

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



**1535th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 26 June 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**FIFTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION**

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Agenda item 5:</i>	
<i>Letter dated 13 June 1967 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/6717) (continued) . . .</i>	<i>1</i>

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

**AGENDA ITEM 5**

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

1. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous election. Once again the General Assembly has placed its complete confidence in you, and I am sure that you will be able to lead us to a fruitful solution of the delicate Afro-Asian problem that is confronting this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

2. My Government has maintained the friendliest of relations with both Israel and the Arab world. Our policy of non-alignment demands of us friendship with all the countries of the world and, if I may say so, our maintenance of friendship with all the countries of the world has been our modest contribution towards the practical aspect of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

3. The seed of dissension, discord and distrust sown so deep during the last twenty years in the oil-rich desert sands of the strategic Middle East, joining the three continents, erupted at the beginning of this month into incalculable human suffering throughout the area of conflict. We are deeply distressed by the tragedy that has befallen our Arab friends.

4. The succession of events during the beginning of this month brought such tragic consequences that when the Soviet Union proposed the convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly to discuss the Middle East question, my Government readily concurred with the Soviet proposal.

5. At the outset, I must state that my Government is against the occupation of the territory of one State by another, and has always condemned forcible occupation as an act contrary to all norms of international law and morality. Even in the name of self-preservation, forcible occupation cannot vest in the occupying Power a legal right over the occupied territory. Attainment of a military objective might generate a temporary confidence, but it cannot help in achieving

a lasting solution of a problem as grave as that which exists in the Middle East.

6. If neighbours started negotiating their terms through forcible occupation of the territory of another, the concept of peace and pacific settlement of disputes would be in absolute jeopardy. Equally we feel that attempts directed towards the extinction of a State, or the transgression of its boundaries, or the reopening of settled international frontiers, or a continuous state of belligerency imperil the peace of the area where such attempts take place.

7. Whether one likes it or not, a State created through an international action should receive, under normal circumstances, the protection of the international community in exercising its rights as a State, including maritime rights. And it cannot be expected that a State would remain unperturbed under the constant threat of its own annihilation. Where good neighbourliness never existed, it would be too much to expect that disputes would take a reasonable course towards a settlement. When such a condition is supplemented by manifestations of political pressures from the big Powers, it turns into a playground of massive manoeuvres and misdirected military adventures. That is what we have been witnessing in the Middle East during the last two decades.

8. Out of the crisis in the Middle East, it has once again become evident that the international community places its complete faith in the United Nations. The success of the Security Council in bringing about the cease-fire, the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly and the presence of so many heads of Government, including that of one of the super-Powers, in connexion with the achievement of a peaceful solution of the Middle Eastern crisis, indicate the utility and importance of the United Nations.

9. My delegation also wishes to record its appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General in trying to avert the emergence of the present crisis. We greatly regret the imputations levelled at the impartiality of the Secretary-General and at his scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of a Member nation. U Thant's dedication to peace and to the principles and purposes of the United Nations can never be challenged.

10. The General Assembly now faces two important tasks, one of a temporary character, that of dealing with the problems of the new refugees along with the old Palestinian refugees, and the other of a permanent character, that of safeguarding the political and territorial integrity of the countries of the region.

11. The refugee problem should be viewed basically from the humanitarian angle, and the Member nations,

especially the rich countries, should immediately come forward with generous contributions. The super-Powers, which have been so keen to solve the political problem of the Middle East, as evidenced by their respective resolutions, as well, should not be found wanting in their immediate response with respect to their appropriate share of contributions to the refugee fund.

12. The second immediate task would be to rehabilitate those areas which have become desolate as a result of the ravages of war. A United Nations-sponsored multilateral programme of economic assistance might help in the rehabilitation of those areas which have faced destruction and devastation. Also the basic problem of the economic development of the entire Middle East cannot be ignored if we want to have real stability in the region. An over-all plan of development for the entire Middle East, as well as for its war-ravaged areas, should be immediately prepared and executed.

13. As regards the permanent solution of the problem—that is, safeguarding the political and territorial integrity of the States of the region—it could be achieved either by arriving at a negotiated peace settlement or, pending the final settlement, by stationing a United Nations peace force on either side of the borders of the contending parties. My delegation would support the idea of direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis and, failing that, of negotiations through a United Nations mediator.

14. The most urgent question is ending the occupation. Withdrawal should take place immediately. Belligerency from all sides must be terminated. We consider that occupation and belligerency are both prejudicial to the establishment of lasting peace in the region.

15. The General Assembly should evolve a formula which should receive the wholehearted endorsement of the parties concerned. It should, in short, be a political commitment by the parties concerned to maintain international peace and security in the region. For the sake of peace, the big Powers should remove their fingers from the Middle Eastern pie. During the last few decades they have managed to play one group against another. Let the economic interests of the big Powers not blind them to the real interests of the people living in the Middle East.

16. A great tragedy has already occurred in the Middle East. Mutual recriminations must now end, and we should try to devise a permanent solution. Existing realities cannot be ignored. Nor do we think that the contending parties will attempt to flout any decision of this world body aimed at a permanent solution of the problem.

17. The Security Council has already met the problem half way by successfully arriving at a cease-fire. In the current session of the General Assembly a few palliatives, which have their merits, have been suggested. Some of these have been put forward with all the genuineness demanded by the situation, but what is really required is a prescription for a panacea by concerted action of the world body. A prescription of moderation for the political ailment of

the Middle East is the first prerequisite for avoiding the recurrence of the tragedy which we have thrice witnessed during the last two decades. The challenge before us is great. If we fail to meet it, it might prove a challenge to the very existence of the United Nations.

18. Mr. NASE (Albania) (translated from French): The fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly is taking place in the midst of a very serious international situation, when yet another monstrous crime has been committed against the Arab countries and peoples by United States imperialism and its tool, Israel.

19. The criminal aggression of Israel and its imperialist masters is not merely a perfidious blow struck at the Arab peoples. It is also a blow at all the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the entire world, a brutal challenge to the lofty and legitimate aspirations of all progressive anti-imperialist mankind to freedom, independence and progress. The criminal aggression of 5 June is part of a whole series of acts of aggression committed by United States imperialism, in collusion with its avowed and secret allies, in many parts of the globe, including Viet-Nam, Korea, the Congo, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

20. This bandit attack on the Arab countries, which stems from the predatory policy of war and aggression pursued by imperialism and, first and foremost, United States imperialism, in order to carry out its schemes and achieve its diabolical neo-colonialist designs in this politically, economically and strategically important region is part and parcel of its criminal plans once again to subjugate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to stop the mighty revolutionary wave which is sweeping irresistibly over these continents.

21. Since the day on which it was created Israel, financed and armed to the teeth by the United States of America and other imperialist Powers, has always been a docile tool in their hands, and they have used it to achieve their neo-colonialist plan of enslaving the Arab peoples. It is obvious that, without the aid and the constant support of the imperialist Powers, Israel would never have dared to plunge into such criminal ventures. As the vanguard of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and also in order to satisfy its own expansionist ambitions in the Middle East, it has ceaselessly carried on provocative and aggressive activities against the Arab countries, thus discharging the task assigned to it by its imperialist masters. The fact that, within one decade, the freedom-loving Arab peoples have been subjected twice to Israel imperialist aggression is highly significant.

22. The United States not only planned and instigated the attack, but also took part directly, using every means at its command, in creating the most favourable conditions for it. It exerted various kinds of diplomatic pressure on the United Arab Republic and the other Arab countries to make them give up those measures of legitimate defence which they had taken to secure and strengthen their sovereignty, faced as they were with the Zionist-imperialist menace. The United States openly threatened these peaceful countries with the use of force and put on a war footing the NATO military bases and the pirate Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, which, together with the United King-

dom fleet in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, made a show of force near the coastline of the Arab countries in an attempt to spread fear and panic among their freedom-loving peoples.

23. At the same time, with the connivance of its closest allies and accomplices, the United States brought pressure to bear, "gave advice", and urged the Government of the United Arab Republic to wait and take no action. This was done solely for the criminal purpose of allowing the perfidious aggressors to take the Arab countries and peoples by surprise.

24. There is incontrovertible evidence that the United States and United Kingdom imperialists from the very first took part directly in the perfidious aggression committed by their obedient tool, Israel, against the Arab countries and peoples, by using their own aircraft to bomb Arab bases and forces. No matter how hard they try, and regardless of their hypocritical statements that the United States was "neutral in thought, word and deed", the United States leaders will never succeed in hoodwinking world opinion or escape the heavy responsibility they bear as the chief planners of this infamous aggression in which they, moreover, directly participated. The representatives of the Arab States have proved this point convincingly, and my delegation therefore considers that any analysis of the evidence would be superfluous.

25. The aggressors also received valuable aid from the Brezhnev-Kosygin Government, both in the preparatory stage, during the aggression, and afterwards. The hypocritical attitude of the Kosygin Government has made plain its betrayal of the interests of the Arab peoples. Events have shown that at the crucial moment that Government abandoned the Arab countries to their fate. Once aggression was launched, it gave no assistance to the Arab countries; on the contrary, it hastened to come to an agreement with the United States to co-ordinate "joint action", both within and outside the United Nations. These revisionist leaders, in collusion with the United States imperialists, brought about the adoption in the Security Council of the lamentable cease-fire resolutions in which Israel was not termed the aggressor and, worse still, the legitimate rights of the United Arab Republic and the other Arab countries victims of the aggression were not defended. In reality, these resolutions, sanctioning as they did the Israel-imperialist aggression, encouraged the aggressor and were a stab in the back of the Arab countries.

26. The Kosygin Government engaged in this double dealing in order to help the United States imperialists and to include all Middle East problems in what is subject to bargaining between the USSR and the United States.

27. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, expressing the feelings of the Albanian people, has denounced and vigorously condemned this highly dangerous plot of United States imperialism in its statement of 6 June 1967. In supporting the just struggle of the Arab peoples in defence of their freedom and dignity, the Albanian people and Government expressed their profound conviction that the righteous cause of the Arab peoples would prevail.

28. The Israel-imperialist armed aggression in the Middle East is a deep conspiracy against the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of all Arab peoples, whose glorious history records a long and incessant struggle for national liberation. After fighting heroically for a number of years, the Algerian people broke the chains of colonial servitude and showed the whole world what a people resolved to fight to the death for its freedom and independence could accomplish. The whole world is aware of the long struggle and the many efforts of the Syrian people to defeat its colonialist enemies so that it could live in freedom and independence, and the proof it has given of its admirable valour. Heroically combating the United Kingdom colonialists, the courageous people of Iraq, a truly patriotic and fighting people, has given us brilliant examples of valour in defending its national integrity. The peoples of Morocco and Lebanon won their independence at great cost and by waging a hard struggle against the colonialists and their Anglo-American protectors. Again, the people of Libya courageously resisted Mussolini's hordes and realized at last its age-old dream of freedom and national independence.

29. The United States imperialists launched their latest aggression in the Middle East with the clear and definite aim of striking at the United Arab Republic in order to gain control over it and place it once again under colonial domination. They want to rob the valiant Egyptian people of the glorious victories it won in its long and unremitting struggle against United Kingdom colonialists; they want to rob it of the brilliant victories it gained in defeating and crushing the tripartite aggression of 1956. Led by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian people fought with skill, courage and fortitude for its rights over the Suez Canal, and it conquered its savage and diabolical enemies. Although in 1956 it had quelled the attack of the imperialists and Israel, their tool, the Government of the United Arab Republic, demonstrating its goodwill and its good intentions, allowed United Nations troops to be stationed in its territory, along its frontier with Israel. But those troops soon showed themselves in their true colours as international policemen, as an instrument used to prepare for aggression and the implementation of imperialist policy. The attitude recently taken by the Government of the United Arab Republic towards the United Nations troops stationed in its territory was in full conformity with its sovereign rights and with its vital interests in defending its freedom and independence. After the withdrawal of the United Nations Force, the United Arab Republic re-established its rights—previously denied to it—over the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

30. The Government of the United Arab Republic and the administration of the Suez Canal have given striking proof of admirable management, without precedent in the Canal's history, by ensuring regular and uninterrupted operation of the Canal. The denial to Israel vessels of the right of passage through the Canal was a just and perfectly legitimate act on the part of the Government of the United Arab Republic, a fully justified measure with regard to a State which had been guilty of armed aggression against that country.

31. Obviously, the Suez Canal is one of the principal objectives of the present Israel-imperialist aggression. Thus the war waged by the United States and by that repeat offender, the United Kingdom, for the Suez Canal is continuing. Here we see clearly the aggressive and rapacious design of the imperialists to seize the Suez Canal once again, to re-establish the situation which existed there before it was nationalized by Egypt, and to use it as a means of subjugating all the Arab countries and of openly threatening all the Mediterranean peoples.

32. But the Arab peoples have not forgotten, nor will they ever forget, the hateful yoke of imperialist oppression; they will never again allow the imperialists to shackle and enslave them. The perfidious aggression of 5 June is a good lesson to them to prepare themselves for a struggle against their declared and secret enemies and to continue that struggle in complete unity until victory is won. All the peoples of the world are on the side of the Arab peoples and express their conviction that the Israel aggression is but one battle, that the conflict will continue and that the Arab peoples will triumph.

33. My delegation deems it necessary to draw attention to the fact that the peace-loving countries and peoples are faced today with a deep-laid and dangerous plan of United States imperialism and its accomplices, a plan directed against themselves. The course of events has made it plain that the Johnson Government today incites and supports the most reactionary forces everywhere, that it organizes putsches and brings to power fascist military cliques, that it engages in aggressive activities on a vaster scale than ever before and that it commits aggression after aggression in various parts of the globe.

34. The barbarous Israel-imperialist aggression shows that the United States is the greatest and most dangerous enemy the peoples have today. Wherever an attempt is made to achieve national freedom and independence, the United States attacks savagely, trying to stop by fire and sword the forward march of history, obstinately endeavouring to play the role of international policeman, either alone or in collaboration with the Kosygin Government.

35. For a number of years now the United States has been carrying on a bloody and barbarous war in Viet-Nam. The heroic Viet-Nameese people has repelled the imperialist aggressors as they deserved and has won victory after victory. Despite the continuous escalation of the war in North Viet-Nam to compel the Viet-Nameese people to accept the "peace negotiations" manoeuvre, the United States imperialists will never win the war or break the iron will of the Viet-Nameese people, which will gain the final victory.

36. The events in the Middle East and the aggression against the Viet-Nameese people are links in one and the same chain; they show that the world today finds itself in the presence of a vast conspiracy plotted by the United States imperialists and the revisionist leaders in accordance with their policy of separate zone of influence and of world hegemony by the two great Powers.

37. The recent cordial meetings and friendly exchanges between Johnson and Kosygin, which, significantly, took place immediately after the perfidious United States-Israel aggression against the Arab countries, surely offer further and sufficient proof in that regard. All the peace-loving peoples in the world are deeply indignant and vigorously condemn these summit meetings between the two great Powers chiefly responsible for the the present situation in the Middle East, for these peoples are aware, and are now more convinced than ever, that this can only mean the hatching of fresh imperialist-revisionist plots, plots which are directed against them and which are on a vaster scale than before and present an even greater danger to international peace and security. The meetings in question and the negotiations taking place between the two great Powers unquestionably confirm our point of view, which is shared by progressive world opinion, namely, that the main purpose of the USSR Government's request that this session of the General Assembly should be convened was—irrespective of the hullabaloo it has made in this Assembly in order to camouflage its betrayal—to provide an occasion for bargaining and direct plotting by the leaders of the two Powers to the detriment of the cause of the world's peoples and in line with their policy of world domination.

38. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania raises this question in the General Assembly, and asks: why has the United States war fleet slipped like a hydra into the Mediterranean, that inland sea belonging to peoples with an ancient civilization? What does it want in the Mediterranean and what is it doing there? Whom does it defend, and from whom? What does it seek in the Mediterranean, which has now also been entered by USSR warships? What is it doing there, whom does it mean to defend, and from whom?

39. The imperialist and revisionist Governments concerned of course assert that these are "peace fleets", there to "protect the security of peoples", etc. It can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that they are spreading war, that they threaten free and sovereign peoples and apply the gun-boat policy to stifle national freedom, divide zones of influence, and share the loot resulting from each plot they hatch against other peoples.

40. We say, also, that the United States-USSR alliance is so blatant that if there had happened to be women on board the warships of these two Powers, there would be dancing on the decks every evening, at a time when peoples are fighting for freedom and their sons are falling on fields of battle.

41. We ask this question: which States in the Mediterranean basin are a threat to Italy, Greece, France, Spain, and other countries? Some of these countries, moreover, are allies in NATO. Are they by any chance threatened by Algeria, Albania, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, Syria or Lebanon? We have but to read ancient history and the history of the very recent past to see who is the victim and who the aggressor.

42. One more question: does not France have a large enough fleet to defend its own coastline, and is not the

same true of Spain, Italy, Greece, etc.? Certainly their fleets are big enough, in fact, bigger than they need.

43. What, then, is the Sixth Fleet doing in the Mediterranean? It is there as the watchdog of aggression, it is there to back up aggression and war.

44. No, United States imperialists, you will not deceive any people, any honest Government which defends the interests of its country and its people, by your artificial olive branch, by your blood-stained demagoguery. You may claim that you are bolstering up your defences against the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, but you are the close friends and allies of its present leaders.

45. You know very well, gentlemen, that the alleged aid given by the Soviet leaders to the peoples of the Mediterranean basin is a vast swindle. It can truthfully be said that the Soviet imperialists and revisionists pursue the same aims as you with regard to the peoples of the world, in particular the peace-loving peoples of Albania and the Arab countries. It is self-evident that you are fighting in order to subjugate and oppress us. But you will not attain your goal. Our peoples will defeat you, conquer you and destroy you. You are dreadfully afraid of us, and you are just as much afraid of your own people, for your weapons and fleets are meant to protect you also from your peoples, which, jointly with us, will one day mete out a terrible punishment to you.

46. We wish to explain to you publicly and clearly that you, United States imperialists and Soviet revisionists, cannot frighten anyone, least of all peoples which for centuries shed their blood in order to live in freedom and which are still resolved today to fight to the death and to conquer once again. One of these stout-hearted and heroic peoples is the people of Albania. You shall at no time take us by surprise. Moreover, you are not the only ones who have never been able to take us unawares, for we were no more taken unawares by Khrushchev's betrayal than by that of his lieutenants.

47. That bandit, Nikita Khrushchev, and his henchmen attempted to strangle the new, socialist Albania. He hatched a plot, in collusion with your Sixth Fleet and with the Greek Venizelos, to divide up Albania. He tried to occupy the port of Vlora; he extorted our submarines from us, and finally he broke off diplomatic relations with the new Albania and imposed a cruel blockade on it. The Albanian people, its party and its Government dealt him such a terrible blow that it led him to his grave.

48. The same fate awaits all those, whoever they may be, who, alone or with others, should make trouble for Albania. Albania is able to defend herself, to fight and to win. Its sacred frontiers and its ports are inviolable. They belong to us alone, and to no one else. Whoever strikes at them is doomed to certain death.

49. Do not imagine, moreover, United States imperialists, that Albania stands alone and isolated; if its frontiers are violated, a great war will be the result. And you, USSR revisionists, you who on Radio Moscow urge and appeal to Albania to unite with you

in the face of the imperialist threat, let me tell you that we reject your friendship with disgust, for we know from our own experience that it is really a stab in the back. This kind of friendship has been put to the test by the Arab peoples too, and by others as well. But we have declared before, and we solemnly declare once again that we are and always shall be the faithful friends of our brothers, the Soviet peoples. Never have they betrayed, never will they betray, any other people, especially the Albanian people, which they love and respect. They will punish you mercilessly, once and for all.

50. The representatives of the imperialist Powers who are listening to the representative of a small stout-hearted people speaking here today openly, without fear, and without any great regard for diplomatic language, are saying: "What a violent speech! The Albanian representative is a voice crying in the wilderness."

51. And yet I have threatened no one with atom bombs, or napalm, or warships. But I can say with satisfaction, O imperialists, that you have lost forever your monopoly on nuclear weapons and that henceforward you can no longer frighten us, freedom-loving peoples, as you once did. For many long years you have been preventing the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations because you feared you would also lose your other monopoly, that of bending the United Nations to your rule. But the peoples will see justice done in this case as well; their will shall prevail over yours, so that the People's Republic of China may occupy its legitimate seat in the United Nations. Mine is not a voice crying in the wilderness. It is you who are isolated, not we. We are in the majority here, we are an overwhelming majority in the world. We are those who defeated Italian and German fascism, we are the immortal heroes of Viet-Nam, Algeria, the Congo, Cuba, Latin America, the heroes of glorious China, Pakistan and the Arab peoples, the heroes of the peoples of Asia and Africa and of the subjugated peoples of Europe and the rest of the world.

52. That is why it is you who tremble, and not we. We shall conquer you, and you will never be able to conquer us.

53. Why are we gathered here now? Do you by any chance wish us to set the seal of our approval on Israel's aggression, give our blessing to the imperialist conspiracy against the Arab peoples, lend our support to plots against the States of the Middle East and the Mediterranean?

54. Are you hoping that at this meeting we will impose on the Arab peoples the imperialist conditions for the settlement of their regional problems from positions of strength?

55. No, we will never accept any such action, as we do not accept that the role of States Members of the United Nations should be reduced to ratifying in one way or another whatever the leaders of the two great Powers may decide outside this Assembly and without its knowledge, in furthering their present conspiracy against the peoples of the world. In particular, nothing can be undertaken without the knowledge and at the cost of the Arab peoples, and

any such attempt would be doomed to failure. Down with the Johnson-Kosygin plot!

56. At this grave time, it is more imperative than ever that the Member States which support the cause of the peoples should strongly and firmly condemn the Israel-imperialist aggression and its predatory and barbarous aims and designs. Out of the Arab lands with the Zionists! The rights of the Palestinian people and of all the other Arab peoples must be restored forthwith. Let it be clearly understood that no right of the Arab peoples over the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba or any other territory of theirs may be usurped or denied.

57. We have had sufficient experience of the aggressive activities and acts of aggression of Hitler's fascism before the Second World War and of United States imperialism since the War to see clearly that a policy of postponement, concession and compromise with the United States and its avowed and secret allies only facilitates the policy of aggression and domination pursued by the United States imperialists and their principal partners and does not further the security and independence of the peaceful countries any more than it protects world peace and security.

58. The events in the Middle East should be an object lesson not only to the Arab countries, but to all small or smallish countries, to all peaceful countries and peoples. Their only road to salvation is to close their ranks in their fight against the imperialist aggressors and the latter's allies and tools. They must not wait, yielding to pressure and mindful of their immediate, narrow and sometimes illusory interests, for the imperialist aggressors and their accomplices to attack the peaceful countries one by one, as the nazis had done under Hitler, and as the United States of America is attempting to do today. All peace-loving countries and peoples, aware of being threatened by a common enemy, aware that the struggle waged by each one of them or a group of them—such as the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and the Arab peoples—is one and indivisible, must mobilize their forces, close their ranks, and achieve indestructible unity; they must fight staunchly, and with all the means at their command in order to defeat their common enemy and to hasten the final victory which is sure to be theirs.

59. There is no other road. The aggressive Powers are using every means and all their energy to trample underfoot the sacred rights, the freedom, independence and sovereignty of peoples and nations. It is our right and our duty to use every means in return to combat these enemies who threaten and attack us daily.

60. The People's Republic of Albania, in pursuit of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy, namely, unqualified support for and full solidarity with the struggle of countries and peoples to defend their freedom and national independence against the imperialist forces of war and aggression, wholly rejects the dictatorial policy of force and blackmail practised by the imperialist Powers and their collaborators, a policy whose aim it is to make peace-loving peoples serve their selfish interests. We denounce the infamous manoeuvres that are still being practised, by means of secret diplomacy, at the expense of the Arab peoples and other peoples as well.

61. The People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have been in the past and always will be the sincere friends of the Arab peoples in their fight against the common enemy. Our peoples are united in an old, traditional friendship, a friendship whose links were forged in ceaseless striving and struggling for national freedom, independence and dignity.

62. The Albanian people is in full solidarity with the just struggle being waged by its brothers, the Arab peoples, a struggle it wholly supports. It has always been and always will be on their side, and it is profoundly convinced that their just cause will triumph.

63. As to the draft resolutions before the General Assembly, my delegation considers the text submitted by the United States of America [A/L.520] to be entirely unacceptable, since, being a document put forward by a State which has taken direct part in the aggression against the Arab countries, it reflects the policy of positions of strength of United States imperialism, which is asking us here to approve a seizure its tool, Israel, has effected by force of arms.

64. Furthermore, the draft resolution submitted by the Kosygin Government [A/L.519] is in reality a bluff, intended to mislead world opinion and to restore that Government's prestige, which has fallen so low because of the betrayal of the sacred cause of the Arab peoples.

65. The Kosygin Government is a zealous partner of United States imperialism and it bears a heavy responsibility for Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. Even as it abandoned the Arab peoples when the aggression occurred, so now, by manoeuvring behind the scenes to arrange for a capitulation, it is attempting to undermine the vital interests of the Arabs, thereby seriously endangering the cause of peace.

66. One last proof of this has been offered us by the press conference which Kosygin held yesterday, on 25 June, and at which, after secret bargaining with Johnson, he announced that he was reducing his proposals of 19 June to a single point and refused to recognize the sovereign rights of the United Arab Republic over the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran.

67. In the spirit of my commentary on the Israel-imperialist aggression in the Middle East, and in accordance with the basic principles of my Government's policy, my delegation submits the following draft resolution<sup>1/</sup> to the General Assembly for approval:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that Israel, at the instigation and with the aid and the direct participation of the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, has committed armed aggression, premeditated and prepared far in advance, against the Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan,

"Noting that Israel, pursuant to its unlawful and absurd territorial claims, and in accordance with its expansionist designs at the expense of the Arab

<sup>1/</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/L.521.

countries, persists in maintaining its occupation of a part of the territories of the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan which it invaded by force of arms,

"Pointing out that the aggression against the Arab States constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the fundamental principles of international law and a serious threat to international peace and security,

"Noting that, during a single decade, Israel has twice committed armed aggression against the Arab countries and that it has become a drill-ground of United States imperialism in the region of the Near and Middle East and a dangerous instrument of incessant imperialist plots against the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of the Arab peoples,

"Bearing in mind the lawful rights of the United Arab Republic over the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran,

"1. Resolutely condemns the Government of Israel for its armed aggression against the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan and for its continued aggression through the maintenance of its occupation of a part of the territories of those countries;

"2. Firmly condemns the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for their incitement, aid and direct participation in this aggression and because they continue to support the aggression and the annexationist claims of Israel;

"3. Insistently demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops from the occupied territories of the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan;

"4. Declares the Government of Israel responsible for all the consequences of the aggression and demands of it complete and immediate reparation for all damage caused by its aggression to the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan and the return of all property which has been plundered;

"5. Confirms that it rests with the Government of the United Arab Republic, and with it alone, to decide whether or not it can permit the passage of vessels of the Israel aggressors through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran."

68. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the hope that the majority of Member States, with due regard to the gravity of the occasion and to their responsibility in the questions we are examining and its repercussions on the international situation, will judge its proposals on their merits and will give it their unqualified support.

*The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.*