



Thursday, 29 June 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

CONTENTS

<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 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)

1. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that yesterday I placed myself at the disposal of all delegations so that I could have the benefit of exchanging views with them before I confirmed the time-table. A number of delegations have been kind enough to give me the benefit of their views. One of those delegations expressed some reservations about the hour of the time-limit for the submission of proposals. In the interest of unanimity, therefore, the time-limit for the submission of proposals will be 1 o'clock in the afternoon on Monday, 3 July, instead of 11 o'clock in the morning as originally envisaged.

2. I wish to inform Members that I intend to set the time-limit for submission of amendments, if any, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Tuesday, 4 July. This, however, is open for consultations. I shall confirm this time-limit and ask the consent of the Assembly at the beginning of the meeting tomorrow morning.

3. After the conclusion of the general debate on Friday morning, 30 June, the Assembly will proceed to the consideration of the various draft resolutions before it. The question of priority in dealing with one of them, as requested by the representative of Yugoslavia [1540th meeting], will be considered at that time.

4. The representative of Jordan has asked for the floor on a point of order and I now call on him.

5. Mr. EL FARRA (Jordan): In his statement to the Assembly on Monday, 26 June 1967 [1536th meeting], His Majesty the King of Jordan referred to the widespread use of napalm and fragmentary bombs by the Israeli military authorities against Jordanian civilians and soldiers. We now have with us photographs showing the victims of these inhuman methods. We feel that it would be most helpful if these photographs were distributed to Members of this Assembly and we hope, Mr. President, that

you will make it possible for my delegation to distribute them now.

6. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly have heard the point of order that has been raised by the representative of Jordan. He was kind enough to consult me in my office this morning and to make the request that he has just expressed in his point of order. I am most grateful to him for having done that. I explained to him that, under the normal practice and procedure, I could not agree to distribution by the Secretariat of the photographs to which he has referred. However, I agreed to give him the floor—as, of course, I would agree to give the floor to any representative who wished to raise a matter before the General Assembly.

7. The Assembly has now heard the point of order of the representative of Jordan, and I am in the hands of the Members. Is there any objection to the request made by the representative of Jordan? I would only point out that if the Assembly does agree to the distribution of the photographs in question, that distribution will be made, not by the Secretariat, but by the delegation of Jordan.

8. Since there is no objection, I take it that it is the consensus of the Assembly that the photographs should be distributed to Members of the Assembly by the delegation of Jordan.

It was so decided.

9. Mr. GARCIA SAYAN (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, we are nearing the end of the general debate at this emergency special session, over which you are presiding with your well-known authority and intelligence, and the world is still waiting to see whether any way will be found to solve the problems which we have come here to consider. These problems are of almost unprecedented complexity, for they extend beyond the actual area of the Middle East, involving not only the parties to the dispute but also the super-Powers in a political disagreement and the adoption of positions that endanger world peace.

10. Eloquent speakers have already drawn attention to the moderating and disinterested role that can be played by countries such as those of Latin America and others of the so-called "third world", which, though geographically far removed from the scene of hostilities, have a deep sense of their responsibility as Members of the United Nations and consequently wish to help in arriving at a formula for peace that will be lawful, humanitarian and effective in its application.

11. Imbued with this spirit, the delegation of Peru is taking part in this session with a clear idea of

its duty as a founder Member of the United Nations, as also of the Organization of American States, which may well be regarded as the fore-runner of the modern association of States. Peru, which fully respects all the rules of international coexistence laid down in the Charters of those two Organizations, has always allowed its conduct to be guided by its attachment to principles such as those that are at stake in the present crisis, namely, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the territorial integrity and the political sovereignty of States. The dramatic events that have brought us here have caused more than a few people to wonder whether the United Nations will be able to settle the crisis by upholding and reaffirming the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter and whether it will be able to restore legality and justice in the cases in which they have been violated and make use of the procedures provided in the Charter itself for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

12. My delegation is among those which feel that, despite the heated mutual recriminations that we have heard, and despite the gravity of the deeds that preceded the military operations and the results of those operations, we may hope that the parties in dispute and the great Powers will allow their good sense to guide them in arriving at agreements and procedures that will make it unnecessary to have recourse to the coercive measures authorized by the Charter.

13. In my country, Arab and Jewish communities live side by side in peace, to their mutual advantage, and we feel the same friendliness towards one as towards the other. The Arab contribution to our culture, which Spain brought us, has survived through the centuries in our art, customs and idiomatic expressions. On the other hand, the special fact that the Jewish race had prevailed in Palestine for over a thousand years, together with the barbarous acts of extermination committed against that race in Europe during the Second World War, made my Government decide to support the 1947 resolution [181 (II)] by which the State of Israel was created.

14. Since then we have contributed to the adoption of the successive United Nations resolutions during the hostilities of 1948 and 1956, and we have come to this Assembly with the same ardent desire to help to find a just and lasting solution to the present problem.

15. In view of the way in which the recent happenings in the Middle East have occurred, we do not think that this Assembly can set itself up as a judge to consider the guilt and responsibility of those involved in the dispute or to condemn one or the other of the parties. We feel, rather, that the Assembly should bend its efforts to creating the proper atmosphere that will allow of the just and lasting solution which is our goal. The Assembly will have to take into consideration the various problems involved in the matter, namely, the fact that Arab territory is occupied by Israel forces; the fate of the refugees and compensation for the damage they have suffered; the status of the city of Jerusalem; the methods or means whereby, through direct negotiations or in some other way, the Arab countries can be brought

to recognize the State of Israel, with mutual guarantees of respect for the territorial integrity and the legal personality of the States in dispute; and the question of freedom of navigation through international straits and canals.

16. There can be no doubt that the task of finding a satisfactory solution to these problems will be extremely hard. The withdrawal of the occupying troops is of course essential but it is not enough. The mere return to the *status quo* would not be a guarantee of security and could lead to a resumption of hostilities if it was not accompanied by some kind of preventive measures.

17. Meanwhile, unilateral measures by the Government of Israel to annex the whole of the city of Jerusalem, as announced in the Press yesterday, would not be acceptable to my delegation. Moreover, they would imply a complete disregard of the purposes for which this Assembly is meeting. We must hope that such an illegal attitude will not be reflected in deeds.

18. For the sake of brevity, I shall end my statement by summing up, in the light of what I have said, the points which in my delegation's opinion should guide us in preparing the resolution that the Assembly will adopt. They are the following:

(1) Withdrawal of the military forces of Israel that are occupying Syrian, Jordanian and Egyptian territory to the armistice lines of 4 June 1967.

(2) The establishment, concurrently with the withdrawal of Israel's forces, of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the armistice lines, with United Nations forces present.

(3) The appointment by this General Assembly of a special commissioner or commissioners of indisputable qualifications, as has been suggested, to inform the Security Council of the situation in the area of conflict and at the same time to advise on the special and urgent steps that should be taken for the resettlement of those who have become refugees as a result of the recent hostilities and to provide them with decent human living conditions. Such a commissioner or commissioners would work in co-operation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

(4) Affirmation and recognition of Israel's right to the free passage of its vessels through the Suez Canal, the Tiranian Straits and the Gulf of Aqaba.

(5) While the possibility of applying the special régime established in resolution 181 (II) to the city of Jerusalem is being considered, the internationalization of the city should be limited to the following formula. A régime of territorial internationalization under the authority of the United Nations should be established for the area comprising the old walled city of Jerusalem, which, as is well known, embraces the most important places venerated by the Christian, Moslem and Jewish religions. With regard to the other places in the vicinity of Jerusalem that are revered by the Christian faith, the international régime to be established could operate to ensure their protection and free access to them. In that way, and while a peace treaty is being signed between the two parties to the dispute, with the withdrawal of the Israel troops to

the armistice lines outside the walled city, the territories bordering on the old walled city that Jordan occupied before the outbreak of hostilities would return to that country's administration. Thus free access to the Holy Places in the walled city, whether from the Jordanian or from the Israel side, would not give rise to any interference or cause any friction.

(6) Once the foregoing proposals have been carried out, the parties to the dispute should be urged to negotiate directly to put an end to the state of belligerency and to agree upon a peace treaty in which the independence and territorial integrity of all the States involved in the dispute would be recognized and their determination to settle their differences in future through the procedures provided in the United Nations Charter would be reaffirmed. Similarly, in the absence of direct negotiations, they should be urged to accept the mediation of the United Nations or of a group of States, all that without prejudice to any other of the methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided in the Charter.

19. This list of basic measures is not intended to be complete or exclude any others which could help in the drafting of a resolution that would be able to command the necessary majority in the Assembly. The points I have proposed can of course be co-ordinated with the points set forth in the draft resolutions already submitted or yet to be submitted.

20. We therefore hope that with these elements it will be possible to produce a text that will reaffirm confidence in the United Nations and will put an end to the present crisis in the Middle East and do away with situations that have been brought about by force. Thus this region that has suffered such disturbances will know a new era of lasting peaceful coexistence, based on law, in brotherhood and human dignity, under the auspices of the United Nations.

21. Mr. SAKKAF (Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia): In the name of God the merciful and compassionate:

22. The present situation in the Arab world is more than alarming. The Arab people at large have been so aroused by the recent aggression of the Zionists that no one can predict the outcome. Under no circumstances will the Arab world compromise with such flagrant aggression.

23. All Arabs have considered Israel from its inception the tool of those imperialist Powers which helped in creating it in order to drive a wedge into the very heart of the Arab homeland. Ever since the creation of Israel, whose rulers hailed from Eastern Europe, successive Saudi Arabian delegations to the United Nations have made it patently clear that there can be no peace in the Middle East, and possibly in the world, as long as this alien body remains in our midst.

24. The principle of self-determination enshrined in the United Nations Charter has consistently been flouted and trodden underfoot by the imperialist Powers cajoling their pet child, Israel, and allowing it to get away with murder. Strange indeed it is that these imperialist Powers should do so whilst they profess their zeal for maintaining world peace. The Israeli

aggression which started on 5 June is only a link in a long chain of wanton acts against the Arab world—not only the Arab world but against Islam itself.

25. Yet, the imperialist Powers have not been stirred or apparently even concerned by the fall of Jerusalem into Zionist hands. We do not know about Christians, but no Moslem with any dignity and respect for his noble religion can accept that the flag of political Zionism be hoisted over the Holy City of Jerusalem. So arrogant are these Zionists as to have raised their national emblem over the minaret of a mosque. Their aggression, whether territorial or by the invasion of of the innermost sanctums, will surely one day be punished. There shall be a day of reckoning. And the imperialist Powers still stubbornly talk of peace in the Holy Land. It is childish to think that there will be peace in the Holy Land, when Zionism is permitted to have a free hand in desecrating what is most holy to millions upon millions—indeed, I dare say, to at least half of all mankind.

26. Without going into the historical background of previous Israeli aggressions, since our delegation has amply described the factors that contributed to the imposition of Israel upon the Arab homeland, I find it imperative to focus the attention of this Assembly on the present grave situation which, to say the least, may sooner or later lead to a third world war.

27. Once and for all, my Government is in duty bound to draw the attention of this Assembly to the following facts.

28. First, it would be futile and a waste of time to envisage a shred of possibility that the Arabs can be brought through pressure to talk peace terms, either directly or indirectly, with the usurpers. No intermediary or third party, no matter how honest or well-intentioned, can change the tenor or temper of the whole Arab world regarding the aggressor, whom the imperialist Powers are using as an excuse for their continued intervention in the political and economic affairs of Arab countries.

29. The imperialist Powers should remove from their minds the idea that with time the wounds inflicted on the Arabs will heal. These wounds were not caused only by recent events; they have been with the Arabs ever since the Zionists became an exponent of colonialism in the Holy Land. The presence of the Zionist usurpers in our midst may be likened to an abscess in the body-politic and body-social of the Arab homeland. The fever fomented in the body-politic and the body-social of the Arab people will not subside until the pus causing it is squeezed out of the abscess, which happens to be the artificial State that is the cause of the malady.

30. Second, we do hope that this Assembly will realize that no Arab Government, regardless of its political system or ideology, can maintain itself in power if it contemplates any solution or arrangement based upon the acceptance of these alien usurpers in the heart of the Arab world. The will of the Arab people rules out any contemplated plan contrived to perpetuate the coexistence of the aggressor in the Holy Land. Arab Governments would be toppled if they declared their willingness to be a party to any plan based upon their acceptance of the usurpers in their midst.

Does it become understandable why there can be no real peace in the Middle East as long as Israel exists as a State? This question does not imply that the Arabs wish to exterminate the Jews, as some of the foes of the Arabs have alleged. All that the Arabs would like to make clear is that the Arab people will not accept any solution whatsoever aimed at letting the aggressor get away with the spoils.

31. Third, and consequently, the first step to be taken to lower somewhat the high fever afflicting the body of the Arab world would be for all peace-loving nations to compel Israel to withdraw from all the territories, including the Old City of Jerusalem, which it has invaded in contravention of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. If the Zionists fail to do so, we wish to warn this Assembly that sooner or later a Holy War will be unleashed; if not by devout Christians, it will eventually be waged by Muslims, whose aroused emotions seem to be underestimated, especially by the imperialist Powers.

32. Lest anyone in this Assembly think that we are trying to magnify the dangers obtaining from this grave situation, I should like to read only one of the cables that are quite explicit as to how Muslims feel about the recent Israeli aggression. None other than the Secretary-General of the World Muslim Congress, located in Karachi, Pakistan, Mr. Inaamuallah Khan, has made available to some of his Muslim brethren the contents of a cable he sent to Secretary-General U Thant. That cable reads as follows:

"World Muslim Congress on behalf Muslim peoples of the world urges withdrawal of Israelis from areas occupied through aggression. No peace or settlement possible unless aggression liquidated. Muslim peoples upset especially about the occupation of the Holy City of Jerusalem."

The word "upset" is an understatement.

33. The Government of Saudi Arabia, more than any other, has the privilege of being genuinely familiar with the temper of Muslims all over the world. This is so if for no other reason than that every year we receive close to a million pilgrims who throng the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Heads of State and people from all walks of life every year perform the duty of the hajj in Saudi Arabia. Quite a large number of these pilgrims find their way to Jerusalem to pray inside the third holy shrine of Islam and in particular, the Mosque of Omar, which is one of the prides of Islam. Do you expect these devout Muslims to agree to traverse the territory of the usurpers in order to reach the Mosque of Omar? We would be fooling ourselves if we were to be complacent about the submission of 600 million Muslims—I repeat, 600 million Muslims—to the authority of Zionist aggressors who have proven to be the tools of imperialism, indeed of neo-colonialism, which is rearing its head in the world today.

34. Saudi Arabia is the custodian of the holy cities of Islam and, as such, we have our thumb on the pulse of our Muslim brothers everywhere. We would not be honest with you nor with ourselves were we to be remiss in our duty to warn you that Muslims will never accept this situation. Religious emotions will

erupt like a volcano and destroy everything around them. Do not underestimate or belittle the fervour of Islam.

35. The stone mills of Islam at the beginning may grind slowly, but one can never know that they will not, without warning, grind on and on without anyone succeeding in stopping them—unless the Zionists prevail upon the imperialist Powers to plunge the whole world into a holocaust which would mean the end of mankind on this planet.

36. Fourth, leaving aside the legal arguments that have been ably adduced by my Arab and other colleagues in this Assembly—for indeed nothing could be added to make these arguments clearer—I must state what the Saudi Arabian delegation to the United Nations has said repeatedly: that the colonial Power that held the mandate over Palestine had no right whatsoever to betray the native majority of the land by paving the way for robbing them of their homes and land. Likewise, the leaders of the Western world had no right whatsoever inside this very United Nations to manoeuvre and be manoeuvred in the spring of 1947 into partitioning the Holy Land and turning over the best part of it to Western Zionists. These States manipulated the United Nations without regard to the letter and spirit of its Charter. Hence, the creation of Israel by all sorts of shady means, including pressures and even bribery, was at once immoral and illegal, to say the least.

37. Our representative at the United Nations has repeatedly unfolded the story of all sorts of machinations which have culminated in the present tragedy. We have an Arabic proverb which states: "Anything erected on a false foundation is bound to fall down". Policies persistently pursued by Western politicians have totally back-fired. For more than twenty years, in fact since 1945, when Franklin D. Roosevelt assured the late King Abdul Aziz Al Saud that nothing would be done regarding Palestine without the consent of the Arabs, we have warned successive American and friendly Western Governments of the injustice of supporting political Zionism in the Holy Land. Our warnings have been repeatedly unheeded. With what result? With the result of bringing about a human tragedy whose repercussions in this nuclear age may spell out the end of mankind.

38. Will the grave warning we are making today again be ignored by the self-same Powers which physically and morally helped to foist a new colonialism in our midst? Indeed, if transplanting a Western Zionist State in the Holy Land had not been stark colonialism, there would have been no vehement reaction by the Arab world to this injustice. Hence, Israel is Western colonialism by proxy. The oriental Jews had nothing to do with its creation. It is not, therefore, strange that they should be looked down upon by the racially non-Semitic Western Zionists.

39. Fifth, again without going into legalistic arguments we must state forthwith that the Gulf of Aqaba has never been considered throughout the ages as anything but the territorial waters of the Arab lands. It was by sheer aggression that Israel established an outlet on that Gulf, beyond the armistice lines. How could anyone in all honesty in the era of the United Nations claim that a right to any given terri-

tory, large or small, may be established by force of arms? Of course, everything is justifiable for Israel in the fawning eyes of certain Powers that could not help but gloat over whatever Israel does. Indeed, how true it is that Israel is the pet child of the West.

40. Sixth, who can doubt the bad faith of those Western Zionists when, time and again, it has become evident that they never respect the authority of the United Nations except when it serves their interests. To be specific, in spite of the fact that the partition of Palestine was illegal, the Zionist leaders have cast to the four winds the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular the provisions having to do with the refugees and the demarcation of frontiers. Resorting to all kinds of bogus excuses, these Zionist leaders grabbed twenty-six per cent of additional territory that had in any case been unjustly allotted to them, including the port they established on the Gulf of Aqaba; and they still have the effrontery to talk of innocent passage through that Gulf.

41. And what about the one million three hundred thousand Palestinian refugees whose homes and orchards—in fact all their possessions—were confiscated by these leaders who claim the prophet Micah and Isaiah in name only? For, ever since they usurped the Holy Land from its native people, they have shut their eyes and blocked their ears to the teachings of those two prophets who have always been the pride of Judaism. Whom do those blood-thirsty Western Zionists think they are fooling? They are fooling only themselves.

42. What does the future hold in store, in the face of the present tragedy? Uprisings, riots, eruptions, rebellions and possibly uncontrolled anarchy in the Middle East. National and foreign interests may be jeopardized if the pent-up emotions of the Arabs and Muslims are let loose—not by Arab Governments, which, like all Governments, are for public peace and order, but by the crowds who in the anguish of their hearts may find relief only in killing, destroying or burning, sweeping the land like one hurricane after another until nothing is left but death and devastation.

43. How then could the imperialist Powers contain such a hazardous situation in order to re-establish some sort of stability? By force of arms? This would mean the prelude to a world war. Or by setting up puppet Governments which would be ready to kowtow to and be at the beck and call of their imperialist masters? The anguished people would very quickly rise against those puppets and tread them underfoot. The age of puppets is over. Stability cannot be achieved by such antiquated means.

44. One might ask: is there no remedy for this situation? There can be no remedy other than that which brings about peace with justice as prescribed in the United Nations Charter. There can be no justice unless the Zionist leaders are persuaded to open wide the gates of emigration for the countless Eastern European Zionists who may wish to build a better future outside the desecrated Holy Land, and not stay there with the Sword of Damocles constantly hanging over their heads.

45. At the same time, these Zionists leaders should open wide the gates of immigration for those Palestinian refugees who express the desire to return to their homes and the soil which their ancestors and their ancestors' ancestors had owned for over fifteen centuries—some of them most likely since the days of Jesus. Let the Western Zionists go back to where they belong in Europe or America, where their co-religionists have greatly prospered and are still prospering, instead of being caught without let-up in the whirlwind of turmoil and turbulence.

46. No one can impose peace upon the Arab World. There might be short spells of false quiet to be followed by spontaneous conflicts—one conflict after another, until in the end outside Powers will be sucked in by the whirlpool and peace will then only be the peace of the grave.

47. If Jewish sentiments have been played upon, it is because militant political Zionists hailing from the West have, through the mass media of information they control, enlisted their support to fulfil a dream that unfortunately has turned into a nightmare—nightmare for Arabs and Jews alike. There shall be no peace without justice in the Holy Land no matter how much or how long we quibble about legal contentions in support of this side or the other side.

48. The Chief of State of Saudi Arabia, His Majesty King Faisal, addressing a popular rally held in Riyadh a few days ago, declared that any country supporting Israel in any way in its aggression against the Arabs is considered as engaging in hostile acts against Saudi Arabia. His Majesty has never been known to mince words.

49. Rallying to the Arab cause, Islamic countries that have been roused by this latest perfidy against their Arab brothers have sent a number of their leaders to participate in the debate in this Assembly with the hope of redressing the wrong continuously done to the Arab nation during the last twenty years.

50. It remains to be seen whether the imperialist Powers will wish finally to see the light, instead of still roaming in the darkness by supporting a new colonial adventure which may push us all into the deep abyss of annihilation.

51. May God the Almighty and Compassionate guide us all on to the right path.

52. Raja AZNAM (Malaysia): When the war broke out on 5 June 1967, the world was shocked. With the war, death and destruction ensued, bringing suffering to many thousands of people. My delegation was therefore encouraged when the Security Council was able to call for an effective cease-fire. A cease-fire is only the first step. The task for this emergency special session must surely be to consider positive action towards restoring peace and stability in the Middle East. It was for this reason that Malaysia immediately responded favourably to the request for the convening of this special session.

53. Malaysia, like other Member States, cherishes its membership in the United Nations and all the purposes it stands for. My delegation is of the opinion that there are peaceful as well as aggressive ways of bringing about a solution to the problem

of the Middle East. The former, if feasible, would produce a more lasting result and would be free from continued feelings of hatred and animosity. But apart from causing death and destruction all around, the settling of disputes by force of arms, in this instance against the Arabs, in our estimation is not in accord with the provisions set out in the United Nations Charter. What probably could be of greater significance is that if aggressive States seek to expand by forceful means, even though the original excuse was self-defence, and if the United Nations is ineffective and the super-Powers are powerless to resolve a problem such as this peacefully and with justice, the danger of a similar threat from outside for the small developing States will always be present, thus constituting a cause for concern for these defenceless countries. This in turn will remove the sense of peace and security so necessary in any given region for the preservation of political, economic and social stability.

54. It is our hope that in matters of war and peace the United Nations could still provide the means to tilt the balance in favour of peace, preferably a lasting peace and, certainly, with fairness and equity. When the territorial integrity of a State is violated, the United Nations must not condone this act of aggression, lest either justice go by the board or the heat of the situation cause a conflagration of world-wide magnitude.

55. The hostilities in the Middle East have caused vibrations far and wide. Recent reports on the political stands enunciated by world leaders since the outbreak of hostilities have shown a kaleidoscopic rearrangement of political attitudes taken by countries whose Governments are known normally to belong to a definite alignment. We wish to associate ourselves with other representatives who have spoken earlier in expressing the hope that a just and peaceful solution to the problem of the Middle East can be found, and found effectively as well as promptly for the people of the area.

56. In our judgement, one of the two main aspects of the Palestine problem is the humanitarian one, namely, the refugee problem. The recent crisis has aggravated the problem of the refugees and disrupted the lives of those Arabs, and in particular the Palestine Arabs, who for a second time in the last nineteen years have had to evacuate and move to new homes or camps, having been deprived of their land, property, and in many instances, their means of livelihood. Our appreciation goes to the benevolent work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in this humanitarian task and to those countries which have contributed toward making the Agency's work feasible.

57. His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan warned us in his solemn speech in this Hall that unless the United Nations takes speedy and effective action

"the plight of refugees will double in size, sorrow, misery and death. Not only are thousands of older refugees fleeing from the camps that have been their lot for nineteen years, but thousands more new refugees are being created. These are the fruits of Israeli victory." [1536th meeting, para. 19.]

58. You too, Mr. President, have appealed to all Member States to make whatever contributions they can to arrest this tragic situation amongst the refugees, a situation which has become a lot more serious in terms of human suffering since the outbreak of hostilities on 5 June. We note that other Members have made definite commitments on financial contributions to this humanitarian cause. I wish to take this opportunity to state that the Government of Malaysia, whose appreciation of the plight of the refugees is evidenced by past contributions, has decided to make \$US10,000 available to the refugees through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

59. It is, however, the firm belief of my delegation that the long-term solution of the Palestine problem is a political one. As a result of the recent Israeli military occupation of the Arab territories, the problem has become more acute. We hold to the view that the territorial integrity of States is inviolable, with the attendant implications of that stand. As such, my delegation, consistent with this policy, believes that the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories which they now occupy must be effected before any meaningful negotiations can be carried out. It is impossible for the Malaysian delegation to accept that negotiations could be fruitfully conducted with one party talking from a position of strength, having climbed to that position by means of a fait accompli.

60. The Palestine problem is indeed a challenge to this Organization. Three times in the last two decades serious hostilities have broken out in the Middle East. The root cause goes back to the partitioning of Palestine in 1947. The General Assembly as well as the Security Council has discussed this issue in the past and we are today witnessing yet another debate while the situation becomes graver and feelings become more intense. The Security Council has, with some difficulties, successfully brought about a cease-fire in the Middle East. The challenge that this body has to face up to is to work out a solution with promptness and justice. The deliberations in this emergency special session and the debates in the Security Council will, we earnestly hope, restore peace and ensure security in the area. If this problem were left as it is, or if some settlement were made in which justice were found wanting, there would be neither peace nor security but instead animosity and instability.

61. The Malaysian delegation, in short, considers it unacceptable that withdrawal of Israeli forces should be linked to a political settlement. The fruits of aggression may look juicy when freshly plucked. But the very plucking should not have been condoned in the first place, and the act will, as the years go by, harbour increasing animosity between the Arabs and the Israelis. Unless, therefore, the Israeli forces are withdrawn to the position prior to the recent fighting, a peace settlement cannot be worked out fairly, and we may by implication be condoning aggression by one State against another.

62. My delegation has arrived at this conclusion because of our consistent policy that forceful occupation of Arab territories constitutes aggression. We would find it inconsistent if the United Nations were to remain silent and appear reluctant to express

condemnation. The condoning of an aggression may have its unfortunate ramifications in the years to come, under different circumstances, perhaps, and in different regions, possibly. The world, in looking back to the present crisis, if aggression is condoned, will find no outlet for a peaceful solution if such a precedent is established.

63. While speaking on the point of aggression, may I say that it was with great dismay that we learned yesterday through the information media that the Israeli authorities have passed legislation annexing Old Jerusalem. My delegation categorically rejects and condemns this illegal annexation of Jordanian territory.

64. In comparing the Suez crisis of 1956 to the recent outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, my delegation feels that some of the Powers directly involved and the other nations indirectly interested have become, as it were, wiser but sadder. Quite a number have grown obviously wiser while yet a few have chosen to be neither.

65. In conclusion, may I summarize the position of the Malaysian Government. First, this Assembly should call upon Israel to withdraw its forces to their position prior to the outbreak of hostilities on 5 June. Without this, no meaningful negotiation or settlement could be arrived at. Second, we consider that the occupation of United Arab Republic, Jordanian and Syrian territories by the Israeli forces constitutes a violation of the territorial integrity of those Arab States. Such violations cannot be condoned if we are to uphold the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and should therefore be condemned.

66. With the effective implementation of a cease-fire on the ground, the breathing space called for by the Secretary-General was achieved. But let not the political settlement of the Palestine problem, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for the last nineteen years, leave the Arabs short of breath and with diminished area. This could be the net result of our deliberations, should Member States allow the fait accompli caused by Israeli occupation of Arab territories to go unchallenged.

67. My delegation has studied the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Yugoslavia [A/L.522]. We are willing to lend our support to this draft resolution, despite my earlier remarks, since we believe that it will have the support of the Assembly.

68. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, my delegation is happy that in the conduct of these critical deliberations under your distinguished leadership, we have the benefit of your wisdom and your long experience in the United Nations.

69. The emergency special session of the General Assembly is faced with a problem of grave and far-reaching implications. It is a problem charged with profound emotions dangerously fanned by the outbreak of war.

70. Our responsibility is commensurate with the gravity of the situation. Our first and paramount duty is emphatically to uphold the cardinal principle of the Charter which prohibits the use or threat of force in the relations among nations. It is upon the due

application of this principle that the United Nations as an international Organization stands or falls.

71. Our second duty is to contribute towards conditions leading to a just and balanced peace. The immediate task before the General Assembly is to meet, with a sense of urgency, the exigencies of a situation resulting from the eruption of war. The Security Council made no determination of aggression as it was required to do by Article 39 of the Charter. But the picture that unfolded before the eyes of the world clearly presented both the acts and the effects of aggression: co-ordinated armed attack by air and land, invasion and occupation of the territories of three Arab States, whose territorial integrity was thus violated. Could these acts be considered legitimate self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter, as claimed? There is, however, no evidence of Arab armed attack or invasion of the territory of Israel.

72. Provocation is a different matter. In a heavily laden atmosphere, bellicose statements were indeed made and military preparations were mounting. Threats and provocations would give a right of recourse to the United Nations but not a right to self-defence by the use of force. For whatever the provocation, without the actual occurrence of an "armed attack", as provided in Article 51, the right of the use of force in self-defence does not arise. All legal authorities on the Charter make it abundantly clear that "no degree of military preparation by a neighbouring State, however alarming, can afford justification for the use of 'anticipatory force'". Pre-emptive strike is not recognized by the Charter; for otherwise, the excuses for resorting to war would soon multiply and the very purpose of the Charter in the maintenance of peace would be nullified. Furthermore, the very concept of self-defence is totally incompatible with expansionist aims; and expansionist aims are evidenced by the reported annexation of Jerusalem and by official Israeli statements declaring the determination of Israel to retain the conquered territory even if there should be a contrary decision by the United Nations.

73. As regards the Gulf of Aqaba, the international status of the relevant waters is still a matter open to controversy. The legal merits of the case, therefore, would seem to be a proper subject for reference to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration.

74. There is no doubt that in the troubled Middle East situation the problem of the Palestine refugees, on the one hand, and that of the status of Israel, on the other, were not factors of peace. The origin of both goes back to the time of the partition of Palestine. For what was intended to be the remedy for one wrong, that of the persecution of the Jews in the Diaspora, became instrumental in creating a new wrong, that of the displacement of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland. The Arabs, however, were in no way responsible for the persecution of the Jews and should not have been made to bear the consequences. The whole Arab world felt it to be an intolerable injustice and, what is worse, a constant and painful reminder was the 1 million Palestinians deprived of their homes and thrust upon Arab soil as refugees.

75. A major human problem has thus emerged. A problem ever festering in human suffering, ever

growing in political dimensions, it became an explosive issue. No real effort was ever made towards restitution for these unfortunate people. Both repatriation and compensation were denied to the refugees. They were thus left a prey to their tragic plight. Repeated resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the repatriation or compensation of the refugees remained unheeded; nothing was done towards their implementation. A gaping wound, without concern for its healing, thus increasingly poisoned the atmosphere for nearly twenty years.

76. While the situation of the refugees was allowed to deteriorate, the tempo in military preparations on both sides increased with the passage of time. It was fed by plentiful supplies of armaments to both. What the world now faces in that area is not at all surprising.

77. The element of fear has no little part to play in such situations: the fear of Israel that the Arabs would try to reclaim by force the territory from which their Palestinian brothers had been evicted; the fear of the Arabs that Israel, with its constantly swelling population, would not be contained within its boundaries and would seek to expand by force.

78. This sad development, however, is entirely artificial in its origin. The Arabs and the Jews had lived together in peace and harmony; they could have continued in peaceful co-existence even in the new and changed circumstances. But the divisive policy of colonialism methodically drove a wedge between them and, even worse, the situation became sorely aggravated by partition. Psychologically, what could have been a passing phase in the division of the people was given permanent character by geographic separation. Animosities, temporary and fluid in nature, were thus given geographic content and became fixed enmities. They grew in depth and vehemence as intensified trouble and fighting started over the artificially created boundaries in a divided country.

79. The experience of nearly twenty years of increasingly aggravated crises in the Middle East has amply demonstrated the great perils involved in such situations of partition. In an age when the nuclear bomb is a constant threat to mankind through the possible escalation of local wars, there is no room for divisive policies by big Powers or strong neighbours.

80. Cyprus, apart from its general concern for world peace, has a particular stake in the peace of this region of which it forms a part. Our endeavours through the years have been to approach this problem with complete objectivity, guided by the principles of the Charter and deeply concerned for their respect, on which the independence and territorial integrity of small countries is wholly dependent.

81. In this connexion, statements made in this Assembly, particularly by neighbouring countries, pledging support for the principles of the Charter and condemning the use of force between States as a means of obtaining advantageous conditions in negotiations, have been carefully noted by my delegation.

82. We must now turn to the immediate objectives of this emergency special session. Its most urgent concern should be to deal with the conditions that normally should follow a cease-fire, already enforced by the decision of the Security Council.

83. The practice of the United Nations in all cases, including the Middle East crisis of 1956, has been to follow up the cease-fire with a call for the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces back to their original lines. There can be no plausible reason why it should be otherwise in the present case.

84. The primary objective of the draft resolution to be adopted should be a withdrawal to the 1948 armistice lines. The need for such withdrawal rests on valid grounds: First, the continued occupation by the Israeli military forces of territories in Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic could be in violation of the right of these States to their sovereignty and territorial integrity under the Charter. Second, there should be no reward for aggression. The United Nations cannot allow the retention of the fruits of military conquest and war. This is a fundamental change introduced in the relations among nations by the Charter, in its Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4; its effect was to replace the use of force with the exercise of reason as the arbiter in international relations. Third, any peace negotiations, to be valid, must be free from any form of coercion. To permit these territories to be kept under enemy occupation and their populations in subjection is to vitiate any negotiation and all prospect of a peaceful settlement. Furthermore, continued occupation as a means for negotiating from strength is a posture running counter to the Charter and is wholly unacceptable to the international community.

85. For the above reasons, my delegation recommends to the General Assembly the draft resolution co-sponsored by Cyprus together with a number of other delegations and introduced yesterday by the representative of Yugoslavia [A/L.522].

86. A further reason for adopting, as a matter of priority and urgency, this draft resolution on withdrawal is that every day that passes with the territories under enemy occupation creates new problems. The exodus of additional Arab refugees brings new dimensions to the refugee problem in terms of human suffering, emotional resentments and economic implications. This sad state of affairs would be greatly alleviated by promptness in withdrawal. In this connexion, the United Nations presence in the territories involved is an essential element in easing the situation and preventing its further deterioration. The draft resolution includes a reference to this in its second operative paragraph.

87. The humane aspect is one that also calls for immediate attention through effective assistance to the victims of war, for which our President in this Assembly made a warm and telling appeal. We trust there will be a generous response by all. My Government immediately sent all first-aid and medical assistance possible within its means.

88. We will not enter at the present moment into other aspects of the problem which, we understand, are the subject of talks and will eventually be dealt with by the Security Council.

89. We wish now to state our position regarding the action of the Secretary-General in withdrawing the United Nations forces from the area, as requested by the Government of the United Arab Republic in exercise of its sovereign right.

90. In our view, the Secretary-General had no alternative but to withdraw the United Nations forces after the consent for their stationing had been cancelled. In so doing, the Secretary-General not only complied with a legal obligation, but also acted in the best interests of the United Nations and its peace-keeping functions. These peace-keeping operations have been clearly defined as voluntary or consent operations, and as such were accepted by the United Arab Republic. We are fully in favour of the United Nations presence in all critical situations, but to that end there should be co-operation on the part of the States involved. And it is a fact, stated in the report of the Secretary-General, that Israel never accepted any United Nations forces to be placed on its side of the line, in spite of the relevant resolutions [see A/6730/Add.3, para. 46].

91. The Secretary-General spared no effort to save the Middle East situation. He visited the area and did all that was within his means in the circumstances for the maintenance of peace. This instance, however, may serve to show up the need for an organized system of peace-keeping and for strengthening the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace and security in the world. U Thant more than once stressed this basic need, which weighed greatly in his mind. We take this opportunity to reiterate our deep appreciation of the Secretary-General for his abiding concern for peace coupled with his wisdom and objectivity, which have been the greatest assets of the Organization and of the world community during a most trying period of world crisis.

92. The question of Jerusalem and its status is one that should be given timely and earnest consideration by the United Nations; it will have to be considered at some later stage. Three resolutions of the General Assembly dealt with it concurrently with the establishment of Israel. These resolutions remain so far unimplemented. The status of Jerusalem, however, is one of great spiritual significance to the vast majority of the world's peoples. My Government is greatly concerned over the recent occurrences by which this Holy City was transformed into an arena of battle and of war. Jerusalem symbolizes man's spiritual communion with his Creator. It is a city of prayer and of peace; in the words of Saint Augustine, the City of God. Access to it by all men of the world must be as of right, a world right, and not by the permission or tolerance of any State. The question should, therefore, be considered on spiritual rather than political grounds.

93. The news today of the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel is a matter of the gravest concern to the United Nations. First, this action clearly denotes an expansionist policy by Israel in violation of the Charter.

It therefore goes to the very root of the problem before us, most prejudicially affecting the prospects for a settlement and for peace in the area. Second, it is a concrete action taken by a Member State in utter contempt of the very resolutions of the United Nations under which its establishment as a State was brought about.

94. The over-all solution of the Middle East problem, and the establishment of an enduring peace in this gravely troubled area, calls for a new approach which should be firmly based on justice and respect for human rights and human dignity. In this effort, regard should be given to existing realities in international life. Without these essential and basic elements, peace is unattainable; and war, with all its grim dangers of escalation to a nuclear holocaust, will be the only prospect.

95. Our duty in this Assembly as members of the family of man, gathered at critical times in the history of nations, is to be guided by a sense of justice, reality, and proportion. The concern for the survival of humanity should transcend all other considerations of self-centred interests or antagonisms for power and domination. It is our duty to promote a spirit of generosity and tolerance for international understanding in the interest of peace. But we must constantly bear in mind that peace can only be based on justice, and this is the basic premise of our Charter.

96. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

97. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I should like first to refer to the remarks of the representative of Yugoslavia, who also embodied his observations in a draft resolution.

98. It is my duty to inform the General Assembly that, in my Government's view, the draft resolution proposed by Yugoslavia [A/L.522] is a prescription for hostility. It calls for the restoration of conditions which have already produced one war . . .

99. The PRESIDENT: May I draw the speaker's attention to the fact that we are not discussing the draft resolutions at this time, and that the draft resolution in question was introduced only with the consent of the Assembly and on the understanding that all its aspects would be discussed at the proper stage.

100. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I should like at an early stage to express my views on the spirit and the text of that draft resolution. But in view of the procedural situation which you, Mr. President, have mentioned, I shall instead reply at this stage to certain observations which have been made in the general debate on one of the issues which have arisen: namely, the problem of Jerusalem and the Holy Places.

101. Some delegations and Governments have made statements in recent days concerning recent developments in Jerusalem. There seems to me to be a basic misunderstanding about the import of yesterday's administrative legislation. This, as the General Assembly will be aware, contained no new political statement, and concerned itself exclusively with the urgent necessities of repairing the ravages and dis-

locations arising from the division of the city's life and from the hostilities which Jordan inflicted upon it.

102. I ask myself, as I ask my colleagues in the General Assembly: Is there really nothing positive in this union, this intermingling, this breakdown of a wall of separation and consequent distrust? Is it really preferable to have a frontier of barbed wire and guns slashing the face of Jerusalem like an ugly scar? Is not Jerusalem, above all other cities, the place where Jews and Arabs should meet, as they are now meeting in the daily transactions of peaceful life? Is it really irrelevant that there is now access to the Holy Places of three religions instead of two?

103. I therefore urge a balanced and lucid understanding of the positive changes which have occurred, and of the opportunities which they open up.

104. Today, thousands of Arabs from the Old City are visiting the streets, the institutions, and the buildings of the new; while Jews from the new city are visiting the buildings, the sites and the institutions of the old. The breaking down of this barrier, the creation of new ecumenical possibilities, is one of the consequences arising from the concept of union.

105. Now, one of the opportunities to which I have referred is of special interest to the international community. Under the previous régime—that of Jordan—no satisfaction whatever was given to the universal interest in the safeguarding of the Holy Places. Jordan did in Jerusalem exactly what it liked. And what it liked doing included the destruction of ancient houses of worship and the sacrilegious obstruction of free access to the most ancient of all the world's holy sites. Israel, on the other hand, remains willing to discuss arrangements for the safeguarding of the Holy Places with those concerned, in Israel and beyond Israel.

106. Our own views on the need to separate the sacred from the secular aspects of the city's life are well known. There have been in this debate many statements by delegations on the problem of the Holy

Places which are in general accord with our views. All that was open for discussion about the Holy Places and religious interests two days ago is open for discussion now. It is far-fetched to assert that the existence of this specific universal issue requires that some of Jerusalem's citizens remain artificially cut off from the social services and municipal facilities which others enjoy.

107. Those who reconciled themselves to an occupation in 1948 and an explicit annexation by Jordan in 1950, who did not protest when synagogues were destroyed and access to the western wall denied, who could not prevent dozens of people in the new city from being killed by guns in the old, ought surely now to see benefits arising from a union of the city's life, from the absence of military confrontation in the city, from Israel's action in legislating domestically, and from its readiness to consult internationally with those concerned, in the name of the world's religions, for the protection and immunity of the Holy Places. In other words, the sum total of what has happened in Jerusalem during the past few weeks increases, and does not diminish, the prospect of producing a situation regarding the Holy Places more in keeping with the international conscience than what obtained before.

108. The import of the recent legislation is to assure for the inhabitants of all parts of the city social, municipal and fiscal services, on a basis of equality and non-discrimination. This was the purport, this is the effect, of that legislation. Insufficient attention has been given to a parallel enactment which, I think for the first time in recent history, legislates in favour of the preservation from desecration of the Holy Places both within and outside Jerusalem—an enactment which imposes heavy penalties for violation of their sanctity and immunity. In other words, there is not a retreat, but an advance towards that situation of peace, reverence, sanctity and free access which is the main objective of the world community in relation to the historic and religious interests here involved.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.