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Text of Statement to be made by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., Q.C., M.P., at the Fifth Emergency Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on June 23, 1967.

For the fourth time in the history of this Organization, the Assembly has been called into special session to deal with emergency conditions in the Middle East arising out of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbours. It was barely 20 years ago that the first special session of the Assembly found itself involved with this persistently difficult problem, arising from a conflict with a long and bitter heritage. It engages the anxious concern of the international community and in particular the adherents of three of the world's great religions. It is a problem, moreover, which could tarnish the name and weaken the influence of the United Nations unless we can control its immediate effects and remove its long-term causes.

My country has been closely associated with United Nations efforts to mediate in Palestine. A Canadian served on the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine in 1947. Canada was associated with the negotiations which subsequently took place at the third session of the Assembly and which led to the resolution of November 29, 1947. This resolution pro-vided for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and reserved a special status for Jerusalem. We served on the Security Council in 1948-49 when the Palestine question was among the most important to be considered and when the armistice agreements were arranged. We provided one of the early Directors-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and a little later the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, to which we have contributed observers since 1954. The present Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, took an intimate part in the negotiations which led to the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force. Canada supplied the first commander, General Burns, and a sizeable contingent to the Force. The United Nations Emergency Force was the first peacekeeping force to be established by the United Nations. I am convinced that its record

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of accomplishment and service will be a legacy upon which the United Nations will be able to draw in the future. This record will be far more important in the verdict of history than the current differences of opinion over the circumstances of its withdrawal.

I do not claim that these facts give Canada any special insight into the Palestine problem or any special qualifications for solving it. They do help to explain, however, why the Canadian people and the Canadian Government have followed recent events with anxiety. We have no substantial interests to further. We have no claims to make other than those which arise from a deep and legitimate concern for peace and justice in the Middle East, indeed in the world, and for the good name and reputation of the United Nations, our membership in which has been largely instrumental in involving us in these problems.

The issues are too grave and the potential consequences of our actions are too significant for partisan controversy about the subject of our debate. I would hope that this special session will contribute to the search for a solution in the Middle East. This hope is shared, I know, by other countries, many of whom are represented here by their heads of government and foreign ministers. The opportunity is present not only for debate but for consultations and negotiations. One of the purposes of our Organization is to act as a centre "for harmonizing the actions of nations." If this is our common purpose then and only then can we be hopeful that diplomacy will take the measure of propaganda and that the common desire for peace will prevail.

Canada, as a member of the Security Council, joined Denmark in calling the Council together on May 24th to deal with the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. It is a sad misfortune that the Council was not able to act at that time. Nevertheless, it remains seized of the situation and I note in this respect the references to the Council in the draft resolutions introduced by the Soviet Union and the United States. We contributed to the decisions of the Security Council calling for a cease-fire. The failure of a particular resolution should not have led, in our judgement, to the interruption of the Council's work. We had ourselves put forward a resolution relating to the implementation of the cease-fire and were in the process of revising this resolution, in consultation with others, when this special session was requested. In our view these consultations should continue. The Security Council should deal with the resolutions before it. As we have often been reminded, the Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Here in this Assembly I would hope that we could establish some guidelines to assist the Council when it resumes its work.

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The roots of this crisis go deep. Its development has been complex. No one government can in our view be held wholly responsible for what has happened and the impartial reports of the Secretary-General support this assessment. It was on the basis of those reports that we were concerned first to prevent the conflict; then to stop it; and now to find the basis for a just and lasting peace.

In 1948-49 and in 1956-57 the Canadian delegation at the Assembly emphasized that the peace and security of the Middle East depended primarily on the recognition of two facts: the first was that the new state of Israel had been born and that in part at least it owed its existence as a member of the international community to a recommendation of this Assembly, approved by two-thirds of its members; the second was the obligation of the state of Israel, to quote the Canadian Representative speaking on November 22, 1948, to "place self-imposed limits on its demands." Mr. Pearson, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, stated here 10 years ago: "We cannot but agree that if Israel has a right to live and prosper free from the fear of strangulation from its neighbours the Arab states also have a right to feel confident that Israel will not attempt to expand its territory at their expense."

These expectations remain valid. They must be the basis on which peace and security is built in the Middle East. We shall continue to do our part, both as a member of the Security Council and as a participant in the efforts of the United Nations to keep the peace in the area, to have them recognized and implemented. The international community has a right to expect that the parties to any dispute will make their best efforts, as they are required to do under the Charter, to find a peaceful means of settlement. At the same time the United Nations has a responsibility to offer its services and if necessary to point the way towards such a settlement. In any event, this is the context in which my Government will judge the specific issues before us.

The position of Canada remains the same on these issues as it was in 1957. On January 18 of that year we stated in the Assembly that "there must be no return, if we can avoid it, to the conditions which helped provoke the initial military action." On that occasion Mr. Pearson recalled an earlier intervention in which he was even more specific. This is what he said:

"What then...six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? Are we to return merely to the status quo ante? Such a return would not be to a position of security..but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges, and counter-charges, and ultimately another explosion ..."

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It follows that Canada cannot support the resolution which was introduced by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union on June 19. That resolution would take us back to the same situation which led to the outbreak of war. It was only a few short weeks ago that Canada and other members of the Security Council attempted to convince the Council that it should appeal to the parties to exercise restraint and to forego belligerance in order to afford time for a breathing space. A resolution of that kind might have helped to prevent the outbreak of war. The failure to take action then contributed to the tragic events which have since engulfed the Middle East. We must do all we can to prevent them happening again.

To this end, I would make an urgent appeal to all concerned to put the common interest of all the peoples of the Middle East in peace and a better life above all else. It is not by condemnation and vituperation that the United Nations can find a way out of the maze of hostility, suspicion, and fear; it is by insisting that each party has the right to live in peace and security without fear of attack and by finding appropriate ways to guarantee this assurance. Military solutions to political problems are unacceptable. But one-sided political solutions are no solutions at all.

We all seek, I assume, a peaceful and just solution. The chief responsibility for finding that solution must rest with the parties to the dispute. This Organization, however, must help them to find it. I envisage two stages during which the United Nations might lends its assistance. Two United Nations bodies, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, are still actively at work amongst the refugees and observing the cease-fire. They will continue to have an indispensable contribution to make. The United Nations military observers to whom I wish to pay special tribute have already played a valuable role in observing the cease-fire and in reporting to the Secretary-General. I would expect them to exercise a continuing responsibility as withdrawal of Israeli forces takes place, particularly if arrangements can be made for this withdrawal which will result in demilitarized zones on both sides of the borders.

Since the inception of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees the Canadian Government has consistently been among the highest contributors to that agency. We have provided transportation facilities, food relief, and funds for use by the Red Cross. The Canadian Government will be glad to consider the provision of further assistance to the Agency for purposes of

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rehabilitation and reconstruction when precise determination of needs becomes available.

Another United Nations body which is still extant is the Palestine Conciliation Commission. The function of conciliation is bound to be a vital one during the first stage on the road to a permanent settlement. Whether or not the Commission is the right organ to perform this function without changes being made both in its mandate and in its membership, or whether a different procedure might be envisaged, perhaps in the form of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General, I do not wish to say with certainty. Yet some United Nations agency or representative will be required, I believe, to maintain full contact with all the governments concerned and to prepare the way for subsequent negotiations looking towards a permanent peace.

I have been speaking of what are essentially means to an end. If peace and security in the area are to be assured, the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, vital as it is, must be related to the other basic issues involved. There are a number of requirements, essential to any enduring settlement, which have already been mentioned by a number of distinguished statesmen. I would emphasize the following general principles:

First, respect for the territorial integrity of the nations of the area, including provision for the security and international supervision of frontiers.

<u>Secondly</u>, the rights of all nations to innocent passage through international waterways must be assured.

Thirdly, there must be an early and just solution of the refugee problem.

Fourthly, international concern for the preservation of the special spiritual and religious interests in Jerusalem--Christian, Jewish and Muslim-must be recognized, perhaps by giving the United Nations an international supervisory responsibility for the protection of these interests; nor should there be any precipitate action which might prejudice them.

It may be asked whether the approach I have outlined is realistic and whether the objective of permanent peace in Palestine is still not as difficult or impossible of accomplishment as it was in 1947. There is no doubt in my mind that the permanent members of the Security Council must work together if any settlement is to be durable. I recall that 20 years ago both the United States and the Soviet Union

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supported the Assembly Resolution for the partition of Palestine. Events then took a different course. But there have been more recent examples of co-operation between the Great Powers on this issue, most notably the five resolutions adopted by the Security Council earlier this month. Two of these Great Powers are members of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. Indeed it was the permanent members who were responsible for selecting the Commission. That is the kind of precedent which I hope will be followed again.

There are other possible areas of co-operation between the Permanent Members which remain to be explored. One would be an agreement to control the flow of arms to the Middle East. An all-important by-product of such an arrangement would be the application to economic and social development of some of the resources otherwise spent on maintaining substantial armed forces. It seems self-evident that shipments of food are more important than shipments of arms. The Canadian Government for its part will continue its policy and practice of not sending military supplies to the countries directly involved in this dispute.

A vital step forward in the achievement of durable peace and stability in the Middle East is to ensure that justice be done to the Palestinian refugees. These people for too long have been losers in the tragic conflict of interests in the area. The problem is however of such magnitude that only a combination of methods can produce a solution. It would be an illusion to go on believing that the problem of the refugees will simply be solved on the basis of their return to Israel. Similarly the Arab States could not be expected to shoulder alone the burden of re-settling and integrating in Arab countries those refugees who might make this choice. An international effort in a United Nations context directed at regional economic development in the Middle East and related to re-settlement is a prime requirement which members of the United Nations have an obligation to consider. Canada is prepared to play its part in such an international effort.

The conclusion I draw is that the stakes are simply too great, the dangers too obvious for the international community and the Great Powers, in particular, to let matters drift. The incidence of violence in the world has already reached the limits of international tolerance. Those of us who do not bear the responsibilities of world power may urge those who do exercise this power to do so with restraint and with wisdom. In addition, I suggest, all nations have an obligation to act with restraint and in particular not to threaten or take actions which carry the danger of widening a local conflict and of spreading the flames of war. If peace is indivisible then the highest loyalty is that which we owe to the welfare and security of the people of the world as a whole, and to the obligations we have solemnly contracted under the United Nations Charter.

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