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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 17

Election of nine members of the Economic and Social Council

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item on the agenda is the election of nine members of the Economic and Social Council to replace the nine members whose term of office expires on 31 December 1970. The nine outgoing members are: Argentina, Bulgaria, Chad, India, Ireland, Japan, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United States of America and Upper Volta. These nine countries are all eligible for immediate re-election.

2. I should like to remind Members of the Assembly that after 1 January of next year the following States will still be members of the Economic and Social Council: Brazil, Ceylon, France, Ghana, Greece, Indonesia, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Sudan, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. Therefore, the names of those eighteen States should not appear on the ballot papers.

3. Ballot papers reflecting the pattern set out in paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 B (XVIII) will now be distributed.

4. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

5. I request Members of the Assembly to use only the ballot papers that are now being distributed and to write on them the names of the nine Member States for which they wish to vote. Ballot papers containing more than nine names will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jalili (Iran) and Mr. Arístegui (Spain) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	113
Invalid ballots:	0

<i>Valid ballots:</i>	113
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	113
<i>Required majority:</i>	76

Number of votes obtained:

Madagascar	109
Niger	108
Democratic Republic of the Congo .	106
Hungary	106
Malaysia	106
Lebanon	105
New Zealand	100
Haiti	95
United States of America	95
Cuba	5
Liberia	4
Chile	3
Argentina	2
Austria	2
Japan	2
Mauritius	2
Belgium	1
Bulgaria	1
Luxembourg	1
Mongolia	1
Panama	1
United Republic of Tanzania	1
Venezuela	1
Zambia	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Hungary, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Niger and the United States of America were elected members of the Economic and Social Council for a period of three years beginning on 1 January 1971.

6. The PRESIDENT: I wish to congratulate the countries which have been elected members of the Economic and Social Council and to thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in the Middle East (*continued*) *

7. The PRESIDENT: May I take this opportunity to inform representatives that for some of the meetings we have a fairly short list of speakers? It is therefore essential that those meetings in particular should start on time. That will enable the First Committee, which

* Resumed from the 1884th meeting.

is meeting immediately after the adjournment of our meetings, to have more time. The First Committee has an extremely heavy agenda and will need all the time it can get. It would therefore help not only the plenary Assembly but also the First Committee if representatives, and particularly those who are speaking, would remember not to be late for meetings.

8. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): I was deeply impressed by our Secretary-General's statement at the closing meeting of the commemorative session when he foresaw a future universal historian on another planet saying about us: "They went on playing politics until their world collapsed around them" [1883rd meeting, para. 67]. His statement applies most poignantly to the situation in the Middle East, where millions of people have been living in war for the last three years and, what is more, where a succession of crises has kept all the world on the brink of a general conflagration.

9. It is most appropriate that the General Assembly should consider the question of the Middle East as a matter of priority. In addition to this general interest that we all have in peace and justice in the Middle East, more specific interests underlie my country's concern.

10. First and foremost, geographic proximity dictates our daily anxiety. Our skies reverberate with the whistle of the jets and the thunder of the guns in the neighbouring lands to the south. Next to this geographic imperative is the historical instinct. The Turkish people have been involved in the life of the peoples of the area for more than a millennium. We had a common past and shared equally the joys and tribulations of peace and war among many nations of different ethnic origins and of different religions. We take pride in remembering that our life together, although at times disturbed by the waywardness in man's nature, was kept safe from the bitter feuds and divisions that prevail today.

11. At the same time, we have another link with the people of the area: the Turks have been in the forefront of Islam for a thousand years. The region graced by the three prophets was blessed with the peace of peoples of different faiths living in mutual acceptance and in mutual trust. It pains us to find our brethren in the region in prolonged grief.

12. For nearly three years the efforts of the international community have been based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Indeed, we have good cause to insist on it. The resolution encompasses all the elements of the conflict. In its preamble it addresses itself to the basic principle which concerns us all, namely, "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war", and prescribes the additional and essential principles for a just peace.

13. The fact that the international consensus on the resolution emerged strengthened testifies to its validity. Indeed, in the resolution the United Nations has achieved the best welding of three Charter principles

which are basic to a peaceful international order: the necessity of renouncing territory held by force; the necessity of peaceful relations among all Member States; and the redress of the inalienable rights of aggrieved peoples.

14. We cannot but feel distressed at our continued inability to implement such a widely accepted and unchallenged resolve.

15. A fourth principle, which calls for a peaceful resolution of all conflicts, has found expression in the Jarring mission. In the present stage of the conflict it is that principle of the Charter which requires prior reaffirmation by the Assembly. The Assembly's power may be residual but the weight of its influence in expressing the mind of the international community is important. This moral force must call for the immediate resumption of the talks through the Jarring mission.

16. At the same time, before the time expires—and we have only a week to go—the Assembly must recommend the extension of the cease-fire. We must do it with all the unanimity we can muster, for we cannot delude ourselves. If the guns begin once again we could all find ourselves threatened with an unexpected and unwanted escalation. In this connexion the clear conviction of the international community has been obscured by the talk about roll-back or rectification. Those are terms with complex military implications, the validity of which it would be hard to deny or ascertain with absolute certainty in this Assembly. But even if it were denied or ascertained with conviction, I would say that these considerations should not hold us back one minute, one second, from our resolve to call for the continuation of the cease-fire. Not only the moral demands but also the actual perils of resumed hostilities are so great that they override all considerations of tactical advantages or disadvantages.

17. Surely, this body's collective wisdom when it pronounces itself in unanimity should be enough to prove the overriding necessity for keeping the guns mute? Our collective will, our collective wisdom, should be enough to promote the self-confidence and the mutual trust that those who feel weary need in order to look up instead of looking down and back. Our decision will give quiet diplomacy the new punch that it needs after having failed for so long.

18. With the cease-fire extended, with the Jarring mission resumed, then the process of applying the three other principles of the Charter to the conflict in the Middle East can begin to move. Again, the Assembly's unanimous weight must be placed behind the well-known resolution of the Security Council.

19. Only three weeks ago from this rostrum my Foreign Minister said:

"We continue to be firmly opposed to the use of force to gain political advantage, acquire territorial gains and impose unilateral solutions, since nothing lasting can be built on enmity and injustice. Similarly,

measures to change unilaterally the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are unacceptable whatever the reasons claimed. This change in its status in fact goes beyond the strictly regional framework and brings an emotional element into the conflict the explosive nature of which hardly needs to be emphasized.

“Our objective has always been, and still is, the establishment of a just and lasting peace that will finally bring a healthy atmosphere to the region. War brings no solution to differences; on the contrary, it only serves to complicate the situation further. The Middle East conflict is no exception to the rule. This conflict which has been going on for years has created a highly complex situation and, as in other similar cases, it leaves the usual legacy of hostility, mistrust, destruction and related problems the elimination of which will require arduous and patient efforts.” [1849th meeting, paras. 105 and 106.]

20. In the commemorative session some of us dwelt on the disappointments, some of us emphasized the achievements of our Organization, while others balanced one against the other, reaching differing conclusions. But we all agreed on one point: we agreed on the necessity of joining efforts for the peaceful solution of our disputes. There is no other region in the world which needs the application of this resolve more urgently than the Middle East. Time, which has opened but failed to heal the wounds, is running out—running out on all of us. For this reason, our unanimous resolve on this problem has assumed an overriding importance.

21. First of all, we must resolve on the maintenance and observance of the cease-fire. Secondly, we must urge the immediate resumption of the talks under Ambassador Jarring. His ability, his patience, his wisdom and his faith in peaceful resolution have won the admiration of us all. Let us put his gifts to good use for the benefit of those who are immediately concerned as well as for the benefit of us all. Finally, let us pronounce ourselves once again unanimously behind Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We are confident that the resolve of the Assembly, when put behind this resolution and complemented by the goodwill and the sincerity of the conflicting parties, would crown our efforts with success.

22. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Mr. President, in response to your appeal concerning the expediting of our proceedings, and because only one speaker was inscribed on your list to speak today on this very important question, the Brazilian delegation thought it convenient and proper to intervene at this stage in order to set forth some preliminary views concerning this item on our agenda.

23. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of the item now before us. The situation in the Middle East remains one of the most serious points of tension and friction in the world of today, and it continues to impose tremendous sufferings upon the peoples of the area.

24. Despite the re-establishment of the cease-fire régime in the region and the concurrent creation of better prospects for a peaceful solution to this crisis, it is a sad fact that very little, if any, progress has been made in the direction of the establishment of peace. As the days go by there must be a growing sense of urgency in taking advantage of this fragile and precarious cease-fire to ensure a political settlement to the problem of the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the purposes and principles of the Charter.

25. In his statement at the opening of the general debate of this General Assembly, the Minister for External Relations of Brazil declared:

“Time and again Brazil has stressed in the organs of the United Nations the need for an open and frank debate on the fundamental causes of the conflict. For historical reasons, very special responsibilities devolve upon the United Nations in connexion with the question of the Middle East. It is imperative, therefore, that the Organization, with the support of all its Members, fulfil the obligations it has assumed.” [1841st meeting, para. 5.]

26. This is in fact the responsibility of the United Nations, beyond the particular interests of one or other country from within or without the region, and even beyond the fact that the present situation in the Middle East presents a very concrete potential danger to the peace of the whole world. This is the responsibility of the United Nations primarily because this Organization has the obligation to ensure the right of all peoples to live and prosper in peace and security.

27. It is with a deep conviction of this fundamental responsibility of the United Nations that my delegation intervenes in this debate today.

28. Brazil has always followed closely the developments in the Middle East and has always supported in the United Nations all measures we felt could be instrumental to the establishment of peace or could in some way limit the damaging consequences of the war. In the Security Council, Brazil took an active part in the discussions which resulted in the adoption of resolution 242 (1967), which laid the ground for a just and lasting political solution to the conflict. Together with other delegations we promoted, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, resolutions of a humanitarian character designed to spare the civil populations and the prisoners of war in the area of conflict in the Middle East additional sufferings.

29. In the Security Council, Brazil has repeatedly insisted on the dangers of the escalation of the armaments race in the Middle East. The continued accumulation of armaments in that region can only increase the difficulties that already exist regarding the establishment of peace. The problem of the armaments race in the Middle East is no less real today than it was in 1968, when we repeatedly expressed our concern about it in the Security Council. Indeed, it has grown worse and requires more than ever an urgent solution.

Here, we believe, is a field in which the major Powers have a very positive role to play. We trust the role will be a peaceful one.

30. We believe that the United Nations could and should at this stage take effective action actively to promote a settlement in the Middle East. The United Nations cannot resign itself to the role of a passive spectator of developments in that area, acting only when new steps in the escalation of incidents prompt the parties to the conflict to request meetings of the Security Council, and even then limiting its action to expressions of concern, regret or condemnation.

31. The Security Council took very significant action in adopting resolution 242 (1967). During the three years which have elapsed since then, however, the provisions and principles contained in this resolution have remained on paper and no concrete progress has been made towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is now incumbent upon the United Nations to take effective action to translate the provisions and principles of resolution 242 (1967) into reality. To that end, no effort should be spared.

32. My delegation does not wish to make any formal proposal regarding the best way for the United Nations to proceed to promote a just and lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East on the basis of resolution 242 (1967). However, moved by a very sincere desire for peace, we wish to insist on the responsibility of the United Nations and on the availability of means at its disposal to assist the parties to discharge the obligations that all Members of this Organization have assumed under Article 2, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

33. May I recall that quite recently the Minister for External Relations of Brazil reiterated before this Assembly [1841st meeting] a suggestion made early this year, in a memorandum dated 3 April 1970 addressed to the Secretary-General [see A/7922] and later to the Security Council, on the desirability of the establishment by the Council of subsidiary organs, with the participation of the interested parties, to deal concretely with the essential aspects of disputes. Today we see no reason why the Security Council should not, in the present case, give very serious consideration to the possibility of putting such a procedure into practice. We believe this formula is flexible enough to accommodate the interests of all parties. We believe further that it is within the powers of the Council under

the Charter and under its rules of procedure to associate the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, with the work of a subsidiary organ it might decide to establish. That could be, in our view, a very practical and effective way of combining the skill and the knowledge of the Special Representative with the authority of the Security Council.

34. At this stage of our debate we do not wish to advance a formal proposal, all the less since it is clear that the ultimate decision on the establishment of a subsidiary body falls within the specific competence of the Security Council. There is no reason, however, why the General Assembly should not make a recommendation to that effect.

35. This problem will not be settled without the concurrence of all parties to the dispute, and it is thus perfectly natural that the Security Council, as the organ on which falls the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should provide the forum and the machinery for the diplomatic efforts to be undertaken under the guidance of Ambassador Jarring. At this stage my only purpose is to offer a tentative suggestion for the consideration of the General Assembly.

36. This suggestion is in keeping with the generally shared feeling regarding the need for the diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations, which cannot remain the passive witness of events and incidents that represent, today, the most tangible threat to international peace and security.

37. The delegation of Brazil wishes to make it quite clear that the present suggestion is not an alternative to a resolution which the Assembly may feel called upon to adopt; our main point is that resolution 242 (1967) should prevail and that an effort should be made to put it into effect through diplomacy and through mutual understanding. We reiterate that the ultimate solution lies in translating into practice the provisions and principles of resolution 242 (1967) and that all diplomatic efforts should be directed to that end. We should strive for peace, and in diplomacy lies the best road towards peace. Our suggestion rests, as we have said, on the generally recognized necessity for a diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations. Let us see whether the United Nations can meet this test of diplomacy.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.