

Latent Dirichlet Allocation Analysis

UN Speeches (1971 to 2018)

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Project P.4

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Context

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) serves as a critical reflection of global perspectives and priorities, where representatives from over 190 nations gather to deliberate on pressing global issues. Since its inception, the UNGA has been a platform for member states to voice their national interests, concerns, and visions for the future. Analyzing the topics discussed in UNGA speeches from 1971 to 2018 provides a unique lens through which to observe shifts in international dynamics, emerging global challenges, and evolving diplomatic focuses. This project aims to apply Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a probabilistic topic modeling technique, to uncover and analyze the thematic structures of these speeches, thereby identifying dominant topics and their trajectories over nearly five decades.

Data

Source and Structure of Data: The data for this project consists of a comprehensive archive of United Nations General Assembly speeches spanning from 1971 to 2018. Originally stored in a zipped folder of 68.6MB, the archive encompasses a structured collection of text files organized by session and year. Each session folder is named systematically, such as "Session 25 - 1970", and contains multiple text files corresponding to speeches delivered by different countries, formatted as "COUNTRYCODE_YEAR.txt" (e.g., "USA_1970.txt").

Unzipping and Organizing: The extraction process began with the decompression of the zipped archive. Using Python's `zipfile` module, the compressed data was programmatically extracted into a designated directory, maintaining the original hierarchical structure of session folders.

Data Reading and Preliminary Processing: Each session folder was iterated over using Python's `os` and `glob` modules to navigate folders and access files. Text files within these folders were read sequentially, with the speech text being loaded into memory.

Simultaneously, metadata extracted from the file names and directory structure—specifically, the country code, session number, and year—was recorded. This allowed for each speech to be associated with its contextual details, crucial for subsequent analytical stages.

Compilation into Analytical Format: After extracting the text and metadata, the speeches were compiled into a structured format suitable for processing with LDA. Using the 'pandas' DataFrame, each speech was represented as a row, with columns for country, year, session, and the raw text of the speech. This structured format facilitated efficient manipulation and transformation of the data necessary for topic modeling.

Preprocessing

Removal of Numeric Identifiers: Speeches often contained paragraph numbers or other numeric identifiers that are irrelevant to text analysis. These were removed to avoid misleading the topic modeling process, which should focus solely on substantive textual content.

Text Normalization:

- **New Line Characters:** To ensure the text was processed as continuous prose, new line characters were replaced with spaces. This helps in maintaining the natural flow of sentences and paragraphs without arbitrary breaks introduced by formatting.
- **Apostrophes and Quotation Marks:** These were removed to standardize the text, reducing variations of words and phrases (e.g., transforming contractions to their full forms).
- **Hyphens:** Often used in compound words or hyphenated names, these were removed to avoid splitting terms that are typically analyzed as a single unit in natural language processing.

Standardization of Whitespace: Excess whitespace, including spaces resulting from the removal of punctuation or special characters, was standardized. This involved stripping leading and trailing spaces and reducing instances of multiple spaces between words to a

single space. This step is crucial for maintaining consistent tokenization during the text analysis phase.

Removal of Salutations: Common salutations such as "Mr.", "Mrs.", and "Dr." were removed. These elements are generally not informative for the analysis of topics and removing them helps to focus the topic modeling on more meaningful content.

Handling Special Text Elements: References to external texts or annotations within the speeches, which could distract from the main content, were removed. This includes any textual content within square brackets or similar notations that are not part of the primary speech content.

Sentence Segmentation: After cleaning, the text was segmented into individual sentences. This step is essential for certain types of analysis where the context of a sentence is necessary to understand the usage and meaning of words and phrases within the specific grammatical structure.

These preprocessing steps ensured that the text data was clean, uniform, and well-suited for extracting meaningful insights through topic modeling. By standardizing the format and removing irrelevant elements, the cleaned data provides a more accurate foundation for identifying the key themes and topics discussed in the UN General Assembly over the years. After the textual data from the UN speeches was preprocessed, Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) was employed to analyze and uncover the thematic structures within these texts.

Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)

Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) is a probabilistic topic model that assumes documents are composed of various latent topics, with each topic represented by a distribution of words. Developed by David Blei, Andrew Ng, and Michael Jordan in 2003, LDA has become a fundamental tool in the field of natural language processing for uncovering hidden thematic structures in large text corpora.

The core idea behind LDA is that any document can be described by a set of topics, each of which has a certain probability of generating specific words. The model operates under the assumption that documents are generated through a stochastic process involving two layers of Dirichlet-distributed variables. First, each document is assumed to possess a distribution over a fixed number of topics. Second, each topic is characterized by a distribution over all the words in the vocabulary.

LDA begins by assigning each word in each document to a random topic, based on these initial topic distributions. The algorithm then iteratively updates these assignments in a two-step process known as Gibbs sampling: first, it re-evaluates the probability of the topic given the document (considering the current topic assignments of other words in the document), and second, it assesses the probability of the word given the topic across all documents. This iterative process continues until the assignments converge or a pre-set number of iterations is reached, leading to a relatively stable distribution of words across topics.

The outcome is a set of topics that best capture the variance in the corpus. Each topic is a mixture of words, and each document is a mixture of topics, although the exact contribution of each topic to a document and each word to a topic is inferred rather than directly observed. The strength of LDA lies in its ability to classify text in a document into relevant topics, making it easier to analyze and interpret large datasets by reducing dimensionality and uncovering hidden thematic patterns.

Applications of LDA span multiple fields, from enhancing search engine capabilities and organizing large libraries of texts to understanding content trends in social media and aiding in thematic analysis for academic research.

Here's a step-by-step breakdown of how the LDA was applied, highlighting the methods and operations involved in the code that has already been executed:

1. Document-Term Matrix Construction: The `'CountVectorizer'` was used to transform the cleaned speech into a document-term matrix. Configured to account for unigrams to trigrams and exclude common English stop words, this vectorization step converted the speech text into a matrix format suitable for topic modeling. The matrix, `'X'`, represented the speech as a dense array of token counts.
2. Initialization and Fitting of the LDA Model: An LDA model was initialized with specified parameters including the number of topics (`'num_topics=5'`), the maximum number of iterations to run (`'max_iter=50'`), and optionally, a `'random_state'` for reproducibility. This setup was crucial for maintaining consistency across different runs of the model.
3. The model was then fit to the document-term matrix, allowing it to infer the latent topics
4. Topic Extraction:
 - Once the model fitting was complete, the component matrix (`'lda_model.components_'`) was accessed. This matrix contains information on the word distributions within each topic.
 - For each topic in the model, the indices of the most relevant words (terms) were identified by sorting the terms in descending order based on their importance to the topic. The number of words considered from each topic was determined by `'num_words'`.
 - These indices were used to fetch the corresponding terms from the vocabulary of the `'CountVectorizer'`, forming a list of the most significant terms for each topic.
5. Compilation of Topic Lists: A list of topics, `'topic_list'`, was created by compiling the extracted terms into strings, where each string represented a coherent topic as inferred by the LDA model. This approach facilitated a straightforward interpretation of the model's output, translating the statistical findings into a format readily understandable by humans.

6. **Return of Topics:** The function returned a list of string-formatted topics, making it easy to further analyze, display, or store the results for documentation and reporting purposes.

This procedural execution enabled a detailed thematic analysis of the speeches, revealing patterns and trends in the discourse at the UN General Assembly sessions over the specified years. The methodology effectively translated raw textual data into insightful thematic summaries, providing a deep understanding of the evolving focus areas in international relations as discussed in UNGA sessions.

To understand the variation in speech lengths and participation frequency of countries, we created boxplots representing the average number of words per speech and the average number of speeches made by each country.

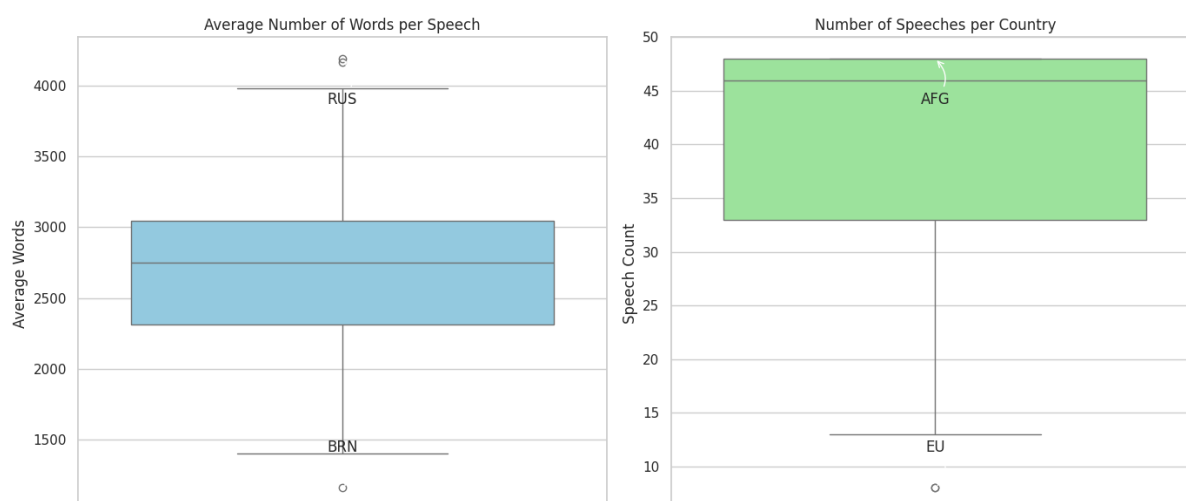


Figure 1

The boxplots provide a comparative analysis of UNGA speech data from 1971 to 2018. The first plot illustrates that Russia (RUS) consistently delivered longer speeches on average, with significantly higher word counts compared to other nations. The second plot highlights Afghanistan (AFG) as the country with the highest total number of speeches delivered at the UNGA during the observed period, indicating a very active participation. This contrasts with other countries like the European Union (EU), which had a notably lower count of speeches,

suggesting less frequent participation or representation in terms of speech quantity at these sessions.

Processing

A script was designed to extract, preprocess, and analyze text data from the speeches stored in text files.

Overview of the Functionality

1. **Defined the Base Path:** The `'base_path'` variable specified the root directory ("Converted sessions/") where session folders were stored, each corresponding to a different year of UN General Assembly sessions.
2. **Iterated Over Session Folders:** The script used `'glob.glob(base_path + 'Session')'` to find all directories that matched the pattern, which were session folders labeled by year (e.g., "Session 25 - 1970"). It then iterated through each session folder, extracted Session and Year: The session name and year were extracted from the folder name using string splitting operations. This metadata was crucial for tracking the source of each speech.
3. **Iterated Over Files in Each Session Folder:** For each session, the script iterated over all `'.txt'` files (representing individual country speeches for that session year). It used `'glob.glob(session_folder + '/*.txt')'` to list all text files in the current session folder. The country code was extracted from each file name, which helped in identifying the country each speech represented.
4. **Read and Preprocessed Speech Text:**
 - **File Reading:** Each file was opened and read, loading the text of the speech into memory.
 - **Cleaning and Sentence Splitting:** The `'clean'` function (assumed to exist) was applied to preprocess the text by removing unwanted characters, standardizing formatting, etc. After cleaning, the `'sentences'` function (also assumed to exist) was used to split the

cleaned text into individual sentences, creating a structured representation of the speech.

5. Combined Sentences and Extracted Topics:

- **Combined Sentences:** If the result from `sentences` was a list (as expected after splitting, ensuring it was in the correct format for topic modeling.
- **Topic Extraction:** The `extract_topics_single` function was applied to the combined speech to identify and extract the main topics using LDA or a similar method. This function presumably transformed the text into a format suitable for LDA, ran the analysis, and returned the identified topics.

6. Stored Results: Each speech's data—including the country code, session, year, the combined (processed) speech text, and the extracted topics—was stored as a dictionary in the `data` list. This structured format was beneficial for subsequent analysis and review.

7. Created DataFrame: Finally, all collected data dictionaries were converted into a Pandas DataFrame. This DataFrame was an efficient data structure for handling large datasets and supported various operations necessary for data analysis, visualization, and reporting.

This script effectively automated the process of extracting, cleaning, and analyzing a large volume of textual data from structured directories. It converted raw text files into a structured dataset ready for advanced textual analysis.

	Country	Session	Year	Speech	Topics
0	PER	Session 26 - 1971	1971	Mr President, I am very pleased to be able now...	[world, international, countries, new, nations]
1	FJI	Session 26 - 1971	1971	181 Mr President, may I, on behalf of my dele...	[fiji, nations, pacific, small, united]
2	SDN	Session 26 - 1971	1971	Your election to this office, Mi President, i...	[world, nations, united, united nations, mr]
3	ETH	Session 26 - 1971	1971	Mr President, it is my very pleasant duty to e...	[nations, united, united nations, general, int...
4	MAR	Session 26 - 1971	1971	Mr President, first of all, I should like to a...	[united, international, nations, united nation...

Figure 2

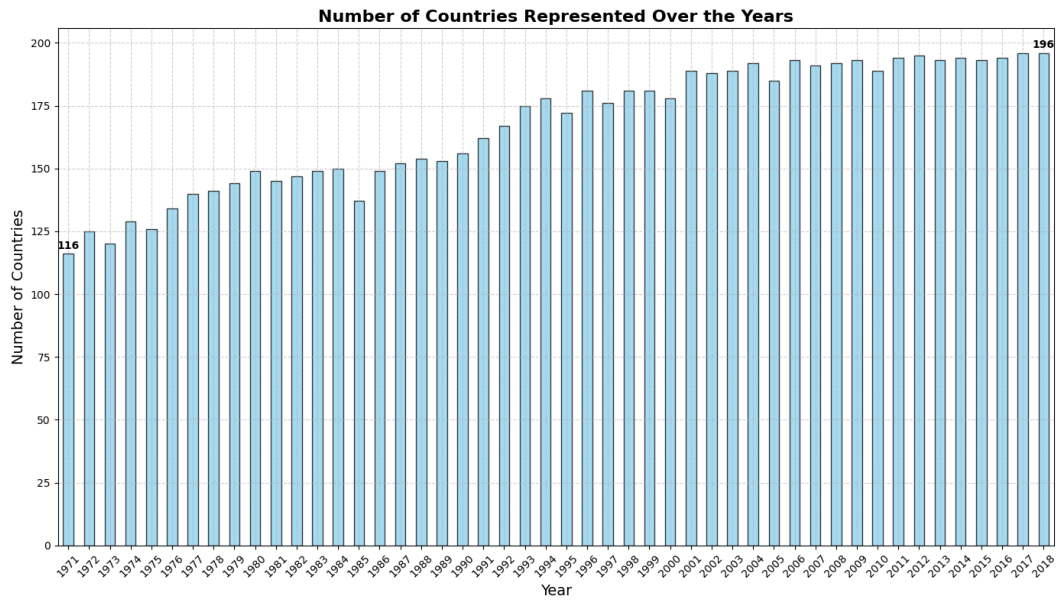


Figure 3

The bar chart displays a steady increase in the number of countries represented at the UN.

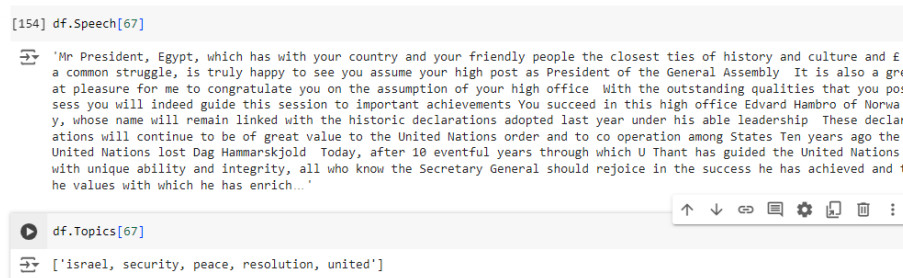


Figure 4: Sample Speech and Extracted Topics

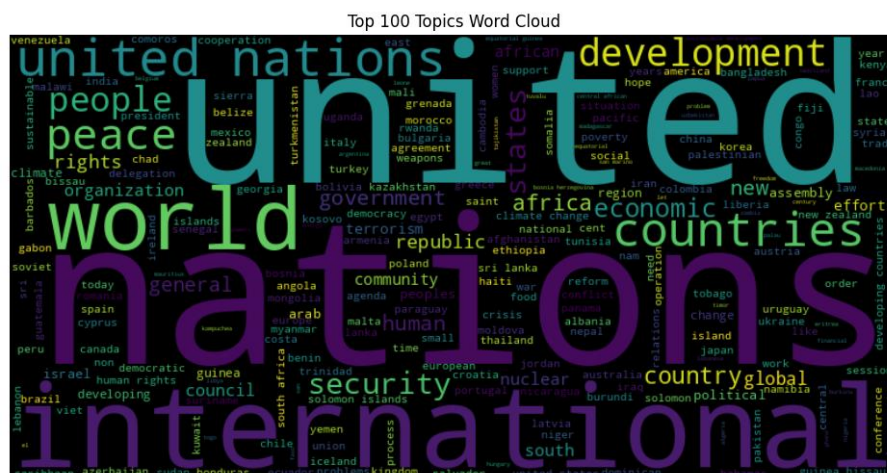


Figure 5

The word cloud visually represents the top topics discussed in the United Nations General Assembly speeches, emphasizing "United Nations," "international," and "development" as the most frequent themes. This reflects a strong focus on international cooperation, peace, security, and economic development across the discussions. The word frequencies beside the cloud, such as 4553 mentions of "nations" and 3518 of "international," quantitatively confirm the prominence of these themes, underlining their centrality in global discourse over the years at the UN.

Clustering

Next, we wrote a code to aggregate the topics discussed by each country in United Nations General Assembly speeches over various years. It grouped the data by 'Country' and then concatenated the list of topics for each country across all years into a single list per country using the sum operation. This aggregation resulted in a new DataFrame that only included 'Country' and the aggregated 'Topics'. The resulting DataFrame was displayed to show the top entries and optionally saved to a CSV file for further use or analysis. This process streamlined the examination of topics by consolidating all topics associated with each country into a singular, comprehensive view.

The code performed a detailed optimization to determine the best configuration for clustering countries based on their UN speech topics using the KMeans algorithm, processed through a TF-IDF transformation of the data. It configured a parameter grid to test different hyperparameters: the number of clusters ranged from 2 to 5, the initialization methods tested were 'k-means++' and 'random', and the number of initializations (re-runs with different centroid seeds) tested were 10, 15, and 20.

For each combination from this grid, the KMeans algorithm was initialized and executed on the TF-IDF transformed matrix of the speeches. It applied these varying hyperparameters to

identify the configuration that yielded the best clustering outcome, assessed using the silhouette score.

The silhouette scores for each parameter combination were calculated, and the configuration yielding the highest score was identified. The process involved fitting the KMeans model with each parameter set, predicting cluster labels for the TF-IDF matrix, and computing the silhouette scores for these predictions. The best parameters, which provided the highest silhouette score, were then reported, signifying the most effective clustering arrangement for the dataset. This approach ensured a robust selection of hyperparameters by empirically testing their performance on the actual dataset.

```
Best Silhouette Score: 0.29022259699610164
Best Parameters: {'n_clusters': 2, 'init': 'random', 'n_init': 10}
```

Figure 6

The optimal configuration for clustering yielded a silhouette score of 0.2847, using parameters with 2 clusters, the 'k-means++' initialization method, and 10 initializations.

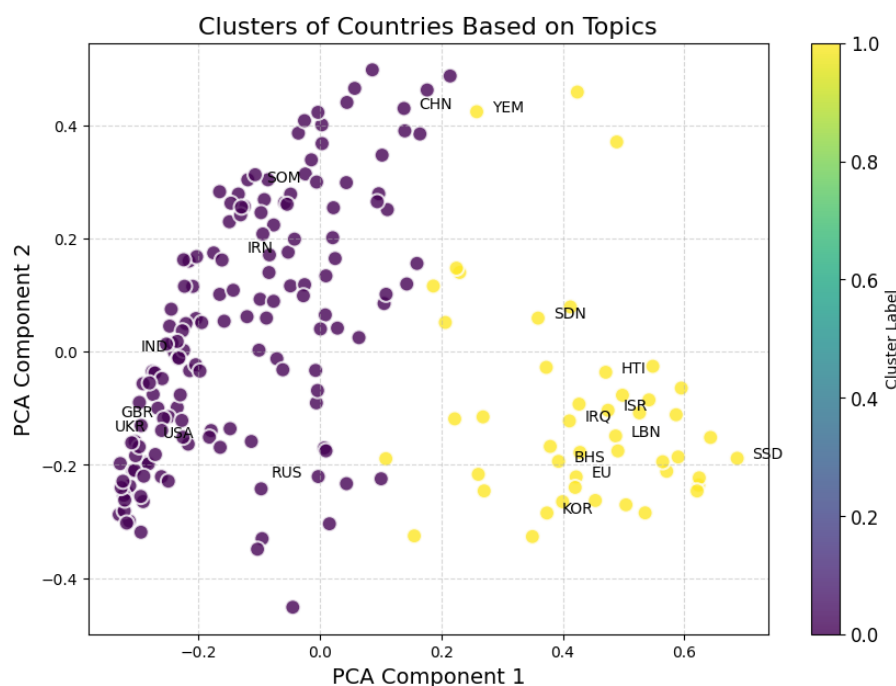


Figure 7

The plot illustrates a PCA (Principal Component Analysis) based clustering of countries, grouped by the topics of their United Nations speeches. Two distinct clusters are visible: one predominantly containing countries like the USA, UK, and India (marked in purple), and another including countries such as Iraq, Israel, and Haiti (marked in yellow). This indicates that countries within each cluster have similar thematic focuses in their UN speeches, potentially reflecting shared regional concerns or political alignments. The positioning along the PCA components suggests underlying patterns in the data that differentiate these groups based on their discourse at the UN.



Figure 8

The word clouds represent the most prominent topics discussed in UN General Assembly speeches by two different groups of countries. For the first group, which includes countries like the USA and the UK, key themes highlighted are "international," "security," "development," and "economic." This suggests a focus on global security issues, international cooperation, and economic development.

The second word cloud, representing countries like the EU, Lebanon, Haiti, and Iraq, also emphasizes "international" and "development," but with a stronger presence of words like "peace," "people," and "government." This indicates a significant focus on peace efforts, governance, and human-centric topics in their discussions.

Both word clouds prominently feature "United," "nations," and "international," reflecting the universal themes of unity and international collaboration typically addressed in the UN.

However, the nuanced differences between the clusters might reflect varied regional priorities or different perspectives on how to address global challenges.

Conclusion

The project aimed to analyze the evolution of topics in United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) speeches from 1971 to 2018, utilizing Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) to uncover underlying thematic structures. The analysis revealed significant insights into the dominant topics that have shaped international discourse over nearly five decades, highlighting the priorities and concerns of various member states.

The findings from the project indicated that common themes such as "international," "development," "security," and "peace" have consistently permeated UNGA speeches, underscoring the assembly's focus on fostering global peace and cooperation. The prevalence of these terms reflects the ongoing efforts of the international community to address complex global challenges through dialogue and collaboration. Moreover, the distinction between clusters of countries based on the thematic content of their speeches illustrated the different regional priorities and approaches to global issues. For instance, Western countries like the USA and the UK emphasized economic development and security, while other clusters that included countries like Haiti and Iraq focused more on peace and human rights.

In conclusion, this project not only sheds light on the dynamic nature of UN discussions but also demonstrates the power of NLP and machine learning techniques in analyzing large-scale textual data. The insights gained from this analysis could serve as a valuable resource for policymakers, researchers, and the general public interested in the trends and shifts in international relations discourse.

References

1. Blei, David & Ng, Andrew & Jordan, Michael. (2001). Latent Dirichlet Allocation. The Journal of Machine Learning Research. 3. 601-608. ([Link](#))
2. Rahul Kumar Gupta, Ritu Agarwalla, Bukya Hemanth Naik, Joythish Reddy Evuri, Apil Thapa, Thoudam Doren Singh, Prediction of research trends using LDA based topic modeling. ([Link](#))
3. A. Goyal and I. Kashyap, "Latent Dirichlet Allocation - An approach for topic discovery," ([Link](#))

Appendix A1 – Text of Sample Speech

(Saved as list of sentences in the speech)

['Mr President, Egypt, which has with your country and your friendly people the closest ties of history and culture and £ a common struggle, is truly happy to see you assume your high post as President of the General Assembly',

' It is also a great pleasure for me to congratulate you on the assumption of your high office',

' With the outstanding qualities that you possess you will indeed guide this session to important achievements',

'You succeed in this high office Edvard Hambro of Norway, whose name will remain linked with the historic declarations adopted last year under his able leadership',

' These declarations will continue to be of great value to the United Nations order and to co operation among States',

'Ten years ago the United Nations lost Dag Hammarskjold',

' Today, after 10 eventful years through which U Thant has guided the United Nations with unique ability and integrity, all who know the Secretary General should rejoice in the success he has achieved and the values with which he has enriched the traditions of his office',

' The courageous stands which he has adopted in defense of world peace and in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter have added to the importance of the high office of Secretary General',

' The United Nations has had grave experiences during this period, and U Thant has steadfastly remained the voice of peace and reason and the defender of the Charter',

' We hope that these words which I speak now are not a farewell and that he will agree once more to carry the burdens and responsibilities of his post in the cause of the United Nations to which he is dedicated',

'On 2 September 1971 the peoples of Syria, Libya and Egypt took a historic step for unity',

' After a national referendum in the three States, the Federation of Arab Republics was born',

' This Union will no doubt increase the chances of success of the three States in their struggle to attain their aspirations and to achieve peace based on justice',

'Since the Asian African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, the People Republic of China and Egypt have maintained diplomatic and friendly relations',

' Today, we are happy to see the People Republic of China on its way to occupying its seat in the United Nations',

' We shall support the invitation to the People Republic of China to assume its rightful place in the world Organization as the sole representative of China',

' We shall oppose any attempt to cast any doubt on this fact or to derogate from the full and legitimate rights of the People Republic of China in accordance with the Charter',

'The admission of Bahrain, Bhutan, and Qatar and the imminent admission of Oman to the United Nations constitute another important victory for the principles of universality and the sovereign equality of States',

' The independence of Bahrain, Oman and Qatar is an important step which will undoubtedly contribute to the progress of the Arab peoples',

' We look forward to co operating with the new States',

' We are confident that they will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations',

'We welcome the recent important developments in European relations, particularly their positive impact on strengthening European security and in fostering co operation between Eastern and Western Europe',

' However, we note with regret that the fundamental problems of the peoples of the third world remain unresolved',

' These problems tend to multiply with the passage of time in both the economic and political fields',

' This is due particularly to the insistence on the part of certain Powers on continuing a policy of force and domination',

'In Africa, the colonialist and racist regimes of southern Africa are still pursuing their policies of oppression, exploitation and intimidation against the indigenous African populations',

' The racist Government in South Africa, the illegal regime in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists in Africa have constituted among themselves a colonialist and racist alliance parallel to the racist Zionist aggression against the north of Africa, These policies brazenly defy all human values, the great tarns of history , and the destiny of our civilization',

' Resistance to these policies should not be confined to their victims in Africa; it is rather a collective responsibility',

' The international community should be asked not only to withhold aid to such regimes but also to take effective action to bring them into the fold of civilization',

'In Asia, it is indeed a source of deep regret to see the war in Viet Nam being pursued despite the opposition of world public opinion to the continuation of aggressive actions against the Viet Nameese people',

'We support the heroic struggle of the Viet Nameese people, which will be inscribed on glorious pages in the annals of history',

' We firmly support the Viet Nameese people legitimate demands for unity, for the exercise of their right to self determination and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet Nam',

' We believe that the program submitted recently by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam constitutes a reason able basis on which to end the war in Viet Nam and to enable the Viet Nameese people to realize their national aspirations',

'Egypt has followed with its heart and soul the painful events that took place in Pakistan last spring',

' We are confident that Pakistan will overcome this crisis in a manner that will safeguard its national unity',

' We appreciate the immediate efforts exerted by the Government of India to meet the situation arising from the inflow of a large number of Pakistani refugees into Indian territory',

' We believe it is imperative that wider international efforts be made to help the people and the Government of India cope with the enormous human burden they are now shouldering and to assist the Pakistani refugees to return to their homes',

'On 5 June 1967, Israel launched its aggression and occupied Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories',

' Ever since, it has followed a policy aimed at imposing its expansionist ambitions on the Arab countries',

' This is in pursuance of its ultimate objective of establishing a Greater Israel between the Nile in Egypt and the Euphrates in Iraq',

' Israel insistence on territorial expansion emerged as the sole obstacle frustrating efforts to carry out resolution 242 , adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967',

' It is that policy of expansion which is at present the most dangerous factor threatening peace in the Middle East',

' The Arab peoples are conscious of the history of Israel expansion',

' The road between the first Zionist claim in 1917 to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine and Israel insistence today on annexing Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories is vividly remembered by every Arab citizen',

'The people of Palestine were the first victims of the Zionist movement',

' They were evicted by force from Palestinian cities and villages',

' When Zionism benefited from international circumstances to which the Palestinians were not a party, a United Nations resolution partitioning Palestine] was adopted',

' Israel, how ever, expanded beyond the boundaries established by the partition resolution',

' It committed unforgettable massacres against the Palestinian people and pursued its policy of expulsion by force against them',

' It was then that, some Arab States responded to the call to help the Palestinian people defend themselves',

' But the Israeli forces had already under their control a large part of the Palestinian territory beyond the boundaries established by the partition resolution',

' From those areas, Israel committed one aggression after another against the peoples of Palestine and the neighboring Arab States',

'14',

' In 1956 Israel attacked Egypt and occupied the Sinai peninsula, and its then Prime Minister declared that the Egyptian Israeli Armistice Agreement was dead and buried, and that the Sinai had been annexed to Israel',

' This aggression did not bear fruit, because of Egypt resistance and the firm opposition of the international community',

'The 1967 aggression was along the same lines and in the same pattern: aggression, occupation, expulsion of the inhabitants, and an attempt to impose a fait accompli',

'The 1967 war will not be Israel last aggression if Israel succeeds in holding the spoils of this one',

' Success will undoubtedly tempt Israel to pursue further its expansionist schemes to create that Greater Israel, as long as it believes that it can rely on outside support in its aggressive policies against the peoples of the area',

'The other side of the Zionist policy of expansion manifests itself in Israel practices of massive expulsion of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and systematic demolition and destruction of houses, civic centers and entire villages',

' These are amongst the gravest of crimes and are prohibited by the Geneva Conventions',

' They are also in contravention of a whole series of United Nations resolutions',

'Resolution 298 just recently adopted by the Security Council, on 25 September 1971, which urgently called upon Israel to rescind all previous actions aimed at annexing occupied Jerusalem, was the third on that subject adopted by the Security Council',

' Israel has once again rejected the resolution, and did so on the very day it was adopted',

'In addition to those resolutions, the General Assembly has adopted 24 resolutions on the rights of the Palestinians',

' The Security Council, as well as the General Assembly, has adopted several other resolutions calling on Israel to allow displaced persons to return to their homes in the occupied territories',

' There were 13 more resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, calling upon Israel to respect the rights of the civilian inhabitants in the occupied territories in conformity with the fourth Geneva Convention',

' Israel has adamantly, by word and deed, rejected all these resolutions',

' It has continued to establish settlements in the occupied Arab territories on the debris of the Arab homes it destroyed',

' Last summer it launched a major aggression against the Palestinian refugees in the Gaza sector and transferred thousands of families by force from destroyed refugee camps to the Sinai peninsula in occupied Egyptian territory',

'The crimes which Israel is committing against the Palestinian people and Other inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories belong to the same category of crimes as those which the Nazis perpetrated against the Jews and many others in occupied Europe, crimes which were considered repugnant to the human conscience and whose perpetrators were tried as war criminals',

' These crimes led the civilized nations to conclude the 1949 Geneva Conventions, to which Israel is a party, and which it refuses to honor',

' Indeed, Israel denies its obligations under the law of war as it denies its obligations under the law of peace',

'The Arab peoples who have lived the tragedy of the Palestinian people will continue to defend and support the inalienable right of every Palestinian to return to his home and to cultivate his land',

' The responsibility of the United Nations towards the Palestinian people, which is a legal, moral and historical responsibility, will be unfulfilled until all the resolutions adopted on the sacred rights of the Palestinians have been faithfully and effectively implemented',

' A just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the realization of these rights',

"The leaders of Israel convinced themselves that, by ' launching the 5 June 1967 aggression and by occupying Arab territories, they would force the Arab countries to surrender to their expansionist demands",

' The same self conviction dominated the leaders of Nazi Germany when they invaded Europe',

' They, too, felt that they could dictate their conditions to Europe through military conquest',

' It was the resolve of the invaded countries in Europe to stand up and resist that eventually led to the defeat of the invader and the liberation of the then occupied lands',

' Egypt has refused and will continue to refuse to surrender to Israel expansionist ambitions',

' Egypt's steadfastness is an integral part of its determination to liberate every inch of the territory occupied by Israel as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967',

'Having failed to impose capitulation on the Arab countries as a result of its aggression in June 1967, Israel today strives for the fragmentation of the settlement by seeking to conclude

separate agreements which would enable Israel to continue its occupation and to impose acceptance of the status quo',

' That is, basically, what Israel is seeking through what it has recently called a Suez Canal agreement',

' In fact, Israel objective is territorial expansion it intends to use this interim agreement as a springboard for further aggression',

' The experience of over 20 years has inured the Arab world to such things; it cannot again be dragged into such a trap',

' But it is important that the General Assembly be made aware of this fact',

'In 1949 the Arab States concluded interim agreements with Israel',

' These were the General Armistice Agreements',

' Under these Agreements Israel occupied large areas of the territory of Palestine which were not allotted to it under the 1947 partition resolution',

' Shortly after the conclusion of these agreements the Arab States and Israel concluded the Lausanne Protocol of 12 May 1949',

' However, instead of withdrawing to its assigned boundaries according to the partition resolution, Israel moved farther and occupied by force the Palestinian demilitarized zones, expelled the United Nations observers and forcibly evicted the inhabitants of these zones',

' Subsequently, Israel launched its 1956 aggression against Egypt and unilaterally declared the abrogation of the Egyptian Israeli Armistice Agreement',

' Later, it launched the 1967 aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and renounced the Armistice Agreements with those three countries',

' Israel has used the interim agreements as a means of consolidating a de facto situation resulting from its aggression and a stage from which it commits further aggression or the road of territorial expansion',

'The Foreign Minister of Israel made a statement here on 30 September in which he asserted that in a condition of peace Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied Egyptian territory',

' In the same speech he invited Egypt to enter into an interim agreement',

' This interim agreement would not provide for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory',

' The Foreign Minister of Israel also proposed that international arrangements be established to supervise the interim agreement to be signed by Egypt',

' In short, Israel invites Egypt to sign an interim agreement in which Egypt would accept the continued Israeli occupation of its territory under the protection of the international community',

' If Israel seeks today an interim agreement, it should fulfill its obligations under the 1949 Armistice Agreement, which was concluded under the auspices of the Security Council and which Israel cannot unilaterally abrogate',

' If, however, it is permanent peace that Israel seeks, then it should agree to implement Security Council resolution 242 and respond positively to Ambassador Jarring aide memoir of 8 February 1971 , which defines the first step towards the full implementation of the Security Council resolution',

'Israel cannot impose on the Arab States a third alternative: new interim agreements which would secure the continued occupation of the territories it seized in June 1967',

' Peace cannot coexist with occupation',

' This was very clearly stated in the address made by the President of Egypt to the nation on 16 September last',

' Any interim steps should lead only to the full implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 5 June 1967',

'When the General Assembly met in the fifth emergency special session in the aftermath of the June 1967 Israeli aggression, two main trends dominated its deliberations',

' The first trend emphasized the need for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied territories on the understanding that the Middle East crisis would be subsequently resolved',

' The second emphasized the necessity of the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied territories as part of a general settlement of the Middle East crisis',

' Not one single draft resolution was submitted to the General Assembly which did not provide for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the lines existing prior to 5 June 1967',

'When the question was later considered by the Security Council, the Council opted for the second trend, which called for a comprehensive settlement which would bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East',

' This was embodied in Security Council resolution 242 ',

'The most cogent expression which reaffirms that the withdrawal is an integral part of permanent peace is found in resolution 242 itself, which emphasized in one sentence:',

' the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security',

'That resolution was not adopted in a vacuum',

' It was adopted unanimously after long and arduous consultations in which the four major Powers and the parties concerned participated',

' At that time it was the United States more than any other Power which insisted that the settlement should be comprehensive and should embody all the ingredients of the Middle East conflict',

' The United States firmly opposed the return to interim arrangements on the ground that such arrangements would not terminate the state of war',

' Any attempt to depict Security Council resolution 242 as condoning territorial expansion is in flagrant violation of the Charter and the provisions of the resolution itself',

' In fact it serves only to reveal the colonial intentions of the perpetrator',

' The theory of territorial expansion which Israel promotes today means the following: any State wishing to expand into the territory of another State need only invade that State, occupy its territory and impose its territorial demands by force of occupation and on the basis of the allegation that every war leads to territorial changes',

' But there is no acceptable justification whatsoever for territorial expansion,,Israel allegation that its security could be achieved only through expansion is a negation of common sense',

' If a State believes that it can achieve its security at the expense of the territory of another neighboring State, why then should not the neighboring State attempt to expand in the territory of another State also on the basis of security and why then should the same pattern not be repeated by all other States',

'The greatest guarantee of security is peace based on justice',

' This could be reinforced by a system of guarantees under the auspices and the supervision of the Security Council',

' It was ironic to hear the Foreign Minister of Israel strongly advocating the establishment of international arrangements to supervise an interim agreement which would secure Israel occupation while at the same time vehemently rejecting guarantees to be provided by the Security Council to protect permanent peace in the Middle East',

'We are almost at the end of the fourth year since the Security Council adopted resolution 242 ',

' Through out these last four years, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary General, has been making patient and consistent efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in accordance with resolution 242 ',

' All these efforts have been frustrated by a single obstacle: Israel refusal to withdraw from the territories it occupied as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967',

'When the Jarring mission came to its first deadlock, France proposed early in 1969 that the four permanent members of the Security Council should hold talks with a view to assisting Ambassador Jarring and should work to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 ',

'3 This initiative by France was accepted by us',

' It was rejected by Israel',

'In June 1970 the United States advanced what has become known as the Rogers initiative which contained³ See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty fourth Year, 1468th meeting, para',

' 39, three elements: first, implementation of the Security Council resolution; second, the nomination by the parties of representatives to maintain contact with Ambassador Jarring in order to carry out the resolution, and third, a cease fire to be observed for 90 days to facilitate the task of Ambassador Jarring',

'We accepted the United States initiative in July and appointed our Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York to enter into contact with Ambassador Jarring',

' On 4 August 1970, Israel announced its acceptance but immediately started to procrastinate in its contacts with Ambassador Jarring',

' On 6 September 1970 it declared its withdrawal from these contacts',

'On 8 February 1971 Ambassador Jarring took his well known initiative in accordance with which he concentrated on one zone of the conflict and planned subsequently to move on to other zones',

' The Jarring initiative of 8 February was a decisive milestone',

' The response to that initiative determined the willingness and seriousness on the part of Egypt and Israel to carry out their obligations under Security Council resolution 242',

' Ambassador Jarring requested Israel to make a specific commitment to withdraw its forces from Egyptian territory to Egypt international frontiers',

' He requested Egypt to offer a corresponding commitment to enter into a peace agreement with Israel provided that Israel withdrew its forces to Egypt international frontier',

'Upon receiving the clarifications which it requested from Ambassador Jarring, Egypt, on 15 February 1971, communicated its acceptance of his initiative',

' On 26 February, Israel rejected Ambassador Jarring initiative and declared that it would not withdraw to Egypt international frontiers as requested by Ambassador Jarring',

' It might be appropriate at this juncture to refer to the Secretary General report',

' He stated:I wish ',

' to note with satisfaction the positive reply given by the United Arab Republic to Ambassador Jarring initiative',

' However, the Government of Israel has so far not responded to the request of Ambassador Jarring that it should give a commitment on withdrawal to the international boundary of the United Arab Republic',

' The representatives of the four permanent members of the Security Council supported Ambassador Jarring initiative and expressed satisfaction with Egypt response',

' They asked that Israel give a similar reply',

' The representatives of the four permanent members of the Security Council requested, the United States representative, Mr George Bush, to convey this position to the Secretary General',

'On 5 March 1971, the Secretary General issued an appeal to Israel to reconsider its position and respond to Ambassador Jarring initiative',

' He said:I appeal',

' to the Government of Israel to give further consideration to this question and to respond favorably to Ambassador Jarring initiative',

' Israel rejected this appeal',

' The Foreign Minister of Israel, on 30 September, repeated this rejection when he asserted that Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied territory of Egypt in accordance with the Jarring aide memoir',

' He stated:In the framework of a peace settlement with Egypt, Israel would withdraw from the cease fire lines',

' We have never asserted that in a condition of peace it would be necessary for our troops to remain in all of the Sinai Peninsula or even in most of it',

' and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied after 5 June 1967, President Anwar El Sadat proposed last February an initiative which provides for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 and the withdrawal of Israeli forces in two stages',

' President El Sadat declared that, upon Israel withdrawal to the lines of the first stage, Egypt would be willing to accept a cease fire for a period of six months, during which Ambassador Jarring would prepare a time table for the implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution',

' During this stage Egypt would start clearing the Suez Canal with a view to opening it for international navigation',

' Egyptian forces would cross the Suez Canal to assume their national responsibilities on the eastern bank of the Canal and to preset the Canal and the Egyptian cities on the Canal',

'The second stage would then follow',

' Israeli armed forces would be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied after 5 June 1967, and the remaining provisions of the Security Council resolution would be fully carried out in conformity with the time table prepared by Ambassador Jarring',

'Israel rejected this initiative, as it had previously rejected the Jarring initiative',

' This rejection was expressed once again by the Foreign Minister of Israel on 30 September, when he declared that Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied Egyptian territories',

' Moreover, the Israeli defense Minister stated on 19 September: Israel should keep Sharm El Sheikh, the Golan heights of Syria, and the Gaza Strip among the territories captured in 1967, at the same time keeping troops on the Jordan River that is, the west bank of the Jordan under Israel military control and retaining new settlements in the occupied areas',

'Since the official announcement of its expansionist policy of annexing occupied Egyptian territory, the Israeli leaders have launched an active campaign aimed at resurrecting the principle of military conquest as a means for the acquisition of territory belonging to other States',

' This principle lay at the root of the whole colonial system and led to almost all the wars that had occurred before the emergence of the United Nations',

'The Prime Minister of Israel, in her bitter attack on the Charter principle of non acquisition of territory by force, had the audacity to refer to that Charter principle as immoral, as reported in Time magazine of 30 August 1971',

' The Prime Minister of Israel made the statement before one year had elapsed since the unanimous adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which spells out the provisions of that basic principle of the Charter',

' The Declaration states: The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force',

' No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal',

' , annex',

'It also declared: Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing international boundaries of another State or as a means of solving international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers of States /ibid',
'],

'These fundamental norms of international law were reflected and further emphasized in the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly last year], in order to emphasize their importance in the maintenance of international peace and security',

' Israel insistence on expanding and annexing Arab territories is a categorical rejection of peace in the Middle East',

' It is also a clear manifestation of its determination to pursue war and to undermine the basic principles laid down by the peoples of the United Nations for the establishment of a civilized international order and for the maintenance of world peace',

"Israel policy of military expansion, its attempts to revive the colonial principle of military conquest, its refusal to agree to permanent peace, and its consistent defiance of the United

Nations resolutions are Si' policies for which Israel finds no support whatever in the international community",

'The United States, which provides Israel with military and economic assistance, has repeatedly rejected the principle of military conquest as a means of acquiring the territory of other States',

' The United States has, moreover, declared its support of Ambassador Jarring aide memoir of 8 February, which calls for Israeli withdrawal to Egypt international borders and the conclusion of a peace agreement',

'In the course of his speech to the General Assembly on Monday , Mr William Rogers reaffirmed the posit ion of the United States stated by him in a speech on 9 December 1969, in which he said:',

' in the context of peace and agreement on specific security safeguards, withdrawal of Israeli feces from Egyptian territory would be required',

'Such an approach directly addresses the principal national concerns of both Israel and the United ArabRepublic',

' It would require the United Arab Republic to agree to a binding and specific commitment to peace, It would require withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from United Arab Republic territory to the international border between Israel and Egypt which has been in existence for over a half century',

' We note that this position corresponds to the Jarring initiative of 8 February 1971, which was accepted by Egypt on 15 February, We also note that in his speech Mr Rogers called for a step towards complete and full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 ',

' We consider any attempt to transform such a step into a separate agreement as one of the impediments which Israel has often used to frustrate the realization of peace in the Middle East',

'The United States, however, has continued to provide Israel with military and economic aid',

' At a time when Israel is actively laboring to annex the occupied Arab territories, this support by the United States does not represent merely a retraction of its previous commitments, including its commitments under the Charter, but it also enables Israel to pursue its policy of frustrating the implementation of the Security Council resolution and of continuing its aggression against the Arab countries and its defiance of the United Nations ',

'There is a basic contradiction between the repeated assertion of the United States of support for the Security Council resolution and its actual policy of providing military and economic aid to Israel, in spite of the latter rejection of the Jarring aide memoir and its insistence on territorial expansion',

'As a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, the United States bears a heavy responsibility and assumes definite commitments with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security',

' Hence, the United States and the other big Powers should strive for the realization of the steps leading to the achievement of permanent peace in the Middle East',

'Wide and important sectors of the international community have defined their position and announced their full support for Security Council resolution 242 , and have called upon Israel to co operate with Ambassador Jarring and to respond positively to his aide memoir',

' I should like to refer, in particular, to the fair resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on 22 June 1971 at Addis Ababa',

' In that resolution the African leaders called for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories to the lines of 5 June 1967; expressed their full support for the efforts of the Special representative of the United Nations Secretary General to implement Security Council resolution 242 and his initiative for peace of 8 February 1971; reaffirmed

their solidarity with the United Arab Republic and appreciated its reply of 15 February to Ambassador Jarring initiative as a practical step for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; deplored Israel defiance of that initiative and called upon Israel to respond to that initiative',

'57',

' The African leaders did not confine themselves to the adoption of that important resolution',

' They requested the President of Mauritania, Moktar Ould Daddah, in his capacity as Chairman of the eighth session of the OAU Assembly, to consult with the other Heads of State to exert their joint influence to secure the full implementation of their resolution',

' As a result of these consultations, a committee was established under the chairmanship of President Moktar Ould Daddah composed of the Heads of State of Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, the Ivory Coast and Liberia',

'58 ',

' Egypt declared its acceptance of the implementation of the resolution adopted by the OAU Assembly',

' We shall co operate with the committee of our African Heads of State led by President Senghor with a view to ensuring the success of its mission and in order to carry out the collective will of Africa Heads of State',

' In deference to this effort Egypt will not request the discussion of the item entitled The situation in the Middle East in accordance with its established priority on the agenda of the General Assembly, and will await the results of this mission',

'The support for Security Council resolution 242 and the Jarring initiative of 8 February, is indeed universal',

' Besides Africa support, Asian States, non aligned countries, the socialist countries and Western European countries have, on many occasions, strongly supported Ambassador Jarring efforts',

' We are also confident that the Latin American countries, which contributed to laying the foundation of the principle of the non acquisition of territory by force, will no doubt reject Israel attempts aiming at the acquisition of lands through military conquest and will actively support the Security Council resolution and the efforts of Ambassador Jarring to achieve permanent peace in the Middle East',

'Security Council resolution 242 is firmly based on two inseparable foundations, permanent peace and full withdrawal',

' Ambassador Jarring mission is an integral part of that resolution',

' There are two roads before us which would lead to the full implementation of the Security Council resolution and to the establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East: first, the implementation of President El Sadat initiative, to which I referred earlier in my speech; and, second, Israel agreement to enter into a peace agreement in accordance with the aide memoir of Ambassador Jarring of 8 February 1971',

' Egypt has responded positively to that aide memoir',

' It remains for Israel to take the same step, thus enabling Ambassador Jarring to resume his contacts',

' I would be ready to meet with Ambassador Jarring to discuss with him the implementation of the contents of his aide memoir',

' I am ready to do this today',

'Moreover, we agree that the Security Council should lay down security arrangements to guarantee peace and security and to ensure the non renewal of aggression in the Middle East',

' These arrangements include the establishment of demilitarized zones on both sides for equal distances and the establishment of an international force to supervise peace in the area',

' Israel refusal to withdraw from the territories it occupied as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967 is a constant threat to peace',

' Firm international action is now imperative to force Israel to comply with the basic norms of the Charter',

' The Security Council, particularly its permanent members, bears at present a great responsibility for peace in the Middle East',

' The achievement of permanent peace is the most genuine guarantee for security in the Middle East',

' Territorial expansion does not guarantee the security of any State',

' Expansion is not the path to security, but it surely is the road to war',

' There is a fundamental fact which stands out as clearly as the sun, through all the efforts made, through all the projects submitted and through all the accumulated United Nations records on the Middle East',

' That fact is summed up in the following words: peace in the Middle East depends on Israel renunciation of its policy of expansion',

' If Israel announces today that it will withdraw its forces to the lines existing prior to 5 June 1967, peace would be achieved forthwith in the Middle East',

' The leaders of Israel would be indulging in self deception if they convinced themselves that they could force the people of Egypt to surrender an inch of Egypt territory, in any form or under any name',

" In the valley of the Nile the people of Egypt offered as' a heritage to the human race a civilization of peace",

' In peace and in tolerance they built their progress',

' More than once in their long history they stood up to invaders',

' The invaders were repelled and Egypt remained throughout history',

'Today the people in the valley of the Nile, while looking forward to peace so as to proceed with the tasks of construction and to meet the challenges of progress, are also committed vis a vis the past, the present and the future to stand up to invaders, to protect the land of Egypt and to insist that peace must rest on justice']

Appendix A2 – 5 Topics Extracted

(From the Speech in Appendix A1)

['israel, security, peace, resolution, united']