of peoples and to place puppets, servile tools of colonialist and imperialist interests, at the head of countries which have succeeded in keeping their freedom and independence.

126. For several years, the policy of independence and anti-imperialism which has been developing strongly in the Arab world has caused serious anxiety to certain Western Powers whose vast economic interests, in oil in particular, are threatened by the awakening of the Arab peoples, by their determination to put an end to colonialism and neo-colonialism, and by their will to be masters of their own resources and to build up an independent national economy. In order to put an end to the Arabs' national aspirations, imperialism resorted first to psychological, political and economic measures. All those who have followed closely the evolution of the attitude of the great imperialist Powers towards this strategic region of the world are able to measure the scope of the campaign launched by their powerful information media to convince international opinion of the myth of the aggressiveness and adventurist nature of certain régimes and popular leaders of this region.

127. The fraternal aid of these countries to African and Asian national liberation movements has been interpreted as "interference in the domestic affairs of others". Diplomatic and moral support for the anti-colonialist struggle in certain countries of the third world became "adventurism" and the co-ordination of the efforts of countries struggling against unjust wars was regarded as a "conspiracy" master-minded by one or other of the socialist Powers.

128. This psychological campaign was accompanied by considerable pressure and manoeuvring directed against certain countries in the region with a view to provoking divergencies and dissension and breaking the unity so ardently desired by the peoples. By exploiting these internal divisions, the imperialists hoped to weaken the revolutionary forces, distract them from their essential tasks and prepare the way for external aggression and coups d'état inspired and directed from abroad.

129. But this is not all. To achieve the imperialists' designs, economic measures were taken against certain countries resolutely committed to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. Various restrictions were imposed there: financial and economic assistance was accompanied by intolerable political conditions, while a certain portion of the Western Press rejoiced in advance over the prospect of the failure or bankruptcy of one or other country of the Middle East, for daring to say "No" to the imperialist diktat. But the peoples and their revolu-

tionary leaders committed to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle refused to bend or to bow the knee. They refused all compromises which might impair their sovereign and national rights. They rejected the many and various attempts of the imperialists and their allies to persuade them to abandon their support of just causes and to cease their fight. These threatened and discredited countries regarded the anti-imperialist struggle as a global struggle which could not simply stop at Cairo or Damascus, at Algiers or Aden, in Viet-Nam or Southern Rhodesia, in South Africa or Angola and Mozambique.

130. The imperialists then decided that they must resort to their favourite weapon: direct, deliberate, premeditated aggression. In the same fashion and the same spirit as that in which imperialism had used the instrument of its policy in Saigon to wage war on the revolutionary forces of Viet-Nam, this time Israel was used to launch a Blitzkrieg, a Pearl Harbor against the Arab countries with the specific aim of striking at the very heart of the forces of progress in the Middle East and bringing down those régimes and those leaders which had dared to hold up their heads before the imperialist challenge.

131. This is the way in which we interpret the general context of the grave events which have taken place in the Middle East and the circumstances and conditions in which Israel has attacked the Arab countries.

132. The problem before this special emergency session of the General Assembly may be summarized, in our view, as follows: we cannot remain silent and passive before the repulsive spectacle of a country which, acting in concert with the imperialist powers, tells us that it is the force of its arms that has destroyed and pillaged villages and towns, that has slaughtered and massacred thousands of innocent human beings in a surprise attack and that it is this force of arms which must now allow it to dictate the terms of peace. If so, why this Organization? Why this Charter, which is supposed to govern our international relations? Why have we subscribed to the obligations and duties which it imposes on us?

133. If our Assembly does not take up this challenge, what country in the world—and I include the great Powers also—would feel itself safe from surprise attack and what new morality will inspire our relations if we gave our blessing to the policy of the fait accompli and brute force?

134. We shall not hesitate for a moment to say, nay to proclaim from this rostrum, that if we permitted aggression to go unpunished, we should be digging the grave of the United Nations, twenty-one years after its birth. Such a precedent will open the way for other adventures of the same kind, and a third world war, on the subject of which our Secretary-General has already given a solemn warning, will be inevitable. What is happening today in Viet-Nam and the Near East is in our eyes the preliminary stage of a world conflagration. The powerful voice of General de Gaulle has joined unhesitatingly with that of U Thant to warn the world of the grave dangers that threaten it.

135. Above all, let no one accuse us of having distorted the facts and the real truths regarding the

responsibility for the attack launched on 5 June against the Arab States. We need only refer to the American Press itself, whose profound sympathy with Israel is well known.

136. In the *Washington Post* of 16 June, the correspondent Bernard Nossiter, arriving from Paris after a trip to Israel, wrote that the Israel Cabinet had "made the decision to go to war against its Arab neighbours on the night of June 3", or thirty-six hours before the conflict actually broke out. The correspondent explained that strict censorship had prevented him from transmitting this information but that, according to "authorized" sources in Israel, the secret Cabinet session had been the scene of a bitter debate during which it had been decided to go to war. It is not we who say this.

137. In No. 834 of the French weekly *L'Express*, published on 12 June, we read: "Surprise was the Israel General Staff's trump card. The lightning offensive launched at dawn on Monday, 5 June, in circumstances of somewhat doubtful legality, caught the Arab unified command off their guard." The time has perhaps come to ask the powerful imperialist forces, which guide the aggressive acts of some or inspire the coups d'état of others, or start wars against national liberation movements and the revolutionary forces of the world, whether these Powers really think that the peoples will remain passive and indifferent, accepting blow after blow without reacting in any way or taking the necessary steps in their own defence.

138. I think that our friends and brothers in the Arab world have already answered this question, here in this Hall. The Arab countries have declared that though they may have lost a battle, they have not lost the war. For it is a global war that the peoples which only yesterday were under foreign domination and which are still not authorized to enjoy their sovereignty and independence to the full are determined to wage against the forces of oppression and domination.

139. If the surprise war launched on 5 June against the Arab countries ended in some military successes—to our view, purely temporary—we are sure that the lesson will not be forgotten. In any event, it will help to increase still further the determination of the peoples, of all the peoples in the face of their imperialist adversaries, to strengthen their vigilance and reinforce their resolve never to bend beneath the foreign yoke, to accept no compromise in the case of their sovereign rights.

140. Now more than ever the peoples must understand that their struggle is not an isolated struggle, held within small boundaries, but a gigantic fight every moment of every day to liquidate imperialism and its tools; for, if peace is indivisible, so is the anti-imperialist struggle. The battle of our Arab brothers is the battle of the peoples of Mali and of India, of Brazil and Japan, of Nigeria and Iran, just as the battle of the people of Viet-Nam is the battle of all peoples who care about justice and peace, but also and above all the battle of the peoples of the Third World who are still subjected to the arbitrary rule of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

141. Having said this, we shall not deliberately linger over the subjective aspects of the problem, no matter how important they may seem to some: the "Biblical promise", four thousand years old, to give Palestine to the descendants of Abraham, the promise of Sichem (today Nablous) in Genesis, and the First and Second "Epistles to the Corinthians", the "return from Babylon"—all supposedly proving that the present State of Israel is the "accomplishment of the injunctions of the Old Testament". We know that on these weighty matters interpreters are still far from agreement.

142. As I have said on many occasions, we of Mali are neither racists nor sectarians; I should add that we are inspired by no anti-Semitic or other feeling. As we see it, if the peoples of the world want to live in peace and to promote lasting coexistence of benefit to all, the objective truth is that first of all an end must be put to territorial claims based on history or mythology. We are particularly well qualified to speak on this point because it was Mali which, in the Organization of African Unity, argued fervently in favour of keeping our States within the frontiers left behind by the colonial system, although we are in a position to make a valid claim, on the historical plane, for the restoration of the frontiers of the ancient Mali of Soundiata or Kankou Moussa. What insoluble problems and what a *casus belli* such an attitude would create in our region!

143. We believe that all the States Members of our Organization should at once refrain, in the higher interest of world peace and security, from "eyeing" all or part of the territory of other sovereign States, which we all are.

144. It is clear now to everyone that expansionism and the desire for hegemony have been at the root of all wars.

145. It would be desirable, in our view, if a truly international spirit and attitude could, in the common interest, gain the upper hand over the chauvinist nationalism of some and the will to dominate of others. Did not a celebrated statesman say: "A little internationalism diminishes rational feeling, a lot enhances it"? It was in this spirit that the President of the Republic of Mali, His Excellency Modibo Keita, recently deplored the Balkanization of Africa and the creation of micro-nations in our region; he said "It is time for responsible Africans to realize that despite our good intentions, despite the efforts we may wring from our peoples, our micro-States cannot solve the problems of our accession to the industrial society." This is apparently the opinion of most of the present African leaders. And beyond our regional regroupings and our prospects of continental unity, we Africans have always approached world problems in the purest internationalist style, with peace, progress and happiness for all mankind as the ultimate aim.

146. From this point of view, and adopting a pragmatic approach to the grave matter before us, we consider that this emergency special session of the General Assembly must shoulder its responsibilities, strongly condemn Israel's aggression of 5 June

against the Arab countries and speak out firmly against the recurrence of such acts.

147. The Assembly must demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israel troops to the armistice lines existing before the outbreak of hostilities and the restoration of any territory annexed as a result of the hostilities.

148. The Assembly must regard as non-valid any decision by Israel—such as was announced yesterday and the day before!—in connexion with the Holy Places of Jerusalem.

149. The Assembly must settle as soon as possible the burning question of the Palestine refugees, a permanent source of conflict that has been bitterly aggravated in the last few weeks. As a matter of justice, the question of compensation for the Arab countries must be settled by Israel without delay and reparation must be made for all the consequences of the aggression.

150. Only at this price will any peace moves be possible in this highly tense area. On this basis, as we see it, the Assembly can, with as little delay and manoeuvring as possible, objectively prevent further confrontations in this particularly sensitive area, rendered volcanic by the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917 and, it must be admitted, resolution 181 (II) of the United Nations, responsible for the partition.

151. Finally, we consider that Israel must at this point when nothing compels it to do so, save overwhelming will of our Organization and the stipulations of the Charter, be able to "dominate its victory" and take into account the relevant decisions of this Assembly.

152. My delegation hopes that, in the interest of peace and security in the Near East and throughout the world, the General Assembly will give firm support to the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries.

153. My delegation will also support unreservedly the draft resolution submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/L.519).

154. The PRESIDENT: The general debate on agenda item 5 now before the emergency special session is concluded.

155. The representative of Yugoslavia has asked to speak in order to introduce a revision to the joint draft resolution contained in document A/L.522. I have agreed to call on him for the same reasons and in light of the same considerations set forth by the President at the 1540th plenary meeting, on 28 June, in connexion with the joint draft resolution. I therefore call on the representative of Yugoslavia.

156. Mr. LEKIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I thank you for permitting me to speak on the revised draft resolution which I now have the honour to introduce on behalf of the sixteen sponsors.

157. From the moment they originally submitted the draft resolution, the co-sponsors have held extensive exchanges of views with a large number of delegations. As a result of those consultations, in a desire

to take all constructive suggestions into consideration, and mindful of the purposes of the draft resolution, the co-sponsors have revised the original draft. The revised text [A/L.522/Rev.1] reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having discussed the grave situation in the Middle East,

"Noting that the armed forces of Israel occupy areas including territories belonging to Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic,

"1. Calls upon Israel immediately to withdraw all its forces to the positions they held prior to 5 June 1967;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure compliance with the present resolution and to secure, with the assistance of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization established by the Security Council, strict observance by all parties of the provisions of the General Armistice Agreements between Israel and the Arab countries;

"3. Further requests the Secretary-General to designate, at the appropriate time, a personal representative who will be in contact with the parties concerned in dealing with the problems of the area;

"4. Calls upon all States to render every assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to report urgently to the General Assembly and to the Security Council on Israel's compliance with the terms of the present resolution;

"6. Requests that the Security Council, immediately after the withdrawal of the Israel armed forces has been completed, consider urgently all aspects of the situation in the Middle East and seek peaceful ways and means for the solution of all problems—legal, political and humanitarian—through appropriate channels, guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular those contained in Articles 2 and 33."

158. I am firmly convinced that the revised draft resolution will meet the points of view expressed by many delegations in the general debate and in private discussions. I wish once again to stress the belief of the co-sponsors that this draft offers the broadest possible basis for having the General Assembly respond to the top priority and immediate task of securing the withdrawal of troops in the spirit of the Charter and in the interest of peace.

159. The PRESIDENT: The revised draft resolution that has just been introduced by the representative of Yugoslavia is being circulated by the Secretariat. It is now formally before this Assembly. The Assembly has before it at this time the following draft resolutions:

(a) The draft resolution submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.519];

(b) The draft resolution submitted by the United States of America [A/L.520];

(c) The draft resolution submitted by Albania [A/L.521]; and

(d) The revised draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan, Burundi, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Mali, Pakistan, Somalia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia [A/L.522/Rev.1].

160. I have been asked by President Pazhwak to make the following announcement. This afternoon we shall begin our consideration of the draft resolutions now before the Assembly. In this connexion I should

like to remind Members of the request made by the representative of Yugoslavia [1540th meeting] that priority be given to draft resolution A/L.522. In my understanding, that is a formal request before the Assembly.

161. It is understood, of course, that any new proposals submitted would be discussed subsequently and that sufficient time would be allowed for the submission of amendments thereto and for the voting.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.