

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



**1532nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 22 June 1967,
at 3 p.m.

FIFTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<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>	1

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. CAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (translated from French): This emergency special session of the General Assembly is being held following a tragic war by which the Middle East has been shaken for the third time within two decades. We are all in duty bound to do our utmost to bring about conditions which would prevent a repetition of the catastrophe, ensure the restoration of peace with justice and with respect for the legitimate interests of the parties concerned, and ward off a general deterioration of the already tense world situation.

2. The request for the convening of this session was made at a time when the Security Council was dealing with the question. Nevertheless, my Government acceded to the request, being convinced that all the means available to the United Nations should be mobilized to serve the cause of peace.

3. It is the wish of my delegation that this session, in which so many eminent statesmen are taking part, may be fruitful and justify the hopes the world places in it. We must all of us see to it that these hopes are not disappointed. As our President reminded us [1525th meeting], we must always keep in view the impact of our deliberations on the future of the United Nations. If this forum is used only for invective and sterile polemics, if our debates serve merely to deepen mistrust and hostility, if we attain no constructive results, we shall not only have worsened the situation but we shall have dealt a mortal blow to the prestige and moral influence of the United Nations.

4. The events leading up to the crisis, during the period preceding the hostilities, showed clearly enough that the Middle East had embarked on a perilous and tragic course. Despite the many efforts made at that time to avert the catastrophe, the fact remains that the international community did not use all the

peace means available to it to prevent the outbreak of an armed conflict.

5. As a country situated in the region and having a vital interest in the preservation of peace and tranquillity in the Middle East, Turkey expressed profound misgivings at the developments and did its best to avert events before they had run their fatal course. Unfortunately, the inevitable happened and the storm of war broke over the Middle East, with all its consequences for international peace and security.

6. We deeply deplore the fact that hostilities should have been launched at a time when the Security Council was considering the question and when world diplomacy was endeavouring to find a solution to the main point at issue between the opposing parties.

7. We welcomed the cease-fire which came as the result of the Security Council's unanimous decision [resolution 233 (1967)]. It is nonetheless obvious that this measure, urgent and necessary as it is, does not go nearly far enough. Other measures must be taken, and taken promptly, to solve the immediate problems occasioned by the hostilities and to prepare the ground for an over-all solution which would ensure a lasting peace based on justice and equity.

8. In facing this arduous task, all Members of the United Nations must endeavour to act in an objective spirit, and in discharging their responsibilities their first concern must be to bring to the Middle East a viable peace. The present session must first of all seek to create an atmosphere that would favour co-operation to that end. To my mind, it is in that way that the Assembly can best perform its duty.

9. Because of the vicissitudes of its recent past, the Middle East has become one of the most troubled areas in the world. It may be rich in energy and resources, but it has had to draw on them for military expenditure, rather than for general development. And the recent hostilities have left in their wake even more acute problems and unbearable human suffering. We deeply deplore this situation in a region whose destinies are so closely linked with ours. It has always been Turkey's policy to promote good relations with all its neighbours and other countries in the region. With respect for their political independence and territorial integrity. We have many historical and cultural ties with the Arab countries in particular. At present, we maintain with all these countries cordial relations which are based on a profound affinity and on our common desire to develop a co-operation which would be in our mutual interests and would strengthen peace and stability in our region. We have always advocated a just and fair settlement that would end the tragic

plight of over a million refugees who for twenty years have been leading a precarious and miserable existence and who are now afflicted by fresh suffering and misfortune. We are deeply grieved by the loss of human life, the dislocations and the damage caused by the hostilities. We hastened to send aid to the hardest-hit countries and we are supporting the efforts to organize international assistance on a much larger scale. I take this opportunity to express our profound sympathy and friendship towards the people of the Arab countries and our firm hope that they will soon emerge from this perilous and painful stage of their history.

10. The problems that call for solution in the crisis with which we are concerned are extremely complex. We cannot solve them unless we remain faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The most important principles in this particular context are those enunciated in Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Charter. These provisions direct Members of the United Nations to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

11. Because it respects these principles, the Turkish Government immediately declared that it could not sanction territorial acquisitions resulting from the use of force. This attitude is in line with the basic tenets of our foreign policy. We have always stated that we cannot accept the use of force for the purpose of settling a conflict, acquiring territory, or gaining a commanding position in negotiations or agree that a fait accompli should be made a starting point in seeking a settlement. We are convinced that if this principle were not respected, the very foundations of the Charter and the United Nations would be totally destroyed and we should be back in a world where might is right. This is a crucial question, which concerns not only the present situation in the Middle East but the future of the United Nations and of world peace. The Assembly must therefore call for the withdrawal of Israel forces from the territories they have occupied.

12. The Government of Israel has a great responsibility now. It must, in its own ultimate interest, give proof of its adherence to the principles of the United Nations. It must also refrain from taking any further action which would make it more difficult to restore peace. It should, above all, not create a fait accompli in Jerusalem, and I would at this point remind it of the Turkish people's close interest in the Holy Places in that city. The Israel Government should also scrupulously comply with the Security Council resolution [237 (1967)] calling upon the Governments concerned to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place. All parties should respect the Security Council's resolutions on the cease-fire.

13. It is true that our ultimate objective should be to arrive at an over-all settlement providing a solid and durable basis for peace in the Middle East. There can be no doubt that the countries

concerned are in duty bound to help us to reach that objective.

14. But that is a long-term project, and it would be neither just nor wise to make the solution of short-term problems contingent on the solution of long-term ones.

15. On the other hand, adoption of the measures I have mentioned and removal of the conditions which have directly caused the present crisis would greatly help to improve the situation and create a more favourable climate for the efforts that must be made at once to bring about a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

16. In conclusion, I would once again express my sincere hope that all Members will manifest at this session unmistakable readiness to do all they can in order to bring about the necessary conditions for a peace that would be in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

17. I am certain that we are all mindful of the disastrous consequences and the gaping void that would result if the United Nations were to be found wanting in this critical period of history. Let us endeavour, with good faith and determination, to give proof of the wisdom, efficacy and vitality of our Organization, in the interest of all mankind.

18. Mr. SHCHERBITSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, on behalf of its 46 million people, wishes to inform the special emergency session of the General Assembly that it is seriously concerned at the perilous situation which has developed in the Middle East, a situation which may grow into a crisis of world-wide proportions.

19. Our people associates itself with those who resolutely condemn Israel aggression and who demand an unconditional cessation of such aggression and a reparation of all its consequences.

20. If the present crisis, which has been created by the Government of Israel and its protectors, is not put an end to by peaceful means, we may witness dangerous consequences for which humanity would not forgive us. Therefore, peoples and Governments must clearly recognize the full gravity of the situation, and unite all peace-loving forces in order to prevent the military conflict in the Middle East from developing into another world war.

21. In taking such a stand, we are firmly guided by the principles of consistent defence and strengthening of the peace; these principles are the basis of the foreign policy of socialist States. Our position on this matter is also influenced by the fact that the aggression occurred in the immediate vicinity of our frontiers and consequently represents a threat to the security of the Ukrainian people.

22. The Ukrainian Republic has always unswervingly upheld the right of every people to self-determination, independence and sovereignty. Our relations with all nations are conducted in a spirit of respect for their highest aspirations and dignity, and with the desire to consolidate peace and friendship. The ruling circles of Israel, however, have unfortunately

not pursued the path of peaceful development and good-neighbourly relations.

23. As is well known, there is a considerable number of citizens of Jewish origin in the population of the Ukraine. As representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I am bound to state that the Jewish population of my country takes the same position as does the entire Ukrainian people; it roundly condemns Israel aggression against the Arab peoples, and the policy of the Israel Government which has led to war.

24. The ruling circles of Israel, having closely associated themselves with the policies of the imperialist States, have been playing the shabby role of promoting the latter's interests in the Middle East. In the nineteen years of its existence, Israel has repeatedly taken part in rash military ventures in the region. Recent events have shown beyond any doubt that, on this occasion also, it is Israel which initiated the aggression and is directly responsible for it.

25. No right-thinking and reasonable person can accept the utterly unconvincing statement made by the Israel Foreign Minister, who attempted, in this Assembly, to portray his country as the innocent victim of the policy of the neighbouring Arab States. To resent the matter in such a way is to ignore and twist the facts. It has now been fully proved, and no one can deny it, that Israel had drawn up in advance a detailed plan for broad offensive military operations, and was carefully preparing for an attack on the neighbouring Arab countries.

26. The very fact that it was the Israel air force that took the air in the first hours of the war and bombed the airfields and cities of Arab States, while the aircraft of those States were on the ground, is conclusive evidence that the aggression of Israel was premeditated.

27. It is well known that an aggressor always tries to justify himself. Now the Foreign Minister of Israel, in a feverish attempt to whitewash his country's black deeds, has made false and totally unfounded accusations against the Soviet Union. It would be impossible to imagine any greater cynicism.

28. But the language of truth is simple, and however much the gentlemen from Tel-Aviv may try, and however much mud they may throw on those who defended international peace and security, they have not succeeded, and will not succeed, in deceiving the peoples of the world or in concealing the fact that Israel was the initiator of the present conflict in the Middle East, and is the real aggressor.

29. Of course, the Israel aggressors now wish to escape responsibility, and to divert the blame from the guilty to the innocent.

30. They are even claiming that the decision of Secretary-General U Thant to withdraw the United Nations Emergency Force from the territory of the United Arab Republic, in accordance with its Government's request, worsened the situation in the Middle East.

31. We believe that the Secretary-General has convincingly, and with dignity, refuted Israel's unfounded assertions in this respect.

32. Furthermore, there is not the least doubt that the Israel adventure was prompted by the attitude of the United States of America and the United Kingdom; had that attitude been different, Israel would never have dared to undertake actions so risky and so dangerous to the cause of peace, Israel would not have dared to ignore so blatantly the Security Council's reiterated demands for an immediate cease-fire.

33. Everyone knows that the Israeli forces suspended hostilities only after repeated demands by the Security Council and after Israel had been sternly warned that sanctions would be applied and a number of countries had broken off diplomatic relations with it. The facts show that during all this time the unbridled aggressor, ignoring the Security Council's resolutions, continued to seize foreign territories, subjected administrative, industrial and cultural centres of the Arab States to barbarous bombing, and sought to achieve its main strategic objectives as quickly as possible.

34. And now the rulers of Tel Aviv, in defiance of all peace-loving countries and peoples, intend to hold on to the territory they seized by means of aggression.

35. It is quite clear that, in opposing the convening of this emergency session of the General Assembly, Israel and the United States of America counted on improving their chances of imposing their terms on the Arab States from a position of strength.

36. Because of the insistence of peace-loving countries and peoples, military activities have now ceased; however, the aggression goes on, for Israel continues to occupy sizable parts of the territory of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan.

37. How can those who oppose troop withdrawal fail to understand that the presence of invaders of foreign territories is fraught with great risk of an outbreak of war and hostilities at any moment? Those who argue that Israel troops should remain in the territory of the Arab countries, or should be withdrawn on certain conditions, are in fact advocating a continuation of warfare and tension in the Middle East.

38. In view of the need for immediate elimination of the consequences of aggression, the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic supported the initiative of the Soviet Union in convening an emergency session of the General Assembly, and it hopes that the United Nations—a forum representing almost all the States of the world—will take a decision conducive to strengthening the peace in the Middle East.

39. It is well known that the imperialist States' policy in the Middle East has always been dictated by the interests of the monopolies.

40. The strengthening of their national sovereignty and the far-reaching social reforms undertaken by a number of Arab States in order to free themselves from the burdensome legacy of colonialist rule have made the imperialist Powers feel that both their

economic position and their political and strategic interests were threatened so that they began to seek ways and means of undermining the sovereignty and independence of the Arab States. The eyes and hopes of imperialism turned to Israel, which, as we know, willingly became a spearhead in the struggle against the Arab States, which were pursuing an independent national policy.

41. Thus, Israel aggression against the Arab States was made possible by the broad collusion among certain imperialist Powers, based on their desire to impose a neo-colonialist order on the peoples of the Middle East. The invasion of the United Arab Republic, and then of Syria and Jordan, by the hosts of Israel was a logical outcome of the aggressive course which Israel has pursued since it became a State.

42. We consider, therefore, that the United Nations must take a firm stand for the elimination of aggression and of all its consequences. It must compel Israel to withdraw its forces at once behind the 1949 Armistice Lines, and to leave the occupied Arab territories; and it must do so without delay. Any delay, any postponement of the solution of this problem would signify encouragement of aggression and connivance and collaboration with the aggressor.

43. It must be clear to us all that the peoples of the world will judge the basic principles underlying the policies of States and their Governments in the light of the position which those States and Governments adopt with regard to this question.

44. The wave of concern and alarm caused by the sudden outbreak of war in the Middle East, a war into whose maelstrom over ten countries were swiftly drawn, spread with enormous speed across the whole world. Honest people throughout the world are concerned lest this conflict becomes a prelude to terrible events.

45. It is an open secret that the war situation in the Middle East brought about by Israeli aggression is but one manifestation of the aggressive policy pursued by imperialism in various parts of the world.

46. The same policy of lawlessness and crime is being applied by the United States in its dirty war against Viet-Nam and in its interference in the affairs of Laos and Cambodia. That same policy led to military intervention in the Dominican Republic. Again, imperialism stubbornly strives to safeguard colonialism and racism in South Africa and in several other places.

47. The actions of the West German revanchists, those spiritual heirs of Hitlerism, who thirst for nuclear weapons and are yearning to change the post-war map of Europe, are a link in the same chain.

48. In the present international situation a heavy burden of responsibility rests on those who formulate and execute State policy. The peoples of the world and history itself will not forgive those Governments and statesmen who, for the sake of purely selfish aims and interests, are reckless enough to put to the test the peace of the world and the future of mankind. Everyone who realizes this can see that

the irresponsible rulers of Israel are playing with fire.

49. Intoxicated by temporary success, which is due to a number of transient factors, the Israel rulers believe that they can now dictate their terms to the countries of the Middle East. They openly declare their intention to annex to Israel part of the occupied territory of the Arab States, and to use the remainder as a sort of bargaining currency.

50. What does such a position on the part of the Israel Government imply?

51. It implies that the aggressor seeks to profit with impunity from his aggression and to establish relations with neighbouring States from a position of strength, although his own strength is not sufficient for that purpose and although modern international law, as we all know, prohibits war as a means of settling disputes between States.

52. Surely this is a most blatant and arrogant violation of the primary principles and laws upon which States must base their relations. To permit Israel to follow this course is tantamount to legalizing war and to substituting it for the fundamental provisions of the United Nations Charter.

53. The Ukrainian people, together with the peoples of other socialist countries and the whole of world opinion, indignantly reject the absurd territorial claims of the Israeli invaders on neighbouring Arab countries.

54. In the settlement of the situation in the Middle East, Israel must not be allowed to profit in any way from its aggression. Yet just such an opportunity would be given to Israel by the United States draft resolution, the basic purport of which, in fact, is to consolidate the results of aggression.

55. If the General Assembly should accept the United States proposal, it would not only be allowing the aggressor to go unpunished, but in fact would be approving the aggression and rewarding the aggressor. For this reason, the Ukrainian delegation considers the United States draft resolution to be entirely unacceptable, and will vote against it.

56. Under the Charter, the United Nations is to "...take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression". It goes without saying that, in the situation created by Israel's military aggression, the General Assembly must act without delay and in strict accordance with the Charter.

57. The General Assembly must find a solution which would ensure a lasting peace in the Middle East. This would be in the vital interests of all peoples, and particularly the peoples of the Middle East.

58. The draft resolution [A/L.519] submitted for the consideration of the emergency special session of the General Assembly by Mr. Kosygin, the Head of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is in full accord with the lofty purposes of the United Nations.

59. Based on considerations of principles and fairness, the USSR draft resolution clearly specifies the measures which should be taken without delay in order to halt aggression and restore peace in the area. It strongly condemns the aggressive acts of Israel and its continued occupation of Arab territory. It demands that Israel should immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from that territory behind the Armistice Line and respect the status of the demilitarized zones. It also rightly requires Israel to make amends for the damage inflicted on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, and make restitution to such of their people as have suffered thereby.

60. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, expressing the views and wishes of its people, declares its full support for the USSR draft resolution; my delegation will, of course, vote for it.

61. My delegation wishes to reaffirm from this rostrum that the Ukrainian people, together with the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other socialist States, is in solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries.

62. Ukrainians are particularly affected by the sufferings of the Arab workers. Time has not erased, and never will erase, from their memory the dreadful times when the nazi invaders, during their occupation of the Ukraine, brought ruin and death to millions, drove people from their towns and villages, herded them into concentration camps, carried out mass executions, looted and exported valuable property, and doomed women, children and old people to starvation.

63. Why do the leaders of Israel give no thought to the indignation aroused in the world's peoples by the misrule of their soldiery in the occupied Arab territories? Why do they not ponder on what the millions of victims of the Second World War, of many different countries and other nationalities, would say if they could learn the truth about the Israeli invaders, whose deeds remind us so much of the black days of nazi aggression?

64. This emergency special session of the General Assembly is concerned with defence of the most important principles in international relations, with observance of the rules of international law, with protection of the victims of aggression and with giving a rebuff to neo-colonialism, of which Israel is a tool.

65. We are convinced that all peace-loving countries, and all those who are really struggling for the rights of peoples and nations to sovereign existence and for their independence and territorial integrity, will condemn Israeli aggression and will see to it that its consequences are wiped out.

66. May I express the hope that this emergency special session of the General Assembly will do its duty and take action resolutely and without delay along these lines.

67. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic calls on the representatives of Member States at this emergency special session of the General Assembly to do their utmost to fulfil the hopes of peoples for peace and justice.

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.