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**1552nd  
PLENARY MEETING**

*Thursday, 13 July 1967,  
at 3 p.m.*

**FIFTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION**

**NEW YORK**

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***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. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker on the list for this afternoon, I should like to inform the Members of the Assembly that, as the list of speakers stands at the present time, there are four speakers inscribed for the morning of Friday, 14 July.

2. As Members are aware, the draft resolution contained in document A/L.528 was circulated around 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon. So far, eight representatives have spoken. At this stage, in order to have a general idea of how much time should be allowed to conclude the debate on this draft resolution, I should like to inform the Members of the Assembly that I intend to close the list of speakers at 6 p.m. today. I would also tentatively suggest that we should try to conclude the debate no later than the morning meeting on Tuesday, 18 July.

3. I hope that the Assembly will give full consideration to the urgent nature of the problems for the examination of which this session has been convened. Some representatives may wish to explain their votes before the voting on the draft resolution. They will be given the opportunity to do so, but I would request them to inscribe their names on the list for explanation of vote before the vote at the earliest possible time.

4. Now that I have informed Members of my intention, as has been my practice in the past, I put myself at their disposal, if they have any special views, to exchange them with me not later than 10.30 a.m. tomorrow so that I can inform the Assembly of the programme of work. If I do not hear any substantial difference of views by that time, I shall proceed in accordance with the arrangement with which I have just acquainted the Members of the Assembly.

5. Mr. FARHADI (Afghanistan) (translated from French): The delegation of Afghanistan would like to make its position known on the steps taken by Israel to alter the status of the City of Jerusalem.

6. We know the course of the events, Israel occupied the Old City of Jerusalem on 7 June. On 27 June, while this Assembly was in session, it took steps to incorporate the Holy City into its territory.

7. On 4 July, in a resolution [2253 (ES-V)] which did not receive one negative vote, this Assembly called upon Israel to rescind the measures it had taken to change the status of the Holy City. We all know that Israel has totally disregarded this collective decision of the United Nations and has thus administered an unmistakable affront to this world Organization.

8. What is involved in this matter of Jerusalem? It is essentially a political and military question. The Old City is an integral part of the territory of Jordan. A flagrant act of aggression has been committed and the city has been occupied by the Israel army, as have other portions of the territory of Jordan and of other Arab Countries. The consequences of this aggression must be liquidated and the Old City of Jerusalem immediately and unconditionally evacuated by the Israel occupiers, together with the rest of the occupied Arab territories. This is essential.

9. The religious aspect of the matter adds another feature. Even without the Holy Places, Israel should evacuate the City of Jerusalem. The special importance of the Holy City has been demonstrated here by the following fact: whereas the majority of the countries represented here grasp the necessity of Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied as a result of the recent conflict, as far as Jerusalem is concerned all Member States are in agreement in declaring that even the so-called administrative and municipal measures enacted by Israel are null and void. I should like to quote the words of my country's Prime Minister, who said here on 23 June:

"I should like to make a particular reference to the Israeli aims in connexion with the Holy Places. As far as more than half a billion Moslems are concerned, they will not tolerate their shrine being occupied by a racialist régime. I did not have any intention of mentioning this religious sentiment, but I have been compelled to do so by the statements of the Zionist elements in Israel and elsewhere." [1533rd meeting, para. 43.]

10. In regard to this religious aspect, the representative of Israel proclaimed here yesterday afternoon:

"If Judaism is foreign to Christianity and Islam, it is foreign as a mother is foreign to her children!" [1550th meeting, para 91.]

11. We are astonished at the manifestation of so much motherly compassion by the representative of Israel. In point of fact, this is a complete untruth. We know perfectly well that Christianity and Islam recognize each other as having emerged from a Jewish tradition, respecting its basic tenets and venerating its prophets. Judaism on the other hand sees in Christianity and Islam heresies and deviations, and in its founders and their disciples, heresiarchs. And now the representatives of Israel suddenly sees in these heresiarchs Judaism's true children. Israel had to occupy the Old City of Jerusalem by force of arms in order to make this spiritual discovery.

12. Does Israel want to show proof of motherly love? We expect filial love from it first for, after all, Israel is legally the child of this Organization, indeed of this Assembly. We know the rest of the story. When, in this case, has the child respected the recommendations of its mother? Never, in any matter of real importance.

13. It is strange to hear Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs refer to an Act of the Knesset in order to give the international community an assurance concerning the future legal protection of the Holy Places by the occupiers as though the legislation of Israel was more important than the religious law whereby Moslems must respect and always do respect the Judeo-Christian Holy Places. If this Act of the Knesset was so satisfactory from the universal point of view, Israel might have submitted the draft of it to this Assembly, where people professing different religions and ideologies are represented. If Israel attaches so much importance to the religions of the world, is it ready to rescind its famous "legal and administrative" measures and bow to the will of this Assembly, where all the peoples of the world are represented?

14. Is this so, or does the Knesset regard itself as a super-parliament authorized to pass legislation in the most sacred of fields, which is of concern to all nations and peoples? Does the Government of Israel see itself as a guardian "chosen" to implement laws for the whole world?

15. It is a sorry sight to see Israel, whose establishment and even laws are based on the most shameless racism and religious exclusivism, claiming to have become the sole guardian of the Holy Places to which the devout of other religions turn in worship, and asking these same devout worshippers to trust it while it occupies the very city in which those Holy Places stand. Israel invites the tourists and even the pilgrims of every country into a city whose real inhabitants are threatened by arms, controlled by force, separated from their families whom they love, either through death in the struggle to resist or because they are driven from their homes.

16. That same Israel which hurls a hostile challenge at the community of nations claims to have put an end to hostilities in a holy city which it has occupied militarily; that same Israel which has been the cause of the separation of hundreds of thousands of human beings from their homes and their families claims to be established in a city some of whose citizens,

resisting Israel's occupation, have died a martyr's death in the streets of this same holy city or on the steps of the temples; that same Israel which prides itself on the systematic rejection of the Assembly's decisions, that same Israel which, in practice, is a modern champion of injustice inflicted on another people, considers itself to be worthy of the trust of all the nations of the world; that same Israel which refuses a priori to comply with the recommendations of the representatives of 121 nations, that same Israel which has refused to respect a resolution adopted almost unanimously by the Member States present here—obviously out of habit, as a habitual offender—claims to lay down the law for all the nations represented here and says virtually: I refuse absolutely to do what you recommend to me and I ask you to have absolute confidence in what I am doing for you.

17. That same Israel which has hitherto exercised its ingenuity in committing aggression against the Arabs and has shown itself to be a bridgehead of colonialist interests threatening the countries of the Middle East now claims to monopolize the spiritual domain of the peoples and nations of the world. We ask ourselves what surprises this famous "little State" still has in store for us.

18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, in his letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [see A/6753], speaks of civic co-operation, of municipal services in Jerusalem under the occupation, in a paternalistic tone that is highly offensive to developing peoples. He paints a picture of the occupying benefactor ending the shortage of drinking water, setting up school health services and opening social welfare clinics for mothers and babies.

19. It is colonialist and neo-colonialist reasoning returning, bolder than ever, to an Assembly which has solemnly condemned colonialism as an institution and demanded its liquidation. Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs is resuscitating an argument which ex-colonialists and neo-colonialists alike have recognized as already outworn, not to say shameful.

20. There are other countries in the world less advanced than Jordan. Will Israel in a burst of humanitarian beneficence occupy them too by force of arms to increase their supply of drinking water? And there are in the world countries more advanced than Israel. In its passion for social progress, will Israel welcome armed occupation by such a country, which could improve municipal services in Israel's cities and increase the number of clinics for Israel's children—children terrorized of course by the threatening bayonets of the army of occupation?

21. Israel's position comes down to this: when an occupier creates so-called "unity" among the population by force of arms, and when it increases the water supply and the number of children's clinics, it thinks it is entitled to demand acquiescence from the international community. This is the law which Israel wishes to impose. What a sinister contribution to international law! Indeed, it is sinister to try to demand such things, just as it is unjust to adopt provisions to the effect that the withdrawal of an aggressor's invasion forces from the territory that

they occupy must be linked to certain conditions, conditions which were not in effect before the armed conflict.

22. Israel's expansionism reveals itself more and more in all its forms and in every field. At the beginning, it is a people needing a home, needing peace, needing justice. Then the little country needs security. Next it has to have lebensraum. Then it becomes a question of imposing a new order, of forcing the law of the occupier on a neighbouring people already subjected to injustice. And so it goes on: the people that needed justice now make justice for all the nations and flatly refuse what the nations of the world, through this Organization, ask of them.

23. This expansionism exists not only in the territorial sense but even in the juridical and spiritual fields. What is the actual situation? Today, no citizen—Christian or Moslem—of a country which does not comply with Israel's legislation and regulations can go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Israel says "Submit yourselves to my laws and my regulations, and then come to Jerusalem as pilgrims or tourists". This means that Governments whose nationals are pilgrims must yield to the political demands of the racist Government of expansionist Israel, in order that the promises of Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs on spiritual ecumenism may be carried out universally.

24. We should therefore demand once more that Israel should rescind all measures already taken and desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to prevent a Member State from continuing to flout systematically the decisions of the Organization, for only in this way will it be able to accomplish the task entrusted to it under the Charter.

25. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): The Assembly last week adopted, by an overwhelming majority, a six-Power draft resolution [A/L.527/Rev.1] submitted on the initiative of Pakistan, declaring illegal the measures undertaken on 27 June by Israel with the purpose of altering the status of Jerusalem and simultaneously requesting Israel to restore the status quo ante. Israel had the obligation to report to the Secretary-General within one week after the adoption of the resolution [2253 (ES-V)] on the results of its implementation.

26. Today we are facing the self-evident questions. What has the Israeli Government done to carry out the decision of the highest body of the world Organization? Has the Government of Israel shown at least some readiness and understanding regarding the implementation of the United Nations resolution? The answer is unequivocally negative, although the resolution was clearly based upon the provisions of the Charter in the spirit of maintaining peace and protecting human rights. As has so often been the case in the history of the United Nations, the answer of Israel to decisions of the community of nations, to the principles of the Charter, to international agreements on fundamental human rights, was given a flat "no".

27. The attitude of Israel during this emergency special session has been a faithful reflection of its reckless policy of using force, threatening, invading and pillaging its Arab neighbours, pursuing an expansionist-militaristic policy, ignoring its obligations as a Member of the United Nations, and acting in the face of world public opinion. On 27 June, motivated only by its selfish aggressive aims, Israel unilaterally carried out the annexation of Jerusalem. Since this action was unjustifiable in terms of international law, the Israelis call it laconically "measures taken on 27 June".

28. Witnessing this recent open act of aggression and listening to the statements of Mr. Abba Eban, it is difficult not to recall the slogans of Hitler, who described all annexation of territories of other countries as measures intended to serve the cause of peace in the given area, a humane undertaking to protect the spiritual and material interests of the population.

29. The ruling circles of Tel Aviv seem to have forgotten the lessons of history and are repeating the classical imperialist manoeuvres by attempting to create the impression that the annexation of foreign territories—and par excellence that of Jerusalem—is a sort of partial peaceful arrangement. The military moves have constantly been accompanied by fascist and chauvinistic declarations in an effort to present the Israelis as superior people, at the same time vilifying the Arabs who, allegedly, are unable to take care of themselves and need support from Tel Aviv. The letter from Mr. Abba Eban of 10 July [see A/6753] shamelessly tries to make us believe that Arab territory in Jerusalem into which the Israelis entered had been completely neglected, being without technical, sanitary or educational facilities; but that in a few days' time Israeli authorities were able, as if by a miracle, to establish all such institutions, to the benefit of the Arabs.

30. From more reliable sources, however, we have learned that the Israeli "miracle" was of quite a different nature; using bulldozers, they razed whole villages and districts of Jerusalem, chasing away their populations. Flourishing Arab communities disappeared in a matter of a few days from the areas occupied by the Israelis. Such fascist measures can hardly be considered steps towards peaceful settlement; on the contrary, territorial annexation and persecution of the population lead to a further increase in tensions already grave enough in the Middle East and succeed in perpetuating the potential possibilities of further armed conflict.

31. The letter from the Israeli Foreign Minister is completely unacceptable since it envisages forcing upon the General Assembly acquiescence in an accomplished aggressive act. In his statement yesterday Mr. Eban expressed the wish "to bring this debate back to the harmony and the serenity which the United Nations Charter should inspire" [1550th meeting, para. 89]. He further mentioned the "spiritual interest" and "spiritual elevation" needed in our discussion. All these remarks and the abundant abuse of religious references are but cynical demagoguery, attempts to frustrate the clarification of objective

reality, to cover up the ugly crimes committed by his Government.

32. It is impossible today to mislead the whole world and to present naked aggression as a benign act. The annexation of territories of any neighbouring country, with a view to consolidating the results of conquest, and the attempts gradually to expand the territory of Israel constitute a violation of international law, an insult to the United Nations, to the General Assembly and to all peace-loving mankind.

33. The annexation of Jerusalem is a monstrous display of further Israeli expansionism. It has been carried out in the spirit of the basic imperialist policy according to which might is right. It is obvious that they could not have done it without the co-operation and assistance—that is, without the might—of the main imperialist Power, the United States. This collusion gives the conflict a world-wide character and will certainly generate new aggressions if it goes unchecked. Therefore, we must put an end to it resolutely and immediately.

34. The General Assembly, by adopting clear-cut resolutions, is in duty bound to deter the aggressors from committing further international crimes at the expense of peace-loving peoples. It was in this spirit that representatives of European socialist countries and their parties convened in the capital of Hungary on 11 and 12 July, and stated in their concluding communiqué:

"The participants in the consultation have repeatedly stressed that the fraternal parties in socialist countries here represented resolutely support, and will continue to support in future, the just fight of the friendly Arab countries for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and, first of all, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories without delay."

35. In the view of my delegation, the General Assembly should condemn Israel for its aggressive action in general and for its refusal to implement resolution 2253 (ES-V) in particular. Israel should withdraw its troops from all the territories recently occupied by its armed forces in flagrant and treacherous violation of the Charter.

36. The Hungarian delegation fully supports and will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.528] submitted by the delegation of Pakistan and demands that Israel should rescind all action already taken to alter the status of the City of Jerusalem.

37. Mr. BELOKOLOS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): For almost a month now the emergency special session of the General Assembly has been seeking ways and means of protecting the lawful interests of the Arab peoples from the predatory actions of the Israel aggressors; but so far no solution has been found to this most important problem.

38. Naturally, every person who cherishes peace and freedom will ask why the United Nations is making so little headway in settling the Middle East crisis created by Israel's aggression. There can be only

one answer: the main reason for Israel's aggression against the Arab countries was that the United States and United Kingdom imperialists, using Israel as a tool for realizing their own designs, wanted to strike a blow against the national liberation movement in that part of the world, once again to enslave peoples that had won their freedom and independence, and to take away some of their wealth and territory.

39. The Israel politicians, statesmen and military leaders would never have embarked on such a venture alone. This has been abundantly proved at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

40. For many decades the Middle East has been the source of huge profits for certain imperialist Powers, which have remorselessly pillaged the oil and other resources of the Arab countries. It is therefore not surprising that they should now be making desperate efforts to hinder a solution of the problems connected with Israel's aggression and inciting the Israel leaders to reckless actions.

41. In evaluating the events which have occurred in the Middle East, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said recently: "The essence of the crisis in the Middle East is the rivalry between the forces of imperialism and the forces of national independence, democracy and social progress".

42. This is very true. The situation in the Middle East remains very acute. The Israel leaders, who enjoy the protection of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other imperialist States, have insolently defied the world. They are attempting to arrest the inexorable movement of the peoples of the East towards social progress. We must resolutely condemn and put an end to the actions of the Israel Government in all occupied Arab territories, including the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem.

43. On 4 July of this year, the General Assembly, in a resolution [2253 (ES-V)] which was voted for by almost a hundred States Members of the United Nations, declared that the measures taken by Israel regarding the Jordanian part of Jerusalem were invalid. It called upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem.

44. The resolution adopted at the emergency special session of the General Assembly reflected the worldwide condemnation of Israel's annexation of part of the territory seized by the Israel aggressors after 4 June of this year. I refer to the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem.

45. However, the actions of the Israel Government since the adoption of the resolution make it abundantly clear that it has not only failed to heed the advice of the General Assembly concerning the withdrawal of its troops from the occupied territories in Arab States, but, on the contrary, has ostentatiously enacted laws which contradict the wishes of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations and of their peoples.

46. In the course of the current session, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has

had an opportunity to express the position of its Government and the people on the question under discussion. We demand an unambiguous condemnation of Israel's aggression, the withdrawal of Israel's troops to the positions which they occupied before 5 June of this year and the elimination of all consequences of the aggression. We cannot coddle the aggressor. He must bear full responsibility for his crimes against the Arab peoples.

47. The report of Secretary-General U Thant, dated 10 July of this year [A/6753] which has been presented to the General Assembly and to the Security Council, sets out the Tel Aviv Government's reply to the resolution of this session with regard to Israel's illegal actions in the city of Jerusalem. What is the gist of this reply? It is that the Israel Government intends to continue its arbitrary rule in the Arab Territories which were occupied after 4 June 1967.

48. The Israel rulers complain that their perfidious aggression against the Arab States and their subsequent actions are being compared with those of Hitler's Germany. But such comparisons and analogies come to mind spontaneously. Did not the leaders of the Third Reich, after seizing and annexing the territories of neighbouring States, make the same attempts to justify their actions? Is this not precisely what the Israel leaders are doing today, in arguing that they had a "right" to annex Jerusalem?

49. The reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, addressed to Secretary-General U Thant, is a mixture of Pharisaism and falsehood. This document is a brazen challenge to the United Nations and world opinion, which call for an end to the missile of the Israel aggressors.

50. The delegations of the States Members of the United Nations have met in an emergency special session in order to consider urgently the situation created in the Middle East by Israel's aggressive war. The session has condemned Israel's annexation of Jerusalem. But at the same time Mr. Eban continues to make statements to the effect that Israel was practically forced to annex the Jordanian part of Jerusalem because it had to promulgate a "law" to protect the Holy Places and to create a "free and permanent association of Arabs and Jews".

51. Of course, none of this will mislead anyone. Your "acts of benevolence" in the annexed part of Jerusalem, Mr. Eban, have been graphically described by the representatives of Jordan and Syria. You are not bringing civilization to Jerusalem—as you have been asseverating here—but are bulldozing whole blocks and driving the local inhabitants out of the city. That is not civilization; it is vandalism.

52. In the face of the challenge issued to the United Nations by the Israel aggressors, the emergency special session must vigorously condemn their actions and take all the necessary measures to eliminate all consequences of the aggression.

53. While the Tel Aviv delegation is telling tales about what order is being introduced by the invaders in Jerusalem and in other territories they have seized, plans are already being hatched in the capital of Israel to reshape the boundaries of neighbouring Arab States. This was declared quite frankly by Prime Minister Eshkol who told a correspondent of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* that the Gaza Strip must belong to Israel and that the usurped territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria would be used by Israel as bargaining points in negotiations.

54. With regard to the 1 million Arabs who inhabit the occupied territory, the Prime Minister of Israel disposes of their fate like a slave owner. One has only to read his lengthy interview to become convinced that the military fever has so clouded the mental powers of Israel statesmen and politicians that they have forgotten the lessons of the recent past and give no thought to the fact that they will be called to account for their deeds.

55. The peace which is talked about in Tel Aviv is the peace of the brigand, a peace dictated on the terms of the aggressor, the armed conqueror, and not that genuine peace among nations which is spoken of in the United Nations Charter. Gentlemen from Tel Aviv, you are acting according to the principle of the medieval robber barons: "I have only to conquer, and the lawyers will then prove the 'lawfulness' of my actions". You must remember that times have changed. In our day aggression cannot be committed with impunity.

56. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that at its emergency special session the General Assembly must, with all the seriousness which the present situation in the Middle East calls for, consider the fact that Israel's aggression continues and the reckless policy of the Israel leaders who, in pursuit of their selfish imperialist designs on the Arab peoples, are prepared to continue their aggression and thus to put a severe strain on world peace.

57. An end must be put to Israel's aggression. All the consequences of that aggression must be eliminated. The main and the most urgent task at the present time is to secure the immediate withdrawal of Israel troops to positions behind the lines which they occupied prior to 5 June. The General Assembly resolution of 4 July on the illegal annexation of the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem must be carried out to the letter.

58. The emergency special session would be remiss in its duty if it failed to take the necessary steps to put an end to Israel's aggression and to eliminate all its consequences. This is the bounden duty of the United Nations, of all its Member States, and of all peace-loving countries and peoples in the world.

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*