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**President: Mr. Gaston THORN  
(Luxembourg).**

**AGENDA ITEM 124**

**The situation in the Middle East (*continued*)**

1. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): It is timely to have a debate on the situation in the Middle East in the General Assembly not only because it involves a question that has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for a number of years but, primarily, because of the fact that we continue to be confronted with a major and very dangerous crisis in international relations. Without a lasting and just solution of that crisis in all its aspects, there can be no peace or stability in the Middle East, the Mediterranean or elsewhere; neither, for that matter, can there be any genuine peaceful development in international relations.

2. Even the easing of international tensions achieved so far cannot endure, nor can it pretend to have universal implications, in the absence of a solution of the crisis in the Middle East, where so many strategic, economic and political factors, including important interests of the great Powers, are so clearly intertwined.

3. We have already explained our position on a number of vital issues concerning the Middle East and Palestine in the general debate [2360th meeting] as well as during the consideration of the question of Palestine [2393rd meeting]. Therefore, it is not my intention to repeat things that are well known. However, I cannot fail to mention that more than seven years after the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 and 28 years after the United Nations began to deal with the question of Palestine no substantive progress has been made with regard to these key issues.

4. Israel continues to occupy extensive Arab territories, in spite of numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international bodies, and by non-aligned conferences in particular, defying the demand of the vast majority of the international community to withdraw from those territories and to make possible a lasting settlement of that crisis, at the core of which is the Palestinian problem, which arose as a result of the denial by the Israeli aggressors of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

5. Yugoslavia has constantly supported and promoted the attainment of the just objectives of the liberation struggle of Arab peoples. We have always believed, and we reiterate it, that a lasting settlement of the crisis in the Middle East can be achieved only if Israel withdraws completely from all the Arab territories occupied after 5 June 1967 and if the Palestinian people are able to exercise their inalienable rights. These basic principles should be reflected in any further resolutions the General Assembly might adopt. Both of these key elements of the Middle East crisis are embodied in the Political Declaration contained in the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity, which was adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/10217 and Corr.1] which was held at Lima from 25 to 30 August last. In paragraph 54 of the Declaration, it is stated that a just solution and durable peace in the Middle East must be based on the following two principles:

“1. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since June 5, 1967;

“2. The exercise by the Palestinian people of all their national rights, including their right to return to their country and to self-determination and political independence.”

6. We are convinced that only on such a basis can all the peoples and States in the Middle East live in peace and have their independence and security guaranteed. This applies also to the State of Israel, whose Government should finally realize that, by continuing to occupy Arab territories and stubbornly refusing to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, it cannot ensure the peaceful and secure existence of its own people.

7. The United Nations bears a great responsibility with regard to both the crisis in the Middle East and the Palestinian problem. The Organization—the Security Council in the first place—has adopted numerous and important resolutions confirming and re-asserting precisely those fundamental principles I have just mentioned for the solution of the problem. Let me refer only to resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council, as well as to General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX), 3237 (XXIX), 3375 (XXX) and 3376 (XXX), as the most important ones, which, taken together, provide a comprehensive set of principles and methods for settling the crisis in the Middle East in all its aspects.

8. Three days ago the Security Council took another step forward by adopting a significant resolution, namely, resolution 381 (1975), which in its operative part provides for a meeting of the Security Council on 12 January 1976 “to continue the debate on the Middle East problem including the Palestinian question, taking into account all relevant United Nations

resolutions". In his statement after the adoption of the resolution, the President of the Security Council stated clearly that the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] would be invited to participate in the debate when it started on 12 January 1976.<sup>1</sup>

9. My delegation fully supports both the resolution and the statement by the President of the Security Council and wishes to pay tribute to all the members of the Council, and to its non-aligned members in particular, who made the adoption of the resolution possible. This means that the Security Council will finally turn its attention to its real task, namely, the examination of how to implement the relevant resolutions on the Middle East and the Palestinian problem, the resolutions adopted by both the Council and the General Assembly, including, no doubt, the resolution that we are going to adopt here as a result of our current debate.

10. It is no less significant that the PLO will also take part in those deliberations. This is not only a confirmation of its right to participate in all peace efforts on an equal footing with the other parties directly concerned, but also a manifestation of the growing awareness that without the participation of the PLO it would not be possible to resolve either the Palestinian problem or the crisis in the Middle East.

11. We believe that by undertaking this complex and responsible task the Security Council will be in a position to achieve the progress that we desire and expect with regard to the solution of this crisis. The United Nations will thereby also prove that it is capable of strengthening not only its peace-keeping but also its peace-making role, in the interest of international peace and security. It is all the more urgent to settle the Middle East crisis since the prolongation of the occupation by Israel and its opposition to the attainment by the Palestinian people of their national rights can only lead to a renewal of the war, with unpredictable consequences for world peace. The draft resolution that we are going to adopt should help to stimulate constructive efforts in the direction of a peaceful solution, and thus help the Security Council to fulfil its responsible task successfully.

12. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Two and a half months have passed since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly opened, and now that we have arrived at the last stage of our work the main political experience that we have gained during this session is emerging with greater clarity. I do not think I am wrong in saying that our deliberations on and discussions of a number of important questions have in effect boiled down to the central issue of preserving and consolidating international peace. The peoples of the world are unanimous in demanding that the United Nations contribute by its own means to the strengthening of peace as the fundamental condition for mankind's creative activity, to the development of international relations which serve the progress of mankind as a whole, to consolidating détente and making it irreversible, and to the achievement of disarmament.

13. We have also witnessed something that is closely related to this, namely, that the peoples everywhere are turning their attention ever more impatiently to the hotbeds of war which threaten peace and are demanding their elimination without any further delay.

Regrettably, the Middle East continues to take first place among the hotbeds of war. It is therefore only natural that the General Assembly has devoted great attention to the problem, even in the context of several other items on the agenda.

14. A variety of explanations have been put forward by many about the origins and components of the Middle East conflict and the underlying causes of successive wars and outbreaks of hostilities, actions and counter-actions. Some have even gone so far as to doubt that the vicious circle of those hostilities can ever be broken.

15. The Hungarian People's Republic maintains that in order to reach an urgent settlement of the conflict and prevent the outbreak of a new and even more devastating war in the Middle East, it is necessary above all to have a clear view of the situation itself, with no intent to blur the issues and without sentimental biases. The Middle East situation is, in our opinion, basically characterized by the fact that the Arab States of the region have been victims of successive aggressions for a quarter of a century. Responsibility for that succession of aggressions lies with those capitalist and militarist circles which, at the head of the Government of the State of Israel, have steered their country into an imperialist and colonialist course of policy and have thereby set it against both the Arab peoples and States of the region and progressive world public opinion as a whole, as well as against every peace-loving country. No smaller share of responsibility falls on those who from beyond the borders of Israel have given from the outset and continue even today to give every kind of political and economic support and immense military support to that aggressive, colonialist and expansionist policy.

16. The Israeli policy of annexation has already brought tremendous suffering to the peoples of the area. The massive banishment of the Palestinian Arab population from the land of their ancestors, the atrocities committed by the military occupation authorities against the population of the occupied territories, and the Israeli endeavours to change the demographic structure of the territories stolen from the neighbouring countries and to establish new settlements therein, thus ensuring their final annexation, are manifestations of that policy and are well known to all. At the same time, any new aggressive adventure would serve to increase the risk of countries outside the region also being plunged into the Middle East conflict, and would be courting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

17. The people of the Hungarian People's Republic share the opinion, virtually unanimous today, of the peoples of the world that it is urgently necessary to break this cycle of force and aggression which has characterized the past quarter century or more and to mould a new pattern of peaceful relations in the Middle East. However, this cannot be achieved by partial solutions, no matter how spectacular they may seem, but only by a global settlement of the issues involved.

18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, in his statement in the general debate at this session, said, *inter alia*:

"In our view, the most appropriate forum for solving the Middle East conflict is still the Geneva

Peace Conference, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO, the Soviet Union and the United States. A settlement of the question, whether it is sought at the Geneva Conference or by other means, cannot be lasting without the participation of the socialist countries, and primarily of the Soviet Union, because without it there can be no agreement guaranteeing the just interests of the Arab peoples." [2373rd meeting, para. 148.]

19. In line with this position of principle, we welcome Security Council resolution 381 (1975), adopted on 30 November, which, *inter alia*, calls for a global discussion of the Middle East issue at the meetings of the Security Council in January next year. The majority of countries which make up the Security Council deem it necessary for the PLO to participate in that discussion, as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, and thus give proof of their historical wisdom and foresight. It is our conviction that the resolution adopted by the Security Council and the forthcoming debate in the Council will promote the cause of a global settlement, in particular, adequate preparation for the Geneva Conference, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO.

20. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is firmly convinced that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict can be conceived on the basis of three inseparable principles: first, complete liquidation of the consequences of aggression and immediate and unconditional return of all occupied Arab lands to the countries of whose territories they form a legitimate part; secondly, full recognition for the Palestinian Arab people of their national right to self-determination; and, thirdly, the assurance for all States and peoples of the region of an independent life of their own, free from fear. It is the joint application of those three principles that can turn the hotbed of war in the Middle East into a home of lasting peace.

21. We know full well that there is still a long way to go to overcome all the difficulties and to achieve this goal of enormous importance to the world. We pay tribute to all those who are making unselfish efforts to bring about a realm of peace in the Middle East. Just as in the past, the United Nations has and will have a great responsibility as well as great possibilities in this field. Now we have to move firmly towards a global settlement of the conflict. The Hungarian People's Republic, together with the other friendly socialist countries and the Arab countries in pursuit of national and social progress, will continue to give every support to the struggle for the final liquidation of aggression and the attainment of a just and lasting peace.

22. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria): The General Assembly is again considering one of the most acute international problems, the crisis in the Middle East.

23. This is not only fully justified, it is also imperative. The reason is that the Middle East continues to be a dangerous hotbed of tensions and conflicts, a constant threat to peace and security in the region and in the world as well.

24. It is with regret that one must point to the fact that there has been practically no significant progress

as yet towards a just and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis. The situation in that area continues to be as menacing as before, when a shaky peace and constant tension were inflated and broke out in open military clashes.

25. It would be a dangerous illusion to think that as a result of some recent partial measures and agreements there is a positive development by which it will be possible to reduce, and even remove, the risks of new complications in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, the general debates and the recent detailed discussion on the question of Palestine at the current session unambiguously confirmed this analysis. The necessity of a comprehensive consideration and settlement of the problem within the framework of the United Nations was emphasized anew, and with added strength. It is, therefore, the duty of the United Nations to analyse the situation in the Middle East objectively and with a high sense of responsibility. Concrete and very effective ways and means should be elaborated on the basis of this analysis, aimed at a solution of the problem that will take it out of the present impasse.

26. It is well known that the Organization bears particular and primary responsibility for ensuring a lasting peace in the Middle East. That is why any attempts to bypass the United Nations in the search for a Middle East settlement are, to say the least, ineffective. This has been confirmed by the practice followed so far.

27. Nothing can conceal the indisputable fact that it is precisely in the Middle East that one of the most brutal and continuing violations in the entire 30-year history of the United Nations has been committed with respect to two of the basic principles of the Charter. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force is flagrantly and stubbornly being trampled upon. The inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, their right to dispose of their own destinies themselves, is also being flagrantly and stubbornly suppressed.

28. It is hardly necessary to recall that both the Security Council and the General Assembly have repeatedly and resolutely condemned Israel's aggressive actions and its policy based on force. They have stressed the inadmissibility and the unlawfulness of the continuing occupation of the territories seized by Israel as a result of aggressive wars against neighbouring Arab States.

29. Can one allege that there has been a significant change in this respect? Not at all. The occupation continues. Israel's rulers refuse to accept the demand of the highest bodies of the United Nations that they withdraw their troops unconditionally from all the occupied Arab territories. By distorting and misinterpreting the Security Council and the General Assembly resolutions, they are trying to hide their policy of annexation and their efforts to perpetuate their domination of foreign lands.

30. What do the facts show as regards the brutal violation of the principle of self-determination of peoples? At present, following the lengthy discussions at the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, and after the General Assembly adopted the relevant resolutions, the United Nations has pronounced itself on this question clearly and resolutely.

31. The right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and an independent existence, including the right to create its own State, was recognized and loudly proclaimed. The attempts to reduce the question of Palestine to a question of refugees were rejected once and for all. Moreover, both the discussion and the United Nations resolutions reaffirmed that the recognition and exercise of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine are a key problem in the search for a durable solution of the Middle East crisis. At the same time it was reaffirmed that there could be no peaceful and just settlement of the conflict without the participation, on an equal footing, of the legitimate representatives of the people of Palestine, the PLO.

32. Can it then be maintained that there is a new development in this respect, and that there is a discernible change in the position of the aggressor? Unfortunately, no. The intransigence and refusal of Israel's rulers to take into account the reality and the clearly expressed will of the international community were only recently restated from this rostrum. Once again they manifested their disregard for the decisions of the world Organization. For that reason, neither the Israeli rulers nor their defenders have any grounds whatever to be surprised at the universal indignation and at the growing political isolation of Israel within and outside the United Nations. No one believes any more the attempts to explain that indignation and that isolation by the so-called re-emerging anti-semitism or the long-unmasked contention over the defencelessness of the "small and weak" State of Israel.

33. Yesterday's savage raids by Israeli warplanes on Palestinian camps in Lebanon, which caused a great number of casualties, are yet another proof of the Israeli Government's unreasonable and criminal policy.

34. It is high time that the Israeli rulers understand that in the present-day world a lasting peace and secure borders cannot be guaranteed by such means or by occupying one or another hill or pass in the desert or so-called strategic heights. Peaceful and secure borders for Israel can be guaranteed only when the Zionists and their supporters recognize and guarantee those same inalienable rights to the neighbouring Arab peoples, including the exiled Palestinian people.

35. This is the objective analysis of the essence of the Middle East problem. It is, therefore, necessary to remove the basic obstacles to a peaceful and lasting solution of this problem. This entails the withdrawal of Israel's troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. As long as those key problems remain unresolved no one can think of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. It will be put off constantly and a dangerous situation of "no peace, no war" will continue. That is why it is imperative, now more than ever before, to reject categorically any attempts to circumvent the United Nations in the discussion and the solution of the Middle East problem and to impose partial, temporary and intermediary measures, separated and isolated from a comprehensive and radical settlement of the conflict. Otherwise, such partial measures will prove to be only palliatives. In essence, their purpose will not be the restoration of peace in the Middle East, but the

complication of the situation. Such measures are aimed at disrupting the unity of the Arab peoples and at hindering their national democratic revolution. They are aimed at perpetuating the imperialist encroachments, with all their negative consequences for the peoples in this region and for world peace.

36. This approach, which Zionists and their powerful supporters have been trying to impose with such insistence, has proved to be not only futile but also harmful. It is, therefore, not accidental that this approach was rejected by Arab peoples, whose interests require that they rally their ranks in the common anti-imperialist struggle.

37. One should not forget that four years ago a great opportunity for making considerable progress towards normalization of the situation in the Middle East on the basis of the aide-mémoire of Mr. Jarring, of 8 February 1971,<sup>2</sup> was thwarted by the Government of Israel. The fundamental aim of the aggressors at that time was also to postpone a political solution by evading the United Nations and its mechanism.

38. That is why it is of particular importance for the United Nations not to allow this to be repeated now. The attempts to bypass the existing international mechanism created by the United Nations, that is, the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, must be averted. It is the duty of the United Nations to demand the immediate resumption of that Conference with the participation of all interested parties and countries, including the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine, the PLO. A concrete proposal to that effect has already been put forward by one of the Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen, the Soviet Union, to the other one, the United States. We consider this a very timely proposal in the present situation, and we believe that it will receive the widest support. The Geneva Conference cannot be replaced by any half measures or methods which have proved to be ineffective. It is only within the framework of the Geneva Conference that a comprehensive and, hence, a peaceful and lasting solution of the Middle East problem can be reached. We highly esteem the constant and persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to reach such a settlement of the Middle East crisis.

39. We should like to believe that the goodwill shown by the Syrian Arab Republic before the Security Council only recently when it agreed to a prolongation of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [UNDOF] for another six months will really be followed by the legitimate request to have the PLO participate in the forthcoming discussions on the Middle East problem. This is the will of the majority of members of both the Security Council and the Organization as a whole. That is why Israel's stand, taken a few days ago, to boycott the debate on the Middle East in the Security Council next January because the PLO will participate therein, can hardly be considered a sensible one.

40. In order to get out of the present deadlock and to have genuinely effective talks, we are of the opinion that it is high time that a time-table acceptable to the interested parties is set up for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories.

41. This is the position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the Middle East question. This position is as invariable as it is clearly defined. It stems from

our foreign policy, which supports the just cause of the Arab peoples. It was only recently reaffirmed by the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, during his visit to Mauritania, where he said:

“We consider that the establishment of a durable and just peace in the Middle East is possible only by means of the full withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, by means of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own State, and by guaranteeing the right of all peoples and countries in this region to live and develop in an atmosphere of peace and security.”

42. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Security Council discussed the question of the Middle East in June 1973, or in other words a few months before the start of the October war. The delegations of many countries participated in that discussion; among them was my delegation, because the United Arab Emirates, an Arab State in the Middle East area, is deeply concerned by and interested in the danger presented by the continuing Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and the consequent threat to peace and security, not only in our area but throughout the world. During that discussion in the Security Council in 1973, we, and most of the countries anxious for peace to be stabilized in that area, said that the situation was dangerous and that none of us could stand idle when faced with a situation the continuation of which threatened to lead to a new war in the Middle East.

43. The Security Council discussion terminated without the adoption of any resolution, as a result of the use of the veto by one of the five States having the right to use the veto in the Security Council. Then the October war started, confirming what we and other peace-loving countries had tried to warn about.

44. Both our enemies and our friends drew many lessons from the October war, the most important of which, in our view, was the following. The Arab nation, throughout its long history, has met with tragedies and catastrophes, invasions and other disasters, but it has been able to face those challenges and to defeat the aggressor and the invader. The Arab nation, with its civilized background and its current capacities, is fully capable of regaining its rights sooner or later.

45. The adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 3236 (XXIX) last year and resolution 3375 (XXX) this year, concerning the rights of the Palestinian people, was an affirmation of a truth we have always stressed, namely, that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved as long as the Palestinian people remain deprived of their inalienable right to their homeland, to return to their territory and possessions and to exercise their right to self-determination, like all other peoples of the world. We do not want now to go into details on this matter. We made a comprehensive statement in the General Assembly on this point when we were discussing the Palestine cause [2394th meeting]. However, we should like to register our satisfaction with the complete understanding of this truth shown by the international community, which will undoubtedly help to remove

the obstacles in the way of a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem.

46. Some major Powers which have direct responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security have repeatedly called for the creation of a world in which a basis of law and respect for justice prevail. If a basis of law and respect for justice are applied to the situation in the Middle East, we have a right to ask what basis of law it is that allows a Member State of the United Nations to continue to occupy the territories of three Arab States Members of this Organization. What basis of law is it that allows that occupying State to annex officially part of those territories and to change their demographic nature? What basis of law is it that denies the Palestinian Arab people the right to return to their homeland, to restore their properties and to exercise their right to self-determination? Those who mouth words about respect for justice and a basis of law should answer those questions boldly and frankly.

47. The United Nations, in which the hope of all mankind for the preservation of peace and security in the world is placed, is facing dangerous challenges that could adversely affect its prestige and perhaps diminish the respect in which it is held by the peoples of the world. We must all try to avoid the failure of the Organization, because its failure would be a much greater catastrophe for mankind than was the failure of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

48. The Middle East question and the question of the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people are two of the most important challenges facing the United Nations. Those questions have many aspects which could threaten the peace and security of the world, but this is perhaps not the best place or time to detail all those aspects because they have been discussed in detail by others both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. However, there is a new element that arouses our anxiety and fear, and that is the news that Israel may soon have highly complex, sophisticated and destructive weapons and equipment to add to its existing stockpiles of means of destruction. This could spread a feeling of insecurity throughout the Arab world and subsequently constitute a threat to world peace and security.

49. In these circumstances in which the Organization is facing important and dangerous challenges, we are called upon to work responsibly, seriously and meaningfully and to adopt all measures necessary for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, to strengthen its role in the maintenance of peace and to maintain its dignity in the eyes of the peoples of the world. In discussing this topic, which has so many elements of danger, our Organization should adopt a resolution that would take into consideration the realities of this crisis. All these elements are now clear and well-defined, and they can be summed up as follows. The achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East depends on two main elements: the total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, as provided for and affirmed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX). My delegation also considers that the General Assembly should ask the Security Council to fulfil its responsibilities as laid down in the Charter

by taking all the necessary measures for the speedy implementation of its relevant resolutions and those of the General Assembly aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the area of the Middle East.

50. My delegation welcomed with great satisfaction Security Council resolution 381 (1975) concerning the extension of the mandate of UNDOF in the Golan area, particularly since the Security Council decided in that resolution to reconvene in January in order to continue the discussion of the Middle East question and the Palestine cause, on the basis of all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

51. We also welcome the fact that the Security Council has invited the PLO to participate in the discussions next January, as was announced in the statement by the President of the Council. The participation of the PLO in the discussions of the Security Council on this matter has our blessing because we believe that it represents a people with inalienable rights and is a principal party in the conflict.

52. We should also like to reaffirm what we said in the statement we made during the discussions on the question of Palestine [*ibid.*]—namely, that the primary aim of the participation of the PLO in any efforts to solve the Middle East question should be to guarantee that the Palestinian people will achieve their inalienable national rights.

53. In conclusion, I should like to announce that the people and Government of the United Arab Emirates will spare no effort to support their Arab brothers in the liberation of the usurped lands and in the acquisition of the rights of the Palestinian people to its homes and properties. I should also like to commend the sincere and great efforts that have been and still are being made by the Secretary-General for the attainment of a just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis.

54. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The General Assembly is once again confronted with the problem of the Middle East. Since the Israeli aggression against the Arab States in 1967, the issue in question has appeared intermittently on the agenda of sessions of the General Assembly, both in the various committees and in plenary meetings. The world has disposed of many a crisis in the last dozen years; much has been done to extinguish the existing hotbeds of tension; several wars have been either ended or averted; yet we have made little progress in extinguishing the smouldering dangers to world peace in the Middle East.

55. Saddening though it is, the reason for the existing situation lies in the fact that its main perpetrator pays no heed to the resolutions of the Organization, not even those of the Security Council.

56. Thus the effects of Israeli aggression have not been removed. Israel persists in ignoring the mandatory decisions of the Security Council and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Israel continues its attempts to consolidate the illegal occupation of the Arab territories. It still denies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It is only natural, this being the case, that the United Nations cannot remain silent, for the problem of the Middle East, as part and parcel of the Organization's main purpose to maintain international peace and security, belongs to the United Nations. It is precisely the United Nations that has

to help the victims of aggression, in defence of the sacred principles of the inadmissibility of acquisition of foreign territories by force and of the peoples' sovereign right to their own statehood.

57. Along the road to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East three outstanding pre-conditions continue to be fully valid: first, the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied Arab lands; secondly, the safeguarding of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to have its own State; thirdly, peace and independent development for all the countries of the region, without exception, including the right of all peoples to live within recognized boundaries.

58. Let us not, however, lull ourselves into believing that one can dispose of those pre-conditions at random or on a selective basis, for politically they represent a single and indivisible entity. It is especially inconceivable to think of meeting the third pre-condition without the implementation of the former two, which, for the victims of aggression and for the peace-loving members of the international community, will also be signs of at least some of the goodwill that is indispensable on the part of Israel. That interrelationship has been unequivocally reaffirmed by the recent Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima, which recognizes that:

“the interest of security and peace in the world rests on the immediate implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and reiterates that a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be based on the two following principles:

“1. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since June 5, 1967;

“2. The exercise by the Palestinian people of all their national rights, including the right to return to their country and to self-determination and political independence.” [*See A/10217 and Corr.1, para. 54.*]

59. Indeed, few should wonder why, in the absence of adherence to these two principles, the world, and especially those directly concerned, are becoming ever more impatient. This has already been amply illustrated in the course of the present session of the General Assembly.

60. In the case before us, more political goodwill than imagination is probably required to realize that there is only one road to an effective and prompt solution to the Middle East problem. It leads through a comprehensive political settlement. We have seen enough of partial, temporary measures and other steps of the kind. The tensions in the area are too serious, the sacrifices are too heavy, the victims of the conflict have had too painful an experience, there have been too many expectations and failures, to expose the war-torn region to yet another step-by-step approach. Measures such as these, which create illusions of progress, in fact make the prospects of a final settlement more distant and cause the general situation to be more explosive. What is more, they perpetuate the state of continual aggression at the expense of the victims, at the expense of the good image of the United Nations.

61. Once we agree on the kind of settlement we should seek, hardly anyone will deny that it must be

arrived at with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, on a plane that will bring them together on an equal footing. Poland believes that the Geneva Peace Conference offers precisely such a forum. Less than a month ago, on 9 November, the Soviet Union, as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Conference, again proposed resumption of the Conference. Were the appeal properly taken up and followed in the spirit in which it was made, perhaps the Organization would not have had to discuss the problem again. The decisions of the Security Council of last Sunday add new weight to the gravity of the situation.

62. My delegation has no doubt that sooner or later the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized by all. Its sole representative, the PLO, has become a full member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which constitutes a new expression of the firm solidarity of the non-aligned countries with those people in their heroic struggle for their inalienable national rights. Indeed, that struggle reminds us of the recent plight of the people of South Viet Nam and their sole representative, whose opponents resorted to all kinds of delaying tactics, including long discussions on the shape of the table, only to bar them from participation in an international conference directly concerned with the future of their own country.

63. Poland has already on a number of occasions presented its view on the Middle East conflict. It was reflected in this hall in the statement of Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs in the general debate at this session [2361st meeting]. But, in restating our steadfast position on the matter, I cannot fail to recall that for the last two years we have been actively engaged in safeguarding peace in the Middle East. This is actually how Poland conceives its participation both in the United Nations Emergency Force and in UNDOF. We consider it to be our service to the supreme interests of international peace and security. It is our contribution to the creation of conditions favourable to an over-all solution of the Middle East problem. Yet, in view of the situation in the mission area, it cannot last for ever. The Forces were established by the Security Council on an emergency basis, and their presence in the area should in no way be a pretext for condoning the present state of affairs.

64. Similarly, we draw the proper political conclusions from the fact that Israel continues its discrimination and its restriction of the movement of the United Nations peace-keeping forces. This is only one more proof of how Israel has been evading its own grave responsibilities in the situation.

65. There is much to be done to ensure a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. But, given the concerted effort of all, without exception, it can be brought much closer than some would wish. The present political trends in the world facilitate comprehensive solutions on a regional scale. The successful outcome of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, and the ending of armed conflicts in Indo-China brought about by the victories of the peoples of the region, certainly facilitate such solutions.

66. Meanwhile, the situation in the Middle East runs counter to the process of growing détente in the world. We believe, however, that the Middle East too can

become a region of peace and of peaceful co-operation among nations living within their just and recognized boundaries. Poland will spare no effort in contributing its share to the further pursuit of this lofty objective.

67. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Turkey has had a chance to state its views on the question of the Middle East in the general debate [2364th meeting] and in the debate on the problem of Palestine [2395th meeting]. However, we have deemed it appropriate to speak once again because Turkey, as a country of the Middle East, has a direct interest in the peace and stability of the area.

68. Furthermore, Turkey maintains close relations with the countries of the area. Many bonds, based on a common history, culture and religion, exist between us and the Arab countries, bonds which are developing and which inspire in the Turkish people a growing feeling of friendship and affection for the Arab people. Our own security and the aims of our foreign policy prompt us to hope for a speedy, just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

69. We are particularly aware of the difficulties in the way of such a solution. Those difficulties, whether local or due to external factors, have meant that for more than two decades the parties concerned have had no negotiations and their relations have been those of war and the exchange of accusations and invective in the United Nations.

70. The prolongation of the conflict, the permanent confrontation, the periodic wars caused by a policy of recourse to force and *faits accomplis*, the refusal to accept the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, have created a wall of mistrust and an explosive situation which constitutes a constant threat to peace in the area and in the world.

71. In spite of the persistence of all these factors, developments since 1973 have aroused some hopes about the possibility of starting negotiations. Changes in the political and military balance among the parties, the results obtained in the implementation of the interim agreements and the international recognition accorded the Palestinian entity have all led to an atmosphere more propitious for long-term efforts. That is our interpretation of this debate, and it is our hope that its conclusion will be constructive and that it will contribute to setting in motion an effective process of negotiation which will lead to a comprehensive solution.

72. Turkey, for its part, while it supports peace initiatives, maintains its point of view on the substance of the problem. We believe that any viable settlement must entail immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the territories occupied by its army in 1967, and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own State. It must also undoubtedly make it possible for all the countries in the area to safeguard their independence, their sovereignty and the security of their boundaries. We believe that such a comprehensive solution accords with the principles strongly supported by the vast majority of Members of the United Nations and at the

same time with the complex realities of the conflict in the Middle East.

73. We can only welcome the interim agreements inasmuch as they pave the way for and constitute a step towards a comprehensive and just solution. It is in this context that we express our appreciation of the Sinai Disengagement Agreement concluded last September. In the same spirit, we welcome the decision of the Security Council to renew the UNDOF mandate [resolution 381 (1975)] and to hold a substantive debate on the problem in the near future. The participation of the PLO in that debate will mark an important advance that will make it possible for the Council to conduct a useful debate. We pay tribute to the spirit of wisdom, realism and political courage which has made all those developments possible, and we should like once again to praise the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in this area.

74. The role which the PLO is called upon to play in future diplomatic activities is of paramount importance in our eyes. The participation of the PLO in any negotiations on the problem as a whole will be in accordance with the dictates of justice. In the present state of affairs, it would be difficult to consider any general negotiating procedure without that participation. Any negotiations on a problem as complex as that of the Middle East will inevitably be difficult and we know that progress will not be rapid. But it would be a most serious mistake to refuse to negotiate with all the real parties, while laying down preconditions, or requiring the prior adoption or abandonment of specific positions.

75. It is on the basis of those considerations that we have taken part in this debate. It is our hope that it will be possible from our discussions to obtain results which will command broad support and which will encourage further efforts to find a general negotiating procedure and to accelerate the search for an overall settlement in accordance with the principles set forth in relevant United Nations resolutions.

76. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in the Middle East and the persistence of a hotbed of conflict and tension in that part of the world is a permanent and legitimate cause of concern for the international community. Indeed, the existence of a conflict among States in any part of the world entails the danger of the expansion of that conflict, jeopardizes general security and, consequently, affects the vital interests of all peoples.

77. At the same time, such conflicts inflict tremendous suffering on the peoples directly concerned and also hamper their economic, social and political development, thus serving interests which are hostile to progress, peace and understanding among nations.

78. The recent changes in the situation in the Middle East, in our view, merely emphasize that concern because they clearly stress the need for determined efforts towards a peaceful solution to the problem of this region. The present debates in the General Assembly can and should make an important contribution to that end.

79. At the very outset, we should like to reiterate our deep conviction that a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict is possible and that despite the complexity of the problems of the Middle East, they

can and should be solved, so that there can be established in that area a just and lasting peace which would be in harmony with the interests of the peoples of that region and with the need for general security.

80. As is known, Romania has consistently advocated the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East and has worked to that end at the international level. Stating with clarity the position of our country, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, stressed quite recently:

“Romania has been and still is resolutely in favour of a political solution of the Middle East conflict. We consider that any delay in settling that conflict creates a very serious situation in the Middle East with unforeseeable consequences, primarily for the countries of that region, but also for peace and security in Europe and in the entire world. For this reason, Romania realizes that sustained efforts are required on the part of all States in order to settle that conflict as quickly as possible. I have in mind primarily the need for Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war and also the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people through the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.”

81. In the interest of friendship and peace, Romania has extensively developed its traditional relations with the Arab countries. With the backing of mutual confidence and respect, those relations are constantly growing stronger.

82. Summit meetings and talks held at other levels, together with the expansion of economic, technical and scientific co-operation between Romania and the Arab countries, are an eloquent expression of those relations. The Romanian people have always had fraternal feelings of solidarity towards the Arab peoples in their struggle to strengthen their independence and national sovereignty and, therefore, are following with deep sympathy the efforts of those peoples to achieve economic and social progress and are sincerely gratified by their achievements.

83. Romania considers that a settlement of the Middle East problem cannot be achieved without the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories. No State may assume the right to send its armed forces into foreign territories in order to impose its own will there, or to infringe upon the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. It is imperative that Israel give up its rigid positions and demonstrate a sense of realism and an understanding of the fact that, as long as the occupation of Arab territories continues and as long as the aspirations and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are ignored, there can be no durable peace in the Middle East.

84. Peace and security in that part of the world also require recognition of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States of the region, since such recognition would be conducive to opening up favourable prospects for peaceful coexistence among the peoples concerned and for their independent development.

85. A peaceful political settlement of the Middle East conflict cannot be envisaged without a solution of the question of the independent organization of



the Palestinian people. Our country was one of the first to emphasize that the national rights of the Palestinian people can be fully achieved only through the establishment of an independent State-like entity, with the aim of creating the necessary conditions to promote the political, economic and social development of the Palestinian nation.

86. The establishment of a lasting peace in the entire area is a major objective which calls for constructive contributions by all, the stimulation and development of the positive procedures that have been undertaken, and the adoption of further measures leading to a comprehensive solution of problems still outstanding.

87. The progress achieved by the conclusion this year of an interim agreement between Egypt and Israel concerning the disengagement of the military forces in the Sinai represents a positive element since it is the result of negotiations which demonstrate the trend towards a settlement of the Middle East conflict by means of negotiation. The progress achieved, however, can be assessed only in the general context of efforts to find a solution to the Middle East problem.

88. This is the general tenor of resolution 381 (1975) recently adopted by the Security Council, concerning the prolongation of the UNDOF mandate. We welcome the adoption of that resolution, which, as we see it, will make it possible for the PLO to participate in the Security Council debates.

89. At the same time, we take this opportunity also to reiterate our appreciation of the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, aimed at restoring peace and understanding in the Middle East.

90. Indeed, we feel that action should be undertaken at all levels, taking short steps as well as long ones. The question is not whether the steps are long or short, but whether they contribute to the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

91. In the view of the Romanian delegation, it is essential that resolute action be taken to expedite the peaceful and effective settlement of the Middle East conflict. It is necessary for all States to show proof of their political determination. This necessarily implies the widest possible use of negotiations as well as the search for viable political solutions, in

accordance with the interests and rights of all peoples of that region.

92. In order to create a propitious climate for efforts to find a peaceful solution, it is important to avoid any act which would provoke further complications and dangers, and further reduce the possibility of a settlement of the Middle East problems. It is our firm conviction that the principal role in settling the Middle East problem must be played by the States of that area—and by the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—which are directly interested in establishing peace.

93. The resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference can undoubtedly be an important element to the extent that it can ensure the participation of all the countries concerned and even expanded participation in that Conference.

94. Romania also realizes that the role of the United Nations, through both the General Assembly and the Security Council, must be substantially increased and that it must play an increasingly important part in establishing peace. It is incumbent on the General Assembly at this session, therefore, to give a new and vigorous impetus to efforts aimed at a settlement of the problems of the Middle East.

95. It is our most sincere conviction that through the combined efforts of all States and, primarily, of the peoples directly concerned, the present situation can be improved and the existing problems can be solved. As far as Romania is concerned, it will continue to seek an over-all settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the legitimate interests and aspirations of all States and all peoples in that area and in the interest of peace and security throughout the world.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, 1856th meeting, para. 23.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid., Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971, document S/10403.*